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THE SPEECHES AND  
PUBLIC LETTERS OF  
JOSEPH HOWE



JOSEPH HOWE

From a Photograph by Notmans, about 1871.

# THE SPEECHES AND PUBLIC LETTERS OF JOSEPH HOWE

(BASED UPON MR. ANNAND'S EDITION OF 1858)

NEW AND COMPLETE EDITION

REVISED AND EDITED BY

JOSEPH ANDREW CHISHOLM, K.C.

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# SPEECHES OF JOSEPH HOWE

## CHAPTER XV

1849

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IN 1849 the Legislature met on the 18th of January. The opening passage of the Governor's speech contained the following reference to the prerogative:

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During the year which has just closed, we have witnessed in foreign countries a succession of startling events, the downfall of ancient dynasties, the violent disruption of the relations of established society, and sanguinary civil conflicts; and have learned by contrast to prize more highly the blessings of rational liberty, union, peace and industrial development, secured to the empire of which Nova Scotia forms a part, by the mild sway of a sovereign whose prerogatives, in their exercise, express the national will, and derive their strength from the people's affections.

It is apparent from the whole speech that the Government had been throughout the year actively engaged in the duties of administration. Major's Robinson's survey of the intercolonial railway having been completed was submitted, with despatches in which the views of Her Majesty's ministers and of the Governments of Canada and New Brunswick in relation to that work were fully explained.

The country between Halifax and Windsor had been explored by Wightman and Chesbrough, and their surveys and estimates were submitted.

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A delegation had been sent into Canada and New Brunswick, to arrange with the Governments of those Provinces the establishment throughout British North America of a uniform rate of postage and of intercolonial trade. Their reports were laid before the two Houses.

Authority having been obtained from the Imperial Government, the Crown land departments had been consolidated on the basis of Mr. Howe's bill of the previous year. Some amendments were moved to the address, but were negatived, twenty to eleven, the House not being full.

On the 23rd of January the despatches and papers connected with the Departmental Bill were sent down. These were Sir John Harvey's explanatory despatch on transmitting the bill, Mr. Fairbanks's remonstrance against its passage, and a protest forwarded by a minority in the Legislative Council. These papers had drawn from Earl Grey an expression of opinion favourable to the measure generally, but evidently framed to secure for the gentleman about to be removed a degree of consideration to which the majority of the House did not think him entitled. Her Majesty's assent to the bill was withheld, and an intimation was conveyed that some other office or a pension must be given to the Receiver-General.

This despatch drew from the Provincial Cabinet a minute of Council so argumentative, so condensed, and so spirited in tone, that it is impossible to mistake its paternity. As it settled this and all other questions of a similar nature, it is worth preserving :

*May it please your Excellency*,—1. The unexpected rejection by the Colonial Secretary of the Departmental Bill places us in a position of so much embarrassment and leads us to anticipate so many serious difficulties in discharging with satisfaction to your Excellency and credit to ourselves the functions we have assumed, that we regard it as our first duty to remind your Excellency of the terms upon which we accepted office and of the obligations which we conceive ourselves to be under to the majority in the Legislature, whose confidence we enjoy.

2. The inherent vice of the old colonial governments was the absence of adequate control by the majority of the constituency over the departments by which the whole Executive machinery was moved. A minority sustained by the imperial authorities ruled each Province, often in spite of vainly struggling and discontented majorities; still more frequently without the harmonious mutual co-operation, wanting which there can neither be vigour in the Government nor widely diffused contentment among the body of the people. Lord Durham's report exposed this fatal defect in our old modes of administration; and, from the period of its publication, whatever crude

opinions might have been previously entertained, opposing parties rallied to secure or to resist the introduction of improvements by which the anomalies of the old system would be swept away; and self-government, by the constitutional modes recognized by all parties in England, would be established in their stead.

3. For ten years the people of Nova Scotia, variously tried and often disappointed, have laboured to place the Executive departments of their country in the hands of those who from time to time possessed in their judgment the requisite qualifications to successfully conduct the administration of public affairs. Their right to exercise these powers, clearly indicated in Lord Durham's report, was expanded in Lord John Russell's despatch of October 1839; since the publication of which, in these Provinces, the fair claims of officers appointed previous to its promulgation have formed the only acknowledged barrier to the full enjoyment of the high privileges which, formally conceded by that despatch, could never afterwards but for some gross forfeiture of confidence or allegiance, be constitutionally withdrawn.

4. The rights of every officer appointed previous to that period have been honourably respected; but no officer appointed since, except to judicial situations, has been regarded as holding his place by any other tenure than that proclaimed in the despatch; and any attempt, by a Nova Scotian, for his own personal advantage, to narrow the common rights of his countrymen and to withdraw any of these offices from the constitutional control of the Assembly, has been warmly disapproved, and the attempt itself regarded as establishing anything but a claim to reimbursement out of the public funds. In this position Mr. Fairbanks deliberately placed himself, in 1845, and after years spent as a public man in vain resistance to the introduction of the new system as a whole, he set the example of showing how easily it might be violated, by any party, having a temporary ascendancy, giving pledges to those they appointed to office that the tenure should be for life.

5. If the office of treasurer can be withdrawn, what security have the people for permanent control over any other? Should Mr. Fairbanks succeed and reap the reward of an attempt upon our constitution, which his countrymen deeply resent, others may find it convenient to imitate his example, and there may not be wanting in the fluctuations and changes of parties persons high in authority to aid them.

6. Giving to Earl Grey's comparison of the duties of Colonial Treasurer with those discharged by the Controllers of the Exchequer in England all the weight to which any suggestion from his Lordship is so eminently entitled, we cannot but regard it as unfortunate that the analogy was not perceived in 1840 and that the Receiver-General in Canada, whose duties are precisely the same as those discharged by Mr. Fairbanks, has been ever since and is now a responsible head of the department; liable therefore to removal with every change of administration.

7. Having thus explained with clearness and precision the general views

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entertained upon this subject, we now proceed to consider its bearing upon our own positions, claims and obligations. When Mr. Uniacke was called upon by your Excellency to aid in forming an administration which would be supported by a majority in the Legislature, he expressly stipulated for the vacation of the two crown offices, the secretaryship, the treasury, revenue, and land departments, and the office of Queen's printer, in all but seven, but all alike essential to the framework of that new system of Executive responsibility which we have been authorized to introduce. Yielding to your Excellency's desire, an administration was finally arranged, including but three of these offices, it being perfectly understood that the others were to be assumed by persons enjoying the confidence of a majority of the Assembly, so soon as measures necessary to secure consolidation and accountability could be carried through the two Houses. As these were matters purely of internal regulation, touching our own officers and our own funds, we could not conceive, with the examples of Canada under four Governors-General before us and with Lord Durham's report and the despatches of Lord John Russell and Earl Grey in our hands, that we were to be further embarrassed with the vested rights of individuals whose only claim to consideration arose out of opposition to the views of those distinguished statesmen and to the very system we assumed office to establish.

8. So little did we apprehend difficulty in adjusting these details, so perfect was the mutual understanding in reference to them, that no secret was made of the policy to be pursued, and a suspending clause was only attached to the Departmental Bill, at your Excellency's request, on its final reading in the Upper House. In the full assurance only of the entire command of the departments deemed essential, could we have made the declaration or justified it when made, that we should resist any desire for "sweeping changes of subordinate functionaries." Your Excellency knows with how little satisfaction that declaration was received by many who were accustomed to see all the higher offices in the Government and the household change occupants on a change of administration in England; and who in the neighbouring republic observe thousands retiring into private life, unpensioned and unheeded, every four years.

9. We may over-estimate the moderation displayed by a party having established a complete political ascendancy, after a contest of ten years, but if Earl Grey was aware of the sacrifices we have made to guard from inconveniences and loss all whose removal was not indispensable to the security of the administration and the efficiency of the public service, he would scarcely desire that, after thus resisting the pressure of our friends, for the protection of our opponents, we should be left for the remainder of the year with no effectual control over the land, finance and revenue departments, wanting which, by any party, there can be no efficient or satisfactory administration of affairs.

10. His Lordship will scarcely believe that when, in conformity with law



and the practice of the mother country, members of the Government who had accepted office, ascended the hustings in March last, they had to encounter the active or concealed hostility of many persons holding official employments, and that at least one head of a department actually voted against the return of the Attorney-General and Provincial Secretary. This sort of internal conflict Earl Grey will at once perceive is incompatible with the improved principles of colonial government, and must render any administration that permits it very weak and inefficient. His Lordship will find in the blue book the names of one hundred and sixty officers employed in the civil service of this Province. After conducting the administration for months, but four removals have been pressed, but two or three others are required. We have asked for no office that is not or has not been made, by the peculiar circumstances which have arisen here, political. We desire nothing that we are not prepared to surrender to our opponents, whenever we cease to enjoy the confidence of your Excellency and the support of Parliament.

11. The best proofs that we have limited our claims to the smallest number of officers, by the aid of which it could ever have been supposed that responsible government could be carried on, are to be found in the facts that at this moment the secretary is the only officer friendly to the administration in the Province building, within which the chief business of the country is daily transacted, and that that officer, rather than displace gentlemen having families to support, has retained in his own department, where the strictest confidence would seem to be essential, all the persons he found there, in the hope that they may be provided for before your Excellency is asked to sanction other appointments.

12. This state of things cannot continue. We do not believe that Earl Grey, who with these explanations will clearly comprehend it, will for a moment desire that it should. If such should be his determination, if no Civil List Bill be acceptable but one which no party in the colony can carry; if the Land Bill is to be again deferred, and the organization of our revenue and financial departments and the inspection of our accounts to be postponed till pensions are provided, which the Legislature dare not vote, we do not disguise from your Excellency that we see before Nova Scotia all the perplexities and difficulties of the past, aggravated by intense disappointment.

13. Knowing the activity which those who have ever resisted the introduction of constitutional government into this Province have displayed, to create erroneous impressions at the Colonial Office, and by no means undervaluing their resources or the skill of the agents they employ, our first and obvious duty to his Lordship the Secretary of State, to your Excellency and to the Legislature is to vindicate, as we trust we have done in the minutes to be transmitted by this mail, the moderation of our views and the general policy and justice of the measures passed in the recent session.

Should Earl Grey desire further information, we are content that one or two members of Council should proceed to England to furnish his Lordship with any explanations that may be required and to adjust details which cannot

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perhaps be so easily arranged by correspondence. It is our duty to make every rational effort to bring into practical operation the views which, we believe, on both sides of the Atlantic, are entertained in sincerity and good faith; to do this we will make any sacrifice and exhaust every honourable resource. Having done so, if the country is thrown again into confusion or left with an administration powerless for good, the fault will not be ours.

(Signed) JAMES B. UNIACKE.  
HUGH BELL.  
GEORGE R. YOUNG.

MICHAEL TOBIN.  
JAMES MCNAB.  
JOSEPH HOWE.

Mr. Huntington and Mr. Desbarres were absent. Mr. Doyle was sick.

HALIFAX, *July 21, 1848.*

Lord Grey on receipt of this remonstrance waived his own opinions, and informed Sir John Harvey that if the Legislature adhered to its decision after the whole subject had been reviewed, he would advise the Queen to give her sanction to the bill. An address to the Crown was passed during this session, and Her Majesty's assent was signified in the course of the spring.

The Civil List was another vexed question. In transmitting the bill, passed at the last session, a despatch was forwarded with it, which conveyed to the Colonial Secretary, for the first time, the real sentiments of this country. Voluminous protests against the bill were forwarded with this despatch, and encumber the journals. They were answered by a minute of Council, also transmitted. The result of the thorough sifting which the whole subject received, was the final settlement, with some modifications of the bill suggested by the Colonial Secretary, of questions which had been variously agitated for fifteen years. There were sharp debates on these measures, in which Mr. Howe had his share; but the topics were hackneyed, and his views are expressed with more precision in the document above referred to than in any speeches which are reported.

The new commission of the peace formed a fruitful subject of complaint to the Opposition during this session. It was defended by Mr. Howe in one of his ablest, most varied, and humorous speeches. It was justified by the House, which on motion of Mr. Henry passed the following resolutions:

*Whereas*, it has been the practice from time to time in this Province to issue general commissions of the peace, affording to the Executive Government an opportunity of correcting the defects arising from age, incapacity, and other causes, and of renovating the list of magistrates in the several counties, in the least offensive and most convenient mode;

*And whereas*, a new commission of the peace was issued accordingly in the month of November, 1848 ;

*And whereas*, in twelve out of the seventeen counties in the Province, only a small number of the justices then surviving were omitted ;

*And whereas*, in the other five counties more extensive changes had become absolutely necessary, from the undue preponderance that had been given to one party, which created amongst the people feelings of irritation and discontent :

*Resolved*, That the issue of such new commission, in November last, had become indispensable for the public welfare and for restoring confidence in the administration of the local affairs of the several counties, and was, in the opinion of this House, a wise and beneficial measure expected by and satisfactory to the people of Nova Scotia.

There is no satisfactory report of Mr. Howe's speech on the new commission. The only other delivered by him during this session worth preserving, is one delivered on February 19th on the general subject of education :

MR. CHAIRMAN,—Having no desire to mingle in the acrimonious and somewhat irregular discussion which for the last four days has occupied the attention of the committee, I have not interfered ; but, feeling a deep interest in the important subject of education, I must now perform the duty which I owe to the House, to my constituents, and to the country, by the free and unreserved expression of my sentiments. The subject we are called to consider, not in the single aspect in which it has been presented, but in its more enlarged and comprehensive sense, involves the highest interests of this people and offers the noblest theme for the orator and statesman. What is it, sir ? THE EDUCATION OF OUR YOUTH—of those who are to be the comfort and the solace of our declining years ; of those who are to be the owners of the Province when we pass away and the parents and examplers of the more numerous race by which they in turn will be succeeded. In what spirit should a subject of this magnitude and importance be approached ? The defence of our country unites us as a band of brothers. When railroads are to be constructed and our intercolonial interests advanced, the voice of faction is hushed and there is the union which presages, as it is best calculated to ensure, success. The erection of lighthouses around our coast is regarded as a work of general policy and benevolence, in the consideration of which we rarely disagree ; and how honourable was that harmony displayed a few days ago, when by unanimous vote we resolved to consolidate our laws. Happy is the country where such exhibitions are frequent and where the occasions for them are diligently sought by all. Shall not this great subject of education then unite us ? Is it wise to approach it in a mode which cannot fail to arouse the passions without leading to any satisfactory result ?

Our population now is estimated at three hundred thousand. In forty years our country will contain a million of people. Our children now are sixty

thousand. In 1869 they will be one hundred and twenty thousand ; before the close of the century two hundred thousand. Let us contemplate this numerous race, for whom we are required to legislate, trained, intelligent, erect, self-confident ; multiplying by science the productions of the earth ; indefinitely extending their strength by making the water-power of our streams do the work of many millions ; traversing the continent by railroads, the surrounding seas by steam ; transmitting their thoughts over a continent by electric wires ; condensing their physical strength on assailable points, for national defence, and diffusing intellectual life and energy over a progressive and happy country. Let us reverse the picture, and see them prone to hatred and civil strife, choosing education and other kindred topics, not as common ground on which as at ancient festivals deadly weapons are laid aside ; but selected with the same feelings as the scenes of those treacherous conferences of the Fronde, to which men went armed, the object being to stab a rival, not to secure the tranquillity of the state. A population so taught, so divided, must be ignorant and weak, a mockery to their neighbours, and must ultimately be crushed by the iron heel of the spoiler, issuing from some of those powerful combinations which even now overshadow our borders. This Legislature must decide what that future race shall be. To a large extent their prosperity will be influenced by our measures ; they will be inspired or cursed by our example. The time is coming, sir, or I am much mistaken, when this subject will be approached in a fairer and calmer spirit. I had hoped that that time had arrived. We have been told, sir, that education is henceforward to be the battleground of party and that public men are to rise or fall, to be elevated or overthrown, upon this field, which should be dedicated to peace and generous exertion. By God's blessing, this shall never be. But, sir, the time shall come when, if education is but mentioned here, faction shall be hushed, personal rivalries forgotten, and ambition shall plume her wing for noble flights above the mire and strife of party. This, it may be said, is strange language to fall from my lips. Perhaps so. My own example may be quoted to condemn my precept, by those who mistook for work of choice the dire necessities of my public position.

In this matter as in many others my principles and views may have been misunderstood. Struggling for a constitution for our country ; for the defences and securities of freedom, without which education, property and even life itself are of little value ; engrossed by one object and keeping it steadily in view, turning my face to the enemy wherever he appeared, it was not possible for me always to choose my weapons or my ground. Like the soldier combating in hot blood, when the bitter waters of the soul were stirred to their very fountain, I may have besieged the temples from which the enemy fired and smote them between the horns of the altar. But now that the strife is over (and that it is the bills upon the table prove<sup>1</sup>), I would be the first to repair

<sup>1</sup> The Civil List and Departmental Bills.

the walls, to wash the stains of conflict from the pavement ; and, if I dare not repent of what the cause in which I was engaged forbids me to regard as sacrilege, my heart may yet exult when the solemn strains of harmony rise again above the din of battle.

This question, above all others, pre-eminently demands the consideration and the united action of the Government. The time is not far distant when it will be so regarded, and the measures requisite so matured. But unfortunately, at the present moment it cannot be wisely dealt with by any party or set of men that can aspire to conduct an administration. The passions, the prejudices of the past, have not yet subsided, and union of sentiment, in a population so diversified as ours by contrariety of religious opinion, is not easy of attainment. I look along the ranks of the Opposition ; on political questions sufficiently united, on this they are a rope of sand ; and, judging from the opinions expressed by my own political associates in this debate, they are even on the collegiate branch of the subject, which is not the most important, divided into three sections. My honourable friend from Yarmouth and some others are for no college at all ; the Speaker and his followers are for a college in Halifax, at some indefinite time after the others are destroyed ; while my learned friend from Pictou is for a college anywhere, but without the slightest indication of when it is to be founded or where it is to be. With such a diversity of sentiment prevailing in the Province, the Lieutenant-Governor thus wisely called our attention to the subject of education in his opening speech :

“ The Acts which provide for the support of education and for the encouragement of agriculture will shortly expire ; and I shall be gratified if, in the renewed consideration of these very prominent interests, the experience of the past conducts you to harmonious and successful legislation.”

It is in this spirit, Mr. Chairman, that I approach the question. Instructed by the experience of the past, and convinced that if by mutual concessions harmony can be secured, our labours may be successful. The bill before the House is no novelty to me. I have voted for it two or three times and shall now. It was originally introduced by my honourable friend the late member for Londonderry in 1843, as a part of the general subject then under our discussion. In 1845, when my honourable friend for Yarmouth again asked leave to introduce it, I voted with him. On neither of those occasions did I regard it more highly than I do now ; as a detail of a general question, a fragment of a great subject, a limb of the tree which we were to prune and water, but not the tree itself. My objections, then, have been not to the bill, but to the mode in which we have been irregularly, and as I conceive most unwisely, dragged into an educational discussion by which at last but one question can be decided, and that in a mode unnecessarily invidious and ungracious. The learned introducer of this bill, had he done me the honour to consult me on the subject, would but have evinced the confidence displayed towards himself and others upon most important occasions. Had he paused to reflect that this topic might have been discussed and disposed of with some

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regard to the position of the honourable and learned leader of the Government and to the sentiments he was known to entertain, he might have felt that there were reasons for going into the committee of the whole, which could be more easily imagined than explained. But, whatever the motive which denied the ordinary courtesy and to our friends the advantage of the usual consultation, for myself I make no complaint. I am ready to meet the question now or at any time; and as to my learned friend and colleague, whether the bill was designed, as it is calculated, to place him in a false position, I rejoice that he has manfully defended his favourite institution, and though divided from his political supporters, has thrown, by his felicitous eloquence and graceful independence, a charm over even an untenable position.

When on a former day I moved to go into committee of the whole on the general state of the Province to consider the subject of education, I did so because to debate that subject on this bill would be a needless waste of time. Was I right? Four days have been spent, a single point is not yet settled and the general subject scarcely approached. I feared that by an attack on a single institution, we should have acrimonious debates and personal disputes, that might have been avoided by a general discussion. We have had them. I saw that while everything would be discussed, but one point in the end would be decided, and that we should have at last to go into committee of the whole and go over the same ground again. Besides, this bill, when it passes here, may be perilled elsewhere. It would have been in less danger, emanating as part of a general measure from committee of the whole and going elsewhere sanctioned by a large majority. Suppose it is carried here, we must wait its fortunes or go on in doubt discussing the general subject; suppose it lost, we must commence anew, with all the passions roused by an invidious and fruitless discussion.

I have been amused by the reasons given by learned and honourable friends for adhering to a course fraught with so little wisdom. "We wish to clear a foundation." For what? Have they told us? Do they know? Who clears a foundation till he is ready to build—till he has the estimate and the design? Who removes a pig-stye till he knows for what he wants the ground? A Jewish synagogue may be an offence to the Christian faith. But if a party intended to destroy it, one section desiring to build a Turkish mosque, another a Chinese pagoda, and a third an English church, the Jews would be entitled to our pity and the position of the Christians would not be much improved. The Bastille was a nuisance, yet anarchy followed its destruction, because those who razed it wanted the prudence, the cohesion and the unity of design to put anything valuable in its place. The guillotine rose upon its ruins first and an imperial despotism soon after.

To clear foundations without being ready to build, to dismantle till I am prepared to make use of the materials, is not my mode of proceeding and never was. When I voted in 1843 for this bill and for withdrawing all the collegiate grants, I had Mr. Annand's resolutions in my hand, embodying a consistent

scheme of education, the very foundation of which was a general university to be endowed out of the money saved and situated in the capital of the Province. And if I vote now for this bill, it is because I am prepared to build as well as to destroy—to secure equality first, and then with due regard to existing interests and institutions to lay the foundation of a free college, independent of sectarian influence and control. It is possible that amidst the conflicting opinions and adverse views of friends and foes I may stand alone. I have often done so and may again, confiding in the strength of my position, and in the generous purposes to which I minister. Happy shall I be, if resembling the pile that stands in loneliness amidst the billows. Though the lights that flash around it reveal the deadly strife of war, its steady beam, cheering while it warns, invites the combatants at last to a haven of security and peace.

Let me invoke gentlemen on all sides to turn to this question without reference to personal rivalries or party triumphs. Suppose this bill before us burnt and all that has been said upon it forgotten, the ability and worth of my young friend from Sydney would still be as sincerely prized. It surely cannot be necessary to add weight to the character of my honourable friend from Yarmouth, that he should win a personal triumph on a point of form. I listened on a former evening with much pleasure to the Speaker's narrative of the early history of King's College, but I ask him of what avails ingenious arguments here, if they end but in the destruction of existing institutions, without the creation of any other? and whether he thinks we shall not deal more wisely with the subject of education, by mutual compromise and co-operation, than by splitting the House in halves and driving some of the ablest men in it into determined opposition? We want the learned Attorney-General and the learned member from Annapolis, when we come to consolidate our laws. Do we not want them now? Is there no common ground? I think there is; and to both these gentlemen I would say, that they must be prepared to give up something before it can be wisely occupied. I take the broad subject of education. We all agree that common schools shall be maintained, and that if the present law is continued the largest possible sum shall be granted. We all agree that the people should be left to elect their own trustees and that the management should be popular. But we agree further. The Attorney-General and the member for Annapolis are as enthusiastic as any of us in favour of a wider diffusion of common school privileges—in fact, of universal education. All admit the difficulties; but united, all may hasten on the period when by a vigorous effort they may be removed. All are equally anxious to elevate our teachers as a class. All are agreed, I presume, that the county academies shall be maintained. There is much common ground then, and if we differ on the college question, I am not without a hope that our differences may by the application of a simple principle be finally adjusted.

The first proposition to which I wish to invite attention is the appointment of a superintendent of education, whose business it shall be to visit every school

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in the Province in turn, inspect its management, suggest improvements, and report facts connected with the condition of education year by year for the information of the Legislature and the Government. The old school board was intended to perform this duty. It failed from its sedentary character as any similar board must fail. But something better is required. In almost every county, almost every year, unseemly and perplexing disputes arise, the merits of which it is exceedingly difficult to elicit by correspondence. We have had these at Annapolis, at Clare, at Westport, at Shelburne, at Arichat, at Musquodoboit, everywhere, and in some cases years have gone by before the facts could be discovered and gross injustice has been done for want of sufficient information. Into all such controversies a superintendent would inquire upon the spot; many he would adjust by his presence and advice, and where he could not do this, he would report the facts for the decision of the Executive. But a superintendent would do more; he would collect information and diffuse it. Without having power to interfere with the popular control of the trustees or the independent action of the commissioners, he would act as an aid and councillor to both. He would offer, where required, valuable suggestions as to the site, the construction, the ventilation of schoolhouses, the furniture and apparatus of the schoolrooms, the books in use, and the mode of teaching. If a good school existed in a county, with poor ones all around it, he would turn attention to its merits, and elevate the others to its standard. If meritorious teachers were found in obscurity, he would bring them forward; if districts were in want, he would know where to supply them. If schools or academies did not earn the Provincial allowance, he would at once report to the Executive. Such an officer would do more to systematize and elevate education in a single year than will be done by correspondence in twenty, and the moderate expense required to sustain him would be repaid, by value received, ten times over.

I examined the other evening the general abstracts and school returns and found them full of absurd anomalies. There appear to be three classes of schools—grammar, superior, and common schools. Why the two former exist only in some places and not in others, and what are the distinctions between them, no man in the Government or in this House I believe can tell. The counties of Cumberland, Guysborough, and Inverness have two grammar schools; there is one in Barrington and one in Margaret's Bay, but none in the other counties. Why? East Halifax and Barrington township have five superior schools; there are seven in Yarmouth; three in Pictou; Hants, Colchester and Guysborough have one each, while Richmond, Inverness, Cumberland, Digby and other counties have none. Who can tell the reason? In two grammar schools in Cumberland there are one hundred and nine scholars; in two in Inverness, but sixty-seven; in one in Halifax, but ten. In Cumberland the people pay towards these schools £100, draw £80 from the treasury, and teach nine free scholars. In Margaret's Bay they pay £51, draw £20, and teach no free scholars. In Barrington they pay more than pound for pound, and teach four



free. In Inverness they draw two pounds for every one they pay, and teach none free.

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Take the superior schools. If the abstract is correct and the term appropriate, there are two hundred and twenty-six scholars in East Halifax, three hundred and forty-six in Yarmouth, one hundred and eighty-five in Pictou, one hundred and fifty-three in Queens and one hundred and sixty-six in the township of Barrington receiving a superior education, and none others similarly taught in all the other towns and counties. Can this be true? And if so, who can account for these anomalies and distinctions? For these schools the people of Yarmouth pay £4 for every £1 they draw; the people of East Halifax over 40s.; the people of Lunenburg and Queens not 30s.; the people of Guysborough not 25s.! Surely a superintendent is wanted to inquire into this condition of things and to tell us the reason.

I turn to the common schools and find in my own county that Thomas Wilson, at the North-West Arm, teaches sixty-one children. The people pay £6 for the half-year and he draws £8; while Sophy Thompson, at The Plains, teaches eighteen. The people pay 20s. and she draws £7. Take Annapolis. Ichabod Corbett teaches fifty-one free scholars and draws £19; James E. Wheelock gets £14 and teaches only four free; Richard Harris draws £14 for teaching forty-two scholars eleven months; Bathia Robinson draws but £7 for teaching forty-seven a year; Henry J. Nuxton gets £17, 10s. for teaching forty-four; while Jarvis Hartt gets but £14, 15s. for teaching ninety-one! This may be all right, but I cannot comprehend it, and I doubt if there is a man in the Assembly in this respect much wiser than myself.

Taking the aggregate amounts drawn and paid for common schools, I find that Halifax and Queens pay more than £2 for every £1 drawn; Pictou, £3; Richmond, a trifle over 15s.! Surely, sir, this cannot be called a system, in which there is neither uniformity nor justice. A superintendent would do much to improve it; but he would do more. He would elevate the character of the schools and improve their internal discipline and organization. At Musquodoboit Harbour there is an admirable school, which the teacher has brought up to its present efficiency by generous devotion to his profession and by introducing modern improvements. The man who would traverse the county of Halifax, and, by lecturing to the people, conferring with the trustees and teaching the teachers, elevate all the others to the same standard, would confer an inestimable blessing on the county. An enthusiast might do it for love of education; but an efficient man may be got for a moderate sum to do it not only in this but in all the other counties.

Improvements travel slowly in every country; in a new one they are necessarily tardy. The value of oat mills, of composts, of peculiar breeds and implements, may be estimated in some districts; yet years may elapse before the whole population obtain the information or act upon it with zeal. Missionaries traverse every section of the country to propagate religion and temperance; to rouse and to reform. Even in politics we adopt the same mode. The

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learned member for Annapolis, the learned Speaker and myself, all became propagandists in our turn. What I want then, is an educational missionary, enjoying the confidence of the Government and of this House, without respect to party, who will go from county to county and from schoolhouse to schoolhouse. On this subject we ought to agree and I trust we will.

There is another subject well worthy of our attention—the establishment of libraries in connection with common schools. In the organization of these (and £5 would give a hundred useful volumes to each district), a superintendent would be of great value. Without attempting to dictate to or control the trustees—freely elected by the people—he would be an agent to purchase or import; a friend ever ready to advise. He could effect exchanges of books between different districts, so that if a county possessed five thousand volumes, each district in it could have access to the whole. The elevation of our teachers in the general scale of society is another topic to which at the risk of being tedious I feel it my duty to call the attention of the committee. To pay them efficiently is a first step, but we must give them a pride in their art and enlist their combined co-operation. We must learn to consult them; to care for, to promote them. I would assemble once a year at least all the teachers of a county in the shire town and let them discuss the subject of education and report their suggestions and advice for the guidance of the Executive and the Legislature. This would make them acquainted with each other and with each other's modes of teaching; it would excite an honourable pride and a spirit of generous emulation. And who can doubt that many valuable suggestions would emanate from these meetings? I would reserve one or two county offices, in the gift of the Executive, as the rewards of long and meritorious service in the noble art of instructing the young. On such topics as this there can be no serious disagreement here. But, sir, there is another branch of this subject that well deserves, as it may well repay, our grave and united deliberations. In 1841, I proposed to the Assembly to found free schools for universal education over the length and breadth of the Province. Had that proposition been adopted, there would not have been at this moment an uneducated child within it. A respectable minority voted with me on that occasion; but a majority, fearful of the reaction of ignorance, rejected the proposition. Circumstances were not propitious when the School Act was revised in 1845; but, if we are united, may we not carry this vast improvement now? The property—real and personal—upon the surface of Nova Scotia is estimated at £15,000,000. One per cent. on this amount would give £150,000. But we require no such sum. We now pay about £12,000 from the treasury and the people pay about twice as much more; in all, perhaps, £35,000, or less than 5s. on the £100 of all we possess. And this amount educates more than half our youth. Double it, raise the percentage to 10s. on the £100, and free schools would be provided for every child in Nova Scotia. We may not venture to take this bold step, but sure I am that we may discuss the subject amicably and to infinite advantage. But suppose this proposition

to be put aside, may we not largely augment our school fund by a simple process without pressing hardly upon any portion of our population? Can we not by a slight tax on property descending by legacy and inheritance, create in every county a fund which (like mental light money) shall be sacred to the objects of education? On an average of thirty years the whole human race pass off the stage of life, and if this people possess £15,000,000 of property, £500,000 descends by legacy or inheritance every year. One per cent. on this amount, which the dead would never miss and their heirs would cheerfully pay, would add £5000 a year to your common school fund. Two per cent. would give £10,000; and as property would increase faster than population, a fund might thus be secured for the ultimate training of all the youth of our country. Pardon me, Mr. Chairman, if I believe that these topics properly belong to the subject upon which we have entered and if I entertain the belief that a few hours might have been well employed in discussing them in committee of the whole House.

I come now, sir, to the more exciting topic of the colleges. Whatever may have been said or written by friends or foes, I neither created the institutions nor the difficulties which they have presented. King's College was founded before I was born. When I was a boy the contentions about the Pictou Academy had been already begun. My first connection with it in any official capacity was as a commissioner with Judge Des Barres to inquire into and report on its condition in 1838. It was then a wreck. Dalhousie College, also built when I was a boy, was at that time unoccupied and useless. By combining the resources of the two, I hoped to found a free college in the capital of the Province. This design was frustrated by the governors of Dalhousie, who placed three Presbyterian clergymen at the head of its classes, passing over a gentleman of acknowledged ability belonging to another denomination, thereby conferring an exclusive character upon the institution and driving the Baptist body to break off from the rest of the dissenting interests and enlarge their seminary at Horton. I voted for the charter to Acadia College upon the express condition that no larger grant should be asked than was then given to the academy. But it was soon found that to produce equality the grant must be increased, but even that did not satisfy and another £1000 was demanded. The St. Mary's Seminary sprung naturally from the desire of the Catholics to be equal with other religious bodies. The Sackville Academy, founded by an individual, was adopted by the Methodist body, who rallied round it about the same time.

With these institutions shortly after I came into the Legislature we had to deal. We at first tried to satisfy all and place their colleges on a level, by raising the new ones to an equality with King's. This mode was found to be burthensome to the treasury; the sectarians were dissatisfied, and other institutions were springing up. We were then driven to an attempt to equalize by the passage of McLellan's bill, by withdrawing all the grants, to enable us to found one central university free from denominational control. This led to

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the fierce conflicts of 1843. In that year the question of one central university as opposed to sectarian colleges was fairly presented to the country. It was discussed at public meetings, in the press, and in every village and hamlet of the interior. The elections followed, and as I have ever contended and assert now, the country decided in our favour. But the question did not come up for discussion in the Legislature until 1845. In the meantime the coalition had been dissolved. The learned member for Annapolis had possessed for more than a year previous a monopoly of patronage and power. Some members who had been elected by constituencies friendly to our views had been won over, and a compact majority, welded together by political conflicts, defeated us on the college question. But we got a blow from an unexpected quarter. An embryo college had sprung up in Pictou, and my learned friend from that county, though voting with us on declaratory resolutions, lent his countenance to the system we opposed, by accepting a grant of £250 for the use of his own constituents.

Mr. G. R. YOUNG: Do you say that this is a sectarian institution?

Mr. HOWE: I say that the Pictou members made the majority of three by which the grants were carried and that they shared the spoil; that the conduct of the learned member on that occasion I am sorry to recall and wish I could forget. It was bad enough, Mr. Chairman, to be beaten by a combination of circumstances; it was worse to have our friends share the plunder with our enemies. At this time Dalhousie was a wreck, and disgusted with the aspects presented on all sides, I scarcely thought of the subject of education from 1845 to 1848. Sometimes perhaps, I indulged the hope that "there was a good time coming." It has come at last. In 1847 the college question was not before the country. In so asserting, the learned member for Annapolis is correct. It may have been discussed incidentally in a few places, but in many was not even mentioned; and the elections were run on stirring political questions of more prominent interest. But it is here now and must be dealt with. It comes to us under more favourable auspices. Dalhousie has been rescued and is about to be brought into activity. Three experienced teachers have been engaged and an excellent mathematician. We have then the nucleus of the contemplated free college and have now to consider which is the wisest course,—to withdraw the grants from the country seminaries and handsomely endow it, or to permit it to go unobtrusively into operation, continuing to the existing institutions a moderate allowance, until its metropolitan resources are developed and its capacity to give the instruction they now afford is fully tested. I confess that my own mind inclines to the latter course. We know by experience that a large portion of our people favour the denominational mode of education. Though my own opinions are unchanged, I think it would not be wise to revive sectarian bitterness in the country again if it can be avoided. It would be equally unwise to break down seminaries doing much good before we have replaced them by something better; to scatter classes of young men pursuing their studies, until we have made some provision for completing their

education. If we decide to withdraw the small grants now given, we must at once largely extend the endowment of Dalhousie. We cannot take one part of the scheme of 1843 and leave the other. We must take the whole or change our policy.

As respects Dalhousie College, I have always relied, under good management, upon the resources which spring naturally from its central position in the bosom of the metropolis. The institutions at Windsor, Horton, and Sackville, however useful or respectable, stand in thinly populated districts, destitute of the appliances and aids to knowledge supplied by the capital of the Province. Twenty thousand people surround Dalhousie within school-going distance. One thousand families within that space can afford to send one boy at least into its classes. Hundreds of persons come daily into Halifax who pass the other seminaries on the road, and hundreds more come by water from the towns and harbours east and west who never see them. Suppose one or both of the railroads made, the population of Halifax and Dartmouth will be fifty thousand in a few years. This population now have a strong claim on the Legislature; in a few years they will demand that some provision be made for their education. But congregated numbers are not the only advantage possessed by Dalhousie. If young men are destined for the law, the courts are here; if for the church, the pulpit orators of all denominations preach in Halifax from time to time. If the medical profession is preferred, here are the hospitals and dispensaries. Young fellows who are intended for tradesmen will learn more in the workshops of Halifax in a week than they could pick up in a village in a year. Those who desire to be merchants or commanders have the flags of all nations floating before their eyes every day; and if any of our pugnacious youngsters, with a large development of the posterior region, are ambitious of becoming soldiers while studying at Dalhousie, they may take lessons in the military art by merely looking out of the window.

Such being the natural resources of a metropolitan college, I am content largely to rely upon and to develop these. All I ask for Dalhousie is to be let alone, or if moderate academic grants are given in aid of the higher branches of learning, that it should, if it qualifies, be permitted to participate. If it is put into operation without any needless aggression upon other institutions, or any revival of denominational hostility and bitterness of feeling, not only will many Churchmen, Methodists, Baptists, and Catholics send their sons to its classes, attracted by their cheapness and efficiency, but young men who have been trained at Sackville, King's, Acadia and St. Mary's will go there to finish their education. These seminaries will, in fact, become feeders from which the central institution will be ultimately strengthened and nourished. If it gives to the population of Halifax the higher branches of education for £4 which now cost £10 or £15, students will not be wanting, and in a few years its further endowment may be sanctioned by public opinion and if necessary the grants to the other seminaries be withdrawn. We must either adopt this mode of proceeding or carry out the policy of 1843; to sweep away existing institutions

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and leave nothing in their stead, as seems to be proposed, would be utter folly. From what I know of the state of public opinion in Nova Scotia at this moment, I do not believe that a majority of the people would desire to cripple the existing institutions to endow one; and certainly they would not approve of sweeping away the seminaries they have if nothing better is to be created.

But it may be asked, would you recognize the sectarian principle? Would you endow half-a-dozen divinity chairs? Would you make Dalhousie denominational? Would you continue the permanent grant to King's? Certainly not. If any member moves a resolution here affirming the principle of that passed in 1845, I shall vote against it. I will not give a shilling to support divinity chairs anywhere. Rather than make Dalhousie denominational I would see it blown up. That King's College may share the fate of all the others, I shall vote for the bill before the House. How then are we to proceed? Is there any solution of difficulties? I have reflected much upon the subject, Mr. Chairman, and I think there is, and it is very simple; apply to the higher seminaries of the country the same principle that you apply to your academies and common schools, fix a standard of utility, place a fund in the hands of commissioners to be appointed by the Governor, and allow the higher seminaries to draw from that fund an amount not to exceed £200, on proof that three professors had been employed throughout the year, in teaching the sciences, the classics and the modern languages. By adopting this course you will neither recognize the denominational principle nor provoke a needless contest with it. You give to those who desire a free university the means and the opportunity to try their experiment at no great cost, and you do not run a tilt against the prejudices and predilections of those who are conscientiously attached to the more exclusive plan of instruction. I cherish no feeling of hostility to any of the existing institutions. I never attacked any of them till unfairly pressed on and provoked. But I prefer the combined, the free, the Provincial endowment for education. Others, and by no means a small portion of our people—nay, of the people of all countries—prefer the denominational mode. Assume they are wrong—and I believe they are—their opinions, even their prejudices, are entitled to respect. The learned member for Annapolis and I, on this point, are as wide asunder as the poles, and yet I cannot but admire the consistency with which he has maintained his opinions at every personal hazard. He was the leader of the Government; he might have sat upon the bench. His peculiar views of education created all his embarrassments and have cost him all that he has lost. His opinions are shared by many others, and it is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that the denominational principle has its advantages as well as its evils. The Presbyterian friends of the old Pictou Academy clung to it when it was only a wreck. One individual left £1000 to Acadia, another £1000 to Windsor, and a third £4000 to Sackville. The friends of Acadia raise £400 a year by voluntary contributions; they have already expended £14,000 of their own funds; and within the last year the alumni of King's College have raised £2500 towards the support of

that institution. It is clear then that the denominational principle draws forth and dedicates to the cause of education funds which the Legislature could not command. It is equally undeniable that boys are attracted into these seminaries from the rural districts, who but for them would not be educated at all.

The arguments of the learned member for Annapolis on these points are sound. The different religious bodies must have their divinity chairs somewhere, either in the neighbourhood of the central institution if you endow it or in their own. And why not? If we must have ministers, we may as well rear as import them. You cannot destroy these institutions if you would. You may withdraw the grants and endow a free college, but they will live notwithstanding. If you sweep away Dalhousie and found no other, Nova Scotia will be left with nothing but denominational seminaries, and you will have done the very reverse of what we intended in 1843. If this is attempted at any future stage of this discussion, I shall resist it. If gentlemen with whom I have hitherto acted adhere to the policy of 1843, I shall go with them, but after giving the subject due reflection, I see no necessity for asserting or negating an abstract principle, when, by applying to the higher seminaries of the country the policy which is applied to our common schools, we may arrive at a practical solution of a very difficult question. Fix a standard of secular education, define the branches to be taught, and the number of professors and students, if you will, and then give as you would to a school in the Baptist settlement of Wilmot or the Catholic settlement of Chezzetcook, without reference to sectarian distinctions of management or to any other branches taught, except those contemplated by law and for teaching which the public money is paid.

This, Mr. Chairman, is the policy which, after hearing the conflicting views of gentlemen all round the House, I believe on my honour and conscience to be true wisdom at the present time. It may not please my learned friends who, engaged in the attack and defence of Windsor, like the soldiers attacking and defending the French farm-house at Waterloo, cannot or will not take an enlarged survey of the whole field. It may not please those who desire to affirm or to deny an abstract principle, to which one portion of our people will cling and which another will repudiate, even though you put a dozen resolutions on the journals. It may not please those who seek a party triumph or wish to sweep away everything and build up nothing. It may be inconsistent with the policy of 1843, but that has been deliberately abandoned by Mr. Huntington, Mr. Henry, and Mr. Young, and but languidly affirmed by the honourable and learned Speaker.

My consistency is not that obstinate quality which adheres to previously expressed views however circumstances change. I prefer to gather up the experience of the past and act upon it, and I must have been a careless student indeed, to have learned nothing in the six years which have elapsed from 1843 to 1849. Experience has taught me this; that we may make education a battleground, where the laurels we reap may be wet with the tears of our country; that we may outvote each other by small majorities, to have our doctrines

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reversed every four years. But without mutual forbearance and a spirit of compromise, we can do little good and make no satisfactory and permanent settlement of these questions. Mr. Chairman, I regret that the other duties incident to my position have left me but little leisure to present this subject to the notice of the committee with the clearness and ability which it ought ever to command. I know the value of education by the want of it. The portals of King's were closed against me as a dissenter when a boy, and when I hear the felicitous eloquence of my learned friend, the Attorney-General, I might, prompted by feelings as natural as his own, be disposed to hostility to the institution which he so ably defends. I have no such feeling. From the old man between whose knees I was trained,—who was, in fact, my only professor,—I learned to respect all creeds and all professions; to prize knowledge for its own sake; to estimate the resources of religious zeal, even when ill directed, and to prefer peace on honourable terms to fruitless and aggressive war. In the spirit imbibed from that early training and strengthened by our past experience, I would now invoke gentlemen on all sides to deal calmly, generously, and wisely with the great subject before the House.

Having, on the floor of the Assembly, unsuccessfully assailed the Departmental and Civil List Bills and the new commission of the peace, the Opposition carried their complaints by petition before the House of Lords. Nothing could be more absurd than the attempt to invoke the interference of that august tribunal in questions so purely Provincial. But memorials were forwarded to Lord Stanley, containing *ex parte* statements well calculated to make an impression on his Lordship's mind. The Government, anticipating some movement of this kind, had armed Earl Grey with materials for a valid and good defence upon all the material points.

On the 27th of April 1849, Lord Elgin assented to the Rebellion Losses Bill, and on the evening of that day the Parliament House at Montreal was burnt down. This outrageous act was followed up by others more discreditable. The Governor-General, his suite, and even Lady Elgin, were pelted, menaced, and openly insulted. A league was formed which issued a manifesto publicly advocating annexation to the United States. These events startled the people of the maritime Provinces, and for the moment nobody could tell what to think or to believe. While the public mind was in this feverish state, Mr. Howe seized his pen and dashed off a letter addressed to the chairman of the league, which was published under an anonymous signature at the time, and is one of his happiest productions. It set everybody laughing at the league. Their manifesto produced no effect in Nova Scotia. This letter, under the signature of "A Nova Scotian," is now given :



TO THE HON. GEORGE MOFFATT,

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PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH AMERICAN LEAGUE, MONTREAL.

SIR,—By the *Europa* and by the overland mails, we have received in Nova Scotia accounts more or less authentic of the singular proceedings of the political party of which you are a conspicuous member. We have read the address published by a society of which you are the recognized head, and have before us various reports of the riots and incendiarism by which the city of Montreal was subsequently disgraced.

There may be no connection between the Hon. George Moffatt and the coarse imitator of Cromwell who usurped the Speaker's chair; the gentlemen who form the British American League may have no sympathy with the incendiaries who fired the Parliament House and pelted the Governor-General: and if so, I may be taking an unwarrantable liberty in addressing this letter to you; but if leaders, in Canada as everywhere else, are to be held responsible for the acts of those whose passions they inflame and whose movements they might control, you will readily pardon the writer for not giving you the benefit of distinctions that it is difficult at this distance to perceive.

It appears, sir, that on the 20th of April the British American League of which you are the president commenced an organized opposition to the constituted authorities of Canada; and that on the 25th, only five days after, the Queen's representative was assaulted in the streets of Montreal; the members of the House of Assembly were driven by violence from the hall of legislation; and the Parliament House, containing the finest library in North America and the public records of the Province, was reduced to ashes by a lawless and infuriated mob.

There may, as I have said, be no necessary connection between the North American League—who are dissatisfied with everything—and the Montreal incendiaries, who appear to have stuck at nothing; but, as yet advised, they seem to share a common sentiment and to be working out a common policy. If they are not, the people in the Lower Provinces will be glad to be informed; but, in the meantime, we must beg leave to give both the benefit of a few observations upon their joint proceedings.

We gather from the "scholastic production" to which your name is attached that a convention, called by yourself, is to supersede the Parliament of Canada. This movement for dispensing with the services of the Legislature, it seems to us Nova Scotians, very naturally generated the idea that the building in which it sat was an incumbrance, and that its books and papers, fraught with occult sciences and varied superstition, were dangerous to the progress of society. Lord Elgin, who stood in the way of Mr. Protector Moffatt, was pelted as a matter of course; and as the old Parliament House was too small to hold the convention, it was very reasonable the mob should exclaim: "Burn it down, burn it down; why cumbereth it the ground?" The promulgation of your

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manifesto and the occurrence of subsequent events take us somewhat by surprise in this benighted Province; but nothing appears more natural than the sequence.

As you have appealed to North Americans in your address, and as the mob of Montreal have favoured us with their interpretations of its contents, I am induced to inquire whether it be the true one, and whether pelting the Queen's representative, dispersing our Parliaments, and burning our books are to be indispensable preliminaries to joining the British American League?

There is something truly original in your mode of doing things in Canada. In England Her Majesty is never pelted, whatever missiles may hurtle round the heads of her ministers. In the United States no personal outrage follows the independent exercise, by the President, of the *veto* power, in defiance of the expressed opinion of Congress and the nation. What American citizen would pelt the chief officer of the republic, if he merely ratified, as Lord Elgin did, a measure—whether right or wrong—presented to him by overwhelming majorities of the legislative chambers?

Except in the city of Montreal, I never heard of such an outrage being committed on a British Governor in any Province of North America, even in the worst times. In Nova Scotia our Governors, even those who were the most unpopular, have ever passed to and from the Parliament House without even a word of insult, and have strolled through the streets unattended, at all hours, in periods of the highest political excitement. The Montreal mode may be preferable to ours; but, even if good-breeding did not forbid the commission of such an outrage, we would prefer to eat our eggs.

Perhaps it may be said, that as Lord Elgin is to be the last Governor-General,<sup>1</sup> it can make little difference. But even in that case, if we are to have a change, it should not be a change for the worse. If brutality of manners is to be an accompaniment or a consequence of our new political organization, perhaps it might be as well after all to adhere to the old. Even the Red Republicans of Paris bowed Charles the Tenth and Louis Philippe out of France with good-humoured deference to their misfortunes.

In departing then from European, American and British colonial precedents and setting up not only new machinery of legislation, but a new style of manners and of political retaliation, I cannot but consider that you have been exceedingly unfortunate. The example you have set will never be followed in any civilized country; it will stand alone on the page of history, a permanent record of your renown, as distinct, from the dangerous isolation of indecency which surrounds it, as indelible, from the characters of fire in which it has been traced.

Though what the high Tories of Montreal have *done* is readily perceived, it is not so easy to understand what they are *at*. Whether they are driving the people on the same principle as the Irishman drove the pig, mystifying

<sup>1</sup> Isaac Buchanan's letters.

him as to the ultimate end of the journey, or whether, blind with passion and disappointment, they are incapable of a design, perplexes us a good deal. In the former case there may be method in what appears to be madness; in the latter, the poet's line—"your dull, no-meaning puzzles more than wit," has been fairly illustrated.

We have been told that because some £90,000 have been granted to pay the rebellion losses, the Governor-General has been insulted and the Parliament House burnt. To the people in the Lower Provinces this would appear a strange remedy even admitting the disease to be desperate. The man who cut off his own nose to spite his face must have been a native of Montreal. You have exceeded the scriptural injunction, because, when your cloak has been taken, you have flung your coat into the fire. We are told of poor times in Canada, but money would appear to be plenty. Even the gold-diggers in California cannot afford to burn their shanties over their heads when their neighbours happen to rob them. If what your friends have destroyed, however, had been exclusively their own, we should not have thought of complaining. But the public records of Canada belonged to the empire. Rare and scarce books, deposited in a public library, are the property of the world at large. Goths and Vandals had the same right as other people to destroy their enemies, but when they made war against literature and art, their very names became bywords among the nations; and I am slightly apprehensive that their very unenviable reputation is likely to be shared by your friends in Montreal.

During the revolution of July, every weapon was taken by the Parisians from the Musée d'Artillerie; but when the fight was over, so sacred was the National collection regarded that every weapon was returned. Had each of the rioters of Montreal borrowed a book before they set fire to the building in which they were deposited, the library at least, would have been preserved; and had each ruffian stopped to read the volume taken, even the building itself might have escaped.

When your country has been taxed to build a new edifice and to pay the rebellion losses besides, the luxuries of rebellion and arson will, no doubt, be keenly appreciated. It will only be, however, when you have discovered that you have burnt what you cannot buy and destroyed what can never be restored, that you will learn the depth and complexion of your egregious folly. When the British army set fire to the public muniments at Washington, they needlessly provoked much national hostility; but what would have been the feeling had one portion of American citizens burnt what belonged to the whole—the common records of the country, in which every man had an interest and took a pride? To expunge from the journals of Congress a single set of resolutions, cost, if my memory serves, at least a fortnight's debate; the incendiaries of Montreal expunge the whole in a single hour, and hope, by calling other people rebels, that British Americans will regard this act of barbarism as an amiable ebullition of patriotic zeal.

England deprived Ireland of her Legislature, or rather one party sold it to

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the other; but neither burnt the Parliament House, which still stands in College Green; and the records of legislation were regarded as sacred, even when the institution itself had passed away. When five hundred Free Church ministers went forth in a body from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the people of Edinburgh did not rush in and burn its records. In the civil wars of England you will look in vain for the destruction of the national muniments by either party, and even when Samson put firebrands to the tails of foxes, it was to destroy the Philistines' corn and not his own. We smile at the Irish gentleman who challenged the jury from whom he anticipated an unfavourable verdict; but what would we have thought of him, had he pelted the judges who recorded it with eggs, and burnt the papers of the court?

Compared with any of the ordinary standards, the Sabeans<sup>1</sup> of Montreal are a people whose acts are not easy to be understood. As neither Englishmen, Irishmen nor Scotchmen ever burnt up parliamentary records and libraries, and as Frenchmen respect their national archives and collections, even during the reign of terror and the downfall of dynasties, we cannot give credence to the professions of ardent loyalty which your manifesto breathes, nor resist the conviction that there is something more meant than meets the eye in the designs of Mr. Moffatt's convention

From the speeches of some members of your society, it is sufficiently apparent that a revolution is to follow the riot. Assuming that a dissolution of the empire and annexation to the United States are intended, still it appears to me that you have begun the great work in the worst mode and at the wrong end. Yours is but a shabby imitation of the example set by the American colonists of 1765.

Did they complain that their Governors gave effect to the wishes of the majority of the people, legitimately expressed through their representatives freely chosen? Did they make war on their own Parliaments, destroy their own State Houses, burn their libraries, annihilate their public records? The old colonists rebelled, not because bad laws were made within the Provinces and their own revenues were improperly dispensed by colonial Assemblies, but because bad laws were made for them by the Imperial Parliament and taxes levied upon them without their own consent. They did not complain, as you do, that their Governors did not reserve or veto colonial laws, but they rebelled because they did; because their Governors sought to rule by violation of charters—in defiance of colonial opinion. Mobs were raised in Massachusetts and elsewhere to protect the Parliaments from the military. Who ever heard of the soldiers having to protect the old colonial Parliaments from the mob? What a poor imitation is yours then, of the great example which at least some members of your league are disposed to copy. Who, think you, will embark

<sup>1</sup> Worshippers of fire, who, according to the Koran, go to Hell through the fourth gate.

in an enterprise of so much hazard with men who at the very outset so egregiously lose their way.

A confederation of the colonies may be the desire of your convention. If so, the object is legitimate, but it must be pursued by legitimate means. Believe me, it can only be wisely attained by and through the Provincial Legislatures, not by self-elected societies acting independently and in defiance of them. Suppose to-morrow propositions were submitted to the Lower Colonies for a legislative union or general confederation. If made by the Government and Parliament of Canada, they would be treated with deference and respect. If made by a party in opposition, they would not for a moment be entertained.

The Lower Provinces are accustomed to peace and order, to the employment of constitutional modes of proceeding for the attainment of political or social improvements. Deadly weapons, so common in the streets of Montreal, are rarely carried in Nova Scotia, except in pursuit of game. We have no charges of cavalry at municipal elections, nor are men shot down in our streets if they happen to differ in politics. We are not indisposed to a union or a confederation, but we must know with whom we are dealing and have securities for the preservation of the blessings we enjoy.

We desire free trade among all the Provinces, under our national flag, with one coin, one measure, one tariff, one Post Office. We feel that the courts, the press, the educational institutions of North America, would be elevated by union; that intercommunication by railroads, telegraphs and steamboats would be promoted; and that, if such a combination of interests were achieved wisely and with proper guards, the foundations of a great nation, in friendly connection with the mother country, would be laid on an indestructible basis.

But if you ask us to send members to a Parliament which is not to be free; to which the Governor-General is not to have access and of which he is not to be one independent branch, in full possession of the Sovereign's legitimate prerogatives; if you desire to reserve to the mob of Montreal the right to smash the windows, steal the mace and burn the records, whenever any laws are passed distasteful to the political clubs of that city—we shall be content to bear the ills we have, until your notions are less barbarous; and, if alliances are indispensable, we shall look seaward, and turning our backs upon the north make the most of our commercial position.

Permit me to say, also, that what appears to be rather a favourite project with some parties in Canada is in Nova Scotia regarded as impracticable and absurd. We hear a great deal about anglicizing the French-Canadians; and a union of the Provinces is sometimes advocated with a view to swamping and controlling that portion of the population, which, being of French origin, still preserve their ancient religion, manners and language. On this point we had better understand each other. If the process of anglicizing is to include any species of injustice to that large body of British subjects, who already form at

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least one-half of the population of United Canada, to such a design, no matter in what form pressed or by whom entertained, we will be no parties. A confederation or an Union on such a basis would bring with it curses innumerable, without a single blessing.

We have no desire to form part of a nation, with a helot and inferior race within its bosom. If the French-Canadians then are to be disfranchised—to be trampled upon—to be denied one right of British subjects—one privilege of the political and social compact contemplated, we will never consent to become their oppressors, to assume the responsibilities of tyranny, to earn their recuperative hatred and hostility and to foster in our very midst the elements of domestic discord and national weakness. The Anglo-Saxons of Canada may, if they are strong enough and have the disposition, try this unpromising experiment for themselves. The Nova Scotians will never aid them nor consent that a Frenchman on the Richelieu shall have an inferior status to that which is now enjoyed by a Frenchman in Arichat or Clare.

The process by which the people of French origin who occupy the vale of the St. Lawrence are to be anglified, as the term goes, has never been very clearly defined. If we have read history aright and are to be guided by the lights of other lands or by our own domestic experience, we are justified in anticipating no very brilliant results, should the political enthusiasts of Canada ever attain the power to try their experiment.

How many different races were included within the French monarchy? How many under the empire? How many are ruled over at this moment by Louis Napoleon? Have they, at any period, all dressed alike or spoken the same language? How great a diversity of speech, of religion, of costume, of mental and physical organization and development, is presented to the eye in the widely-extended dominions of the Czar? Of what many-coloured materials was the German empire composed? And yet do not all these,—harmoniously blending at times and again broken and contradistinguished,—add endless variety and interest to the social aspects of that great nation? In the proudest periods of the Spanish monarchy, who could have mistaken an Andalusian for a Castilian—a native of Biscay for a dweller upon the Mediterranean shore? The greatest empires of antiquity were composed of different “nations, tribes, and tongues.” Suppose that Xerxes had commenced the hopeful task of enforcing uniformity of costume, of speech, of weapons, of behaviour among the countless battalia that he marshalled for the conquest of Greece. Fancy, even, the Greeks themselves to have presented this much-coveted uniformity, and you must fancy the page of Homer deprived of half its charms.

If then, in every quarter of the globe, at every period of the world's history, people of various origin and speech and manners have shared the ills and advantages of the same political organization; tilling the same soil, fighting under the same standards, illustrating a national history common to them all; if the greatest monarchs of antiquity could not enforce uniformity of expression, of feature, or of employment; and if the higher civilization which the Asiatic

and European races have attained has left the distinctive qualities and lineaments discernible, what success is likely to attend the great Canadian experiment, by which Jean Baptiste is to be suddenly hocused into an Englishman?

Look to the British Islands, and do not close your eyes to the light streaming down from the luminous pages of their history. Ten centuries have passed away, and yet the Celt and the Saxon, inhabiting the same territory, have not, like Colman's two single gentlemen, been rolled into one. The descendant of the Briton in the Cornish mine can barely comprehend at this hour the language of the descendant of the Dane who comes from the eastern coast. Upon the Welsh hills *nim sassenach* is the reply of every second peasant you meet. Has the Highlander taught the Lowlander of Scotland to talk Gaelic or the Lowlander compelled the hardy mountaineer to abandon his plaid? How have the English anglicised the Irish, after centuries of proscription and oppression? And yet, we are to be told, that it is a burning shame for the Lower Canadian to wear his own homespun, talk French, cover the roof of his chapel with tin, or decorate his shrine with flowers. He must be anglicised, forsooth; and if he is not, why then his Parliament House must be burnt, his representatives stoned, his public records destroyed, the representative of his Sovereign must be pelted with mud; and the Orangemen and Glengarries and lumbermen of Upper Canada must march upon the capital of his country and knock him on the head.

In Nova Scotia, sir, the Germans of Lunenburg and the French of Isle Madame have been settled for a century. They are Germans and Frenchmen still. Surrounded by a British population, who control the Legislature and set the mode, they adhere to their language, their faith, their social pleasures, their costume. But we neither hate nor persecute them for their obstinacy. On the contrary, we learn from them and they from us. We think it no disadvantage if a Nova Scotian can speak two of the noblest European languages instead of one; and the very diversity of feature and contrast of race with race add variety to life. If, then, we have been more than a hundred years anglicising a few thousand people who have been everywhere surrounded and placed at disadvantage and have not yet succeeded, with all the allurements which kindness, justice and unrestrained social intercourse held out to the merging of all distinctions; how long will you be making converts of the compact mass of eight hundred thousand Lower Canadians, who must by-and-by multiply to millions and who will adhere all the more closely to their customs and their faith, if their attachment to them be made the pretext for persecution? In the sunshine, the Frenchman may cast aside his grey capote; but, depend upon it, when the storm blows, he will clasp it more closely to his frame.

You ask me what is to be done with these recusants, either in United Canada or by the North American confederation? Just what is done now in Nova Scotia on a small scale and by republican America on a large one: Know no distinctions of origin, of race, of creed. Treat all men alike.

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Establish firmly the general laws and institutions essential to the preservation of life and property, and teach all to respect them by a sense of common advantage and the undeviating fidelity of their execution. This is the best mode of amalgamating, and will come in time to be regarded as preferable to that which appears to be so popular in Montreal.

But we are told that the union of the Provinces must be dissolved; that it works badly, throwing the administration of affairs into the hands of the French, who are united, whilst the Anglo-Saxons of Upper Canada are disunited. But the union was a British and not a French measure. It was forced, in spite of the French-Canadians, who were charged with an enormous debt for public improvements in Upper Canada, commenced and carried through without their consent or approbation. They wisely make the best of it; those who were its advocates, having got what they wanted, are determined to make the worst of it.

It may be as well, however, before you dissolve the union, to balance its advantages, even setting against them all the cost of paying the rebellion losses. The British took the Frenchmen's money to pay their debts; but we never heard that the Frenchmen destroyed the canals upon which the revenue had been expended. But suppose the union dissolved, what security have you that the English will be more united than they are now? In Upper Canada they would split into two parties, as they did before; and in Lower Canada they would be a powerless and helpless minority.

But, sir, believe me, your Canadian Union is worth something after all. It makes you a nation with a nation's strength, rather than what you were—two weak Provinces to be played off against each other. Besides, the tendency of modern civilization proves that widely extended dominion, either by a monarchy or a republic, offers the best security for peace and industrial development. If, then, you seek annexation to the United States or a union or confederation of the Provinces, some apology may be made for you: but to go back to the enfeebled condition of separate, discontented and hostile Provinces, is to propagate in British America the idea that the extent of the territory of Canada is amazingly disproportioned to the extent of its intelligence. Lord Durham described the Canadas as two girdled trees; Lord Sydenham entwined their branches together, that they might shelter and protect each other. Montreal rioters, in order to disunite them, kindle a fire around the stems.

But, it is said, business is dreadfully depressed in Canada; and therefore we must have a convention; must cast about for a new state of political existence; and in the meantime, the burning of a few houses and books is a matter of trifling concern. This would not be a bad reason for carpenters and stonemasons, out of employment, to give for the destruction of public property; but certainly for those who are to pay for a new Parliament House, the excuse, like the smooth shillings that used to circulate in Truro, may do very well for Montreal, but certainly will not pass current anywhere else.

The emancipation of the slaves for a time annihilated our West India trade.



But what then? The full discussion of the subject—by which the British nation was induced to pay £20,000,000 sterling to wipe away that stain from our national escutcheon—convinced us that we ought to submit to some sacrifice for the honour of belonging to an empire in which traffic in human flesh was forbidden and the possession of slaves was in violation of law. By emancipating her slaves, England has injured our commerce. Fish and lumber feel the effect of social and commercial derangement in the West Indies. But what then? These causes are temporary; to be subdued and overcome by perseverance and enterprise. The great Act of Emancipation—that backward step towards national honour and virtue, in which the temporary depression originated—suffuses our cheeks with pride and enables us to listen to the reading of the Declaration of Independence, which declares all men free and equal, with a calm pulse and a consciousness of national superiority to our neighbours.

But the timber trade is depressed. Well, many believe that every stick shipped from our shores would leave more wealth behind it if it were burnt upon the soil and the ashes scattered over its surface. I do not go this length, but I rejoice from the very bottom of my soul that England is nobly fulfilling her great mission of teaching the principles of free trade to all the world. If she has ceased to protect your timber, whatever the temporary inconvenience, she has thrown open her own soil, manufactures and capital, to equally free competition; and if, for a time, some thousands of people are thrown out of employment, remember that this is the penalty invariably paid for every valuable improvement; and let your people rejoice that they have the fertile soil of Canada upon which to fall back. Shame upon the cravens who, when the world at large is to be blessed and the glorious British Empire is to be expanded and strengthened, burn down their Parliament House and assemble conventions because a few shipyards are idle and a few lumbermen wanting work. England has had her depressions. The industry of France has been paralyzed again and again. A dozen times within my recollection have the derangements of commerce driven thousands from the Atlantic States to the fertile regions of the south and west. Such derangements are as common in commercial states as derangements of the digestive organs among a board of aldermen; but I never heard that a rebellion was the remedy or that burning down the Mansion House produced a restoration to health.

Waiting for further revelations from Canada, I have the honour to remain,  
your obedient servant,

A NOVA SCOTIAN.

HALIFAX, *May 8, 1849.*

On the 8th of June of this year was celebrated the centenary or hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Halifax by Governor Cornwallis. The whole population turned out, and marched in procession with flags and banners. Mr. Beamish Murdoch delivered the oration, and Mr. Howe furnished the following patriotic song:

## SONG FOR THE CENTENARY.

Hail to the day when the Britons came over,  
 And planted their standard, with sea-foam still wet!  
 Above and around us their spirits shall hover,  
 Rejoicing to mark how we honour it yet.

Beneath it the emblems they cherished are waving,—  
 The Rose of Old England the roadside perfumes;  
 The Shamrock and Thistle the north winds are braving;  
 Securely the Mayflower blushes and blooms.

In the temples they founded their faith is maintained!  
 Every foot of the soil they bequeathed is still ours!  
 The graves where they moulder no foe has profaned,  
 But we wreath them with verdure and strew them with flowers.

The blood of no brother, in civil strife poured,  
 In this hour of rejoicing, encumbers our souls!  
 The frontier's the field for the patriot's sword,  
 And cursed is the weapon that faction controls!

Then hail to the day! 'tis with memories crowded,  
 Delightful to trace through the mists of the past;  
 Like the features of beauty, bewitchingly shrouded,  
 They shine through the shadows time o'er them has cast.

As travellers trace to its source in the mountains,  
 The stream which, far-swelling, expands o'er the plains,  
 Our hearts, on this day, fondly turn to the fountains  
 Whence flowed the warm currents that bound in our veins.

And proudly we trace them! No warrior flying  
 From city assaulted, and fanes overthrown,  
 With the last of his race on its battlements dying,  
 And weary with wandering, founded our own!

From the Queen of the Islands,—then famous in story,—  
 A century since, our brave forefathers came;  
 And our kindred yet fill the wide world with her glory,  
 Enlarging her Empire, and spreading her name.

Ev'ry flash of her genius our pathway enlightens,—  
 Ev'ry field she explores we are beckoned to tread;  
 Each laurel she gathers our future day brightens,—  
 We joy with her living, and mourn with her dead.

Then, hail to the day when the Britons came over,  
And planted their standard, with sea-foam still wet!  
Above and around us their spirits shall hover,  
Rejoicing to mark how we honour it yet.

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Early in September, a convention was held in Halifax, consisting of delegates from the Upper Provinces, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, who, with the members of the Nova Scotia cabinet, discussed and arranged various questions of intercolonial interest.

Sir John Harvey paid a visit to the eastern counties during the autumn, and was everywhere received with the respect and enthusiasm which the Queen's representative, ruling constitutionally, ought ever to inspire.

## CHAPTER XVI

1850

Opening of Legislature—Governor's speech—Colonial postal laws—School Bill introduced—Bill introduced to enable all subjects to plead in the courts—Mr. Howe's speeches thereon—Mr. Johnston's resolutions in favour of elective Legislative Council—Mr Howe's speech in defence of the Constitution.

CHAP. XVI THE Legislature met on the 17th of January, 1850.

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"Peace and tranquillity," said Sir John Harvey, "have reigned within the borders of Nova Scotia, the great scourge of the earth has passed us by, and several trying years of partial failure have been succeeded by a comparatively sound and productive harvest."

The violent proceedings at Montreal, and the cry for annexation that had arisen there and elsewhere are thus slightly referred to in the opening speech :

"Deeply convinced as I am that the loyal sentiments of the people of this colony are unchanged, I do not feel myself called upon to make any reference to the discussions which are taking place in surrounding colonies."

A valuable concession made by the British Government to all the North American Provinces was thus announced :

"The Imperial Parliament having passed an Act authorizing the several governments of North America to regulate their internal posts, a measure will be promptly submitted to you in accordance with that enactment ; and I am happy to be able to assure you that no obstacle now exists to entire control being assumed by the Provincial Government over this branch of the public service and to the establishment of a low and uniform rate of postage throughout British North America."

This was the termination of all controversies upon very important questions. The control of the posts and the employment of couriers by the Postmaster-General in London were incidents of the old colonial system. They grew up together, as they must ever grow where new territories are conquered and settled by communities

enjoying the conveniences of modern civilization. It is but fair to acknowledge that the great powers exercised by the Postmaster-General were never abused in the maritime Provinces. The salaries given were not extravagant and the patronage was rarely dispensed in a way to outrage public opinion. Mails were sent with as much regularity as could be attained with sailing vessels and bad roads; and new routes were established wherever it could be shown that they would be profitable or where the Legislature would provide for the expense. The rates were various and very high, but Rowland Hill had not entered upon the scene and responsible government was a myth that nobody but a few enthusiasts believed in. As nothing could be done which touched politics without consulting the Colonial Secretary, so nothing could be done about mails and post towns without consulting the Postmaster-General. Cartloads of correspondence passed to and fro across the Atlantic; and as the old ten-gun brigs often went to the bottom, duplicates had to be sent and months to be wasted before anything could be done. But yet the honour of the Crown and the security of the empire appeared to be involved in all these intricacies and absurdities. Sir Francis Freeling would as soon have thought of surrendering a mail to a highwayman as of giving up colonial posts to the control of the colonial Legislatures. Responsible government once established, the control of the mails came as a matter of course.

On the 30th of January, Mr. Howe brought down an educational measure which had been promised in the Governor's speech. It was the old School Act, revised and condensed, with two new features, which in all subsequent Acts have been still preserved. These were the appointment of a superintendent of education and the establishment of village libraries in all parts of the Province.

This session was enlivened by the introduction of a bill, on February 1st, which caused no little excitement among the lawyers in the House and a good deal of amusement to the country at large. Various opinions were held at the time as to its origin. Some believed that Mr. Howe had been annoyed by the intrigues, jealousies, or unsteady support of some of the professional adherents of the Government, and wished to teach them a lesson and reduce them to discipline; while others thought that the bill was brought in from a sincere conviction of its utility. Whatever the motive may have been, the measure was introduced, advocated, and fought through, with becoming gravity, and became the law of the land. It is entitled "An Act to authorize Her Majesty's subjects to plead and

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Mr. Howe defended this novel measure on March 4th in the following speech. The absence of any table, by which fees are now divided between barristers and attorneys, and of any previous examination, had been urged as objections.

Mr. HOWE replied : I will answer the question of the honourable gentleman. I would abandon this restriction because in point of fact it is not worth a rush. I could point to six or seven barristers, who have gone through this ordeal and have been admitted to the bar of Nova Scotia, who are hardly a grade above the idiot or fit to herd geese upon a common. With respect to the fees, I do not expect that any layman will go into our courts to practise law for fees. If he will, he ought to have the right. My learned friend strangely mistakes the object of my measure if he supposes that I contemplate or care what becomes of the fees. I seek to reclaim and establish a common right, for great public ends and advantages ; to give to the poor and oppressed, the shelter of unpaid advocacy and defence. I ask him if there was any such monopoly in Greece or Rome as exists in Nova Scotia ?

Mr. HARRINGTON : Yes, there was.

Mr. HOWE : But I say no ! There were no such restrictions in those illustrious nations—nations that have sent down to us the very foundations of our laws and the noblest specimens of forensic pre-eminence. It will be admitted that Demosthenes was a pretty good lawyer and one of the best orators known in the annals of history. At the age of seventeen he walked into the courts of his country and won back his inheritance from the guardians who were mismanaging his estate. But Demosthenes was never cooped up in an attorney's office for five years, poring over old musty volumes of almost forgotten lore ; he studied after a very different fashion. The son of a sword cutler, he studied rhetoric and philosophy in the schools of Socrates and Plato, who were not attorneys, but philosophers, travellers, men of enlarged minds, and of experience in the world, rather than in courts. Then, if the Greeks have handed down to us such brilliant examples of genius without any such study and no such monopoly, is not Nova Scotia just the country in which to try the experiment ? Now take Rome ; there was Cicero. Nobody will deny that he was nearly as great a lawyer and orator as any we have in Nova Scotia. He studied oratory, philosophy, and all the branches that could expand the mind and polish the intellect, for years. He defended the oppressed for fame, and thought very little of the smaller matters of fees and their subdivision, of which my learned friend seems to think so much. At twenty-six he pleaded some causes for the reputation to be acquired, and then went off to Athens to study the great masters of oratory there. Well, now these are great examples, given to us by those classic periods of which we often hear so much. The honourable member for Kings asked me, “Are those admitted to plead to be

subject to the same restraints as the present barristers?" I say yes; my bill does not contemplate degrading the courts or the profession, but raising the character of both. There is no restriction against any man being sent here by the people; but, after we come here, we are under the law as expounded by the Speaker. So any man that enters a court of law must conduct himself with decorum. From what I have seen of late I believe that the power of the judges is too great; that they exercise an influence over the bar because the bar live by the profession and dare not say what they think, either to or of the bench. But suppose I were to enter a court of justice, placed without the charmed circle I should not feel the weight of that influence bearing as heavily upon me as though I had but the profession of the law to look to for my bread. Let any man enter a court and face a judge and a jury for a day and then walk off about his other business, he would be enabled to act more independently than those who are continually under their influence.

We saw the operation of the system two years ago, when charges were broadly made here and subsequently qualified and withdrawn. We saw it recently when barristers talked of a judge being drunk, who would have shrunk from preferring the accusation to his face or on the floors of Parliament. I do not believe that any judge in this country was ever drunk upon the bench, and I am not providing for any such case; but suppose it did occur, the layman that walks into court cannot be coerced or controlled further than to decent conduct while there. But by this monopoly, you at once place around the bench a protecting influence from the free and unrestrained criticism of the whole community; removed, you open the judge to the free scope of popular opinion and throw around him its protection. The bench will be protected from a whisper of offence by the general confidence which will be inspired and the elevation which it will obtain; rising upon the suffrages, not of an interested clique, but of a confiding, intellectual community. But, it is said a layman can never study and comprehend the laws. Why not? What is there so abstruse and difficult in our common and statute law? Take the laws of nations which have to form the basis of all diplomacy. These are handed over generally to a body of men who are not lawyers, but yet who arrange and manage treaties, with all their mighty interests and infinity of detail, to the satisfaction of their respective nations. So, take commercial law. Merchants master but cannot practise it. I need not go out of this street to find a man who understands commercial law as well as any lawyer in the country and whose opinion I would rather take; but I cannot ask his opinion; he cannot go into our courts and plead a case. Now, take again, the divine law. Any blockhead may go into a pulpit, shatter the nerves of a whole congregation, discourse of things temporal and things eternal, and dispose not of our estates but of our souls; and yet the most accomplished statesman, who is not a lawyer, cannot go into one of Her Majesty's courts and sue for a ten-pound note or seek restitution of a poor widow's rights. Again, the law martial,—by which the whole armies of England are regulated and governed,—is administered by

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the officers of that army, who are none of them lawyers ; perhaps never looked into a law-book in their lives. The lives, the honour, of gallant gentlemen and fine soldiers are forfeited or secured by such tribunals every day. The errors are not more numerous than appear in our courts of law. Yet the general who has presided over a hundred such tribunals could not plead, when on half-pay, a common case of trespass in our civil courts.

I sustain this bill then because I believe all monopolies are bad. Suppose we were to secure in this city to-morrow a monopoly of commercial business, that we should take a hundred men and confide to them the whole foreign commerce of the country and let no others send ships to sea. Enterprise would be cramped, trade would languish, our mercantile character would be lowered, and the community much less prosperous and contented. Take the sciences of chemistry, astronomy—are they not as abstruse, as perplexing, as law? Like law, they are progressive sciences. Why have they improved so much and law so little? How is it that we can measure Jupiter, but cannot frame a reliable plea or indictment? Take Mrs. Somerville's "Mechanism of the Heavens." Put it into the hands of the lawyers of Nova Scotia, and I doubt if five of them will understand it. Do you suppose that such works would have been composed by women, if the sciences were placed in the hands of a few men who enjoyed a monopoly of their study and cultivation? Take the science of civil engineering, that by which we have lately seen a highway hung in the air, and over which railway trains pass with the rapidity of lightning ; and yet the man whose mind was sufficiently comprehensive to plan and execute such a work as this is debarred from entering a court of justice and pleading the simplest case for a friend. The one branch of science is free, and the other is stamped with a seal which would lead us to believe that but the few initiated could comprehend it. Now, let me say with respect to the bench, it can never rise above the intellect of the bar in this or any other country in the world. The judges are selected from the bar ; they must be and they hear no instructors but the lawyers. The jury cannot speak, nor can the audience ; and it would not hurt the judges to find a new mind springing up occasionally to instruct, entertain and convince. Take an instance, ten years ago, when I sat in that gallery, and thought it (contrary to modern notions) a pretty respectable sort of a place, I daily listened to the oratory of the father of the present honourable and learned Speaker. His sons will not contradict me when I assert that he was superior to them both, in general knowledge, accuracy of detail, comprehensive views, and manly eloquence. Yet to the day of his death he could not have stepped across the charmed circle or have raised his voice in a court of justice.

I think it is Dickens who asks, "Did anybody ever see a dead donkey?" This may be a very rare sight, but it is an equally rare one to see a lawyer in jail. I have, within my own memory, known fifty cases where the property of the poor was withheld from them by members of the profession ; and no lawyer could be obtained who would bring an action against one of his own cloth.



Sir, if in the course of my life I have seen one case, I have seen hundreds, in which my sympathies prompted me to enter a court of justice and plead for the oppressed, but this monopoly would not allow it. Take doctors and clergymen. Suppose a case of dire oppression is brought home to their senses, is there any reason why, if they see a case of rascality perpetrated on one of their parishioners or patients, appealing to their nobler feelings, they should not take the aggrieved party by the hand and go into court and plead the case of the poor and oppressed? I advocate this bill then, because it will put all on a fair footing with the privileged. I say I never knew a lawyer to be in jail. Yet I have seen fifty cases where parties were kept out of their money, and although a few persons may have found redress, the cases are very rare. I have found in my rambles through the country hundreds of cases of hardship which I would have pleaded from sympathy and without ever a thought of how the fees were to be divided. The honourable member from Sydney told me that I went into court once and made a pretty long speech. And so I did. I got then a pretty good idea of how things are done. The lawyers do not take three meals a day of law with perfect gusto. They study a little when young, and after that they jostle about in the profession and take their chance. Now and then there is a fellow who studies very deeply and he drops off before his time. I am not so sure that our young farmers and mechanics do not tax their mental and bodily energies quite as much as our young lawyers.

Our present venerable Chief-Justice stepped out of the ranks of the army, and I believe that all his books might have been carried on a wheelbarrow when he was elevated to the bench; he devoted but a short time to the study of law and a capital judge he has made ever since. How long was Erskine studying law? He made two or three voyages to sea, spent a year or two soldiering at Malta, another studying under an actor, was enrolled at the Temple, and in a short time entered the court at Westminster, where he astonished the bench, the bar, and the British public, and commenced that brilliant career which he followed up by triumph after triumph till the close of his life. Now, let me ask gentlemen who fancy there is something mysterious in the law, what are the ordinary run of cases that come into our courts—cases of debt, assault, trespass, slander. What mystery surrounds them? There is not a day that, as legislators, we do not study and dispose of matters of more intricacy and importance. It was my fortune to study the law of libel once, and in three weeks I think I read more of it than any lawyer ever did in Nova Scotia. The Speaker laughs: but, sir, the proof of the pudding is in the eating of it. And while my law was accepted as sound, the law of the bar and of the judges too was voted absurd by the jury. I ask any man to go into our courts of law and ask himself if he could not take from a dozen different walks of life those who would shed more honour and intelligence than many of those who sit behind the bar? But I may be told that gentlemen would go there to lecture the judges on mineralogy, &c. Sir, that would not be the effect; but I do sincerely believe that the profession

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suffers from being circumscribed among a few and from not being open to the free competition of other minds ; and once open our courts by this bill, and admit all those whom I know are steadily preparing to take their stand in any walk of life into which inclination or ability may lead them, and you will see a vast difference in the intellectual calibre of our courts. The honourable member for Cumberland says, let the bill pass, it will only create an additional number of law-suits. I do not think such will be the effect. At the present moment there is no free scope given to defend the rights of the poor. But competition was encouraged by the Greeks and Romans ; and I believe the time will come when we shall see the same policy prevail in our courts ; when men will plead cases not only for money, but for the credit it gives them and the satisfaction of doing good to a fellow-creature. I will not, sir, detain the committee longer. The want of some such bill as this has long pressed upon me. The mode of carrying out the idea may not be correct, but the principle I believe to be sound.

On March 5th the following reply was made by Mr. Howe to a very able attack made on the bill by the Hon. Mr. Johnston :

MR. CHAIRMAN,—I should certainly ill discharge my duty to the committee and to myself, were I not to answer the learned gentleman on the spur of the moment, so far as the deepening shades of evening will permit. I will say, sir, that the honourable and learned gentleman's opposition to this bill is sincere and springs from no professional jealousy. He has been too long engaged in his profession, and has fought his way too high to fear the contact of inferior minds. He has won a position in his profession, which no one starting under this bill could assail. I respect the honourable gentleman's forensic talents and admire the cool and collected manner in which he has delivered his argument to-day. The honourable and learned gentleman seemed to consider that I held the bar of Nova Scotia lower than that of any other country. Sir, I respect the bar generally ; but it was of the monopoly I complained, and it is that which I seek to abolish. I affirm that untried and ignorant men will seldom seek to thrust themselves forward upon an arena where they will only prove their ignorance and from which they will inevitably retire with defeat. But there are many who have been tried, and whose talents would not disgrace any sphere however exalted. These are now excluded, while men far their inferiors in knowledge, eloquence and virtue are by your present system entrusted with the lives and properties of the people and admitted to plead and reason in our courts.

I was amused with an argument of the honourable member for Cumberland. He says the bill ought to go further and admit the ladies into the courts of justice. Why not? They would make eloquent pleaders. Does he remember that celebrated scene where two females rushed into court with a case reported in an imperishable volume—a cause where a layman was the judge

and ladies the only orators. With their maternal feelings excited, the mothers rushed into court without being accompanied by two lawyers who had studied for five years, and both claimed the child! King Solomon, who was, perhaps, nearly as wise as the judges in Nova Scotia, repelled them by no forms, asked for the aid of no counsel learned in the law. But he had studied the laws of nature and sounded the depths of the human heart. With a glance he detected the rightful owner, and gave a judgment which has never been reversed. What answer does the learned member for Pictou give to the case I quoted last evening? The state of your law would have refused admittance to Agricola, who could have entered any public assembly and shed lustre on it. The honourable and learned member fears that parties will enter the court who are not acquainted with the forms. What a bugbear is this story of the forms—the forms. Why, sir, have we no forms? I may ask the clerk to hand out three huge volumes of Hatsell, which every member of this House is supposed to be acquainted with and by which he must be governed, and yet we must be all lawyers. I remember well that when an aspirant for the chair in which you sit, those huge volumes were held up to me as formidable obstructions by timid friends and artful enemies. But I found these forms after all not difficult to understand or to administer; if the forms of the supreme court are more intricate and complex, it is quite time that laymen were let in among them.

The honourable and learned member for Annapolis seemed to doubt my sincerity and talked of kite-flying. Now, sir, I may say I hope this little kite of mine may have a tail long enough to steady and carry it to its destination; that is the test. If I can only get a tail long enough, I will vouch for the safety of the string. But my kite is nothing to his—the piece of pasteboard he laid on the table of the House yesterday. How long he expects that kite to fly or how high it will soar, is a curious question.

The learned member defends the monopoly on the principle of a division of labour, but have we not the division of labour in all the other walks of life, without monopoly? The old judge might not have been a good horse-jockey. Few men are, but he could buy and sell horses if he pleased. My argument is that a farmer or a horse-jockey should have the same rights in the courts as a judge or a lawyer has on the turf or in the field.

But he says, did you ever hear of a doctor turning merchant? I answer, yes, we have one in this town who, by giving his leisure hours to trade, has accumulated a very handsome competence. But a doctor can turn merchant or a merchant can turn doctor, but neither one nor the other can turn lawyer. The honourable member has referred us to Cicero and Cæsar, who, he says, had many clients who were the friends, the adherents, the supporters of these great men, and the higher their ability, the more extended were their means of influence. I have already shown that Cicero pleaded not for money, but for honour and fame; and the case of Cæsar tells more powerfully against my opponents than that of Cicero; for he was an eloquent orator, although bred

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to arms. The honourable and learned gentleman argues that from the proportionate number of lawyers in this House, the profession must be very popular and the members of it very useful in the country. But I take a very different view. By confining the knowledge and the practice of law to a limited number of persons, you give that limited number an unfair advantage over the whole. They alone learn to speak in public—to plead, to reason. They alone acquire the confidence to rise and address public assemblies. They alone gather round them a numerous cliency who desire their advocacy or dread their power. They alone grasp and fill the local offices which give influence in the different counties; and hence, when elections are to be run, they carry with them to the hustings the advantages secured to them and which are strengthened by the monopoly they enjoy in the courts.

But let the bar be thrown open and then I do not think there will be the same preponderance of the profession here. But he says that Erskine studied. So he did; but I told the honourable and learned member the truth last night, when I said that he was bred a sailor and then a soldier; and that after studying a few years he had, at his first step into the profession, shown an intimacy not only with the great principles of law, but a cultivated eloquence and a fertility of illustration drawn from his enlarged observation of men and things, that astonished the bar, the bench and the country. His argument is that Erskine was successful. The honourable gentleman referred to the late Mr. Gray, whom we all knew and whose memory, though he was a political opponent, I highly respect. Sir, I admit that a gentleman, such as Mr. Gray, has often stepped forward and vindicated the rights of the poor man and perhaps there are many others not less ready or willing to do so. But still, that is no reason why we should refuse to the poor wider and more extended means of obtaining justice. For once that they obtain such voluntary aid under the present system, they would have it ten times under my bill, and at least they would be secure of a redress of wrongs done them by members of the profession itself, and for which now there is rarely any remedy.

Sir, the honourable gentleman has told us how hard the lawyers in England work. So they do, and so many do here. But, sir, we have a population of three hundred thousand in this country, and it may be that you have not all the brightest intellects at the bar, notwithstanding their great study. Have we not many men training in various walks of life who study hard; men who are indefatigable in polishing their minds and who may be as well qualified for the practice of the law as any who have been admitted at the bar? I doubt the mysterious influence of five years at an attorney's desk, and the humbug of an examination which I showed last night was perfectly useless.

Mr. JOHNSTON: The *pons asinorum*.

Mr. HOWE: Perhaps you are right; for there are many of these young sprigs of the law whom no man would ever suspect of exercising any very great powers of mind. But, sir, I have determined to say nothing which may appear invidious. If upon its general merits this bill cannot be sustained, then let it

go, rather than individual feeling should be wounded by personal references. I feel, sir, that I am wearying the committee, and as I shall have another opportunity of answering objections to the bill, I will no longer detain them at this late hour. One single observation and I close. I was twelve years in business, and I appeal to men of business within this House and beyond it, to say if their experience has not been the same. In those twelve years—and to this monopoly alone I attribute the cause—I could never collect a debt from a lawyer who did not choose to pay me.

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His friend the Speaker, the Hon. William Young, also attacked the bill, and got this answer on March 6th :

It was the practice, Mr. Chairman, among the Locrians, when a man proposed a new law he was to go before his fellow-citizens with a halter around his neck, and if the law was rejected he suffered the penalty of death for his presumption. When I introduced this bill, I knew the risks I ran and the opposition I should have to encounter. When I saw the half smile which played upon the lips of the honourable and learned Speaker, I much feared, notwithstanding his professions of friendship to the measure on a former day, that he would do as he has done, go over and join the ranks of the enemy. He has expressed his deliberate opinion and I do not complain ; but I will tell that honourable and learned gentleman that this bill is no hastily concocted scheme—no crude thought thrown before this Assembly without due consideration, but the result of deliberate and mature reflection. It is not, as it was styled by the honourable and learned member for Annapolis, a kite thrown up for some popular and temporary purpose ; but something which from my heart and soul I believe will advance the interests of our country. The novelty of the idea has been pleaded as ground of objection, but most things that are valuable have had a humble origin. The mariner's compass was invented in an obscure Italian town ; the steam-engine was constructed in a Scottish seaport ; a town of no great mark or likelihood gave birth to the art of printing ; and so this example, set by the little Legislature and Province of Nova Scotia, will eventually, or I am mistaken, be followed in other countries. I feel myself, in the advocacy of this bill, opposed to immense odds ; I have felt the varied talent of this corporation bearing down upon me since its introduction. But, sir, will any man venture to predict, when he sees all the monopolies of the days of Queen Elizabeth and Charles the First—the East India Company's exclusive charter, and the great food monopolies of the landlords of England—stricken down, that this is to last ? Sir, I am sorry if in the advocacy of this bill I have allowed the veins to swell upon my forehead and the blood to mantle in my cheek ; but let me tell the honourable and learned member for Kings that if I appeared too animated when I addressed him, it was not because I feared his arguments, but because I was afraid that he would not leave me enough of the night fairly to advocate my measure.

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I listened attentively to the arguments of my honourable and learned friend, the Speaker. "What!" said he, "let in everybody? Why, if you commit such an outrageous act as that you will have our venerable Chief-Justice annoyed by the misbehaviour of those who may violate the decorum of the court." Sir, I saw not very long ago, in presence of the venerable Chief-Justice, a learned member at the head of the Opposition, who, threatening to pull the Speaker's nose, snapped his fingers in his face, declaring his determination to knock him down. Will laymen, if admitted, commit more gross violations of decorum than this? Let me refer the honourable Speaker to a case in answer to his statement "that all persons in the Province requiring counsel could obtain it and that the bar was fully adequate to meet the requirements of the people." The Crown granted to a poor woman residing in Arichat a piece of land; a neighbour encroached upon it, and believing the Queen's grant to be a reality, she employed counsel. The jury gave a verdict against her, which would have been set aside if argued before the judges. The widow was poor, and though her story was told to half-a-dozen professional men, not one would see justice done to her. Deprived of her property, ruined by its defence, she presented herself to me, and said, "Good God, Mr. Howe, what am I to do; surely the Crown did not wish to entrap me into a lawsuit?" I could but say, I cannot aid you; I wish I could go before the court and tell your story, and I think I could obtain justice for you. But if the lawyers will not go, nobody else can. I give the honourable Speaker that one instance; I could give him fifty others. What says he again? "The law practice of our courts forms a complicated and an artificial system." Sir, I believe it, and there is the more reason for combined exertion to render it simple, intelligible, and easy of access. A great part of this "million of facts," of which he speaks, would be altogether swept away and the remainder revised and rendered intelligible, were new minds to be let in who would not venerate an old system merely because it was handed down to us from our ancestors. But we have lawyers here, many of them. Does the knowledge of this million of facts raise them so very far above the laymen of the House? We may as well then have a taste of these sweets; surely we cannot fall much below some of them; perhaps we may in time even venture to compete with the most talented.

But it was denied that lawyers retained the money of their clients: let me give an instance worth all their arguments. I will relate one. It is scarcely a month since a poor fellow walked into my office; the expression of his countenance was familiar to me, but I could not recollect his name or where I knew him. He proved to be an acquaintance of my schoolboy days whom I had not seen for twenty years. He had come to ask my advice as to the course he should take with reference to the following transaction. He had sold some property and taken the buyer's note for the payment of the price. When it became due he was obliged to put it into the hands of a lawyer for collection. For five years was this poor man kept, by one excuse or another, following after this lawyer's heels for his money, until he at length employed

another lawyer to collect it. It was then discovered that the first legal gentleman had collected the debt five years before and would not pay it over. All I could say to this poor fellow was not very consoling. I could not go into court and tell his simple story. If I had had the power, there is not a judge in Nova Scotia who could have allowed him to remain an hour without his money or that lawyer to have worn his gown. The man has gone home. Whether he got his money before he went, God only knows! but I know, that if I had had the power to go into the supreme court and state his case, he would have got it, and the gentleman who retained it would have been taught a lesson that would have corrected his practice in all time to come.

The next in order is the honourable and learned member for Kings. He told us that this bill was to take away the common-law right possessed at present by the people of this country to plead for themselves in our courts of law. The people may in theory possess that right; in practice it is a nullity. How was this bill received when first introduced? A sneer and a laugh all round the House. Suppose any poor devil were to exercise this common-law right and attempt to go forward and plead his own cause in our courts? He would find what the old and venerable men in our city found when they attempted to obtain a seat within our justice halls—that the barristers' seats are filled by a parcel of boys who would look with pert impudence upon the intruder. Any man who attempts to exercise this common-law right, as it is called, will find that it is just such a right as no man will attempt to exercise more than once. Sir, in my youth, I tried it; and had I not possessed nerves of iron I should never have been enabled to bear the passive resistance, the self-satisfied irony, which rested upon nine-tenths of the countenances of those around me. But the honourable gentleman says I am not giving the principle involved in this bill its full scope.

Sir, there is more than one way of defeating a measure: you may either oppose it openly, or restrict it within such limits as to make it absurd. Now, I shall not follow the lead of the honourable member, I shall not commit either of these acts of folly; and I will not take the suggestion of the honourable member for Pictou [Mr. Blackadar]. He seemed to view with horror undisguised the opening up of our bench as an incentive to more active exertion for our people. I will go back to no very distant period, when two members of this Legislature were placed upon the bench—vacancies occurred, and a judgeship was given to each. Sir, had Herbert Huntington received this honour, and been called upon to decide any of those complicated questions which may have come before the two learned judges mentioned, I will venture to affirm that he would have dived to the root of the matter, whatever it was, and given as righteous and as just a decision as either of them. But the honourable member for Kings asks, "Why not bring in barristers from abroad?" Has he sat here for years and years, a lawyer, and never thought of this proposition until to-day? Does he bring it forward now because he wishes my bill to pass? I do not believe it. No! no! The honourable

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gentleman wishes to attach something to the tail of the kite which may prevent it soaring into the heavens and eventually prostrate it in the mud. Were a lawyer from the States, the Canadas, New Brunswick, or any other portion of the globe, to make his appearance here to conduct a suit in opposition to the honourable gentleman, I think I am safe in asserting that the first exception he would take would be to the legal qualification of his opponent.

The honourable gentleman wishes the judges to have the power of allowing any man, upon the application of the party interested, to plead for him. This might prove efficient, but there are serious difficulties in the way. The judge might not in a good many instances be disposed to grant the application, and my object would thus be lost. These very kindly intended and ingenious amendments coming in at the ninth hour, I like not. But the honourable gentleman told us that where there would be no restraint in the issuing of writs much injury would ensue. We walk round our streets and see shops open for the sale of prussic acid, arsenic or blue pills. What restrains the undue and unwise sale of these articles except the responsibility of the sellers? Nothing. So would it be in this case, and the honourable gentleman must believe us simple indeed, if he supposes us likely to be frightened by arguments of that kind. Two or three of the opposers of this measure dwelt much upon the irresponsibility of those who would have the power of issuing writs and conducting the suits of others. They were quite willing that the Provincial Secretary should be allowed the privilege. I can hardly conceive any man more likely to misbehave himself or incur the anger of these honourable gentlemen than he in whom they seem to have so much confidence. But then he says, "Would you allow a man straight from the penitentiary to enter our courts as a practitioner and become a candidate for a judgeship?" In answer, let me give the honourable member an episode in the history of an English Chief-Justice, whose career had been wild and reckless in his youth, but who had forsaken his vicious course. He became a judge, and while in the exercise of his judicial functions a prisoner was brought before him, charged with the commission of a heinous crime. His features were familiar to the judge, and when the trial and condemnation of the poor fellow had passed, when the shades of night had fallen and he had shrunk away to his cell to make his peace with God, the judge could not rest upon his pillow. He rose and visited the damp cell in which the prisoner was confined, and there, while the lamp flung its dim and sickly rays upon his pallid features, the judge recognized one of the companions of his youth. In the course of his conversation, he asked the condemned man "How many of the old gang are yet alive?" "All hanged, please your Lordship, except you and me," was the rejoinder. I have heard it said, sir, that some members of our bar had volunteered their assistance in conducting the trial of Dr. Webster. I have no doubt but that the fate of that unfortunate man depends entirely upon their brilliant efforts! but I should much like to see such men as Webster and Choate come down here and give us some idea of their forensic powers. The honourable and learned member for



Kings told us that one legal gentleman did nearly all the commercial business in Hants county, and another was so engaged in Halifax. He should have reminded them of the arrangement by which legal gentlemen are stripped of their gowns. Let them look to it!

I now come to the learned member for Richmond. He says he will vote for the bill, but he objects to the preamble. "What!" he says, "how can the lawyers *enjoy* a monopoly that is *injurious* to them?" He thinks it bad logic. But I ask him if a man cannot *enjoy* a bottle of wine that may be injurious to him? The monopoly of the bar keeps out the fresh minds that would occasionally come in and sharpen others by competition. Take the learned member for Annapolis. Most of us remember when he came into this House. It was a new field for him; and I ask the honourable gentleman himself if he has not learned more in the same time, since his entrance into this hall, than he ever did at the bar? Therefore, I say the preamble is right; the monopoly may be enjoyed, but it is injurious. Oh! but he says "It pretends that other people can teach the judges." So they can. There are a hundred cases where a witness can be put into the box and the truth never be drawn out by the lawyers. A case of poisoning may depend on the eliciting of a single chemical fact, and yet that fact may not be stated and a man's life may rest upon the issue. So in various other cases where scientific knowledge is required.

I went into the Chancery Court the other day, attracted there to hear this great case of Doyle *versus* Uniacke, of which there have been so many stories told. If we were to believe them, my honourable and learned friend was to be taken into custody for running off with a sum of money, if not for the murder of a boy. The whole thing turned out to be a question touching the legitimacy of a child. I went there, however, and what did I hear? A volume of indecent literature. I do not believe there was a single doctor in Halifax who would not have discussed the subject with as much common sense, without understanding these million of facts of which we hear so much. The judges quoted *The Edinburgh Review*, Young's "Night Thoughts," and a very curious extract from Gibbon, rather too indecent to be repeated here. One of the counsel read an extract from Miss Edgeworth's novels; and the other quoted the great case of Tittlebat Titmouse, in "Ten Thousand a Year," as law authority. The honourable and learned member from Pictou quoted much from Judge Story's work. Let me give him an extract worth all those he has urged:

"In truth, the common law as a science must be for ever in progress; and no limits can be assigned to its principles or improvements. In this respect it resembles the natural sciences, where new discoveries continually lead the way to new and sometimes to astonishing results. To say, therefore, that the common law is never learned is almost to utter a truism. It is no more than a declaration that the human mind cannot compass all human transactions. It is its true glory that it is flexible and constantly expanding with the exigencies of society; that it daily presents new motives for new and loftier efforts; that it holds out for ever an unapproached degree of excellence; that it moves

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The learned member for Richmond told us he was going to vote for the measure, but could not do so without stating his arguments against it. Such a course, pursued by one of those gentlemen possessing a "million of facts," any schoolboy would be ashamed of.

I now come to my honourable friend from Sydney. In opposition to this measure, his tactics were excellent. Where, he asks, are the petitions, where the excitement? Where, I ask, were the petitions and excitement when the honourable gentleman introduced his Windsor College Bill? It was a very good bill; every one was in favour of it; and the honourable gentleman did not stop to ask where the petitions were. But the honourable gentleman was not content with this. He must needs throw up another kite—a beauty which soared away and rose so high that it got quite out of sight and has never since been seen. The honourable gentleman asks, "Have we not lawyers enough?" I might answer in the words of old Dr. Gray's thanksgiving, "Thou hast showered down enough, Lord; aye! and more than enough." Now, let me turn to the honourable member for Pictou; he certainly handled the measure without gloves to-day. He told us he was in favour of a pure administration of justice. So am I; so are we all. But somehow or other, rumours do reach us at times that we have not got it. But the honourable gentleman told us the American Revolution was produced by bad judges. They were all lawyers previously, were they not? This monopoly existed in America at that time; then, what argument could be drawn from that to prove that laymen should be prevented from exercising this privilege? If it have any effect, surely it bears against the honourable gentleman's argument. We were told of the depth and profundity of the studies required to fit men for this profession, told a tremendous story about the forms; and then he asked me how I would give an opinion upon an insurance case? Well, sir, in the first place, my opinion would be very much guided by the side upon which I was retained and the amount of fee; and then, if it happened that the party retaining me had no just grounds either of defence or prosecution, his case should be dismissed at once. But then, the forms, the forms, he says, what *would* you do without the forms? How would you understand the nature of declarations, rejoinders, sur-rejoinders, rebutters, and sur-rebutters, with a score of others? Well, sir, to see exactly what all this mysterious labyrinth of hard names meant, I sent out to a stationer's and bought up all the forms I could get. The greater part are very simple; some very stupid, and some absolute nonsense; but there is not one among the whole, of which a man with common brains would not learn the use and application in one month. A simple friend of mine once received one of these mysterious documents, and becoming dreadfully frightened he posted immediately to town. I happened to meet him, and he accosted me, seemingly in great perturbation, asking me what he was to do, and stated that he had been served with a paper in which he was charged with having done something to a Mr. John Doc and

a Mr. Richard Roe. As for Mr. John Doe, he never heard of him in his life; and the only Mr. Roe he knew, was a Mr. Tommy Roe in Musquodoboit with whom he had always been on terms of friendship. But the honourable gentleman knows right well that there are books in which these forms and their applications are set down with unmistakable plainness; and that all the forms ought to be as simple as those in Marshall's "Justice." The honourable gentlemen who battle so steadily for these forms put me in mind of the old military geniuses of the Low Countries, about the time when Sterne wrote his "Tristram Shandy"—his inimitable Corporal Trim faithfully represented them in all their characteristics. Why, if a man were breaking in at his master's windows, Trim would never think of blowing his brains out until he had shouldered arms and gone through all the preliminary forms. What became of that system? Why, such men as Condé, Prince Eugene, and Bonaparte broke through these musty rules of the past; taking the old soldiers by the queues and dashing their heads together, they taught them the art of war. So the legal profession would benefit if new minds were let in among them. But the learned member says I might be nonsuited. Well, sir, it is not a very great while ago that, straying accidentally into the supreme court one morning, there I saw the judge in his ermine, the jurymen all expectation, and my honourable and learned friend just rising to address the court on one of those heavy cases of which he speaks so much. He had not proceeded very far when he was turned out of court nonsuited.

Hon. G. R. YOUNG: I never was nonsuited in my life.

Mr. HOWE: My honourable friend should not interrupt me; mistakes will occur, even in the best regulated families. I will not name the day or the hour; but I recollect having seen him much excited, because the judges did not understand the law exactly as he did. We are told of the six hundred volumes of reports. No man should believe for a moment that any lawyer reads the whole of these reports; it would not benefit them. I was much struck with an answer I received from a friend when I had asked him whether he read much or not? He answered, "No! because it prevents me from thinking." It is the grappling and grasping what a man does read that benefits him. Some men overload the stomach; the effect is an attack of dyspepsia; some overload the brain, that is equally congestive. But my honourable friend himself proves that the study of the law requires not the whole of a man's time; he collects his statistics on every variety of subject, attends to his legislative duties, and pursues his law avocations also. The honourable gentleman referred to Demosthenes. That celebrated Athenian orator took much pains with himself; he was afflicted with an impediment in his speech and to cure that he went upon the sea-shore; and with the green hills of his country behind him, while the waves of the ocean rolled in and dashed their foam upon the strand, with pebbles in his mouth, he declaimed till his utterance was free. My honourable and learned friend might with much benefit to himself follow the example of Demosthenes. He told us he "intended to take a practical and comprehensive view of the question," and then at once come to "the division of the fees." Then he told us that

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Erskine was a very good *nisi-prius* pleader, but made a wretched bad Chancellor; that Sir James Mackintosh was a good historian, but no lawyer; and as for Macaulay, he was no lawyer at all. Now what did the honourable gentleman mean by all this? He surely did not mean to assert that we have men at the bar of Nova Scotia their equals. But the argument tells against him, for they all studied law under the old system. Sir, I seldom enter the supreme court; but I have never gone there but matter for deep reflection has attracted my attention. Some poor devil is arraigned for his life; he has opposed to him one of the ablest men in the Province, my honourable friend the Attorney-General. The judge, smiling upon some young barrister of perhaps a year's standing, assigns him as counsel for the defence; upon the issue of that trial, depends that prisoner's *life*. Sir, I feel that I am wearying the committee and that I have not done this subject justice. Had it been in the hands of those more intimately acquainted with it in all its details, I doubt not but it would have passed by an overwhelming majority. What its fate may now be, I know not. I hope, however, that it may have friends enough to tide it over. Sir, I have outlived the paltry ambition of attempting to gather popularity around *myself*. I desire to clothe those with whom I am associated with all the popularity I may achieve, and I seek from them but the same sympathy and support. Earlier in life I may have aspired to throw myself in rivalry against some member of the profession, but all such feeling has long since passed away. I complain not of the opposition which the profession have given to this measure, except it may be slightly of the honourable member for Kings; but so far from being jealous of his talents, nothing would give me more pleasure than to see him assume the highest position attainable in his profession or his country.

On the 19th of March, 1850, the Hon. Mr. Johnston moved a series of resolutions aimed at the new system of administration, reflecting severely upon Sir John Harvey and Earl Grey, and demanding, as a panacea for all the evils of which he complained, that the Legislative Council should be made elective. These resolutions were enforced by a very elaborate speech, characterized by much ingenuity and a good deal of bitterness. The task of replying to the leader of the Opposition devolved upon Mr. Howe, who, on the following day, thus addressed the House:

Having been called upon, Mr. Chairman, by my honourable and learned friend, the leader of the administration, as being more familiar with the correspondence which has passed on the various topics touched upon in the speech of the honourable and learned leader of the Opposition, I rise to vindicate the Government from the aspersions which have been cast upon it. And sir, before I sit down, I shall give to the committee the reasons which prevent me from sanctioning the series of resolutions now before us. The honourable

and learned mover will allow me to say that those resolutions might have been drawn in a spirit reflecting more credit upon the generous feeling and good taste of the Opposition. He will pardon me when I tell him that, in the general tone and tendency of his observations of yesterday, as well as in the structure of his resolutions, a design is palpable unfairly and ungenerously to drag into this discussion those who should under our present constitution be kept entirely free from animadversion in our public documents or in the language used in this Assembly. It is true that the honourable member has kept himself more guardedly within the privileges of the House than he did last year; but still it will be apparent that there has been a desire unfairly to reflect on the head of the Government. I regret that this disposition is so apparent. I had hoped that we were advancing to better times, when different feelings would actuate us; when the members of this Legislative Assembly, however they might meet and grapple with each other, would pause ere they invaded the sanctity which surrounds the representative of Majesty or unfairly assail the conduct of the Secretary of State. I say to the honourable and learned member at once that I cannot support his resolutions. Why, in the very third line we are called on to assert that "the self-government extended to the British North American Provinces by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, having placed the local affairs of the Province in the hands of the Executive Council, unrestrained by any control on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor or the Imperial Government, it is necessary to correct the anomalies and inconveniences unavoidable in the application of imperial usages to a colony," &c. Now, sir, I say I cannot give my sanction to such an assertion, for it is not true,—I mean not to apply the word offensively, but I know of no other by which my utter difference of opinion can be expressed. The Executive uncontrolled! Sir, the honourable gentleman little understands the restraining and controlling influences possessed by the Queen and by the Queen's representative. But how does he reconcile that assertion, in the preamble of his resolutions, with his remark in the concluding part of his speech of yesterday, that "a Governor might come here who would obstruct the party obtaining power, holding opinions contrary to his own." Sir, they cannot be reconciled, and the honourable gentleman must feel the dilemma into which he has fallen by the use of two arguments so utterly contradictory. Again, the preamble goes on to say, "nor is it less obligatory on the House to obtain more stability and certainty for the principles of Provincial government than can be now relied on—the present Secretary of State for the Colonies having, both in declarations and acts, shown that a minister of the Crown in the administration of colonial affairs may hold himself free to disallow what a predecessor in the exercise of his official function had established." The honourable gentleman wishes to ensure stability and certainty to our form of government, and in order to effect this most desirable object he calls upon this House to aid him in changing the constitution at least once a year.

What have we next? "A minister of the Crown may hold himself free to

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disallow what a predecessor in the exercise of his official functions had established." What arrant want of all constitutional knowledge the learned leader of the Opposition displays if he really penned this passage in a spirit of querulous complaint. Why, sir, what are ministers of the Crown for, under our admirable system, but to advance with the spirit of the age and to change in accordance with that spirit what their predecessors had established? Are not ministers changed and cabinets reconstructed for this especial end? If what was once established could never be changed, if extravagance could never be retrenched or a man once in office removed, we should be living under a despotism and not under a constitutional monarchy. So much for the first recital. The second affirms that "the Lieutenant-Governor has been denuded of all power." Is this true? The honourable member may think so, but suppose these resolutions were to pass to-day, sanctioned by a majority of the Assembly, the honourable and learned member would soon become aware of the power which the Lieutenant-Governor still wields and would be made to feel that he had the spirit and independence to exercise it. But, sir, would the honourable member wish any colonial Governor to exercise a power altogether independent of the representatives of the people? If that be the aim, he would fasten upon this people a system despotic and arbitrary, and which would be at once repudiated. No! Sir, the honourable gentleman is incorrect; the Lieutenant-Governor does exercise all the power which the Queen's representative can or ought to possess, under responsible government; more he does not claim; less his present advisers would not ask him to exercise. But again we are told that were he "to exercise this independent control, he would disturb the principle of responsibility." That would not be the result. Were any Governor to pursue a course of recklessly independent conduct, to disregard the feelings and wishes of the people, the principle of responsibility would not be disturbed, but it would be brought into play to check and control him. Dismiss his advisers, he might; appeal to the country, he might; and what would be the result? Back, in all probability, would come the very men whom he had dismissed, as back once came a set of men who were unfairly compelled to retire; and the people would wrest the usurped authority from his hands, as promptly as they would sustain a Governor unfairly pressed upon by his cabinet. Sir, a Lieutenant-Governor has privileges and powers which should be exercised with moderation and justice; to use them as the engines of oppression would be but to overthrow himself. The recital goes on to say that "so long as the Lieutenant-Governor is to be viewed as the head of the Provincial administration, &c., he must either sink into insignificance or become the instrument of Executive obstruction." What the honourable and learned member means by the head of the administration, I know not; but let me inform him that the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia is the Queen's representative and that my honourable and learned friend the Attorney-General is the head of the Provincial administration; just as Lord John Russell is the head of the administration in the mother country. Lord Elgin is Governor of

Canada, but Mr. Lafontaine is the leader of the administration, and in this position he and his colleagues exercise the same powers and privileges as a British administration. But then, if the Governor be the head of the administration he must, according to the honourable gentleman, "either sink into insignificance or become the instrument of Executive obstruction. In the one case the reverence due the Sovereign being insensibly diminished by the contempt engendered for the office of her representative; in the other the harmony of the Province being endangered by the violation of a principle which the British Government in the last two years has affirmed and Earl Grey as Colonial Secretary has sealed by acts of unmistakable signficancy." The honourable and learned member might surely have couched his ideas in milder terms. He has thought fit, however, to commit a breach of all propriety by levelling his sarcasms at the Queen's representative instead of at the administration. But let me tell the honourable gentleman that the entire independence of the local government, in the sense here recited, has never been conceded.

I admit that Lord Grey, having frankly yielded the principles of responsible government, has left them here, as in Canada, to their natural and appropriate development; giving us good counsel when he thinks us wrong and husbanding his great powers for great occasions; he does not control our free action in questions purely Provincial or irritate and obstruct by needless interference. But Lord Grey could yet send his instructions to dismiss or to reinstate any officer holding office during pleasure; and the learned member knows right well that the power to reject measures passed by this colonial legislature is yet retained by the home ministry. Having then shown the preamble to be unsound in principle as well as unfair in expression, I shall briefly refer to the resolutions. The first opens with this line: "That to avert the evils of renewing questions of government"—the honourable gentleman might have added—"I will do my utmost to get up a partisan debate upon the constitution." But does he ever expect to prevent the discussion of questions of government? If so, he is much mistaken; so long as men are sent here, the representatives of constituencies in this Province, so long will he find that questions of government will be renewed, as in every popular Assembly, day by day. But again we are told that "our constitution having been established by imperial authority, it is proper that the Lieutenant-Governor should be recognized as an imperial functionary." Why, what in the name of common sense is he? The Queen's representative must to a large extent be an imperial functionary, charged to protect the prerogatives of the Sovereign and the interests of the empire; but he is at the same time the Governor of this colony, guarding the interests and advancing the welfare of the people. Each of these honourable obligations is perfectly compatible with the other. But "he is to hold no relations to colonial affairs beyond the ceremonials of office." Will the honourable gentleman favour us with the scheme by which he intends to carry out this bright idea. Suppose he were to walk up to the Lieutenant-Governor, with his resolutions in his hand, and a large committee of this House at his back, and say, "Please

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your Excellency, the House of Assembly say you are an imperial functionary ;” the honourable member might wish to add an “imperious” functionary also. Well, the Lieutenant-Governor would naturally enough reply, “I cannot help what the House of Assembly style me, there is not much in a name—we need not dispute much about it.” “But, please your Excellency, there is something else, you are to be a mere nonentity—to be denuded of all power—to do naught but wear your cocked hat and sword and attend to the ceremonials of office.” Fancy the learned gentleman in a position to use such language. He would soon be made aware of the fact that the Queen’s prerogative is a little too powerful to be taken away by such resolutions as this : “I am an imperial functionary,” his Excellency might say, “and you seek to divest me of all the Queen’s prerogatives. The people judge first between you and me, and then we shall see if the Sovereign’s power here does not pass for something.” The learned member once accused us of attempting “to wrest the prerogative” from a Lieutenant-Governor, merely because we chose to retire from his Council when we could not concur in his acts. He aims at direct usurpation and would surely earn his reward. The next resolution goes on to say that, “to fix this character to the office, it is proper the Lieutenant-Governor should be paid entirely by the Imperial Government.” Suppose that resolution carried ; does the honourable gentleman think that with his salary the Governor would also surrender the prerogatives of his office ? No, sir, they would be retained still and be used quite as independently as though the salary was paid entirely by the Province. He next asserts “that if this Province shall be required to contribute any sum towards the Governor’s salary, £1000 would fully meet the just proportion” ; and the whole drift and strain of the honourable gentleman’s argument was this : Lord Grey has disgraced and debased himself, and for what ? Because he repudiated Mr. Fairbanks’s claim to £600 in perpetuity, the salary being voted in an annual law ; because he did not attempt to force this Province to grant Sir Rupert George a retiring allowance of *more* than £700 a year ; because he did not do what he had not the power to do, self-government being conceded, and chose to exercise that discretion which a minister of the Crown always should exercise. Sir, after a ten years’ struggle, this Legislature passed the Civil List Bill last session, by which Her Majesty consented to give up the casual and territorial revenues upon the settlement of a Civil List for the life of the Queen. As a part of that arrangement, which was the best that could be made, the Lieutenant-Governor’s salary was fixed at £3000. The honourable gentleman would now ask this Legislature to repudiate that contract ; to do an act ten thousand times more flagrantly unjust than any which he charges upon the present Government or upon Earl Grey. I now come to the last preamble and resolution, which affirms that “the construction of the present Legislative Council is inconsistent with the harmonious working of the present mode of government.” Sir, that assertion is not true and I cannot vote for it. Since the introduction of the responsible system no inconvenience has been found to result from the construction of that body. I



challenge the honourable gentleman to put his hand upon a bill destroyed by the Legislative Council of this Province or upon one instance of collision between the two branches since 1844. The Legislative Council are not quite as powerless now, nor would they be as powerful hereafter, as he would wish us to believe. That body occupies the position which it was intended to occupy and maintains a rigid surveillance over the proceedings of this branch. Let the honourable gentleman show me the measure from 1844 to 1847 where that body came into collision with this House. There has been none from 1847 to 1850. There is none now. The members of that body have given us much valuable information and assistance, but no one act of theirs warrants the honourable and learned member for Annapolis in preferring the charge contained in that resolution. But let me turn the honourable member's attention for a single instance to the old Council, a body much revered by those on his side of the House. One fact will enlighten the people of this country and show them the working of the anomalous and unsound condition of things from which they have escaped. Does his mind not go back to the period when bill after bill passed by this branch was unceremoniously rejected by that old Council? I could not help thinking when I heard the honourable gentleman inveighing against the present Council yesterday in no measured terms, that were that system still in operation, he would very likely have found himself in the position in which I was in 1837, when, after this House had by a large majority passed resolutions for redress of grievances, including the reconstruction of that body, we were obliged to rescind them in order to save our road and bridge money for the country. Now then, we have got rid of that obstructive power, the effects of which are recorded and can be read on every page of our history. The fault which the honourable member finds with the present body is that it will not act as an obstructive and irritating power. Were the honourable gentleman to come in to-morrow with a large majority at his back, no Council, however intelligent or influential, could or would impede the action of his Government: their good sense would teach them that opposition to the wishes of the country would be factious and would be the ruin of the very principles they themselves had strenuously maintained. Sir, the constitution now in operation rests upon the "fiat of no Colonial Secretary" but upon the treasured experience of fifteen years of painful and laborious discipline; it is based upon a great principle, upon the resolutions and addresses of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; and I could point him to a volume of them showing that while the British colonies have won for themselves a constitution equal in expansibility and strength to that which exists in the mother country, they have won it by the same means. Our Sovereign did not confer it upon us unsought; but, bless Her Majesty for not refusing it when the almost united voice of this people craved it at her hands! We owe it to no Colonial Secretary; we wrested it, step by step, against the prejudices and apprehensions of various Secretaries from 1837 to 1847. It was the vigour and intelligence of the British colonists, steadfastly aiming at high objects, that won this victory,

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and the honourable and learned member for Annapolis will find that they knew what they were about; it was no misshapen bantling they nurtured; and having brought it into the world, given it life and being, and marking its thriving condition, they will be prepared to watch narrowly and steadfastly oppose each change that may mar its vigour and expansion.

This system, at first opposed by all parties in England, has since been recognized by all. When Sir Charles Bagot came out as Governor of Canada to succeed Lord Durham, there was not a Tory who did not exult because he belonged to the old Conservative school. But Sir Charles came out, and with a frankness, impartiality and manliness, which was creditable alike to himself and the party of which he was a member, yielded to the majority, and his course was ably sustained by the Colonial Minister in his place in Parliament. Now, sir, what danger need we apprehend from this fiat, of which the honourable and learned member seems so dreadfully afraid? The learned member for Annapolis resisted the introduction of responsible government while resistance was possible? but now that it has been introduced in the teeth of his opposition, he says, with admirable consistency, I resisted it as long as I could, denounced it as a curse; but now I am dreadfully afraid that the Colonial Minister will destroy it all some fine day, and therefore, pass my resolutions, which effect the end by different means. Sir, if there be one thing which would please the honourable member and his party more than aught else, it is that the Colonial Minister should meditate the attack of which he [Mr. Johnston] speaks; but that is past possibility. I am not the least afraid of the Colonial Minister; I should be willing to trust our bantling to the care of Earl Grey, but would be much afraid to trust it in the hands of the honourable and learned member for Annapolis. He is the last man who should complain of the interference of the Colonial Secretary. What were he and his friends about last year? Not a drunken magistrate was dismissed, not an officer of any kind removed; but home to the Colonial Office went remonstrance upon remonstrance, petitions and prayers without number, calling upon the Colonial Secretary for redress. Why, sir, the strongest man in this House would hardly be able to carry on his back the piles of these documents that one after the other, packet by packet, went across the water. The honourable gentleman fears the influence of Colonial Ministers much, but manifests a strange subserviency to their whims. No sooner had the paper containing Lord John Russell's speech appeared, advocating an elective council of some sort for the Cape of Good Hope, than "on that hint he spake," urging the applicability of the same principle to Nova Scotia. I have not yet read the speech, having during the session enough of engrossing employment; but, sir, I can easily imagine that at the Cape this principle might work well and yet its introduction might be impolitic in Nova Scotia. From the unhealthy climate of Africa they have scarcely time to send out the mandamus appointing a man a councillor ere he drops off, and therefore may be compelled to elect him. The honourable member complains that in the management of our local affairs we are independent. Sir, is it a grievance that

Nova Scotians are allowed to be so? He for years prevented them from obtaining that boon; he thinks it dangerous now and gives as illustrations the cases of Mr. Fairbanks, Sir Rupert George, and the magistracy; and he went on to make sundry charges against Earl Grey, forgetting that each charge he preferred against his Lordship was equally a charge against a majority of the House, who passed the measure which Earl Grey sanctioned. The honourable gentleman eulogized the Colonial Secretary's despatch of 31st March. He must, indeed, have had a peculiar liking for it, for if I remember rightly he kept it close in his pocket from the 31st of March down to the following year, when the new House, elected in ignorance of that despatch, met to shatter his administration. Let me say to him that none of the acts charged upon Earl Grey exhibit so flagrant a violation of every principle of statesmanship as this. Sir, had Lord Grey kept such an important state paper in his pocket, the property of the British people, and concealed it for months, allowing a general election to take place without making it public, he would not only have lost his place but have been looked upon as a statesman unworthy of the confidence of any party. That was done by the honourable gentleman himself in Nova Scotia, even while he admitted the principles of responsible government. We charged him with the commission of the act and made him pay the penalty as far as we could. The honourable and learned gentleman might take into consideration the difficulties which surrounded him in his public career and make allowances for others. As far as I have marked the public conduct of Earl Grey, I may say in all sincerity that as a British minister he has entitled himself to the thanks of this people. But, sir, Earl Grey is the descendant of a house which the honourable member for Annapolis does not like; he belongs to a family which the colonial Tories have always hated. Lord Grey's father was the father of the Reform Bill; his relative, Lord Durham, was the author of that celebrated report which destroyed the colonial system; his Lordship himself has used every exertion to confer upon this people responsible government, and therefore we are at no loss to trace the origin of those bitter feelings which now and again show themselves in the learned gentleman's speeches and resolutions. We have been told that Lord Grey has repudiated just and legal contracts. Sir, I deny it—I *deny it*. I call upon the honourable gentleman to point me to the law which Earl Grey has violated. Did he violate any law when he sanctioned the Departmental Bill? None. If blame attaches anywhere, it is to this Legislature. Did he violate any law by not paying the arrears? None. These demands were charged upon the colony by the parties themselves, not only without law, but in defiance of a law passed in 1844; but the Province did not think itself bound to pay them and there was no law to coerce this Legislature or the Colonial Secretary either. The honourable and learned member told us that the only reply received to the addresses of the dismissed magistrates was that Her Majesty had received them "very graciously." Now he must be aware that that is the ordinary form of acknowledgment upon the reception of an address from any portion of Her Majesty's subjects. Let me

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tell the honourable and learned gentleman that the records of the country show that Earl Grey has manifested no want of generous courtesy towards those who have not made him a very generous return. But it was a sin past forgiveness that Earl Grey sanctioned the Departmental Bill without attempting to force us to pension Mr. Fairbanks. Why should he attempt it? Here was our own officer, paid by ourselves with our own money. Does not the honourable gentleman know that the Queen cannot pay a single officer, even in England, if her Parliament refuses to vote the salary? Suppose Lord John Russell were to confer upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer his office for life and that the cabinet declared, no matter what change came, what tide set in against them, that he should hold the seals of office; and the Queen, acting under the advice of her ministers, gave her sanction to an act so flagrant. But when the people had returned a majority condemning the act of the ministers, could the Queen do more for the Chancellor than Earl Grey did for Mr. Fairbanks? Sir, the honourable gentleman is not dealing fairly with this House, either in reference to Mr. Fairbanks's case or the arrears. We fixed a scale of salaries in 1844; the bill passed is exactly similar to that of 1844. The country had decided in its favour at the hustings after ample discussion; and what would have been the result had Earl Grey refused to sanction it? The colonial ministry would have been dissolved, and the country plunged into another protracted struggle in order that this people might reassert their right to withhold from any man office or endowment to which they did not think him entitled.

I come now, sir, to this magistracy story. Let the honourable and learned member read Earl Grey's speech in Parliament and he will find he has no reason to complain. Earl Grey did not disguise his opinions on that question either from the Provincial Government or from Parliament. He treated it as a question of general policy, involving infinite detail, which could only be wisely dealt with within the colony itself. He did not say that forty magistrates were dead as some of the papers reported; but, controverting the assertion of the learned gentleman and his friends that one hundred had been removed for political reasons, his Lordship declared that of that one hundred only about forty were so removed, all the rest being dead or removed on specific grounds. I feel how wearisome it is to trouble the House with these old stories, and yet the honourable gentleman compels us to travel through them merely to satisfy his propensity for grievance-hunting. He assails Earl Grey with almost every term of invective which he can rake together. One of the mighty charges which he prefers is that his Lordship refused to take notice of a memorial from some of Her Majesty's subjects, because it had not been forwarded through the ordinary official channel of communication; and he styles this a mere technical objection. Let me answer him by a set-off. In 1840, when the Assembly of this Province—a large majority of the representatives of the whole people, not a body of memorialists—passed an address to the Crown praying for the recall of the Lieutenant-Governor, and, believing that it would be unfair to put such a document into his hands to forward, ordered the Speaker to send it, Lord

John Russell declined to lay it at the foot of the throne or to take the slightest notice of it. Did the honourable gentleman ever complain of that? Did he rise in his place in Parliament and denounce that as an arbitrary and unjust act? He and his party took the benefit of the rule, and he has suddenly awakened to a sense of its injustice and bitterly complains of its application to a hole-in-corner address got up by a few discontented persons who happen to be his friends. But again he says, "Why did not Lord Grey pay the arrears?" I answer simply because he had not the power; he could not pay them without the consent of this Assembly, and they would not consent. But if the honourable gentleman deemed these arrears justly chargeable upon the Province, I ask him why it was that, while leader of the Government, with a majority at his back and that overflowing treasury of which he vaunts so much at his command, he did not pay them himself? I will solve the problem, sir. It was because he could not, dare not, do so; because he could not get a majority even of Conservatives to aid him. Then, sir, what in the height of his power the honourable gentleman himself neither could nor dare do, he stands up here and reviles Earl Grey for refusing to perform. The honourable gentleman referred to the indemnification of the rebel losses. Sir, we have business of our own to attend to. As a public man, I might approve or disapprove of that bill; I am here to express no opinion upon it. That bill, however, appropriated the money of Canada by a deliberate act of the Canadian Legislature; it may be that the power confided to the people is not always wisely used; but is it right that upon every misapplication of funds a rebellion should be got up? Whether in that case the legislators of Canada were right or wrong, the constitutional judges, the only tribunal to which they are responsible, are the people. Sir, is it not nonsensical to urge that the Colonial Office, overwhelmed by a press of business, called upon to attend to the more weighty affairs of the colonial governments owing allegiance to the Crown of England, should be obliged to pass upon the dismissal of every drunken or incompetent magistrate, upon every question of salary or appointment to office? Why, sir, the passage of the Reform Bill sacrificed recorders, town-clerks, and other officers, with salaries superior to that which Mr. Fairbanks received, by hundreds. But then the honourable gentleman argues that, because Parliament did not interfere, their power is gone. I differ with him. Let him once attempt to foist upon this country the doctrines inculcated in the latter part of his speech, and he will soon become aware of the grievous error into which he has fallen. Sir, I can admire the manliness, even though I deplore the error, of one who comes boldly forward the advocate of certain principles; but he who covertly attempts what he dare not openly avow occupies a place much lower in my estimation. But the honourable gentleman has dealt in an equally unfair manner with the Government and with the Lieutenant-Governor as with Earl Grey. His Excellency's sins are threefold, said he—Mr. Fairbanks, Sir Rupert George, and the judges' salaries. Sir, when years ago I first entered this Legislature, the Lieutenant-Governor was to all intents and purposes a despot; but he is now a constitutional officer.

The change which has been going on is the change from James to William ; from the state of British government before the Revolution of 1688, with all its despotic and tyrannic accompaniments, to that after 1688, which gave extended civil and religious liberty to the British people. Let me first refer to the case of Sir Rupert George. How did he stand when the present Lieutenant-Governor came to the colony? His irresponsible station had been canvassed over the country for years, in the Legislature, in the rural districts, in the press. The present Lieutenant-Governor had nothing to do with these discussions nor with the elections, by which the fate of parties was determined. By the despatch of the 31st of March, his Excellency was instructed so to form his administration as to include certain public officers ; and in allowing Sir Rupert D. George to keep that despatch in his office for eight or nine months, Sir John Harvey displayed a confidence in the former Government and a regard for their interests that its members have but ill repaid. The principle of responsibility had risen, swelled, extended, and been recognized, before the present Governor came here ; he had naught to do with it. He found certain salaries and the permanent position of certain officers complained of by the people ; and surely, if he had nothing to do with the discussion before he received the despatch of the 31st March, he was relieved from all responsibility after. In it he was informed by his Sovereign that upon the issue of the elections, then approaching, depended the tenure by which certain gentlemen held their offices and seats ; and that in the event of a majority being returned in favour of the Liberal views, they should be obliged to retire from both. Thus instructed, the elections came off, and the result which Lord Grey foresaw took place. The House met ; a vote of want of confidence in the then ministry passed, and those persons were obliged to retire from the Government and to resign the offices they held, leaving the amounts they were to receive as pensions to the after consideration of the Legislature. The honourable Attorney and the Solicitor General at once retired ; they knew they could not hold their positions an hour. But an attempt was made to retain the Provincial Secretary in office, in violation of the very principles for which we had been contending ; and the honourable gentleman little knows or appreciates the delicate attention and kindly feeling subsequently lavished by the Lieutenant-Governor upon that officer. Sir, I believe the Lieutenant-Governor went to the greatest lengths to which, in his position and with his high responsibilities, he dare go, to serve Sir Rupert George. The present Government urged upon him that these offices were to be placed entirely at their disposal, and he could not refuse without violating the express commands of his Sovereign. But, sir, I can hardly help smiling when I hear the honourable member for Annapolis, with doleful look and sighing voice, allude to the wrongs and injuries of poor Sir Rupert ! Why, sir, poor Sir Rupert has been drawing from the treasury of this Province, ever since he left office, £500 as a retiring allowance for the secretaryship and £375 from the registry fees, making £875. This sum he has received since his retirement down to this time, while the present Secretary receives but £700 for doing the

whole duty—£175 less than poor Sir Rupert gets for doing nothing. I complain not, sir, of the emolument I receive from my country; but it ill becomes that honourable gentleman, day by day, to reiterate assertions of which he must feel the slight foundation. He made reference to the bill which passed the House the other day. Sir, he well knows that the Government had no power to prevent the passage of that measure; but we well know that, strong as is the present Government, and strong it is, supported by a body of men who on most occasions give us their generous support and confidence, while we could not stay the passage of that measure here, had we attempted to force it upon his Excellency without a suspending clause, I have that confidence in the manliness of his nature and the resources of his position that I believe he would have dismissed us from his councils and dissolved this House rather than submit to pressure which he deemed unfair.

Now, sir, how has the Lieutenant-Governor deserved the taunts which the honourable and learned gentleman has showered upon him touching the case of Mr. Fairbanks? What man in his senses will blame the head of the Government for the position in which that gentleman stands? For myself, no man would go further to restore that officer to the public service than I; but, sir, I must deal with this case as it has been presented. He was appointed under the late administration. Every hilltop in the country rang with the clash of opinions which took place upon that appointment. When Sir John Harvey came he could not still the clamour which had been raised, nor calm the feelings which had been excited; and the honourable gentleman well knows that the present administration were pledged to the country to remove that officer upon their accession to power, because of the position he occupied and not because he was personally obnoxious. Sir, had he been my own brother, and had it been necessary, in vindication of the constitutional principles for which we contended, to have hanged him, I should have submitted to the painful necessity. Sir, if we had conceded this principle touching the treasury, what could have prevented it from being made applicable to the offices of Attorney and Solicitor General? What restraining influence would there have been to prevent another Colonial Secretary from pledging any of our offices for life to individuals he desired to favour? The honourable gentleman has told us of the fair nymph, the offspring of Thomson's creative fancy, yielding herself a willing sacrifice to love's delicious charms, and he compared the Lieutenant-Governor to her—allowing himself to be led by the advice of his Council to sanction his own salary, whilst he refused to others their arrears and pensions. Sir, the man or the woman may be pardoned who sins against propriety in the heat of passion; but there is no pardon, no excuse, for him who sits down calmly and deliberately to plan the destruction of a people's liberties, the violation of a constitution won by the perseverance and dedicated to the protection of his country. But what did the Lieutenant-Governor do in either case to warrant the poetic license? Did he hand Mr. Fairbanks over to his Council, bound hand and foot? Did he consent to remove him from his

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office at once? No, sir, though that demand was made in February 1848, his Excellency refused to yield. The question was referred to the Legislature, and debated out fairly and fully, and the Departmental Bill passed. Did he sanction that bill without a suspending clause? No! He sent it to England with all the arguments for and against it. It was returned, and was again submitted to this House with Earl Grey's favourable argument freely communicated. A second time it was passed by the Legislature, and finally received the sanction of the Queen in Council. What more could the Lieutenant-Governor do? Nothing. He gave Mr. Fairbanks every fair chance of testing the feelings of the country upon his case and submitting it to his Sovereign; but when his removal became absolutely necessary, Sir John obeyed his instructions and yielded to the necessities of his position. I come now to the matter of the judges' salaries. According to the honourable gentleman, the Governor was to blame for not stipulating that every farthing should be paid to those officers. Sir, I do not believe that the Governor would have withheld a single pound of the arrears had he been allowed to consult his own inclinations. But the judges had been mixed up with the conflict of parties, their salaries had been fixed and settled over and over again. I was called on for my opinion; I gave it, and I still believe that the judges of the supreme court have no claim to higher salaries than the heads of the departments. The honourable gentleman knows right well that there were others to be consulted, besides the Governor; he, I am sure, showed no want of generosity and thoughtfulness in the course which he pursued. This House was the tribunal to pass upon these questions, and it was hardly to be supposed that when, fresh from the people, it had adjusted these salaries, the Lieutenant-Governor would take the responsibility of interfering with its deliberate action. The commission of the peace also furnished the honourable member with the opportunity for another display of his vituperative powers. Upon the accession of the present party to office it was felt to be absolutely necessary that a new commission should be issued in order that the old one might be purged of those deformities with which long years of misrule had filled it. The subject was brought to the notice of his Excellency. Was he to break up his administration for such a cause?—to cast back the country into that state of chaotic confusion from which it had but just emerged? And because he did not do this act of folly and madness, because he took a free and independent course of action, the honourable gentleman thinks he should be but a Royal Commissioner. Sir, were the honourable gentleman's resolution to pass, and he to convey the message to his Excellency, I will venture to affirm that the answer he would receive would complete his political education. Yes, sir, and were he to go to this people to-morrow with his resolutions in his hand, they would also teach him the difference between a Royal Commissioner and the Queen's representative. From both missions would he return equally instructed. But, sir, I really thought the honourable and learned gentleman would get through one speech without referring to that old pamphlet of mine. I had once an



uncle who was very fond of Hudibras; he read it at all hours of the day; in fact, I believe he prayed in Hudibrastic verse. So with the honourable gentleman and my old pamphlet. Hearing him refer to it so often, tempts me on some occasions to turn it up myself. He quoted from it yesterday to prove that in 1839 I held the very opinions which he now inculcates, and I looked it up with some degree of curiosity to ascertain whether or not such were the case; and upon reference to it, I found that instead of sustaining the honourable gentleman's positions, it negatived every one of them. I found just what I expected to find, that my views were decidedly opposed to his. I was younger when I wrote this little work, but I am glad to see the learned member refer to it so often.

Mr. JOHNSTON: I have not a copy.

Mr. HOWE: Well, I shall have a copy bound and lettered in gold: "The Hon. Provincial Secretary to the Hon. Mr. Johnston," and send it to the honourable and learned member. I have turned to the pages of my old pamphlet, and what do I find? Let me read the honourable and learned member a passage or two. Here he will find the power defined of each branch of Government under different heads.

"*The Queen and Parliament.*—I leave to the Sovereign and to the Imperial Parliament the uncontrolled authority over the military and naval force distributed over the colonies; I carefully abstain from trenching upon their right to bind the whole empire, by treaties and other diplomatic arrangements, with foreign states, or to regulate the trade of the colonies with the mother country and with each other. I yield to them also the same right of interference which they now exercise over colonies and over English incorporated towns, whenever a desperate case of factious usage of the powers confided, or some reason of state, affecting the preservation of peace and order, call for that interference. As the necessity of the case, the degree and nature of this interference, would always be fully discussed by all parties concerned, I am not afraid of these great powers being often abused, particularly as the temptations to use them would be much lessened if the internal administration were improved."

"*The Colonial Office.*—The Colonial Secretary's duties should be narrowed to a watchful supervision over each colony to see that the authority of the Crown was not impaired, and that Acts of Parliament and public treaties were honestly and firmly carried out; but he should have no right to appoint more than two or three officers in each Province, and none to intermeddle in any internal affair, so long as the Colonial Government was conducted without conflict with the Imperial Government, and did not exceed the scope of its authority. This would give him enough to do, without heaping upon him duties so burdensome and various that they cannot be discharged with honour by any man, however able; nor with justice or safety to the millions whose interests they affect. His responsibility should be limited to the extent of his powers, and as these would be familiar to every Englishman, exposure

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Then, sir, after showing how the old system hampered the Queen's representative and made him powerless and unpopular, as a matter of course the contemplated change, in his opinion, was thus foreshadowed :

“*The Governor.*— . . . Now let us suppose that when a Governor arrives in Nova Scotia, he finds himself surrounded, not by this irresponsible Council, who represent nothing except the whims of his predecessors and the interests of a few families (so small in point of numbers, that but for the influence which office and the distribution of patronage give them, their relative weight in the country would be ridiculously diminutive), but by men who say to him : ‘ May it please your Excellency,—There was a general election in this Province last month, or last year, or the year before last, and an administration was formed upon the results of that election ; we, who compose the Council, have ever since been steadily sustained by a majority in the Commons, and have reason to believe that our conduct and policy have been satisfactory to the country at large.’ A Governor thus addressed would feel, that at all events he was surrounded by those who represented a majority of the population ; who possessed the confidence of an immense body of the electors, and who had been selected to give him advice, by the people who had the deepest interest in the success of his administration. If he had doubts on this point ; if he had reason to believe that any factious combination had obtained office improperly, and wished to take the opinions of the people ; or if the Executive Council wished to drive him into measures not sanctioned by the charter, or exhibited a degree of grasping selfishness which was offensive and injurious,—he could at once dissolve the Assembly and appeal to the people, who here, as in England, would relieve him from doubt and difficulty, and fighting out the battle on the hustings, rebuke the councillors if they were wrong. This would be a most important point gained in favour of the Governor ; for now he is the slave of an irresponsible Council, which he cannot shake off, and is bound to act by the advice of men, who, not being accountable for the advice they give, and having often much to gain and nothing to lose by giving bad advice, may get him into scrapes every month, and lay the blame on him. The Governors would in fact have the power of freeing themselves from thralldom to the family compacts,—which none of them can now escape,—by the exercise of any safe expedient known to our existing constitutions. It will be seen, too, that by this system, whatever sections or small parties might think or say, the Governor could never by any possibility become what British governors have of late been everywhere, embroiled with the great body of the inhabitants over whom he was sent to preside. The Governor's responsibility would also be narrowed to the care of the Queen's prerogative, the conservation of treaties, the military defence, and the execution of the Imperial Acts ; the local administration being left in the hands of those who understood it and who were responsible. His position would then be analogous to that of the Sovereign. He could do no

wrong in any matter of which the colonial legislature had the right to judge, but would be accountable to the Crown if he betrayed the imperial interests committed to his care."

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In contrast with the old permanent and irresponsible Council, the composition and efficiency of a cabinet is thus set forth :

"*The Executive Council.*—Now, for this body, I propose to substitute one sustained by at least a majority of the electors ; whose general principles are known and approved ; whom the Governor may dismiss whenever they exceed their powers, and who may be discharged by the people whenever they abuse them ; who, instead of laying the blame when attacked upon the Governor or the Secretary of State, shall be bound as in England to stand up and defend against all comers every appointment made and every act done under their administration. One of the first results of this change would be to infuse into every department of administration a sense of accountability, which now is nowhere found ; to give a vigorous action to every vein and artery now exhibiting torpidity and languor ; and to place around the Governor and at the head of every department of public affairs, the ablest men the colony could furnish : men of energy and talent, instead of the brainless sumpsh, to whom the task of counselling the Governor, or administering the affairs of an extensive department, is often committed under the present system. In England, whether Whigs, Tories or Radicals are in, the Queen is surrounded and the public departments managed by some of the ablest men the kingdom can produce. But suppose a mere official faction could exclude all these great parties from power, how long would the Government possess the advantage of superior abilities to guide it ? Would it not at once fall far below the intellectual range which it now invariably maintains ?"

I might go on, sir, reading the whole of this pamphlet and show conclusively that the system of government asked for in 1839 is practically the same as that now in operation ; and I am much mistaken if the honourable gentleman does not soon find that he will not be able easily to overturn it. Oh ! but, says the honourable gentleman, no Government is so strong that they may not be crippled or obstructed by some new Governor whom the honourable gentleman thinks is about to be sent out here. I am happy to say, sir, that up to this moment not the slightest intimation has been conveyed to the venerable head of this Government that his recall is contemplated ; and I believe that he is as unlikely to be removed as any Governor administering the affairs of any of Her Majesty's colonial dependencies. But where is the learned gentleman's consistency when he says the present form of government gives too little power to the present officer ? But it may confer too much on the one succeeding him. Does the honourable gentleman not see that his argument is inconsistent with itself ? that one portion runs athwart and destroys the foundation of the other ? But suppose this new Governor were to arrive here, and full of his newly acquired power, attempted to force upon this people principles which they disliked, what would be the result ? Can any

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man doubt it? The constitution gives us the right to retire and let the Governor call in whom he pleases to assist him in the conduct of affairs. But, says the learned member,—and I smiled when I heard the expression,—a Council may not have the *virtue* to retire. What, sir, the honourable and learned gentleman's views must have changed indeed. There was a time when retiring from the Government was denounced as an attempt to "wrest the prerogative from the Queen's representative"; a vile act,—a thing to be scouted and abhorred by every honest subject of the realm. I have not the least doubt but the honourable gentleman would *now* consider it an act of the most exalted virtue, were my honourable and learned friend the Attorney-General to attend the Governor and say: "Please your Excellency,—Your present advisers leave their offices and their positions at your disposal and would be much obliged were you to call upon some other gentlemen *not* possessing the confidence of the country to advise you upon public matters." But, sir, we also have become wiser since 1843; and as we do not wish to lay ourselves open to the sarcasms of the honourable gentleman, we intend to have the virtue to hold our places, so long as the people have confidence in our discretion. We abjure the virtue of resignation until the honourable gentleman comes in with his majority. I was very much amused at another remark made by the honourable and learned gentleman. "Another may come here," he says, "and then secret influences may be brought to bear." Sir, from the time of my retirement from Lord Falkland's Council, in December 1843, up to the period of his recall, I never once attempted in the slightest degree to interfere with or influence his administration. On only one occasion, when a personal sacrifice was designed to save him, did I send him even a message. When the present Governor came to this country, I was residing out of town and never once did I attempt to exercise any undue or improper influence upon his mind, and only saw his Excellency when invited by my friends to take part in negotiations, opened, as I believed then and believe now, with the full concurrence of the existing administration.

Now, sir, a word or two touching the Legislative Council. The honourable gentleman wishes a change in the constitution of that body—and why? Because he says they will not work harmoniously and will obstruct the public business. Sir, there is no foundation for such an assertion. I ask the honourable gentleman to look at the men at present forming that Council; and if he can prove to me that those twenty-two gentlemen have not as much general intelligence, speaking talent, wealth and respectability, as any twenty-two in this body chosen by the people, then I may be induced to vote for the honourable gentleman's resolution. Sir, it was made matter of charge against the honourable gentleman that when he was cramming that branch he did not take the very best men even of his own party; but as a body it will now contrast favourably with any second branch of which I have any knowledge. I say, sir, that at the present time it is superior to what it ever has been in the history of this Province. "But," says he, "we want more gentlemen from the country."

Strange, that when that branch consisted of but twelve and every man of them lived in town, the party of which the learned gentleman is the head and front resisted all change or modification. Now, ten or twelve members represent the rural districts and more would come if they were paid. As to subserviency, I think both he and I are a little embarrassed with the spirit of independence they showed us the other day. When they threw out a bill, the result of many years of discussion, and a compromise of the opinions of this House, it was a pretty significant hint of the power they possess and the determination to exercise it; and whether I approve of the act or not, I cite the fact to show the legislative independence of this second branch. That they exercise their power wisely and discreetly on most occasions is evident from the fact that this is the only measure of any importance that they have rejected in seven years. But, says the honourable gentleman, in 1837 the Attorney-General and the Provincial Secretary were in favour of elective councils. Why, sir, in 1836, 1837 and 1838 the French Canadians led by Mr. Papineau advocated the elective council; the Upper Canadians led by Robert Baldwin were seeking a responsible Executive Council. In our address of 1838, after describing the mischiefs of the old system, we asked either for an elective Legislative Council or such a change as would make the Executive responsible to the people. Subsequently the people of New Brunswick made the same demand, and the mother country consented to give us all responsible government. With that we were satisfied; we did not require both a responsible Executive and an elective second branch. I hold the one to be incompatible with the other. We asked for either of these; we got the one we preferred. That constitution is now the property of the people, and I much misunderstand their spirit and determination and the rate at which they value it, if they allow the honourable member for Annapolis to tamper with it for the mere purpose of raising political capital—at least until it has had a fair trial and been proved inefficient.

Let me now say a word or two with reference to the personal allusions made by the honourable and learned gentleman to the Receiver-General. I think those observations might have been spared; personalities should never be aimed by a member of this Assembly at one of the other branch. He spoke of violated friendships; of taking the office of a friend; and covertly insinuated that the honourable Receiver-General was still engaged in commercial affairs. Sir, when the honourable gentleman spoke of violated friendships, he should have remembered that when my honourable friend, Mr. McNab, the Attorney-General, and myself retired from the Council in 1843, the first man to lead up a public meeting to denounce us as disloyal and selfish men was Mr. Fairbanks, the late treasurer's brother, Mr. McNab's partner for twenty years. Sir, was not that sufficient to sever the tie of friendship at once and for ever? As for the remark touching the voyage to California, I know nothing of it. But this I do know, that however difficult it may be for a merchant engaged in extensive business to withdraw suddenly his whole capital, the honourable Receiver-

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General has retired from business in good faith and is honourably fulfilling the obligations he has assumed to his colleagues and the country. Sir, I might answer the honourable gentleman in his own style, and give him a taste of personalities. I might refer him to a pretty notorious rumour,—one not invented by me,—and ask him if he remembers that celebrated fête given on a very celebrated occasion, the solemnization of a certain marriage, when the vainglorious boast was made that by the consummation of that union the two families of Johnston and Fairbanks could rule the country. I care not to approach more closely; the honourable member understands me.

The honourable and learned gentleman also referred to the president of the Legislative Council in no very measured terms. "Why," said he, "the president of the Council claimed a privilege which had never been used for eighty years." The honourable gentleman must be aware that for very nearly the whole of that period the Legislative Council were a nice little family party; casting votes were not required, as it was seldom, if ever, that a division took place; all their acts were characterized by a most delightfully harmonious unanimity. But because the old presidents either knew not that they possessed the power, or cared not to use it, was certainly no reason why my honourable friend, Mr. Tobin, should relinquish a privilege appertaining to his office; he would not have fulfilled his duty to that body had he failed to exercise his right on an appropriate occasion. But, says the honourable gentleman, we saw a most extraordinary sight; a gentleman coming from the country with the prefix of honourable to his name and wandering between the two branches without a resting place in either. Why, sir, there are numbers of good-looking men who came up to the city from time to time, both Liberals and Conservatives, to hear the wise sayings of us legislators; and it is but natural that the moment one leaves home, his neighbours, looking upon the squire as the wisest as well as best man in the world, should conjecture all sorts of things touching his journey to the capital and address him by all sorts of titles. It may have been thus with my worthy friend Mr. McKeen. It may have been that, having been invited to come, the deep snows delayed him till another was sworn in his place, to prevent the friends of the learned member for Annapolis from destroying the Civil List and Departmental Bills. But there has been no great harm done, except to the disappointed plotters, who thought to take advantage of the snow banks. While talking of them I am reminded of that beautiful description of the lost man floundering in the snow, by Thomson, which I may give the learned leader of the Opposition in return for his violated virgin. The subject is colder but the comparison quite as accurate, for the learned member never sets out in search of grievances or of responsible government but he goes floundering on, getting deeper and farther from the track at every step. Oh! but, says he, Mr. McNab by his single vote ejected his friend from office and took the office himself. I ask the honourable and learned gentleman if he did not for a whole season retain his place as leader of the Government and his office

of Attorney-General by his own vote? And I demand again, did not the late Solicitor-General and Mr. Dewolfe also obtain and keep their offices by their single votes? Surely then if the single act of which he complains be wrong, it was a greater violation of principle for three of them to keep their offices upon the single votes of the several incumbents. But, sir, I tell the honourable gentleman that Mr. Fairbanks's office was not coveted by my honourable friend, and at one time after the contest of principle was over, it was gravely balanced whether or not he should be retained in his situation; and had this House and country not had to pass upon that Act afterwards, I firmly believe he would never have been removed. Now, sir, the honourable gentleman referred to the construction of the Legislative Council. "Oh," said he, "only think, twelve of the present Council reside in Halifax;" but he forgot to tell us that in the good old times every man of them were residents in the township of Halifax. "But then," he says, "what would we do were a change in parties to take place?" The honourable gentleman loves to dwell upon that possibility, and sometimes he dimly shadows forth his anticipations of soon emerging from the cold shades of opposition and basking again in the sunlight of power. But let me say to him, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof;" if it should so happen that the honourable gentleman comes back with a majority, I think he will have profited by his reverses, and his bearing will probably prove that he has become a little wiser, more thoughtful and considerate than he was before. But then he is awfully afraid of the present Legislative Council, and asks how he is to get over the difficulty if they obstruct him? I will answer the honourable and learned gentleman: the influences incident to his public position will aid him, and then if he brings forward such measures as the Council approve he will be sure to succeed. One thing I know, sir, that the Council will never offer useless obstructions to a good measure.

But, sir, let me tell the honourable gentleman that, were he to come back with his majority, he might just as well attempt to stick a dog's tail on a lion's back as engraft an elective Legislative Council on responsible government. But his aim is apparent; he would be glad to throw the public affairs of this Province into confusion, so that he might embarrass the present Government. It is the duty of every Nova Scotian, looking to the prosperity and happiness of his country, to refuse his sanction to these resolutions; at all events until the people have been consulted. Upon our differences, we can go before our constituencies with him as we did before, and then if he can manage to obtain a majority, why, let him triumph. The honourable and learned gentleman has, however, forgotten to inform us how this machinery is to work; he has not told us who are to be the constituency or what is to be the franchise. I believe he does say that every two or three years a section of this body are to wheel to the right and walk out; but any practical common-sense man would require before voting upon this question that it should be explained, and put before the country in such a shape that the

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people might understand what the honourable member really [does mean. Again, the honourable gentleman says that something must be done to stave off annexation, because measures passed by the majority of this House supporting the Government may be rejected by the upper branch. And then he talked of the difficulty we had in filling up the Solicitor-Generalship. The honourable gentleman forgets that during his own administration he took six months to make a Solicitor-General, while we would certainly not take half that time to make a whole bench of judges and a tremendous lot of road commissioners and magistrates into the bargain. But, oh! if I were to follow the honourable and learned gentleman, in the dispensation of patronage, throughout his official career, and entertain the House with all the acts of petty oppression of which he has been guilty, I might detain them half the night. He said something of the baronet whom I had deprived of his office. Sir, my country paid that baronet from one to two thousand pounds per annum for years, to aid the learned gentleman opposite in misgoverning this country. Small blame to the Liberals, then, if they did put him out :

“The rank is but the guinea stamp;  
A man’s a man for a’ that.”

The honourable gentleman told us that our allegiance to the mother land was weakened; that our veneration for existing institutions had departed. Sir, I am sorry that a man occupying his position, with his acknowledged talents, his means of usefulness and power for mischief, has not taken that stand in this debate which he ought to have taken. I do not believe that the loyal feelings of this people are weakened or that the respect for the Sovereign has decreased; but I admit that the people of this country have passed through an ordeal which has tried their feelings, though not sapped their loyalty. He attempted to make us believe that the revenue had during his administration greatly increased by some management of his own, and from that drew the conclusion that we were chargeable with a falling-off. I thought his friend Mr. Fraser had dissipated that illusion for him last year. The story of the destruction of our industrial resources has been allowed to go uncontradicted long enough and much political capital has been made out of it by the honourable gentleman and his friends. I take this ground boldly, that the man who says that Nova Scotia contrasts unfavourably with surrounding states affirms that which is a libel on our country. Many of the neighbouring states were settled, and had large and flourishing populations, before Nova Scotia was peopled by any except the Acadian settlers on the marshes of the west. Halifax was founded in 1749. There were then no inhabitants in the Province except the Indians in the forest and the French on our prairies. When Cornwallis sailed up Halifax harbour what greeted his eyes? Unbroken foliage down to the water’s edge. At that time not an English, a Scotch or an Irishman owned a house upon our soil. There was



not a road, a bridge, or a church in the country, hardly an acre of cultivated upland, nor any of those public improvements which are now spread everywhere beneath the eye. What have our fathers done? Have they left us the miserable, degraded country he described to us last night? No, sir. They have left us a land teeming with resources, on and around the shores of which, within a century, fifteen millions worth of property have been accumulated. I take the computation of my honourable friend the Financial Secretary, who made the statement here last year, that, man for man, every inhabitant of this Province owned £50 worth of property—a trifle higher than the amount owned by the population of the State of New York. This is my answer to the cry of ruin which the learned member is for ever raising. Steadily year by year has this Province increased in wealth and population, and as steadily has its domestic industry expanded, down to the present hour. The honourable gentleman drew the picture of a country in a state of poverty and decrepitude, brought on by misgovernment. Let me ask him, if Sir Rupert had had his £2000 yearly, would the condition of our artisan and labouring population have been improved? Would the payment of extravagant salaries prevent them from leaving our shores? Had Mr. Fairbanks received a pension or the illegal arrears been paid, would the country be more prosperous or the people more happy? These are his leading grievances, these the arguments he has given to the people of this Province to induce them to change our constitution. Let the honourable gentleman point to the commercial measure which he has introduced for the amelioration of our deplorable condition; surely the honourable gentleman's patriotic philanthropy should have suggested a remedy for this dire disease. We go with him into committee of ways and means. Does *he* suggest aught that will improve our industrial resources, advance our manufacturing and producing interests, or in any way enhance our prosperity? The honourable gentleman spoke vauntingly of the revenue raised under his administration. Sir, I have answered that time and again; nay, his own most prominent supporter, the honourable and learned member for Windsor, frankly admitted that the Liberal party were no more responsible for the present tariff than the Conservatives, and denied that the want in the country, if want there was, could be attributed to the present administration. Compared with other colonies, Nova Scotia is in a sound condition. New Brunswick has a Conservative majority and administration, yet a friend describing her commercial condition, some months ago, declared that there was scarcely a solvent house from St. John to the Grand Falls. The derangements of commerce incident to imperial legislation and bad crops produced the depression in neighbouring colonies and in our own. I recollect, when taking up the English papers in the fall of 1847, there were whole columns of bankruptcies, of houses of the highest character, and some of which had stood for centuries. This was the cause of our depression, with the successive failure of our crops, and it is unfair for the honourable and learned gentleman to attribute to any administration the visitations of Providence. I might say

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with great justice that if our treasury is low, we have cured the potato rot, which he left behind him. All the money which he ever had in the treasury would not compensate for the destruction of our potatoes by that miserable disease which he introduced. However, we have cured them at last, and would have done so long ago, but that the late administration left them so rotten that it took us two years at least. Now, sir, let me show the honourable and learned gentlemen the effect the loss of our potato crop must have had upon this country. [Mr. Howe here went into a calculation to show that, taking the census as a guide and Colchester as a medium county, the actual money value of wheat and potatoes lost in the four years previous to 1849 could not be less than £1,268,000.]

The food of our people thus stricken off, the loss fell upon our industrial classes. The able farmers, instead of having wheat and potatoes to sell, of their own raising, were obliged to buy the productions of a foreign country to support life; the poorer farmers, unable to pay debts, required more credit from the trader, and he again from the merchant, who, failing to receive returns, was compelled to curtail his business. Circulation was thus drained off, and few dutiable articles were consumed, because all the spare cash went to buy bread which paid no duty. Yet we are blamed because the revenue fell off. It did fall off, sir, because at that distressing period, when our hardy population were borne down by the calamity I have spoken of, we would not consent to tax the bread required by our farmers and labouring classes to support life. Had we done so, sir, we might have had our £10,000 or £12,000 in the chest, but it would have been wrung from the people at a period of want and depression. Other cities have their periods of depression as well as Halifax; other countries their trials as well as Nova Scotia. Let the learned gentleman turn to *Hunt's Magazine*, and he will see that there are scarcely a dozen eminent merchants in Boston who have not failed in the course of their lives; and if he will make the contrast fairly, he will find that for every emigrant that has left Nova Scotia within the last four years, ten have left the seaboard States of the Union. They have gone, like our own people, south, west, everywhere, led by the spirit of speculation and adventure, but nobody imagines that ruin and misfortune are to be the portions of those who are left behind. The learned gentleman tempts me strangely to review his own administration and to apply to him the sobriquet of "Prosperity," which was once applied to an English Chancellor whose bragging ended in ruin. I look back to his first session of 1844. In that session he passed three celebrated measures,—a Civil List Bill and a Registrars Bill, which never went into operation, and a bill to prevent people from snaring moose, under which there has never been a single prosecution. But, sir, big with great measures and grand conceptions, the honourable gentleman must needs convene Parliament in a summer session. We met, were melted, the business being a celebrated intrigue by which he sought to divide the Liberal party, very foolishly and very unsuccessfully. On looking over the journals of the summer session, however, I met with a

curiosity ; it was a little resolution, moved by myself, highly complimentary to the administration, but the discussion of which was cut short by a sudden prorogation. In 1845 they passed a School Bill ; an Act for taxing dogs, which was a nuisance to everybody, and one for building a bridge up at Richmond, which has never yet been built. In 1846, hardly a measure worth notice passed, with the exception of a bill for making roads over ice, rendered necessary because the ways of the honourable gentleman had become very slippery about that time. In 1847 he did pass a measure for which he has received all credit—the Simultaneous Polling Bill ; but, as a set-off against that, he brought in a nice little bit of “terror,” from which I have no doubt he expected great results—the Fraudulent Conveyance Bill, by which he sought to frighten poor Liberals from the hustings. Thus passed the great sessions from 1844 to 1847, and these are the laws framed by the honourable member for the regeneration of the country. He brags much of the ten thousand pounds dragged from the pockets of the people and locked up in his iron chest, but let him show us where he reduced our expenditure ; what salaries he cut down ; what great measure, advancing our colonial interests, he introduced. Sir, he can show none ; his term of administration is naught and presents to us, as we gaze back at it, hardly a redeeming feature. But, sir, what have we done ? We have passed the Civil List and Departmental Bills, by which questions that had agitated the country for years are disposed of. We have half consolidated the laws of the Province ; I give the other side all credit for the assistance they have rendered us in this matter. We see before us the electric telegraph stretching across our country—a monument of enterprise which will remain when the present administration have faded away. We have passed a Sheriff’s Bill and given to the country a new commission of the peace, which, whatever may be said of it by honourable gentlemen on the other side, has given satisfaction to the country generally.

Mr. MARSHALL : No !

Mr. HOWE : But I tell the honourable gentleman it has. In what light he may view it I know not, but it has largely reduced litigation and been generally acceptable to the people. I will not detain this committee longer ; it is enough that our acts contrast favourably with the barren figments resulting from the administration of the honourable and learned member for Annapolis. Sir, I hold in my hand the tariff of 1844 and that of 1849, and the abolition of many grievous burdens under which the people groaned is palpable and plain. But let the honourable gentleman turn back to the good old days prior to responsible government ; let him mark the sums then given for our road and bridge service :

In 1836	. . . . .	£10,750
„ 1837	. . . . .	10,300
„ 1838	. . . . .	11,390
„ 1839	. . . . .	16,800
		<hr/>
		£49,240

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In 1840 I happened to get into the administration, in which I stayed until the honourable gentleman made it too hot to hold me, and I came out at the close of 1843. Contrast my four years with the four years previous :

In 1840 . . . . .	£44,000
„ 1841 . . . . .	24,000
„ 1842 . . . . .	33,000
„ 1843 . . . . .	16,000
	£117,000

Or an increase of £68,000 of road money over and above the amount given in the previous four years. But let us look at the sums voted during four years in which the honourable gentleman had the whole and sole control of the revenues, and of which he brags so much :

In 1844 . . . . .	£10,000
„ 1845 . . . . .	25,000
„ 1846 . . . . .	30,000
„ 1847 . . . . .	30,000
	£95,000

Or £22,000 less than my previous four years.

Now let us see what we have done under the present administration. We assumed office in 1848, in which we gave—

In 1848 . . . . .	£20,000
„ 1849 . . . . .	23,000
„ 1850 . . . . .	24,000
	£67,000

for the past three years; and this at a time when the country has been labouring under the depression consequent upon the failure of the crops of which I have previously spoken. The country is just emerging from this depressed condition, and assuming, as we reasonably may, that we shall be enabled to give, from our increased prosperity for the coming year, £30,000, we shall equal if we do not exceed the amount granted by the honourable member during his four prosperous years. In this contrast, sir, there is nothing of which we need be ashamed; and they are not the friends of this country who seek to make our people discontented with their position and prospects. Sir, I have travelled much over the face of Nova Scotia, over the adjoining republic and in the old world, and I have arrived at this conclusion that, of all the lands I have ever seen, Nova Scotia offers to the poor man the most favourable field for the exercise of his industry. What do we see in every town and county of our Province? Scotch, Irish and English emigrants—men from every country coming here, with industry, intelligence and economical habits, worth nothing when they came, but by the exercise of these virtues gradually acquiring respectable competencies, if not ample fortunes. Let me say then,

that a country into which a man may come poor, and where in a few years he becomes independent—a country possessing abundance of the richest upland, with marsh land inferior to none in the world; with its healthy climate, and open harbours, affording the greatest facilities for commercial operations; with free institutions, gained after years of struggle, is not a country deserving the slanders which day by day are heaped upon it. Nova Scotia can never be ruined.

Sir, after the stimulating influence of the American war had passed by, I saw this city almost deserted. Again in 1835, half the stores in Water Street were shut up and no man could change a pound note into silver; but the period of depression passed by, a more certain and stable system was brought into play, and the city and country again prospered. Look above the Round Church Hill, and see the space where but a few short years ago green fields were smiling, now covered with the stately mansion or the more humble dwelling-house. Suppose old Mr. Stayner and Mr. Schmidt were to spring from their graves to-morrow, how would they wonder to mark the change which has passed over the face of the property which once they owned. And now, sir, to conclude, let me briefly refer to the remarks of the honourable and learned gentleman touching the severance of our allegiance to the British Crown. The loyalty of this people to their Sovereign is a subject of too grave a nature to be dealt with lightly. Sir, the old men who planted the British standard that floats on yonder hill; who had the courage and energy to brave the dangers of establishing a young England in this western wild; who left us their language, their literature, their past history and their legislative enactments, are slumbering beneath the soil they have bequeathed to us, adorned by their industry. Shall we then, unmoved, listen to sentiments such as those which the honourable member has expressed? Sir, did I believe that instead of gratitude to the Sovereign, who has conferred upon us self-government, we would think lightly of our allegiance, or balance it against our personal rivalries with each other, I should blush with conscious shame for my country. And let me tell the honourable gentleman that if any British minister consented to part with this Province, with its fisheries, coal-fields, bays and harbours, easily defended as it could be, he would earn impeachment and deserve to lose his head. As a question, then, of public policy, looking to the future tranquillity of our homesteads and our hearths, I say it is the duty of every Nova Scotian to discountenance the idea of separation, as it is equally his duty to defend the constitution of his country, while confidently relying upon her resources. In the full belief that further change at this time would be unwise and that Nova Scotia will yet be commercially and industrially prosperous, I beg leave to move the following amendment to the learned gentleman's resolutions:

“*Whereas*, the forms of government and modes of administration which exist in this Province have been established and adopted after ten years' discussion and conflict, with the full knowledge and approval of the people of Nova Scotia, as expressed at the hustings, and with the sanction of their Sovereign, conveyed in the despatches from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State;

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“*And whereas*, the same system of government has, with equal deliberation and after many sacrifices, been established by the people of Canada and New Brunswick, while it is eagerly sought by the inhabitants of Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland ;

“*And whereas*, it would be unwise, while designing men are seeking in other colonies to unsettle the minds of Her Majesty’s subjects and to renounce their allegiance, to afford to them the slightest countenance, by applying at this moment for any fundamental change ;

“*And whereas*, the salary of the Lieutenant-Governor was fixed in Civil List Bill and formed part of a compromise, by which the casual territorial revenues of the Crown were transferred to the Province, and any breach of the compact would be dishonourable to the people and Legislature of Nova Scotia ;

“*And whereas*, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, venerable by his age, distinguished by his military achievements and by his successful administration of affairs in three other neighbouring colonies, is possessed, in the administration of our local government, of the same constitutional prerogatives and powers that Her Gracious Majesty enjoys in England ; and whereas, in obedience to the instructions of his Sovereign and in accordance with the well-understood wishes of the people, his Excellency has so governed this Province, as to secure the confidence and esteem of its inhabitants ; therefore,

“*Resolved*, That having recorded its sentiments on these important topics, this Assembly does not deem it expedient to suggest any change in the institutions of this Province.”

The above resolutions were carried, twenty-six to fourteen.

The London *Sun* spoke of the above speech as “an oration of extraordinary ability, one sufficiently remarkable to deserve a very careful and serious examination.”

## CHAPTER XVII

1850 (*continued*)

Close of the session—Debate on railway from Halifax to Windsor—Survey and report of 1848—Railway to Quebec—Company formed—Progress of negotiations—Robinson and Henderson's survey—Unfavourable report of Captain Harness—Mr. Howe's resolutions of March 25th and speech thereon—Railway convention at Portland—Public meeting at Halifax—Mr. Howe's speech and resolutions—Address to Lieutenant-Governor and his reply—Lieutenant-Governor's despatch to Colonial Secretary—Unfavourable reply of Colonial Secretary—Mr. Howe sent to England as a delegate—Letter to the freeholders of the county of Halifax—Letter of introduction to the Colonial Secretary—Mr. Howe's letter to the Colonial Secretary.

IN closing the session of 1850 Sir John Harvey said :

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“I have marked with great satisfaction the enlightened principles of commercial policy which you have adopted, the loyal sentiments you have expressed, and the steadiness with which you have guarded the constitution established by the struggles and sacrifices of the past.”

At this period Mr. Howe's labours for a reformed constitution were practically ended. The institutions for which he had struggled were secured, consolidated and successfully defended. He could therefore devote his energies to the internal improvement of his own country and of the Provinces by which she is surrounded.

As early as 1835, Mr. Howe, during a visit to the western counties, had been struck with the importance of connecting them with the metropolis by means of a railway from Halifax to Windsor. On his return to town he wrote a series of papers in *The Nova Scotian* which were afterwards published in pamphlet form, recommending this project to public attention. An extract or two will be read with interest :

Halifax is separated from the rich and valuable lands to the northward by an extent of stony and barren country, extending immediately in rear of it a distance of thirty miles. Now, no man will deny that if that space did not exist—if Halifax could be brought as near to Windsor as Mr. Jeffrey's farm ; or if Windsor, with all the shores of the Basin of Minas at its back, could be drawn as near to the capital as Mr. Fultz's inn now is, both town and

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country would be benefited to an extent which no one could possibly calculate. The former would, in effect, be placed upon the borders of the best lands of the Province, and the population of two of the finest counties would be included in a moderate suburban range; while the distance between the western country and its principal market would be shortened by thirty miles. It is impossible to fancy such a thing without seeing the immediate action and reaction it would produce, by turning the whole labour of men and cattle which is now necessary to surmount the obstacles presented by this intervening space into channels of actual production, and securing, as constant customers to Halifax, the thousands, the results of whose labours are now driven elsewhere by the difficulties of approaching the metropolitan market. If the thirty miles of bad land, lying between Halifax harbour and the Ardoise hills, were annihilated to-morrow, would not Halifax command the whole trade of the Basin of Minas and be so identified with the interests and advancement of the midland counties as to grow into a place of immense wealth and importance within a very few years? Would not the price of lands rise rapidly in consequence of the facility of getting to market? And would not property of every description in the town be amazingly enhanced in value by the nearer contiguity of fine, thriving and populous agricultural settlements?

A railroad from Halifax to Windsor would realise this pleasant fancy; in effect and for all practical purposes, it would annihilate the thirty miles. They would be struck out of our calculations of distance; but yet this comparatively sterile tract would be rendered more valuable by the facilities afforded for bringing the wood and other bulky articles with which it abounds to the harbour. Even travelling by stage, a passenger is now about seven hours on the road between Windsor and Halifax; a locomotive engine would bring him down in two. A ton of hay brought by steam might be sold in the market square before another drawn on the common road had passed the seven mile plain. An old woman in Windsor might fill her basket with vegetables and, coming down on the railway, reach Halifax as early in the day as the blacks from Preston get here with their berries. A fisherman, who found the Halifax market supplied, could take the contents of his flat to Windsor and return in time to row himself home to Ferguson's Cove. So that there is no end to the facilities that a railroad with locomotive engines would afford, and there can be no doubt that the immediate effect would be to draw Halifax and Windsor within fifteen miles of each other and attract through the one and to the other a vast amount of business in which neither now have any participation. Assuming that the thing was done, there can be no doubt about the extent to which time and space would be annihilated. Travellers have been carried at the rate of thirty miles an hour on the Liverpool and Manchester railroad, and twenty-two and a half miles in the hour could, no doubt, be accomplished here if deemed expedient. Then, as regards freight, a single engine will travel, with a weight of ninety tons in its train, with ease and safety, at the rate of eight miles an hour; and, managed by three men and thirteen boys, will



bring, in five and a half hours, to market, as much agricultural or other produce as could be brought on the common road by two hundred and seventy horses and ninety men in a long summer day. We are justified in assuming, therefore, that from the day that a railroad from Windsor to Halifax was fairly opened, thirty miles of the distance would be annihilated; and the capital, with its fine harbour, and command of the Atlantic seaboard, would be brought within ten or fifteen miles of the Basin of Minas, and the rich lands of the midland counties. . . .

Every man in at least one entire section of the Province has a personal and pecuniary interest in the matter. This interest may be deeper with the people situated immediately around the two points of termination; but it affects more or less the whole population dwelling on the shores of the Basin of Minas, in Cumberland, Colchester, Hants, Kings, Annapolis, Lunenburg, Queens, and even in Shelburne county; but much more than all these does it affect the interest of the people of Halifax. To us it is, if not a vital question, one of the most pressing and commanding importance. A railroad to Windsor at once strikes off from Halifax the ancient reproach of barrenness and sterility; it annihilates the bad land by which we are surrounded; it brings the finest tracts in the Province—may we not say in North America?—thirty miles nearer to our doors; it gives us Newport, Windsor, Falmouth, Horton and Cornwallis as suburban towns, in reality nearer to us than are Lawrencetown, Chezzetcook, and Margaret's Bay, with the present indifferent roads. Indeed, so closely identified would Halifax become with the business and improvement of these fine townships, that every acre brought into higher cultivation, every child born within their limits, would become a hostage for its growth and prosperity. No longer sighing for a river flowing into our harbour, we should have one with the tide of steam running both ways, and bearing us to and fro at the rate of twenty knots an hour. What river, what canal, could possibly be half as good? No longer presenting to the whole population along the shores of the Basin of Minas the repulsive aspect of a long, tedious, and expensive land carriage, by which they are driven to seek other markets and form other connections, we should attract them to our streets and stores, by multiplied facilities for active and profitable intercourse. A railroad to Windsor would be of more essential service than a river as broad and deep as the St. John extending all the way.

These papers attracted a good deal of attention at the time they were published, but Mr. Howe was not then in the Legislature; he had no influence in the Government, and those who might have much earlier realised the conception had not the courage to come up to the task. Judge Haliburton ("Sam Slick") became an early convert to Mr. Howe's views, and eloquently enforced them in his amusing sketches. At a later period Mr. Fraser and Mr. Wilkins,

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of Windsor, exerted themselves to have traffic returns collected and preliminary explorations made.

On motion of the former gentleman, a resolution was passed in the session of 1848, authorizing the Government to employ competent persons to examine the country between Halifax and Windsor, to ascertain if a practicable line could be found. Mr. Howe and Mr. Desbarres (then Solicitor-General) were appointed commissioners to make the necessary arrangements. Mr. George Wightman, a self-taught civil engineer, familiar with the face of the country, was selected for this service, and with a small party spent the summer of 1848 in running trial lines and collecting information. His work was reviewed and his calculations tested by E. S. Chesborough, Esq., of Boston, and the results of their joint labours, with a report from the commissioners, were laid before the Legislature in the session of 1849.

A railway from Halifax to Quebec was suggested by the Earl of Durham in his celebrated report submitted to Parliament in 1839. This project was thenceforward freely discussed in all the Provinces. The want of a military road was much felt during the troubles in Canada. It would be indispensable to the security of the Provinces in the event of a war with the United States. Under any circumstances, whether they were to be confederated or not, such a great highway must bind the Provinces together, open up their unsettled lands, and inspire their population with feelings of pride and a sentiment of nationality. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the enterprise was popular, and, for many reasons, had earnest and eloquent advocates in all the colonies.

It was not, however, till 1845 that the leading politicians of the Provinces had much leisure or inclination to grapple seriously with this project. Outsiders discussed it a good deal, but those whose first thought was to establish securities for wise internal administration naturally felt that they must do one thing at a time.

In October 1845 some gentlemen in London proposed to form a company to build a railroad from Halifax to the St. Lawrence, and communications were sent to the Provinces interested inviting co-operation. A public meeting of the principal citizens was held at Halifax, at which co-operation was pledged, and the attention of the Executive invited to the importance of the undertaking. Other meetings were held at Quebec and elsewhere, in which a good deal of earnestness was manifested. In November, prospectuses were issued by the promoters of the company in London,

who proposed to build, as we have already said, not only the road to the St. Lawrence, but the road to Windsor also. As these persons had used the names of a good many colonial gentlemen without their knowledge and consent, and as, upon inquiry, there was good reason to doubt the extent of their resources, a good deal of bickering arose between those who represented and those who opposed the promoters. A meeting was held at Mason's Hall, at which feeling ran very high. At this meeting an executive committee of nine gentlemen was appointed to prepare statistics, conduct correspondence, and report from time to time as progress might be made.

Meetings were also held during the autumn, both at Windsor and in Halifax, at which the importance of the Western Railway was freely discussed.

When the session opened, a memorial was submitted from the promoters of the Halifax and Quebec Railroad, in England, with certain despatches, to which reference has already been made, and which increased rather than allayed the feelings that had been previously excited at the public meetings. There were communications to and from the Colonial Secretary and the Governors of Canada and New Brunswick, showing that in all the Provinces the subject was exciting a good deal of interest.

On the 14th of March, resolutions and an address were passed, pledging this Province to co-operate with the other colonies interested, in a joint survey of the line to the St. Lawrence, in the incorporation of a company, and the appropriation of funds in aid of the enterprise.

The survey by Major Robinson and Captain Henderson followed, and their report and plans were submitted to the colonial legislatures in 1849.

During that session the right of way, with ten miles of Crown land on either side, and £20,000 sterling per annum for ever or until the road paid, were granted by the Legislature of Nova Scotia. Grants, proportional to their resources and interest in the work, were also made in the Upper Provinces and New Brunswick. The belief was general that substantial aid would be given by the British Government; and sanguine and apparently well-founded hopes were entertained in all the Provinces that a work, recommended by a royal commissioner, countenanced by governors and secretaries of state, which had been surveyed at a cost to the colonies of £10,000, and in aid of which £60,000 per annum and ten thousand acres of land had

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been granted by the colonial legislatures, would be considered of sufficient importance to command the attention of Parliament. This had been the general belief of many from 1846 to 1849. When the surveys were completed, and the legislative grants were given, a railroad from the seaboard to the St. Lawrence, upon British territory, appeared to be *un fait accompli*.

The disappointment was universal, when a report from a captain of the Royal Engineers, addressed to the Colonial Secretary, and by his Lordship transmitted to the Provincial governments, dashed all the high hopes that had been raised, and left the people of North America to digest their disappointment as they could: wondering, as no doubt they did, at the facility with which one Royal Engineer officer could construct a great scheme of national improvement, after two years of careful inquiry and at a cost to them of £10,000, which another officer of the same corps, but of inferior rank, could scatter to the winds.

Up to this period Mr. Howe had taken no particularly active part in the advocacy of the railroad to the St. Lawrence. He had served as a member of the Halifax committee; as a member of the Legislature he had voted for the grants, resolutions and addresses, which had been brought forward by other gentlemen; but he did not aspire to take any lead upon the question or to share with others the laurels that might be reaped in a field upon which they had established rights, by priority in the display of activity and zeal. Mr. J. B. Uniacke, Mr. George R. Young, Mr. Cogswell, Mr. William Pryor, Mr. Godfrey, and some others had displayed very creditable intelligence and enterprise, and in their hands Mr. Howe left the work until their resources were exhausted—till the measures which they recommended had been tried and failed; until Captain Harness had disparaged the enterprise by his report, and the British Government had thrown it over, after so many years of excitement, and in view of the lavish appropriations made by the Provinces.

Captain Harness's report was laid before the House in 1849. Mr. Howe waited until near the close of the session of 1850, leaving the railway field clear for gentlemen who had anything further to propose and only entering upon it when assured that it was, for the present, abandoned. He determined then to make an effort to build the Windsor road, which he had suggested fifteen years before; and to propound a new policy, which, however it startled the public mind at the time, was destined ultimately to supersede all others in the Maritime Provinces, and to be crowned with abundant success.

Mr. Howe, on the 25th of March, 1850, moved a resolution, CHAP. XVII  
 pledging the Provincial revenues to the whole extent of the sum  
 required by Wightman and Chesborough to construct the railway to  
 Windsor; and made the first of a series of speeches upon railways,  
 which ultimately resulted in the passage of the laws of 1854 and the  
 construction of the two great works. 1850

The House having gone into committee of the whole, on Mr. Howe's motion, to consider the resolution of which he had given notice on a former day, the object of which was to pledge the public funds to the extent of £330,000 for the construction of a railroad between Halifax and Windsor, he rose and said :

MR. CHAIRMAN,—I regret that the pressure of other business, to which circumstances had given precedence, has compelled me to move a resolution of so much importance as that which I hold in my hand, at so late an hour and in a House so thin. I could have wished that every member had been present this evening, not on personal grounds, for I have outlived the poor vanity of speechmaking here, to be followed by no practical result; but because I sincerely desire that the proposition I am about to submit may be duly weighed and considered with an interest proportioned to its importance.

[Mr. Howe read the resolution.]

Now, sir, in asking this Assembly to affirm that resolution, I should be wanting in all the attributes of a good citizen if I did not feel the responsibility that ought to rest upon any man having the hardihood to propose it. If I bespeak the attention of gentlemen around me, it is because the subject is worthy; if I advocate the proposition earnestly, it is because I feel its importance; and if I seek to convince others, I do so because I have an abiding faith in the convictions of my own mind. While doing my best befittingly to discharge this public duty, it becomes me to crave indulgence, for I know my own defects. Though circumstances favour my advocacy of a measure which I have pondered for fifteen years, I feel how many there are in this Assembly more able to do it justice. If I present it unskilfully, I trust the committee will not think less favourably of the enterprise itself.

I come not here as a member of the Government to offer to you a measure in which the administration is united. I address you as a member for the county of Halifax, on a subject which deeply involves the interests of my constituents; as a representative of this Province, upon the prosperity of which the construction of this railroad will have a most inspiring influence. I could have wished that the Government had assumed the responsibility and the credit of this measure. I believe it to be the high duty of all governments to take the lead in enterprises of this nature. But there were difficulties in the way. We felt, perhaps, that it would be unfair to gentlemen representing distant counties, who honour us with their political support, to call upon them to

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sustain a measure involving so large a pledge of the public credit ; and besides, if this pledge were to be given, it would carry less weight at home and abroad if it rested on a mere party division, than if a majority of this Assembly, without distinction of party, gave it, after mature deliberation, uninfluenced by pressure from either side. To construct this railroad we shall require united action in the Legislature, in this city, along the line, and in the western counties. It will demand from us mutual co-operation ; it will task all our resources. Besides, as we may require the imperial guarantee, we can go to Her Majesty's ministers and into the English money market with more confidence as an united than as a divided community. We can then ask the best terms, because we present the best security that the character of the Legislature and the resources of the Province afford. On questions of sufficient magnitude—the equalization of postage, the extension of general commerce, the defence of our national honour—the voice of faction is hushed in this Assembly, and forgetting our rivalries, we think only of our country. So let it be to-night ; in that spirit let us approach this question.

As early as the year 1835, I first suggested to my countrymen the practicability and importance of constructing a railway between Halifax and Windsor, and wrote a series of papers in *The Nova Scotian* recommending the project to public favour. For a time I was perhaps the only solitary individual who seriously entertained a hope that such an enterprise would be accomplished. The idea was suggested in my rambles around that beautiful basin which it is the object of this resolution to connect in the most intimate relations with the capital and with the southern seaboard. I was struck by the peculiar character of the Basin of Minas, the singular ebb and flow of whose tides (carrying vessels to and fro against the winds) form one of the most remarkable water powers in the world. I was struck with the seventeen rivers, bordered by rich marshes, inhabited by a thriving population, and carrying the products of their industry to its bosom. Those noble defences, the north and south mountains, which encompass and shelter from every wind that teeming valley of unsurpassed natural fertility, which stretches for a hundred miles from Blomidon to Digby, met my eye. From this rich region, steadily advancing in population and productive industry, and capable of sustaining a million of people, the capital of Nova Scotia was separated by a comparatively sterile tract of thirty miles. The shortest highroad to New Brunswick and to the United States lay through that western valley. A railroad was the natural suggestion of the scenery and resources presented to the eye. Among the first who shared my enthusiasm on this subject was Judge Haliburton, of Windsor, who was familiar with the western country, and who, long after I had convinced myself that the project was premature, gave it, in his popular works, a world-wide celebrity. Subsequently, Captain Moorsom, whose experience in railway engineering qualified him to judge of the practicability of the scheme, gave it his approbation. In 1845, the learned member for Pictou,<sup>1</sup> being in England,

<sup>1</sup> George R. Young.

in conjunction with certain parties there, issued the prospectus of a company for constructing a railway to Windsor. With that proposal I had nothing to do, for although the subject was ever present to my mind, I had schooled myself to look at it without undue enthusiasm. In 1835, the railway experience of the mother country was not extensive, while few had been tried upon the Continent. As late as 1839 France and Belgium had but one or two short lines. In northern Europe there was scarcely one. The railway facts and experience of the United States have all accumulated within the last fifteen years. Prior to that and long subsequently, no railroad paid that did not chiefly pay by passengers alone. Satisfied of this fact, I convinced myself that for some years a railroad to Windsor would be premature. I laid it aside till the arrival of a period when I could feel assured that it would be successful. What has taken place since 1835? England, Ireland and Scotland have been intersected with railways, which now form a perfect network across the British Isles. It may be said that many of them do not pay. There are two reasons for this: first, because the Government, surrendering the control which every Government should exercise over the highroads of a country, rival lines were projected which were not required; and secondly, because the expense lavished upon them in many instances was out of all proportion to the probable income. Mr. John Wilson, of St. Andrews, who visited England on railway business, assured me that in that country an average of £5000 per mile had been spent in building station-houses alone, a sum nearly equal to the cost of railways in Nova Scotia.

Turning to the Continent, we see France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, and even Russia, intersected with railways, nearly all of them constructed since 1835. The tour of Europe may now be made in one-fourth of the time and at a fourth of the expense, which were formerly required. In the adjoining republic, nearly all their best and most remunerative lines have been constructed since 1835; among them, that which, running back from Boston, taps the commerce of the West, and that which, running up the Hudson, successfully competes with the splendid steamers by which that river is navigated. These and many others, penetrating the wide extent of the Union, connecting not only the larger cities, but the most remote villages and hamlets, are of modern date, and have already given an astonishing impulse to national industry, developing new resources and creating trade in the most unproductive regions. The Windsor line, to which I now desire to call your attention, has been left in abeyance, while Europe and America were proving the utility of railways. We have now the advantage of their experience, and may safely rely upon the facts which they have accumulated. Our own country has largely increased in population and resources in the meantime. The western counties have advanced their cultivation and their numbers. Not only has the commerce of our seaboard towns vastly increased, but the Basin of Minas has now its fleet of ships and brigs, not only carrying its gypsum, grindstones and agricultural productions, but competing for its share of the foreign carrying

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trade. No man can ascend the Ardoise, or the North Mountain, and gaze down upon the scenery which they enclose, without perceiving the improvements which have been wrought within the last fifteen years. Hamlets have grown to villages, villages to towns, new streets and farms are perceptible everywhere. Continuous ranges of cultivation connect Windsor and Falmouth with Horton and Cornwallis, which are again connected by Aylesford, and Wilmot with Granville, Annapolis and Digby. And no man can contemplate the fertility of the soil and the rapid development of its resources, without feeling assured that that whole region is destined to become a garden, filled with an active, intelligent and wealthy population. The internal commerce of that region already requires that we should give it vent by railway to the southern shores and capital of our country.

In other respects, the present time is favourable to this enterprise. For some years past, the changes which have been proposed in the commercial policy of the mother country have deranged, from time to time, our colonial industry. These are now at an end. Free trade will henceforth form the universal rule throughout the Empire, and the despatch from Earl Grey, which I had the honour to lay on the table a few days ago (and which I regard as one of the most important ever communicated to this Legislature), gives to us the right to establish free ports and ports of entry wheresoever we please. Sir, I looked forward to the introduction of the present system of government with sanguine hopes of success. I fought for it, hoped for it, and prayed for it. But I never did expect to see the day when, by the abrogation of the old maternal policy, we should be left to open ports wherever we required them and to manage our own commercial affairs. So large a concession is calculated to awaken the brightest prestige of future prosperity and success. Now, then, is the time for us to give to our farmers the most approved facilities for transporting the products of their industry to the seaboard.

If any man doubted the agricultural capabilities of Nova Scotia, his doubts must have been dissipated by what we have lately witnessed. Scourged like other countries by a comparative failure of crops for four successive years; the "metal of our pastures" has been proven by the comparative ease with which our country has carried its population through the trying dispensations of Providence; already we can descry indications above the horizon of dawning and brighter days.

Looking to the improved condition of our institutions, the time for embarking in this enterprise would seem to be no less favourable. Political discussions have, until very recently, agitated the country. I do not deny that there are divisions still, but to a certain extent the political fervour has evaporated. Had we entered upon the consideration of this subject, during the past three or four years, the conflict and heat of party would have been more likely to mar the enterprise than at present. I would have shrunk, as a member of this Legislature, from conferring such a power as is sought for in this resolution upon any Executive, unless that body were responsible. No matter which



party rules, they are responsible now, and should we require the imperial guarantec, almost every important question upon which there was controversy has been settled fairly between the imperial state and this colony. I think then, sir, that the time is favourable, because of our improved commercial position; because we may look forward to the revival of our agriculture; because political discussions between the Province and the mother country have been brought to a close; and because the money market of England is abundantly supplied, our credit is good, and all that we require can be obtained on favourable terms.

We may be told that railroads are not matters in which Government should interfere. I differ entirely with those who entertain such an opinion, and I do not hesitate to propound it as one of the guiding principles of policy which shall run through the whole course of my after life, that I shall, while in any cabinet, press them to take the initiative in such works as this. It is the first duty of a Government to take the front rank in every noble enterprise; to be in advance of the social, political and industrial energies which they have undertaken to lead. There are things they should not touch or attempt to control; but the great highways—the channels of intercommunication between large and wealthy sections of the country—should claim their especial consideration; and when I am told that we should hand over, for all time to come, this great western railway to a private company, I have to such an assignment a serious objection. I may yield my opinion if overruled. All our roads in Nova Scotia, made by the industry and resources of the people, are free to the people at this hour. The toll-bar is almost unknown, and this railroad, which will be the Queen's highway to the western counties in all time to come, should be the property of the Province and not of a private association. The roads, telegraphs, lighthouses, the standard of value, the administration of justice, these are the topics with which a Government is bound to deal. There was a time, in the feudal ages, when every baron administered *law* to his tenants and retainers according to his own will; but the progress of civilization swept this system away, because men found it to be inconsistent with liberty; and because they found that all those modes of dealing with that which belonged of right to the state, led to tyranny. Then if it be the duty of the Government to maintain, in the heart of our country, those great highroads through which its commerce must flow, it is equally their duty to provide the best; those which the exigencies of the country require, and the improvements of modern science suggest. When I travelled over what was said to be the free soil of England and found the carriage stopped at every turn by a toll-bar, I involuntarily said—"Give me back the roads of Nova Scotia, rough though they be, where a man may gallop at his will uncontrolled, unobstructed." The Government of Great Britain erred when it surrendered to private companies the control of the highroads of England. The little state of Belgium acted in a far wiser manner; and while France, Germany and Italy have, during the past two or three years, been

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convulsed to their very centres, that state has remained in quiet and tranquillity. In Belgium, the railways radiating from a common centre, reach every section of the country. They are all owned and have been constructed by the Government. The rivalries and the ruin which have resulted from conflicting lines in England, she has been spared. In my judgment, of all the nations of Europe, not one has shown more wisdom in the construction of railways than the little state of Belgium. The Government, the Legislature, the people, as a whole, have made the roads we have; if they are good, they deserve credit; if bad, they are perhaps as good as our circumstances would permit. Suppose, sir, that, in the earlier days of our history, we had waited until a private company should make a road to Pictou. Would the Scotchmen of the Green Mountains or the Yorkshiremen of Amherst have been content to wait until a private company had opened up channels of communication between them and other sections of the Province? Would it have been wise to keep the great western road from Halifax to Windsor, thence to Annapolis, and on to Yarmouth, unopened, merely because a private company had not the enterprise to perform the work? Who built our lighthouses and established our mails? The Government or private companies? Sir, there is greater unity of action, greater power for good, in a Government than in a private company. Had the canal been managed by a responsible Government, instead of a company, the wasteful reckless expenditure, the utter disregard of everything which might ensure success, which characterized the operations, would have been avoided and that splendid failure would never have taken place.

Suppose that instead of incorporating a company to construct the steamer running across this harbour, the Government had built one twenty years ago; principal and interest would have been long since paid, and the public might have had a free ferry in all time to come. I firmly and fully believe then, that it is the duty of a Government to take the initiative in all such enterprises as this. I may be asked, is this just such a line as we ought to touch? I answer, yes; it is the best, because it will test better than any other the value of railways to Nova Scotia; because it is the most certain to propagate itself over the face of the country by joint lines. Suppose this line once formed and in full operation, paying its six per cent., would it rest at Windsor? No! Onward it would go, to Horton, Cornwallis, Aylesford, Bridgetown, and at last, down Granville to the Gut. The claims of the east would be then pressed forward for a railway from Halifax to Pictou, and soon we should have a communication of this kind extending round the head of the bay to New Brunswick. Sir, I lent my voice and vote to the great railway proposed by the honourable and learned Attorney-General, and advocated by the honourable member for Pictou and others; I agreed to pledge the revenues of this Province to the amount of £20,000 annually, for the purpose of carrying out this great national undertaking. It is not my wish, I do not intend, to contrast that with the one now proposed. The British Government refused to entertain that scheme, and are we to be idle, waiting for the gathering of the elements which

are ultimately to force the greater work upon their consideration? I think not. The present proposition may be carried out, and if successful will prove an effective stimulus in inducing British capitalists to invest their funds in the greater work. But there are other reasons why we should not hesitate to speed this railway forward; every foot of it is within our own territory, every stroke of the engine will add to our wealth and increase our prosperity; and not only will it be valuable in times of peace, but it will afford facilities for the rapid transit of troops across our own country and into the neighbouring Provinces, in war. One regiment, with railways intersecting Nova Scotia, is worth three or four without them. The proposed railway to Quebec runs for hundreds of miles near the American frontier, and may be broken up. This passes through the bosom of our country, and cannot be disturbed till our country is overpowered. Let us view the question in its worst light. Suppose after the railway has been completed—the £330,000 expended—that it does not pay; what then? Will we be ruined? No! Sir, I maintain that even then, the expenditure of so large a sum of money as £330,000 upon a work of this nature would do much towards developing our resources, increasing our population and adding to our revenue, because the consumption of dutiable articles would be greater than at present. A large portion of the work about this railway might be done by our own population during the winter months; we have some four or five months during the greater portion of which our rural and working classes are without employment. According to Mr. Wightman's calculation, founded on the experience of the United States, the cutting and embankments could be done at this period of the year; thus would the money expended be carried directly into the pockets of the people, and they would receive adequate compensation for labouring during a period which they now spend in idleness. Though I have spoken of the country which lies between the head of the Basin and the foot of the Ardoise as comparatively sterile, it is not without its own resources. The roadside, even here, is settled nearly all the way. From hence come most of our frames and wharf logs, and from hence would come cord wood, bark, and ship timber. Thousands of acres of good land, in the rear of the Windsor road lots, would be at once brought into cultivation if a railroad were laid; and the splendid water powers of the Sackville River would be speedily turned to account.

Sir, I do not believe I am exaggerating when I say that every acre of cleared and wood land in Windsor, Falmouth, Horton, Newport and Cornwallis would rise in value on the instant, whilst the property owned in Halifax would also feel the impetus, were this project carried out. Nay more, sir; every vessel along our western and eastern coast would be doubly certain of having a ready freight at a good price; in fact, each branch of our industry would be largely benefited.

I may be asked, what right have we to tax posterity? I believe that legislators have no right to tax posterity for extravagance, for high salaries, for foreign and aggressive wars. But we are the trustees of the people, and as no

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farmer would hesitate to mortgage his farm to drain or improve it, so it is our duty not to hesitate to use the credit as well as the capital of Nova Scotia, to build what will make it more valuable in all time to come. Sir, the timid steward of Scripture met his master, whose money he had been afraid usefully to employ, and excusing himself said, "I knew that you were a hard man, and I wrapped it up in a napkin, and buried it in the earth." The answer given him is the answer that ought to be given every timid, hesitating, procrastinating legislator who fails, through fear of responsibility, to do his duty to his country. It is said that this enterprise can be carried out by a company. But where is it to come from? The honourable and learned member for Pictou some years ago issued a prospectus, but no company has been formed yet, although the prospectus combined the names of many leading and respectable men in Nova Scotia.

The resources of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada were pledged towards the Halifax and Quebec Railway, and yet no company could be found who were disposed to carry out the work. But I maintain that to make this railway with public funds would do more good than if it were constructed by private capital. Pass this resolution, and £330,000 comes in from abroad, the Province guaranteeing the interest, and the road being worth the money. To withdraw from general circulation so large a sum as £330,000, in connection with other expenditures, might produce embarrassment. That was the case in England, when companies "rose as an exhalation," day after day, till finally a crash, world-wide in its disastrous operations, resulted. A kindred effect would be produced in Nova Scotia by corresponding causes. Again, were a private company to go into the English money market in search of money, they would not be able to obtain it at a less rate than six per cent., while, with the Provincial guarantee, we might obtain it for four or four and a half per cent. Again, we have all heard of the jealousies and rivalries which have disturbed these questions from time to time; to place the work under the control of Government will obviate this difficulty. I may be told that I urge this because I am a member of it. Let me say in all sincerity, if this work is not taken up by the present House; if parties change, and Conservatives come in with a majority; however closely I may watch their movements on other subjects, I say here, that if they have the manliness, enterprise, courage and liberality to take hold of this project, if it be left for them, they shall have on this question my most cordial, earnest and anxious support. And, sir, much as I value the position which my countrymen have conferred upon me, were it tendered to me to descend as a hereditary right to my children, in consideration of my abandoning this question, I would refuse the offer. Let me see this railroad once in operation, and the proud consciousness of having done my duty to my country will be worth to me more than the highest office in the gift of my Sovereign.

Sir, there are croakers and cravens in every community, who, distrusting themselves, also distrust the resources and energies of their own country. With

such as these, if a crop fails, we are sure to have good harvests no more ; if our markets are bad, with them they will never be better. With such men as these, England has been ruined a hundred times, and Nova Scotia has gone to wreck a dozen. It is an Englishman's privilege to growl and grumble and be dissatisfied with everything about him ; and we, his descendants, inherit much of the parent spirit. Most of our people who go abroad visit the old, populous, empire states of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New York. They contrast the progress which these have made with our own, and come home dissatisfied. They never stop to think that New York had her eighty thousand white inhabitants, Massachusetts her two hundred thousand, Pennsylvania her two hundred and fifty thousand, and even Connecticut her one hundred thousand, when Nova Scotia was a wilderness, without an Englishman upon her soil. But take any of the smaller states, Vermont, New Hampshire, or any others that can be fairly contrasted with Nova Scotia. How many towns will you find larger than Halifax or Yarmouth ? Some manufactures they have which we have not, and the fisheries of Maine are bolstered up by national bounties. But few of these states produce or export more than we do, and how few of them possess the rich lands, the self-sustaining and productive fisheries, and the coasting and foreign tonnage of little Nova Scotia after all. Sir, is this a country the inhabitants of which should droop and hang down their heads, pining until Providence does something for them, or is it a country to rise up, shake off its lethargy, and do something for itself ? It is, sir. In Nova Scotia these characteristics are to be found by which we can trace the old Teutonic blood, carrying with it the highest social and industrial virtues. It flows in our western valleys, on our eastern hills, on our western sea-coast, in our southern harbours, here, there and everywhere ; and, claiming descent from the illustrious ancestry that we do, we should have the spirit and the enterprise to give it further scope. Look at the roads in Nova Scotia ; contrast them with those of other countries ; and, taking them for all in all, those in our own are superior to any, for our condition and extent of territory, that it has ever been my good fortune to travel on this continent. It is a very uncommon thing for a young Nova Scotian to be unable to read, write and cipher ; and when our laws are revised, as regards legal enactments we shall not be very far behind other countries. With all questions touching their political freedom, the people of Nova Scotia know how to deal. Then, looking at the past and seeing what we have done, I say, let us have the railway ; let us not fear a failure, when the brightest augury of success may be drawn from our past progress. Sir, I hope to see the time in this Province, when the question asked of every public man at the hustings will be, not "to what party do you belong?" but "what great public improvement do you mean to advocate, to what great public measure, tending to advance the general welfare of the people, are you pledged?" The people will hereafter require public measures of public men ; and, next to the care of their liberties and political interests, they will look for the development of their resources and the advancement of their condition. Men acting upon the public stage should move forward in advance of

CHAP. XVII the times and not trust too much to the position which they have acquired by  
past services.

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There are but few in the capital aware of the fertility of the land in some of our western counties. I may not have seen the most productive portions of the globe, but I have surveyed the plains of Belgium and of Mayo; I have seen the Lothians of Scotland and some of the finest agricultural districts in England and in the United States; and I unhesitatingly declare that the country lying between the foot of the Ardoise Hills and Digby Gut is equal in natural fertility to any that my eye ever beheld. From Parrsborough to Truro stretches one continuous village, with fine uplands in the rear, rich mines in the centre and marshes in the front. From the Shubenacadie, down the whole sweep of the bay to Windsor, lie fine uplands, timber and marsh lands. This is the country, sir, which we desire to connect with the southern seaboard. [Of this and its resources Mr. Howe gave a rapid sketch.]

Mr. MARTELL: You have forgotten Arichat.

Mr. HOWE: No! I shall never forget Arichat, its cheery population, enterprising mariners, warm-hearted politicians, to say nothing of the pretty French girls, who dance with such sprightliness and grace. These are characteristics which indelibly stamp it upon the mind.

But, sir, let me now show to the committee that if this railroad were made to-morrow and did not return one shilling of interest, Nova Scotia, as a community, would still largely gain by the enterprise. Thirty-two thousand seven hundred and forty-eight persons, by Sentell's returns, passed the Sackville bridge, going and returning, in 1848. Suppose all to have gone to or come from Windsor, the average cost of the journey, even by stage, is 10s. each, while six hours is the shortest time spent on the road; with heavy teams it is often two days. If these people could have been transported to and fro at 5s. each in an hour and a half, the amount saved in money and time would nearly have equalled the whole amount of interest on the outlay. I made a journey to Windsor in the autumn of 1849, and was surprised to hear a gentleman, at dinner, remark that he had counted ninety waggons and teams on the road as he went up. I counted the same number the next day as I came down. With such a traffic already on the road, can any man believe that this speculation will fail? But, again, take the cost of freight. It is now 40s. per ton; by the railway it will be 15s.; so that here again we shall have a saving of 25s. per ton or about £8400 on our present traffic. The saving of time will be immense. But these savings will be vastly increased when the railway has done for Nova Scotia what it has done for every other country—increased twofold the traffic and travel upon the route. My calculations are based upon the report of Mr. George Wightman, who, rough in his manners though he be, self-taught though he be, is a Nova Scotian of whom we may be justly proud. He has never been sent to lay out a line of level road in Nova Scotia, but, traversing the country with the eye of an Indian and the science of a civil engineer, he has selected the right track.

Experience has always shown his lines to be the best, and in so far as he has pledged his professional reputation, I place the utmost reliance upon his report. Mr. Chesborough, who traversed his line and checked his calculations, is also a gentleman of high standing and character. His testimonials show that he has been employed on the American railways since he was fifteen years of age, under the most distinguished engineers.

We may be told that we cannot expect to borrow this money, as we may repudiate. Sir, I have never known, and hope I shall never know, this Legislature to repudiate an honourable obligation; but by the proposition which I have made, though this difficulty existed, it would be obviated, for I propose to go further, and ask for the imperial guarantee besides, and that I have no doubt but the British ministry would, for such a purpose as this, cheerfully give us. We may be asked in England if it will pay. I should not hesitate to answer that there is every prospect of its so doing. We may be asked if it is defensible. Point to the map, and a statesman or a soldier would see in an instant that it is. I am wedded to no particular line, although I have great reason to believe the one selected to be a good one. It follows the water-lines of two rivers all the way. It cannot go farther to the westward, because the four rivers which empty into Margaret's Bay, with their chains of lakes and deep ravines, lie in the way; and while the Ardoise rises as you go west, the descent into the vale of Windsor is too precipitate. The eastern side Wightman thoroughly examined. Easier grades may be got there, but by great increase in distance. For these reasons, then, I believe that we have got the very best line; that fact will be determined before the work commences. But let us look at this question in its worst aspect. Suppose the road built, and the House called upon to vote £10,000 or £12,000 a year. We already pay £1000 a year to sustain the post road, and £500 for the transportation of our mails over it. If we had to pay the larger sum—£12,000 for two or three years—the credit and resources of Nova Scotia would be equal to the strain, and in a few years the line is sure to pay. But suppose it to succeed, link by link we would have it stretching all along our western villages, with steamboats to Windsor from Parrsborough, Londonderry, Horton, the Noel Shore and St. John. Let this railway be built, and Windsor will become a city and Halifax will double in size and population before five years have passed away.

A word or two more, sir, and I have done. Turning over the old Council minutes the other day, I met with the following entry: "20th December, 1764—A large tract of country upon the south-east side of Pesiquid River, erected into a township called Windsor, and included within the county of Halifax." The Governor's speech in 1759, recommending that a road be opened to Windsor, I hold in my hand. To open that road at that period was a greater undertaking for our forefathers than this railroad is now for us.

When I look back to the time in which those old men lived and laboured; when I see this building in which we stand, and all the improvements which

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they have bequeathed to us in a cheerful and hopeful spirit, I feel that we should not be doing our duty if we paused or hesitated to advance in the construction of such a work as this. At this late period of the session and hour of the night it would be unwise in me to detain the committee longer. I have paid no man the poor compliment to canvass him for his vote. I have sought to bring no pressure from without to bear upon this Assembly. I present this measure to you as one in which I take a deep interest, and in the wisdom and practicability of which I sincerely believe. Let it be sustained upon its own intrinsic merits. Unless this measure can bear the test of patient inquiry and calm consideration, and can be sustained by its friends in fair, manly and honourable debate—unless it can commend itself to the deliberate judgment of this House, it should not pass. But my firm convictions are that it can, and that the representatives of the people should at once assume a responsibility from which a noble achievement must result and upon which they will reflect with pride in all time to come.

This proposition received a fair amount of support, but it encountered just enough opposition to delay the commencement of the work for four years. There were those who only believed in the old mode of making railroads by companies, with or without subsidies, but who conscientiously feared to entrust the power to Government. There were some who apprehended that if the Windsor road was commenced it might impede the construction of the Trunk Line, and there were a few who did not believe that railroads were required in this country, or would be productive of any advantage if they were made. After a hard struggle to obtain an appropriation of the whole amount required, Mr. Howe was induced to accept one-half, with the assurance that the other half would be easily raised by a company. Without surrendering his own belief in the policy that ought to be pursued, he accepted the only grant he could get upon the terms prescribed, and set about trying the experiment demanded by the opposition, with but little hope of success. Meetings were held in Halifax and Windsor, but although sufficient enthusiasm was displayed in both places, the summer was passing rapidly away without any demonstrations to warrant the belief that the other half of the capital required would be raised by private subscriptions.

In July, the excitement upon the subject of railroads was heightened by two causes. A short despatch was received from Earl Grey, in which, acknowledging the receipt of an address from the Legislative Council, his Lordship informed Sir John Harvey that Her Majesty's Government "was not prepared to submit to Parliament any measure for raising the funds necessary for the



construction" of the railroad to Quebec. This despatch, short and decisive, apparently closed the door to all negotiation with the Imperial Government—to all hope of aid from home.

Almost simultaneously with its publication came an invitation for delegates to attend a railway convention, to be held at Portland, on the 31st of July, to consider the best means by which that city could be united to Halifax by a railroad running eastward through the Province of New Brunswick. The invitations were accepted, and a numerous and highly respectable delegation was sent from New Brunswick. One less numerous, but combining a great deal of weight and talent, went forward from Nova Scotia.

It included the Attorney-General, Mr. J. B. Uniacke, the Hon. Mr. Johnston, the leader of the political Opposition, and Mr. J. D. Fraser, of Windsor, who represented the Western Railroad Committee. Besides these, there were some other gentlemen from Halifax and the eastern and western counties.

This convention was on many accounts extremely interesting. The sons of the loyalists, and those of their ancient enemies, met for the first time since the Revolution on common ground and for the promotion of a common object. The city of Portland, beautifully situated, was rendered doubly attractive by the courtesy and hospitality of its inhabitants, of both sexes. Eloquent speeches were delivered; the flags of the two nations were interwoven; it was determined that a company should be formed to carry out the enterprise forthwith; and the meeting broke up after exhibiting a very fraternal spirit and a good deal of pardonable enthusiasm.

On the 24th of August, a public meeting was convened in the Temperance Hall, at Halifax, to receive the reports from the delegates who had attended the convention at Portland, and to take such steps as might appear judicious in furtherance of the great enterprise there suggested.

At this meeting, reports were read and eloquent speeches made, but nobody could show how the money required (\$12,000,000) was to be raised. It was apparent that while a million currency would be required to construct that part of the road which was to pass over Nova Scotia (one hundred and thirty miles), a much larger sum would be wanted to make two hundred miles through New Brunswick. It was admitted on all hands that the State of Maine and the city of Portland had exhausted their resources in pushing forward the roads which connected or were to connect Portland with Boston on the one side and Montreal upon the other. Mr.

Fraser, in his report, stated that he "had sought for distinct information as to the modes in which it was expected to obtain the money requisite," but could obtain "no precise information." "The gentlemen in Maine did not hesitate to admit their present inability to raise the funds in that state to build their line within their own territory."

Resolutions were passed at this meeting, thanking the delegates, adopting the line proposed and recommending Halifax as the terminus. A resolution was before the meeting, appointing a large committee to co-operate with the people of Portland. At this stage of the proceedings, Mr. Howe for the first time interfered. He ascended the platform and delivered a speech, of which no report remains, but the effect of which was electrical and carried the public mind of the community with him as if by magic.

He reminded the meeting of how many years had been wasted in the vain hope that the road to the St. Lawrence would be built by a company; of the season which had just been wasted in the fruitless endeavour to raise only £167,000 to construct the road to Windsor; of the millions which had been wasted by companies in the United States endeavouring to accomplish great undertakings with insufficient means. He showed that the general revenues of Maine belonged to the general government; that her state revenues were surcharged by the annual expenditure; that ninety miles of the European line must be made within her territory, while the funds of her capitalists were barely sufficient to complete the roads for which they had been already pledged. He argued that if Nova Scotia found it difficult to raise the tenth part of a million of money by subscriptions of stock, she could not raise a million; and that New Brunswick, which would require a larger sum and had a less population by one hundred thousand, could not be more successful. To expect capitalists in England to embark \$12,000,000 in an enterprise of which they knew little, and in aid of which those who knew the most were unable or unwilling to make large contributions, would be scarcely rational; and to tempt them by false representations to do so, would be dishonest and unfair. The naked facts of the case had not been presented, or had been studiously veiled amidst the fascinations and excitements of Portland. If the road was indispensable, there was only one way in which it could be built with integrity and in a reasonable time. It was the duty of the Government to provide roads for the people. If a railroad was the best road they should provide that. The only way in which

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick could construct this or any other railway for a long time to come, was by their Governments assuming the responsibility, pledging their public revenues, issuing debentures either with or without the guarantee of the Imperial Government, borrowing the money honestly and expending it faithfully, under the restraints which their constitutions would stringently impose. He concluded by moving this resolution :

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*Resolved*, That as it is the first duty of a government to construct and to control the great highways of a country, a respectful address be prepared and presented to the Lieutenant-Governor, praying that his Excellency would recommend the Provincial Parliament to undertake the construction of that portion of this important work which is to pass through Nova Scotia on a line between Halifax and the frontier of New Brunswick.

The new policy thus propounded was received with great unanimity and enthusiasm by this great meeting. Men who had not spoken to Mr. Howe for years were loudest in the expression of their approbation, and his friends of course were gratified at this new triumph—this new proof of his boldness and sagacity.

The day after the meeting broke up the following address was presented to the Lieutenant-Governor :

*To HIS EXCELLENCY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JOHN HARVEY, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Knight Commander of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over Her Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia and its Dependencies, &c., &c., &c.*

The Mayor and Aldermen of the city of Halifax respectfully desire to bring to the notice of your Excellency the accompanying resolution, which was passed unanimously at a very large and influential meeting of the citizens of Halifax, held on Saturday last in this city, to consider the subject of the proposed European and North American Railway. They would respectfully urge upon your Excellency the importance of the subject, as one more worthy than any other, in the present aspect of affairs in Nova Scotia, to engage the attention and enlist the sympathies and exertions of the Government. The completion of the great work contemplated by the resolution will not only elevate this Province to the most conspicuous and important position on the western continent, by rendering it the direct channel of communication between our parent country and the United States on the most enlarged and magnificent scale ; but the rich though now unproductive resources of our Province,

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both mineral and agricultural, will become developed and be made available to the public good, its commercial interests rapidly advanced, and its revenue materially aided and increased. They therefore cordially concur with the sentiments contained in the enclosed resolution, and doubting not that your Excellency takes a deep interest in every project which has a tendency to advance the interests of the Province, they respectfully pray that your Excellency would recommend to the Provincial Parliament to undertake the construction of that portion of this important work which is to pass through Nova Scotia, on a line between Halifax and the frontier of New Brunswick.

And the Mayor and City Council would earnestly press upon your Excellency the propriety of calling together the Legislature at as early a period as practicable, in order that their sentiments may be ascertained on this important subject.

To which his Excellency made the following reply :

MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN,—You and the highly respectable meeting by which you have been deputed to address me, do not do me more than justice in believing that I feel most deeply interested in whatever relates to the ancient and loyal colony which our gracious Sovereign has committed to my charge and that I regard it as my first duty to do all that depends upon me to promote it.

That resolution which you have just presented embodies what appear to me to be enlightened and sound views, suited to the age in which we live. The cost of constructing railroads is light compared with the cost of doing without them. Nova Scotia owes it to her own character to adopt, as speedily as she may, improved facilities for the transportation of her people, with the products of their industry. She owes it to the civilized world to make her portion of "The European and North American Railroad," which must become the shortest highway between the great families of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Be assured that my Government will approach this great question without delay, and with an earnestness commensurate with its deep importance; and that it will afford me very sincere gratification to identify myself with this work, and to become, in any way, personally instrumental in realising the hopes entertained by the citizens of Halifax.

J. HARVEY.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HALIFAX, *August 23, 1850.*

Sir John Harvey did not slumber over this request. From the animation and earnestness of his reply it will be seen how deep an interest he felt in the success of the great enterprise. Two days afterwards this despatch was on its way to Downing Street:

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MY LORD,—Your Lordship is aware, from the correspondence which has passed between the North American Governments and the Colonial Office, that for some time past a deep interest has been felt by the people of these Provinces in the promotion of railways.

So long as hopes were entertained that Her Majesty's Government would aid in the construction of the line between Halifax and Quebec, public attention was concentrated upon that. As the prospects of its accomplishment became less definite and assured, other objects, either local or intercolonial, were discussed; and resolutions or laws, having relation to these, were passed during the recent sessions of most of the colonial legislatures.

The construction of the electric telegraph, which not only connects Halifax with the chief towns of New Brunswick and the State of Maine, but forms the most important link in the chain of communication between the old world and the new, and the success which has attended that appropriation of the public funds, has attracted public attention to the practicability and importance of placing a railroad beside the telegraph. This would give to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick a noble highway through their territory, connect them by railway with all the principal cities on this continent and secure to the port selected for the eastern terminus, commercial advantages with which no seaport within the republic could ever successfully compete.

While these views were pressing upon the minds of the leading men in the Provinces the subject was taken up in the State of Maine, and a convention, to which the colonists were invited, was called to meet at Portland on the 31st of July. The proceedings of the convention I have now the honour to enclose, together with the reports made by the delegates who attended from Nova Scotia to the communities or committees by which they were severally appointed.

On the return of those delegates the public mind in Nova Scotia became very highly excited, particularly in Halifax, and in those counties through which the road would pass. Under those circumstances my Government were required to deal with the question thus raised, and to decide whether they would stand aloof from this movement, and allow a great highway, which in peace would be a thoroughfare of nations, and in war might be of vast importance, to be constructed and controlled by foreign capitalists; or should at once grasp the enterprise, and by the aid of the public funds and credit, discharge towards the country the highest and most legitimate functions of a vigorous Executive. The latter determination was arrived at, and the opportunity was afforded to declare their policy at a public meeting held in the metropolis on the 24th instant, the proceedings of which will be found reported in the papers transmitted by this mail.

This movement, which meets my entire approbation, has been received with great satisfaction by all parties. The address of the City Council, with

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my answer, I have the honour to enclose. The details of this measure have yet to be adjusted, and it may be necessary to send to England some members of my Government to communicate more at large with your Lordship in reference to them. In the meantime I should be glad to be informed whether, upon such pledges as have been regarded as satisfactory in other colonies being given, Her Majesty's Government would be disposed to aid Nova Scotia with its guarantee of such funds as she may find it necessary to borrow in England, in order to construct this road. These would not exceed £800,000 sterling, and would probably be secured, not only on the general revenues of the Province, but upon the road itself. Such a guarantee would enable the Province to enter the market upon the best terms, and effect a large saving in the accomplishment of the work. The revenue of Nova Scotia is about £80,000 sterling, her debt but £87,892 sterling, of which £47,892 is represented by Province paper, on which no interest is paid. The permanent and indispensable charges are about £40,000, leaving about £40,000 of surplus revenue available for public improvements. The revenue has increased £4400 within the present year. The increase on the whole will probably be £10,000. If, therefore, as I anticipate, the Legislature sustains the policy of the Government, they will have the means at their disposal to pay the interest promptly on any loan they may require to effect.

I shall be very much gratified by an early communication of the decision of Her Majesty's Government on this point, and of the terms, and nature of the securities required.—I have, &c.,

(Signed)

J. HARVEY.

The reply did not reach Halifax till late in October. It was unfavourable. It is given, that the true position of these great North American works, at the moment when Mr. Howe undertook their advocacy in England, may be understood :

DOWNING STREET, 21st September, 1850.

SIR,—I acknowledge your despatch No. 190, of the 29th ult. On the subject of the projected line of railway from Halifax to Portland, in Maine, I have to express my entire approbation of the degree of support and encouragement given by yourself and the Provincial administration to this important undertaking.

I regard the work as one calculated to be of the highest service to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and instead of considering it as likely to endanger, by competition, the still more important scheme which has been proposed for connecting Halifax with Quebec, I believe that it is likely to prepare the way for the execution of the latter and that it will contribute to the same end—namely, that of rendering Halifax the great port of communication between the two continents of Europe and America.

But, while I am most anxious to promote the success of this enterprise, I regret that the same reasons which have hitherto prevented Her Majesty's Government from recommending to Parliament any measure for affording pecuniary assistance towards the construction of the Quebec railway, will probably stand equally in the way of their advising the guarantee of a loan for the scheme now in contemplation.—I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) GREY.

LIEUT.-GOVERNOR SIR JOHN HARVEY.

The Provincial Government had now either to recede from the position to which Mr. Howe had pledged them, or to go boldly forward and endeavour to alter the determination of the Imperial Government. At all events, it was of great consequence, however these roads were to be built, that the attention of the capitalists and population of the mother country should be turned towards the vast and undeveloped resources of British America. Mr. Howe was selected to perform these tasks, and was sent as a delegate to England, on the 1st of November. Previous to his departure, he addressed the following letter to his constituents:

#### TO THE FREEHOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF HALIFAX

GENTLEMEN,—Having been charged, by the Lieutenant-Governor, with a mission to England, involving very important Provincial interests, I shall leave Halifax in the steamer to-morrow, and shall probably be absent for eight or ten weeks.

During the last summer, I visited every section of the county, and believe that there is nothing which any of you have confided to my care, or to which my attention has been called, that has not been dealt with as you desired, so far as the means at the disposal of your representatives would admit. Should any casualties occur, prompt attention will no doubt be paid to any proper representation made to the Government, through my colleague, Mr. Mott.

As I have not had an opportunity of publicly addressing you since the present administration was formed, it may not now be out of place for me briefly to enumerate the leading measures to which its sanction and support have been given, and the questions which have been honourably and permanently settled.

Responsible government, administered through heads of departments, holding their places by the tenure of public confidence, has occupied, as you are quite aware, a conspicuous place in the public discussions of British America for the last ten or fifteen years. Sustained by your sympathies, I gave as a public journalist some years of life to its advocacy, at a time when

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there was much ignorance and indifference on the one side, and the whole weight of Executive and Legislative authority on the other. Excluded from the administration in 1843, I still asserted, in every hamlet you inhabit and in every county of the interior, the principles for the security of which my friends and myself retired, and which, with the aid of the Liberal majority, returned in 1847, we have lived, as members of administration, to establish. The days of toil and nights of mental anxiety which every prominent man of our party passed through during that long contest, few of those engaged in it are ever likely to forget. We have lived, however, to see our principles triumph—to see them recognized after full debate by the Lords and Commons of England—to see them clearly enunciated by successive Secretaries of State; and in Canada and New Brunswick, no less than in Nova Scotia, supplying new securities to liberty, and fresh vigour to every branch of administration.

The old system of government naturally generated extravagance; and, coupled with the general constitutional questions, was the subsidiary, but yet important matter of economical reform. The people of Nova Scotia never did grudge a fair remuneration to those who transacted the public business. The Liberal party, in opposition, therefore, pledged themselves only to that rational measure of reduction, which, as a Government, they were prepared to yield. Let us see how those pledges have been redeemed.

Until recently consolidated and remodelled, the principal departments of the Government cost:

Two Land Departments . . . . .	£2,010	17	3
Two Revenue Departments . . . . .	12,610	8	7
The Treasury . . . . .	891	10	8
The Secretary's Office . . . . .	2,012	10	0
	<u>£17,525</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>

there being no efficient inspection of accounts provided for. As the departmental system has been now arranged, the entire expense will be:

The Land Department . . . . .	£850	0	0
Receiver-General's Department . . . . .	891	10	8
Revenue Department . . . . .	5401	1	0
Financial Secretary's Department . . . . .	800	0	0
Provincial Secretary's Department . . . . .	1400	0	0
	<u>£9342</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>

Making a reduction of expenditure on these branches of the public service, contrasting their cost in 1847 with what they cost now, of . . . . .

8182 14 10

To which may be added other savings, effected under the Civil List Bill, amounting to . . . . .

1412 10 0

£9595 4 10

Deducting three pensions from the above . . . . .

925 0 0

The immediate saving then is . . . . .

£8670 4 10



The ultimate saving, when the pensions fall in, will be £9595 a year.

Coupled with the question of the Civil List, was another which touched the registry of deeds. This never could be settled while the present Opposition were in power, the allowance demanded for Sir Rupert being greater than the House would consent to give. You will soon feel the advantage of a final adjustment of this vexed question; and in a few days after I quit the shores of Nova Scotia, the cost, all over the face of it, of transferring property and confirming titles, will be reduced to nearly one-half of what it is now. This bill will effect an important saving to all classes; to the poor, who often lose their votes or have their rights endangered by the expense of registration, it will prove an acceptable boon.

The bill for consolidating the Crown Lands Department, withheld by the Colonial Secretary in 1845, was confirmed in 1849. Besides the saving of expense, greater concentration and efficiency have been secured. Maps showing the granted and ungranted lands in every county are in course of preparation; and when these are completed, other improvements, of which this department is still susceptible, will probably be introduced.

As a necessary part of the departmental system, the bill to enable members to vacate their seats, either upon the call of their constituents or otherwise, will be found useful and convenient.

The Act passed in 1848, "to render the Judges of the Supreme Court and the Master of the Rolls independent of the Crown and to provide for their removal," though met with much clamour at the time, establishes a salutary control, without impairing the dignity or weakening the moral influence of the bench.

The construction of the electric telegraph gives you, on a cheap scale, an apt illustration of the principle which the Lieutenant-Governor now seeks to apply to works of greater magnitude. Built by the public funds and managed for the public security and advantage, it already pays the interest on the capital, its working expenses, and a handsome profit, to be applied to the return of the capital or to the extension of other lines. It is clear, then, that we get for nothing, the profit of all the labour and employment that the construction of the telegraph gave; all the social and commercial facilities which rapid communication with the great cities of this continent and even with the West India Islands, gives to our people. Nay, we get them for less than nothing. The telegraph will pay us for our enlightened appreciation of its value. Let us apply the same principle to the railroad and trust in a kind Providence for a like return for our expenditure.

The want of an accurate census of the Province has long been keenly felt. Under the law of last session, an enumeration of our population and stock will be obtained in 1851, and the returns prepared will present to you a faithful picture of every branch of our Provincial industry.

The consolidation of our laws is steadily advancing. This is a work of great labour and importance, honourably engaged in by acute minds of both

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parties and so fast ripening to maturity that in 1851 you may have in one portable book all the laws of the Province, now scattered about in many volumes and actually inaccessible to the great body of the people.

It is sometimes said that the Government is not acting vigorously in reference to lighthouses and the Isle of Sable. Those who indulge in these attacks cannot be accurately informed. During the past summer a mass of valuable information in respect to our lighthouses was forwarded to England, which cannot fail to secure the co-operation of the Imperial authorities in placing our colonial lights on the very best footing which modern science approves. Two or three new lighthouses have been built during the past season and an equal number will be erected in 1851.

As regards the Isle of Sable, ever since the inquiry instituted into its management in the winter of 1848, the Government have never lost sight of this branch of the public service. Mr. Townshend's Report was followed by a searching investigation, which led to a change of management and to various improvements; and I have just laid before the Lieutenant-Governor the results of a personal inspection, which I trust will by-and-by satisfy you that the public interest in this department is not neglected.

It is probable that both these services may yet be combined under one commission, as soon as the sanction of the Legislature is given to an Act to be submitted for that purpose.

The improvements made in the new School Act of last session are, I believe, working beneficially. For the first time in our history has an officer of the Government passed over the face of the country, rousing the people to the importance of education and imparting information in regard to it. He has not, of course, yet penetrated into all the remote sections, but the stimuli applied to the more populous and important centres will soon be felt at the extremities.

As soon as the arrangements can be completed, one thousand pounds worth of valuable books will be distributed over the Province and formed into school libraries, giving, perhaps, on an average, one thousand volumes to every county.

These, my friends, are substantial fruits, yielded to you by a Liberal administration and springing from the patriotic and enlightened legislation of the men returned to Parliament in the stirring contest of 1847. "By their works ye shall know them;" and truly of their works the gentlemen with whom I have been an humble fellow-labourer need not be ashamed. Political opponents of course abuse them, and political and personal friends love to show their independence by finding fault; but let either match the measures of the past three sessions, from the records of any ten to be found in the political history of the Province. Let either find me, from the history of party in any country, one that so fully carried out, in office, the pledges made upon the hustings.

One measure, and one only, to which the Liberal party pledged itself, they

have yet to perfect ; I mean the revision of the Post Office and the reduction of postage to an uniform rate. Over the causes of the delay we have no control. The Imperial Government have informed us that they are not yet prepared to make the transfer. We stand ready to discharge our honourable obligations and to perform our duty, when they do.

I need say little of county improvements ; these are before you and you can estimate their value. The two or three remaining sections of the Guysborough Road have been finished this summer ; twenty-eight miles of the Harvey Road along the eastern shore have been completed ; half-a-dozen important bridges have also been constructed ; the damage by freshets has been repaired ; and the cross roads are steadily improving.

While faithfully applying the public funds to internal improvements, we have not been unmindful of measures necessary to the extension of our intercolonial and foreign trade. With all the surrounding colonies a reciprocal interchange of productions has been established ; and seven or eight new ports of entry have been opened for the accommodation of our vessels trading on the open seas. The best proof that our commerce is reviving and extending is to be seen in the increase of our revenue, which I have little doubt will, by the close of the year, show an increase of £15,000 over that of 1848, the year that we assumed the control of public affairs.

Our efforts to establish a reciprocal trade with the United States have not yet been successful. The failure is fairly attributed to the influence of class interests in that country, over which we have no control. A charge is often made against us, arising out of this negotiation, upon which it is proper for me to make a single observation. It is said that we have yielded up our fisheries to the Americans for no corresponding advantage. To this charge I give a flat denial ; and when the correspondence is submitted to the Legislature, trust me you will perceive with what jealous watchfulness your rights of fishery have been guarded and what substantial equivalents were demanded, in return for the concessions we were prepared to make.

Another charge sometimes brought against us by our friends is that we have not displaced the subordinate occupants of office. This is true ; but it is equally true that not only were the Liberal leaders never pledged to do this, but that at every public meeting I attended, from 1843 to 1847, I repudiated the practice, with the approbation and amidst the cheers of thousands of Liberals, of whom the meetings were composed.

From this brief review it is apparent, that not only has no public pledge been violated by my friends, but that every one given to their countrymen has been honourably redeemed.

The past with all its valuable results is before you. But no political party, no administration, indifferent to the duties of the present hour, and unmindful of future improvements, can live upon the fame of past achievements and grateful reminiscences of bygone labours, however honourable these may have been. The cry and the great want of Nova Scotia, at the present time, is for

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further industrial development ; active employment for the people ; new and improved facilities for business and social intercourse. To this field of honourable labour she invites all her children, without reference to past differences of opinion and in utter oblivion of the rivalries and ardent feelings which past contests have aroused. In this field there is work enough for us all for twenty years to come. Upon this field I am prepared to enter as an humble labourer in the spirit evoked at the great meeting held in the capital on the 25th of August. I believe that a Government fostering that spirit, nobly sustained by it and dedicating the public treasure and the public credit to the work of industrial development, may do much good. With a view to give form and direction to that spirit, I have accepted the important mission with which I am charged. If I succeed our country will reap the advantage ; if I fail, the mortification will be my own ; but I shall bear it with the consciousness that I have done my best.

One word on a topic of a personal nature. It has been for some time past the habit of certain writers to charge upon me the authorship of whatever displeases them in the columns of the Liberal press. Of the general management of the press I do not complain. Articles often appear in it which I have not the ability to write ; others which, for many reasons, I wish had been suppressed. In this parting hour, perhaps I owe the declaration to friends and foes that since I entered Sir John Harvey's Government in the winter of 1848 I have not written ten articles in any newspaper. The few I have written have been brief explanations of the acts and views of the administration or of the Lieutenant-Governor, without a single offensive personal allusion to any political opponent. Since the railway meeting in August, I have not written a line.

With these explanations, which cannot be deemed inappropriate at the present time, I have only to thank you for your confidence and for all the kindness shown to me during the thirteen years that I have been your representative. Amidst the heady currents of the great metropolis to which I am hastening, many a familiar face will recall my thoughts to home. And beneath the stately structures of Europe, I shall not readily forget the happy hours which I have passed in the scattered hamlets where many of you reside. Meanwhile, I have the honour to be, gentlemen, very truly yours,

JOSEPH HOWE.

HALIFAX, *October 30th*, 1850.

Mr. Howe bore with him to England this introduction, addressed to Earl Grey :

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HALIFAX,  
*October 25th*, 1850.

MY LORD,—The members of my Government, upon a full consideration of the contents of your Lordship's communication of the 21st ultimo, have deemed it to consist with what they owe to public feeling (which has been very

unequivocally expressed throughout the Province), and to their views of the great interests involved, to seek to present these views to Her Majesty's Government, in as plain and forcible a manner as may be consistent with the deep respect with which all decisions by your Lordship have been and will at all times be received by them. They have accordingly resolved on delegating one of their body to proceed to England, in the hope that your Lordship will admit their delegate to an audience, and will afford him every facility which to your Lordship may seem fit in bringing the views which he is charged to advocate, under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

Permit me, therefore, to present to your Lordship the Hon. Joseph Howe, a member of my Council, and a gentleman well qualified, in my judgment, to afford to your Lordship and to Her Majesty's Government the fullest information and the most correct views of the state of public feeling in Nova Scotia.

The deep importance attached throughout the Province to the subject of Mr. Howe's mission will, I doubt not, plead my excuse for any deviation from existing regulations which may attend this mode of communication with your Lordship; and I do not doubt that on this, as on some other points, Mr. Howe's local information, experience and sound judgment will be found useful and acceptable.

It is Mr. Howe's present intention (should circumstances not induce him to alter it), to return to Nova Scotia before the meeting of the Legislature, in the hope of enabling me to convey to that body, at their meeting, some definite information as to the prospect of being able to obtain the necessary funds from London capitalists, either with or without the aid of Her Majesty's Government. As the latter alternative, however, will involve a difference of from £16,000 to £20,000 a year in the amount of interest to be paid by the colony, I feel satisfied that your Lordship will be disposed to promote any well-considered measure by which so large a saving may be effected, without risk to the Imperial Government.—I have, &c.

J. HARVEY.

The Right Hon. EARL GREY.

In November Mr. Howe addressed to Earl Grey the following letter:

LONDON, 5 SLOANE STREET,  
November 25th, 1850.

MY LORD,—Having at the interview with which I was honoured on the 18th instant received your Lordship's instructions to place before you in official form the arguments on which, as a representative from the Province of Nova Scotia, I base my application for the guarantee of the Imperial Government, in aid of the public works projected by the Government of that colony, I beg leave, with all respect, to call your Lordship's attention to the following statement and observations:

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Regarding the period as rapidly approaching, if it has not actually arrived, when railroads must be laid down through her most advanced and prosperous counties, east and west, Nova Scotia is called to decide, with the experience of the world before her, upon the measures to be adopted to secure for her people, at the least expense, with the slightest risk, and in the shortest time, these great modern improvements. Her people have been accustomed to free roads; no toll-bars exist in the Province. Her roads, made at the public expense, belong to the country, and are emphatically the Queen's highways. In the few instances where she has deviated from this policy, in respect to bridges or ferries, the cost and the inconveniences of monopoly have tested its value.

Railways are highroads of an improved construction. They are as essential to our advancement and prosperity now as common roads were in the olden time. The service which the Government has performed for a hundred years in respect to the common roads, which probably measure 8500 miles, we believe it to be capable of performing in regard to railways. The administration is content to assume the responsibility, and the people, including an immense majority of all political parties, are willing and anxious that they should.

If our Government had means sufficient to build railroads and carry the people free, we believe that this would be sound policy. If tolls must be charged, we know that these will be more moderate and fair, if Government regulate them by the cost of construction and management, than if monopolies are created and speculators regulate the tolls only with reference to the dividends. If there be risk or loss we are content to bear it. If the traffic of the country yields a profit, we would apply the surplus revenue to the opening of new lines or to the reduction of the cost of transportation.

Were a railroad to be constructed in Nova Scotia for the accommodation of internal traffic alone, we should perhaps decide to lay a line through our western counties first, these being the most populous and improved.

An intercolonial railroad, in which the adjoining colonies feel an interest, offers more general advantages than a mere local line. Hence the interest felt in the Quebec railroad, which would have drawn to Halifax much trade from the St. Lawrence, and opened up to colonization large tracts of wilderness lands, both in Canada and New Brunswick. This line requiring £5,000,000 sterling to complete it, the united resources of the three Provinces are inadequate to the work, without very liberal aid from the British Government; that aid having been refused, the project has been, for the present, reluctantly abandoned.

A railroad to Portland offers many advantages which one to Quebec does not. It will cost only about half as much. It must run, nearly all the way, through a comparatively improved country. It would connect Halifax with St. John (and by the river, with Fredericton) and the larger towns of New Brunswick; giving to all these, with the villages and agricultural settlements lying between them, most desirable facilities for internal traffic.

The Portland railroad would secure to Nova Scotia the advantages which nature designed her to enjoy; connecting her with all the lines running through the American continent, and making Halifax a common terminus for them all. No American steamer, which did not touch at Halifax, could thenceforward compete in priority of intelligence and the rapid transit of passengers with those which did.

From New York to Liverpool the shortest sea line measures 3100 miles; that usually traversed is 3300.

	Miles.
From Halifax to Galway is . . . . .	2130
Dublin to Holyhead . . . . .	63
	<hr/> 2193
Holyhead to London . . . . .	263
Dublin to the S.W. coast of Ireland . . . . .	120
Halifax to St. John . . . . .	266
St. John to Waterville . . . . .	200
Waterville to New York . . . . .	410
	<hr/> 1259
	<hr/> 3452

making the whole land and sea distance 159 miles more than the present sea passage. But the sea voyage, by the one route, would be 1107 miles shorter than by the other.

To run these 1107 miles by steamboat, at twelve miles an hour, would require ninety-two hours; to run them by rail, at thirty miles an hour, would require but thirty-six hours. This route would therefore save, in the communication between Europe and America, fifty-six hours to every individual, in all time to come, who passed between the two continents; the sea risks to life and property being diminished by one-third of the whole.

The States lying east of New York will be benefited in a ratio corresponding with their relative distances from that city. A merchant travelling from London to Portland not only wastes fifty-six hours in going to New York, but must turn back and travel 400 miles on the route to Halifax besides, which will require thirteen hours more.

It is clear, then, that when the line across Ireland is completed, and that from Halifax to Waterville (from thence the lines are continuous all over the United States), this route may defy competition. No business man will travel by a route which leaves him fifty-six or sixty hours behind time, which gives to others dealing in the same articles, and entering the same markets with the same information, such very decided advantages.

No person travelling for pleasure will waste fifty-six hours, at some peril, on the ocean where there is nothing to see, who can, in perfect security, run over the same distance by land, with a cultivated country and a succession of towns and villages to relieve the eye.

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The Americans assembled at the Portland convention pledged themselves to make this line through the territory of Maine. Capitalists and contractors in that country profess their readiness to complete the whole through the British Provinces, provided acts of incorporation are given to them, with liberal grants of land and money in addition.

For various reasons, the Government of Nova Scotia are reluctant to permit this to be done.

They are unwilling to surrender that which must become for ever the great highway between the capital of Nova Scotia and her eastern counties, to the management and control of foreign capitalists.

They believe it to be, my Lord, equally sound provincial and sound national policy that that portion of what must become a great highway of nations, which lies within the territories of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, should be kept under British control; and they believe that the security and defence of the Maritime Provinces are involved in adherence to that policy.

They believe that the honour of the Crown is concerned in this question to an extent which calls upon them to pledge the entire credit and resources of the Province, that it may not be tarnished. Having done this, they believe that the Imperial Government ought to take at least sufficient interest in the question to enable them to enter the English money market on the best terms and effect a large saving in the expenditure required.

Money is worth, in the United States and in the British Provinces, six per cent. Suppose this railroad to be constructed by American or Provincial capitalists, it is evident that our portion of it, which will cost £800,000 sterling, must pay £48,000 sterling or £60,000 currency, over and above its working expenses.

With the Imperial guarantee, we can obtain the funds required at three and a half per cent., reducing the annual interest to £28,000 sterling, or £35,000 currency.

The Government of Nova Scotia believe that if British capital, so much of which flows into foreign states, where it is always insecure and in times of trial is found to have invariably strengthened our enemies, can be safely invested in the Queen's dominions, the Imperial Government should take an interest in its legitimate employment; and they are quite prepared to invest an equal sum to that now required, in building a line through the western counties of Nova Scotia, whenever the eastern pays its working expenses and interest on the sum expended.

They believe that even if the Province could raise this amount of capital, to withdraw so large a sum from the ordinary channels of circulation where it is beneficially employed and earning interest and profits, would cramp the trade of the country and produce on a small scale embarrassments similar in their nature to those experienced in the parent state.

They believe that a low rate of interest would lead to the establishment of a



low rate of fares, of which every Englishman passing over the line would feel the advantage. CHAP. XVII

They are prepared to carry the British and American mails at reasonable rates and to authorize the British Government to pay the amounts contracted for to their credit on the loan. 1850

They believe that Her Majesty's Government legitimately employed their influence in securing, by the Nicaragua treaty, a passage for British subjects and commerce to the East.

They believe that to control the great highway to the West and to secure to a British Province the advantages of oceanic steam navigation, would be an equally legitimate object.

They believe that if Her Majesty's Government takes the lead in these noble North American enterprises, they will make the Queen's name a tower of strength on that continent.

They apprehend that if the colonists are driven to seek sympathy and assistance from the United States, in aid of their public works; to become large debtors to their capitalists, at extravagant prices; to employ their citizens habitually in the bosom of their country, a revulsion of feeling, dangerous to British interests, will be created which statesmen should foresee and avoid.

Whether, my Lord, it was prudent in the Provincial Government to ask for the imperial guarantee, I would respectfully suggest that it is now too late to consider. The refusal will wound the pride of every Nova Scotian and strengthen the belief that England is indifferent to the industrial development of the Maritime Provinces; that she has no policy, by backing which their inhabitants can be elevated to fair competition with their republican neighbours; and that when they ask her countenance and co-operation in measures which are as essential to the national dignity and security as they would be productive of internal improvement, the reply though courteous shuts out hope.

An impression prevails in the Lower Provinces that either from the immediate presence in Canada of noblemen generally standing high in the confidence of the ministry at home or from the sensitive irritability with which all parties resort to open violence in that Province, more weight is given to representations affecting her interest than to those which concern the maritime colonies. Nova Scotians, compelled to sacrifice £22,000 a year in the completion of a national work, by the refusal of the Imperial Government to guarantee to the capitalists of England the interest on this loan, cannot fail to contrast the relative position in which they are placed by that refusal. That they may not copy the evil examples by which a larger share of fraternal consideration will appear to them to have been secured, shall be my sincere and anxious prayer.

The Canadas, seeking responsible government in the French mode, resorted to armed insurrections which cost England four or five million pounds to

CHAP. XVII suppress. Immediately after the restoration of tranquillity, the British Government lent the Canadas £1,500,000.

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Had the Maritime Provinces participated in those rebellions, every regiment that marched through them in the winters of 1837 and 1839 would have been cut off. They did not. They adhered to their allegiance and denounced the rebels. They cheered the soldiers on their winter marches and provided for their wives and children. Yet Canada has been rewarded for bad faith and the waste of national resources by a bonus of a million and a half; and I know of no terms in which I can describe what my countrymen will feel, if, with a surplus revenue already available to secure the parent state from risk, they are refused the guarantee for half that amount.

In 1839, the State of Maine called out its militia to overrun the Province of New Brunswick. Nova Scotia, though not directly menaced, promptly tendered her entire pecuniary and physical resources in vindication of the national honour. She had no direct interest in the boundary question. Not an acre of her soil was endangered, yet she did not hesitate to tender her means and to set an example of loyal unanimity, much wanted on the continent at that moment and which, had war commenced, could not have failed to have drawn it into her bosom. Yet now, the people she would have fought tender their co-operation to make a great national highway across her soil; and I submit, with all deference, my Lord, whether the Sovereign, whose honour she was prompt to vindicate, should be advised to refuse her aid, and view with unconcern the probable construction of such a work in our very midst by foreign capital, to be subject to foreign influence and control.

When the storm blew from Maine we wrapped our loyalty around us. Who can tell what may happen, should the sun of prosperity shine from that quarter and coldness and neglect appear on the other side?

England would not allow foreigners to control a great line of railway reaching from Dover to Aberdeen. Should she permit them to control three hundred and fifty miles of railway through Nova Scotia and New Brunswick?

When the French propagandists menaced Belgium, the Belgian Government controlled the railways. The invaders were ambushed and overpowered. And through all the convulsions of 1848-50, Belgium has remained tranquil and secure.

When the mob of Montreal seized upon the capital of Canada, the electric telegraph was in their hands. The wires were used to communicate with partisans above and below, by which Lord Elgin was seriously compromised, his Government having no assurance that their secrets were kept or their messages delivered.

But, my Lord, it may be asked, why should foreign capitalists make and control this road? Why may not this be done by the colonists themselves? Because:

1st. Capital is more abundant in the United States (most of which have borrowed largely from England) than in the British Provinces.

2nd. Experience of railway enterprises and confidence in them are more general in that country. CHAP. XVII

3rd. A body of railway engineers, contractors and operatives, already formed in the different states, seek further employment and will take much stock in payment, if employed. 1850

4th. The interest of most of the lines south and west would be promoted by extension. Not only would Europeans, now reaching the Central States by sea, travel by rail, if this were laid, but the population of the Provinces, who rarely go south or west, for want of facilities, would by the aid of the European and North American Railroad, be let in on the western and southern lines.

5th. The national importance of controlling this railroad will induce Americans to embark in it. The electric telegraph across Nova Scotia was no sooner completed, than American merchants and speculators in cotton and corn would have bought it at any price. In peace and war the command of the work now proposed would give them great influence. No single association in the Provinces would wield so much. If they built the trunk line they would ultimately control the branches. The constant employment of their own people would lead to the diffusion of republican sentiments; and no Nova Scotian or inhabitant of New Brunswick would deem it worth his while to attempt to counteract tendencies to which the mother country seemed indifferent and which he saw must inevitably lead to but one result.

Should it be objected, my Lord, that to comply with the request preferred by Nova Scotia would be to delay or peril the completion of the great railway projected by Lord Durham, and which was designed to form a backbone for the North American Provinces, and to open up large tracts of waste land to colonization; we answer:

Show us that Her Majesty's Government seriously entertain that project, that they are prepared to go down to Parliament and demand that it shall be realised, and Nova Scotia will at once honourably redeem the pledges which, in anticipation of what she conceived to be the imperial policy, were recorded upon her statute-book.

However the question may have changed its aspect, Nova Scotia will not swerve from any line of intercolonial policy which the parent state regards of paramount importance.

But the question has changed its aspect. Whether Canada, with its railway lines connecting Montreal and Quebec with the sea, *via* Melbourne and Portland, and which will, by the completion of the line now proposed through the cultivated parts of New Brunswick, unite both these great cities with Halifax, by distances, severally, of 825 and 865 miles, will be disposed to embark funds in another, through a comparative wilderness, remains to be proved.

Nova Scotia, whatever may be the predilections of the Imperial Government or the determination of Canada, possesses this advantage: the line which she

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proposes to construct through her territory must be a common trunk line for both the Portland and the Quebec railroads, whenever these are completed.

Nova Scotia cannot be wrong in constructing her 130 miles. If the Portland railroad only is built, she is content to share the fortunes of that enterprise. If the British Government prefer and choose to aid the work originally proposed, Nova Scotia will either pay her contribution, already pledged, or she will make that portion of the common line to the St. Lawrence which passes through her territory.

We hope to see both lines finished. One continuous railroad communication with the great rivers and lakes of Canada or with the principal cities of the United States, would give an impetus to the social and material prosperity of Nova Scotia, which her people anticipate, in confident reliance upon their own resources and on the bounties of Providence. Give them both and the trunk line through their country must become a source of prosperity to the Province and of revenue to its Government, only to be paralleled, in the history of the New World, by the celebrated Erie Canal.

But, my Lord, it may be urged that the parent state has many colonies and that she may be embarrassed by other claims of a similar nature, if this is granted. Admitting the soundness of the objection, I respectfully submit that it comes too late. The British Government has already established the precedents of which Nova Scotia would claim the benefit. The grants to Canada have been already referred to. In 1848, a law was passed by Parliament, guaranteeing the interest required on a loan for the public works of the West Indies and the Mauritius, including railways.

But we humbly conceive that no general rule of this kind ought to apply, even if the exceptions to which I have referred did not exist. The Government of England does not place a lighthouse on every headland or maintain a garrison in every English town. It does not build a dockyard in every county or in every colony. The prominent points of the sea-coast are occupied for commercial security; and the most commanding positions, for the preservation of internal tranquillity and national defence.

Gibraltar is a barren rock, yet millions have been expended in its capture and defence. Bermuda, in intrinsic value, is not worth a single county of New Brunswick; yet it commands the surrounding seas and is therefore occupied for national objects.

In like manner, I would respectfully submit, should the commanding position of Nova Scotia be appreciated, occupied and rendered impregnable—not by the presence of fleets and armies—but by inspiring its people with full confidence in the justice, magnanimity and wisdom of the Imperial Government; by promptly securing to the Provinces all the advantages arising from its proximity to Europe; from its containing within its bosom the highroad over which, in all time to come, the Anglo-Saxon race must pass in their social and commercial intercourse with each other.

There are other views of this question, my Lord, which ought to have their

weight with the Government and people of England. The position of the North American Provinces is peculiar; and the temptations and dangers which surround them, trust me, my Lord, require on the part of the Imperial Government a policy at once conciliatory and energetic.

The concessions already made and the principles acknowledged by Her Majesty's Government leave us nothing to desire, and imperial statesmen little to do, in regard to the internal administration of our affairs. But something more than this is required by the high-spirited race who inhabit British America. Placed between two mighty nations, we sometimes feel that we belong, in fact, to neither. Twenty millions of people live beside us, from whose markets our staple productions are excluded or in which they are burdened with high duties, because we are British subjects. For the same reason, the higher paths of ambition, on every hand inviting the ardent spirits of the Union, are closed to us. From equal participation in common right, from fair competition with them in the more elevated duties of Government and the distribution of its prizes, our British brethren on the other side as carefully exclude us. The President of the United States is the son of a schoolmaster. There are more than one thousand schoolmasters teaching the rising youth of Nova Scotia with the depressing conviction upon their minds that no very elevated walks of ambition are open either to their pupils or their own children.

Protection to any species of industry in Nova Scotia, we utterly repudiate; but your Lordship is well aware that many branches of industry, many delicate and many coarse manufactures, require an extended demand before they can be sustained in any country. This extended demand the citizens of the great republic enjoy; and it has done more for them than even their high tariffs or their peculiar institutions. The wooden nutmeg of Connecticut may flavour untaxed the rice of Carolina. Sea-borne in a vessel which traverses two mighty oceans, the coarse cloths of Massachusetts enter the port of San Francisco without fear of a custom-house or payment of duty. The staple exports of Nova Scotia cannot cross the Bay of Fundy without paying thirty per cent.; and every species of colonial manufacture is excluded from Great Britain by the comparatively low price of labour here, and from the wide range of the republic by prohibitory duties.

The patience with which this state of things has been borne, the industry and enterprise which Nova Scotia has exhibited, in facing these difficulties, entitle her to some consideration. But a single century has passed away since the first permanent occupation of her soil by a British race. During all that time she has preserved her loyalty untarnished; and the property created upon her soil or which floats under her flag upon the sea is estimated at the value of £15,000,000. She provides for her own civil government, guards her criminals, lights her coast, maintains her poor, and educates her people from her own resources. Her surface is everywhere intersected with free roads, inferior to none in America; and her hardy shoresmen not only wrestle with the republicans for the fisheries and commerce of the surrounding seas, but

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enter into successful competition with them in the carrying trade of the world. Such a country, your Lordship will readily pardon me for suggesting even to my gracious Sovereign's confidential advisers, is worth a thought. Not to wound the feelings of its inhabitants or even seem to disregard their interests, may be worth the small sacrifice she now requires.

Nova Scotia has a claim upon the British Government and Parliament which no other colony has. The mineral treasures in her bosom are supposed to be as inexhaustible as the fisheries upon her coast or the riches of her soil. Nearly the whole have been bartered away to a single company for no adequate provincial or national object. A monopoly has thus been created which wounds the pride, while it cramps the industry of the people. If Nova Scotia were a state of the American Union, this monopoly would not last an hour. If she now asked to have this lease cancelled or bought up that her industry might be free, she would seek nothing unreasonable. The emancipation of our soil is perhaps as much an obligation resting upon the people of England as was the emancipation of the slaves. No Government dare create such a monopoly in England or in Scotland; and bear with me, my Lord, when I assure your Lordship that our feelings are as keen, our pride as sensitive as those of Englishmen or Scotchmen. Break up this monopoly, and capital would flow into our mines, and the mines would furnish not only employment for railroads, but give an impetus to our coasting and foreign trade.

Nova Scotians have seen £20,000,000, not lent, but given, to their fellow-colonists in the West Indies. They admired the spirit which overlooked pecuniary considerations in view of great principles of national honour and humanity. But by that very act they lost, for a time, more than would make this railroad. Their commerce with the West Indies was seriously deranged by the change; and the consumption of fish, their great staple, largely diminished.

If money is no object when the national honour is at stake in the West Indies, why should it be in British America? If the emancipation of eight hundred thousand blacks is a moral obligation, to be redeemed at the cost of £20,000,000, surely a territory which now contains double the number of whites, attached British subjects, and which will ultimately contain ten times that number, is worth risking a million or two to preserve.

The national bounties of France and America, my Lord, also place Nova Scotia in a false and unfavourable position. These bounties are not aimed at our industry, but at British naval supremacy. Yet they subject us to an unfair competition upon the sea, as galling as is the mineral and metallic monopoly upon the land.

For every quintal of fish a Frenchman catches, his Government pays him ten francs or 8s. 4d. sterling; and every man and boy employed receives fifty francs for each voyage besides. For every ton of shipping an American employs in the fishery, his Government pays him 20s. per ton. Nova Scotia juts into the seas which the French and American fishermen thus stimulated occupy. If

she were a French province or an American state, not only would she participate in these bounties, but she would fit out and own, in addition to her present fleet, at least one thousand fishing craft, which now come from foreign ports into the waters by which she is surrounded, and subject her people to a species of competition in which the advantages are all on one side.

The manner in which Nova Scotia has extended her fisheries in the face of this competition, the hardy race she has reared upon her sea-coast, the value of craft employed and of export furnished, speak volumes for the enterprise and industry of her people. Yet every Nova Scotian fisherman toils with this conviction daily impressed upon his mind: "If I were a Frenchman, my profits would be secure. I would be in a position equal to that of an American; far superior to that of a colonist. If I were an American, I would have a bounty sufficient to cover the risk of my outfit; and besides, have a boundless free market for the sale of my fish, extending from Maine to California, which is now half-closed to me by nearly prohibitory duties."

The British Government could break down these bounties at once, by equalizing them. The mother country owes it to her Northern Provinces to try the experiment, if they cannot be removed by negotiation. But suppose she does not; suppose that, having done my best to draw attention to the claims of those I have the honour to represent, I return to them without hope; how long will high-spirited men endure a position in which their loyalty subjects their mines to monopoly, their fisheries to unnatural competition, and in which cold indifference to public improvement or national security is the only response they meet when they make to the imperial authorities a proposition calculated to keep alive their national enthusiasm, while developing their internal resources?

The idea of a great intercolonial railroad to unite the British American Provinces originated with Lord Durham. In the confident belief that this work was to be regarded as one of national importance, Nova Scotia paid towards the survey of the line nearly £8000. The anticipation that the completion of this great work, in connection with a scheme of colonization, would redress many of the evils and inequalities under which the Provinces labour, for some time buoyed up the spirits of the people, and the disappointment is keenly felt in proportion as hopes were sanguine. If then the British Government has abandoned the policy to which, perhaps too hastily, we assumed that it was pledged; if the empire will make no roads through its territories (and the legions of Britain might be worse employed), surely it cannot be less than madness to permit foreigners to make them; and it must be sound statesmanship to aid the colonial governments, whenever they will assume the responsibility of constructing and controlling the great highways, no less necessary for internal improvement than for national defence.

If the road to Nova Scotia is commenced, the spirits of the colonists will revive. If extended to Portland, it will "prepare the way"—to employ your Lordship's own language—"for the execution of the line to Quebec and it

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will contribute to the same end, namely, that of rendering Halifax the great port of communication between the two continents of Europe and America."

I have said that the railroad across Nova Scotia will be the common trunk for the Quebec and Portland lines, whenever these are made. The former cannot be constructed by the colonists, unless the British Government make liberal contributions. The line to Portland will be made either with British or American capital. If by the latter, then, my Lord, it is worth while to inquire in what position the British Government will stand, should they ever attempt to realise Lord Durham's magnificent conception and find that the first link in the great chain of intercolonial communication is already in possession of their enemies?

The Americans, at this moment, are putting forth their utmost skill to compete with our ocean steamers. When the railroad is constructed across Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, their boats must start from and return to Halifax, or the competition will be at an end. A rivalry honourable to both nations may still continue; but however the odds may turn, at least we shall have the satisfaction of reflecting that the inevitable result of that competition is to build up a noble maritime city within Her Majesty's dominions.

The British Government now pays for the conveyance of the North American mails between England and New York, £145,000 sterling per annum. By this arrangement, 1107 miles of sea are traversed more than are necessary. The correspondence of all Europe with all America is delayed fifty-six hours beyond the time which will be actually required for its conveyance when the railroads across Ireland and Nova Scotia are completed.

One set of these British mail steamers pass by our own Provinces and, to the mortification of their inhabitants, carry their letters and even the public despatches of their Government to the United States, to be sent back 800 miles, if they come by land; at least 500, if sent by sea.

While the nearest land to Europe is British territory, while a harbour, almost matchless for security and capacity, invites Englishmen to build up within the empire a fitting rival to the great commercial cities which are rising beyond it, your Lordship will readily comprehend the depth and earnestness of our impatience to be rescued from a position which wounds our pride as British subjects and is calculated rapidly to generate the belief that the commanding position of our country is either not understood or our interests but lightly valued.

My Lord, I do not touch the question of emigration and colonization, because I have already trespassed largely upon your Lordship's patience and because I do not wish to encumber the subject. There is another reason, my Lord. I do not desire to enter incidentally upon a field which has yielded so many crops of fallacies, but which, properly cultivated, may yet bear noble fruit. I wish to examine what may have been recently said and written in England on this important subject, before expressing my opinion. This only I may say, that if the British Islands have surplus labour, there is room for it



all in the North American Provinces ; and that the honour and the interests of England are deeply concerned in planting that labour in the right place. CHAP. XVII

I am aware, my Lord, that it is the fashion in certain quarters to speak of the fraternal feelings which, henceforward, are to mutually animate the population of Great Britain and of the United States. I wish I could credit the reality of their existence ; but I must believe the evidence of my own senses.

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A few years ago I spent the fourth of July at Albany. The ceremonies of the day were imposing. In one of the largest halls of the city an immense body of persons were assembled. English, Irish and Scotch faces were neither few nor far between. In the presence of that breathless audience, the old bill of indictment against England, the Declaration of Independence, was read and at every clause each young American knit his brows and every Briton hung his head with shame. Then followed the oration of the day, in which every nation eminent for arts or arms or civilization received its meed of praise, but England. She was held up as the universal oppressor and scourge of the whole earth,—whose passage down the stream of time was marked by blood and usurpation,—whose certain wreck, amidst the troubled waves, was but the inevitable retribution attendant on a course so ruthless. As the orator closed, the young Americans knit their brows again ; and the recent emigrants, I fear, carried away by the spirit of the scene, cast aside their allegiance to the land of their fathers.

Had this scene, my Lord, occurred in a single town, it would have made but a slight impression ; but on that very day, it was acted with more or less of skill and exaggeration in every town and village of the republic. It has been repeated on every fourth of July since. It will be repeated every year to the end of time. And so long as that ceremony turns the concentrated hatred of republican America upon England every twelve months, it cannot be a question of indifference whether the emigrants who desire to leave the mother country should settle within or beyond the boundaries of the empire.

There is, my Lord, another view of this question, that is pregnant with materials for reflection and that should task the statesmanship of England, independently of it, though deserving to be glanced at in this connection. I have said that the North American Provinces lie between two mighty nations, yet belong in fact to neither. This branch of the subject is wide, and may be variously illustrated. Perhaps, before leaving England, I may call your Lordship's attention to it again. For the present I confine myself to a single illustration.

Whatever may be the decision of Her Majesty's Government upon this claim, which on the part of the Province I represent, I have endeavoured respectfully to press upon your Lordship's notice, I believe and every one of my countrymen will believe that if presented to the magnanimous and enlightened Assembly where we are not represented, by a few Nova Scotians whose hearts were in the enterprise, whose knowledge of the position and

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requirements of British America was minute and various, whose zeal for the integrity of the empire and the honour of the crown could not be questioned, the House of Commons would not permit them to plead in vain.

But, my Lord, we have no such privilege. We daily see our friends or acquaintance across the frontier, not only distinguishing themselves in the state legislatures which guard their municipal interests, but enriching the national councils with the varied eloquence and knowledge drawn from every portion of the Union. From the national councils of his country, the British American is shut out. Every day he is beginning to feel the contrast more keenly. I was not at the recent Portland convention, but the colonists who did attend astonished the Americans by their general bearing, ability and eloquence.

But when these men separated, it was with the depressing conviction in the hearts of our people that one set would be heard, perhaps, on the floor of Congress the week after or be conveyed in national ships to foreign embassies, while the other could never lift their voices in the British Parliament nor aspire to higher employment than their several Provinces could bestow. Let us then, my Lord, at least feel that if thus excluded, we have but to present a claim or a case worthy of consideration to have it dealt with in a fair and even generous spirit.

The warrior of old whose place was vacant in the pageant, was yet present in the hearts of the people. So let it be with us, my Lord. If the seats which many whom I have left behind me could occupy with honour to themselves and advantage to the empire, are still vacant in the national councils, let Nova Scotia be consoled by the reflection that her past history pleads for her on every fitting occasion.

## CHAPTER XVIII

1851

Importance to England of colonizing North American Provinces: Mr. Howe's letter to Earl Grey on the subject—Speech at Southampton—Banquet to Mr. Howe—Mr. Howe's acknowledgment—Comment of *The Hampshire Independent*—Interviews with Lord Monteagle and Lord Stanley—Political unrest in the mother country—Whig ministry resigns—Whigs return to office—Letter of Mr. Hawes—Mr. Howe's reports.

EARLY in the year, Mr. Howe addressed a second letter to the Colonial Secretary, Earl Grey. This letter was as follows: CHAP. XVIII

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LONDON, 5 SLOANE STREET,  
January 16, 1851.

MY LORD,—In the letter which I had the honour to address to your Lordship on the 25th November, I argued the case of Nova Scotia on its own merits and ventured to claim the guarantee of the Imperial Government in aid of her public works upon grounds which affected her material interests, her pride, her enterprise, and steadfast loyalty to the British Crown.

The immediate consideration of that letter I did not desire because while preparing it I was quite conscious that if the single issue raised were to be decided by Her Majesty's Government upon the merits or claims of Nova Scotia alone, the cabinet would have but a very inadequate statement of the reasons which ought to secure, and the Province I represent but a slender chance of obtaining, a favourable decision.

The interest which the mother country has in the elevation of North America, in the increase of her population, the development of her resources, the occupation of her wild lands, the extension of her commerce, and of her means of easy internal and external communication, I believe to far transcend the interest, great as that is, which the several Provinces feel in these very important questions.

Should the aid of the parent state be refused, the Northern Provinces would still, but with less rapidity, complete their public works. Though not an emigrant landed on their shores, the population they have would live in plenty and double every twenty years. Should they change their political relations, the worst that could befall them would be association with their Anglo-Saxon neighbours or an independent position moderately secure and full of future promise.

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But England cannot afford to descend from the high position which she occupies among the nations of the earth. Having lost one-half of a mighty continent won by the valour and enterprise of a noble ancestry, she can as little afford to confess in the presence of all the world her inability to wisely rule the other half and to preserve the attachment of its inhabitants. Besides, there are within her own populous cities and upon the surface of her highly cultivated rural districts, certain evils, disorders and burdens, with which it behoves her as a good economist and as a wise, enterprising and Christian nation energetically to deal.

For more than a month, I have surveyed with intense earnestness the wide circle of her colonial dependencies and sought in parliamentary and official papers for some assured prospect of relief from those evils and disorders. I have examined with care the policy of the present and of past governments and the plans and suggestions of public writers and associations; and have invariably turned to the North American Provinces with the conviction that they present at this moment the most available and diversified resources for the relief of England; the noblest field for the further development of her industry, philanthropy and power.

In offering suggestions to the ministers of the Crown, I feel, my Lord, the distance which divides me in rank and intelligence from those I would presume to counsel; and yet I am not without a hope that they will give some weight to the position I occupy and to the training which my mind has received.

If I understand the questions to be approached better than many persons of far higher attainments, if I feel more acutely their commanding importance, it is because, being a native of North America, I have travelled much over the Provinces and mingled familiarly and for many years with all classes of their inhabitants; and being a member of Her Majesty's Council in the Province I represent, I am bound by my oath to offer my advice through the channels established by the constitution to my Sovereign in matters of state, which I believe to involve the honour of the Crown and the integrity and prosperity of the empire.

To provide employment for her surplus capital and labour, to extend her home markets, to relieve her poor-rates, to empty her poor-houses, to reform her convicts, to diminish crime, to fill up the waste places of the empire and to give the great mass of her population a share of real estate and an interest in property, I believe to be pre-eminently the mission and the duty of this great country at the present time.

The period is favourable. The removal of impolitic restrictions has lessened to some extent the pressure upon the public finances and given to the people that measure of relief which affords time for reflection upon the means by which the still existing pressure upon industry may be further relieved. From a colonial point of view, the period is also favourable. Thanks to the policy which the present cabinet have carried out, the North American Provinces are relieved so far as free countries ever can be from

internal dissensions. Invested with control over their own affairs and resources, they have now the leisure as they assuredly have a sincere desire to consult with their brethren on this side of the Atlantic on common measures of mutual advantage. I think I may say that while they anticipate great benefit from the co-operation and aid of the mother country in promoting their public works, they are not unmindful of their duty to consider the peculiar questions in which this country feels an interest and to take care that while availing themselves of the credit of England no permanent addition is made to her public burdens.

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The subjects of colonization and emigration have been most elaborately discussed. I pass over the points in which writers and speakers differ; in this they all agree, that the British Islands have an interest in these subjects, second to none that has ever been felt by any nation in ancient or modern times. The enumeration of a few facts will be sufficient to exhibit the grounds of this belief. The statistical returns of 1850 will, I have no doubt, show a state of things much more favourable, but still I fear not so favourable as to shake the general conclusions at which I have arrived. These are founded upon facts, as I find them stated in official documents and works of approved authority.

In Ireland, the lives of the population have for years been dependent upon the growth of a single vegetable. But when it grew, as was stated by the late Charles Buller uncontradicted in the House of Commons, on an average there were two millions of persons who in that island were unemployed for thirty weeks in the year. To what extent famine and emigration have since diminished the numbers, I have no means of accurately judging; but it appears that in 1848, besides the £10,000,000 granted by Parliament for the relief of Irish distress and provisions sent from other countries, £1,216,679 were raised in Ireland for the poor, and that 1,457,194 or nearly one out of every five of the entire population received relief.

In Scotland, where the population is only 2,620,000, a fifth more than that of British America, £545,334 were expended for the relief of the poor in 1848, —more than was spent by the four British Provinces on their civil government, roads, education, lights, interest on debts and all other services put together; 227,647 persons were relieved, the amount expended on each being £2, 7s. 9d.; a sum quite sufficient to have paid in a regularly appointed steamboat, the passage of each recipient to British America.

In England, in the same year, £6,180,765 were raised for the relief of the poor or 1s. 10d. in the £ on £67,300,587. The number aided was 1,176,541, or about one out of every eleven persons occupying this garden of the world. The sum paid for each was even higher than in Scotland, being £3, 5s. 10d. per head, more than sufficient to have paid the passage to North America from Liverpool or Southampton.

I turn to the workhouses of England and find that in 1849 there were in these receptacles 30,158 boys and 26,165 girls, of whom 8264 were fit for

CHAP. XVIII service. In Ireland there were 60,514 boys and 66,285 girls, under the age of eighteen, the aggregate in the two countries being 185,122.

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Turning to the criminal calendar, it appears that in 1848 there were committed for offences in England 30,349; in Scotland 4900; and in Ireland 38,522, making 73,771 in all; of whom 6298 were transported and 37,373 imprisoned.

I find that in 1849 you maintained in Ireland a constabulary force of 12,828 men, besides horses, at a cost, taking the preceding year as a guide, of £562,506, 10s. In England and Wales you employed 9829 policemen (including the London police) at a cost of £579,327, 4s. 8d. From Scotland I have no return. But taking the above facts to guide us, it appears that, for mere purposes of internal repression and the arrest of criminals, to say nothing of beadles and innumerable parish officers, you maintained, in addition to your army, a civic force double in number the entire army of the United States, at a cost (Scotland not being included) of £1,141,833, 14s. 8d.

Think you, my Lord, that when a republican points exultingly to the returns, and contrasts these statistics of poverty and crime with the comparative abundance and innocence of his own country, and which he attributes to his own peculiar institutions, that a British colonist does not turn with astonishment at the apathy of England to the millions of square miles of fertile territory which surround him, to the noble rivers and lakes, and forests by which the scenery is diversified, to the exhaustless fisheries, and to the motive power rushing from a thousand hills into the sea and with which all the steam engines of Britain cannot compete?

Driven to attribute to British and Irish statesmen a want of courage and forecast to make these great resources available to maintain our brethren and protect their morals, or to suspect the latter of being more idle, degraded, and criminal than their conduct abroad would warrant, we gladly escape from the apprehension of doing general injustice by laying the blame on our rulers. May it be the elevated determination of Her Majesty's advisers to relieve us from the dilemma by wiping out this national reproach.

One set of economists propose to remedy this state of things by restraints upon nature which are simply impossible and would be wicked if they were not; another large political party desire to feed the people by a return to protection and the revival of class interests, with all their delusions and hostilities; a third look hopefully forward to the further development of domestic industry in accordance with the principles of free trade.

All my sympathies are with the latter; but while hostile tariffs exist in most of the populous states of Europe and America, I would aid them by the creation of new markets within the Queen's dominions, by the judicious location of those who are a burden upon the fertile lands of the empire, that they may become customers to those who remain at home.

One writer, whose book I have read recently, objects to this, because he says that if any part of the population is displaced, young people will

marry and increase the numbers until the vacuum is filled up. The young ought certainly not to object to this, or the old either. If his theory be sound, it answers the objections of those who fear too great diminution of numbers, by emigration; and colonization would still have this advantage that it would strengthen the transatlantic Provinces, and make more customers for Britain and Ireland, even should their population remain the same. CHAP. XVIII  
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But it may be said there is but one enlightened mode of colonization, and, under the patronage of the Government and of associated companies, that is being very extensively tried in our southern and eastern possessions.

Of the Wakefield theory I would speak with all respect; of the combined efforts of public-spirited individuals, I would be the last to disapprove; the judicious arrangements made by the Government commissioners, for the selection of emigrants, the ventilation and security of ships, and the distribution of labour, which I have carefully examined, challenge in most of their details my entire approval.

I do not wish to check the progress in these valuable colonies of associated enterprise; I do not desire to restrict the growth of population within them, or to supersede the functions of the board of land and emigration; I wish these rising communities God speed and success to all those who take an interest in them.

But I turn from them to the North American field, perhaps because I know it best, but assuredly because I believe that to people and strengthen it will secure political advantages of the very highest importance; and because I apprehend that the Eastern colonies, however they may prosper and improve, will offer but homœopathic remedies for the internal maladies of England.

In twenty-two years, from 1825 to 1846 inclusive, only 124,272 persons went from the United Kingdom to the Australian colonies and New Zealand. In the same period, 710,410 went to the United States to strengthen a foreign and a rival power, to entrench themselves behind a hostile tariff, and to become consumers of American manufacture and of foreign productions, seaborne in American bottoms; they and the countless generation that has already sprung from their loins, unconscious of regard for British interests and of allegiance to the crown of England.

In twenty-two years, 124,272 settlers have gone to Australia and New Zealand—about half the number on the poor-rate of Scotland in 1848; not a tenth part of the paupers relieved in Ireland, or one in fourteen of those who were supported by England's heavily taxed industry in that single year; not more, I apprehend, than died of famine in a single county of Ireland from 1846 to 1850; and less by 60,000 than the number of young people who were in the workhouses of England and Ireland in 1849.

Valuable as the Eastern colonies may be, respectable as may have been the efforts to improve them, it is manifest that, whether we regard them as exten-

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sive fields for colonization or as industrial aids for the removal of pressure on the resources of the United Kingdom, the belief, however fondly indulged, is but a delusion and a snare. Were I to go into a calculation of the expense to show what this emigration has cost the Government and people of England, I could prove this by pregnant illustrations. But two or three simple facts are patent and lie upon the surface.

Australia and New Zealand are 14,000 miles from the shores of England, the British Provinces of North America but 2500. Every Englishman, Irishman or Scotchman who embarks for the Eastern colonies must be maintained by somebody for 120 or 150 days, while he is tossing about in idleness on the sea. The average passage to North America is about forty days. And when the arrangements are complete to which I hope to have your Lordship's countenance and support, emigrants embarking for the North American Provinces may reach Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in eight or ten days, and Canada in twelve. The expense of a passage to the East is, to the Government, to the emigrant, or to the capitalist to whom he becomes a debtor, £20. The cost of a passage to the West rarely exceeds £3, 10s. and may be reduced to £2, 10s., if steamships for the poor are employed.

But mark the disproportion, my Lord, in other respects. If an Englishman or Irishman, with capital, goes to the Eastern colonies, he must pay £100 sterling for 100 acres of land. If he goes to the Canterbury Settlement, he must pay £300. In Western Canada he can get his 100 acres of the best land in the empire for £40; in Lower Canada for £20; in New Brunswick (where Professor Johnston declares more wheat is grown to the acre than in the best parts of the State of New York) for £12, 10s.; and in Nova Scotia for £10, where, from the extent of mineral treasures, the proximity to Europe, the wealth of the fisheries, and the facilities for and rapid growth of navigation, land is now in many sections, and will soon become in all, as valuable as in any part of Her Majesty's colonial dominions.

If land is purchased in the Eastern possessions it is clear that English capital must flow out at the rate of £100 or £300 for every hundred acres. If the poor go out, they must begin colonial life by owing that amount, and £20 for their passages besides, if they aspire to become proprietors.

A poor Englishman, on the contrary, can get to North America for a few pounds. If he works a single winter at the seal-fishery of Newfoundland, or on the wharves in Nova Scotia, or a single summer in the rural districts or timber forests of New Brunswick, he can save as much as will pay for his passage and his land.

But it is said that these high prices are paid not for land alone, but for the civilization, without which land is of little value; for roads, bridges, churches, schools, for religious services and the means of education. But all these exist in North America to an extent and of an order of which few persons who have not visited the Provinces have any correct idea. Nova Scotia, for instance, is divided into seventeen counties, with their



magistracy, sessions, court-houses, jails, representatives, and complete county organization. CHAP. XVIII

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Each of these again is divided into townships whose ratepayers meet, assess themselves, support their poor, and appoint their local officers. In each of the shire towns there are churches of some, if not of all of the religious bodies which divide the British people. Every part of the country is intersected with roads, and bridges span all the larger and most of the smaller streams.

From fifty to one hundred public schools exist in every county. There is a Bible in every house; and few natives of the Province grow up but can read, write and cipher. The same may be said generally of the other Provinces. We charge nothing for these civilizing influences. The emigrant who comes in, obeys the laws and pays his ordinary taxes, which are very light, is welcome to a participation in them all, and may for £10 have his 100 acres of land besides.

The best criterion of the comparative civilization of countries may be found in the growth of commerce and the increase of a mercantile marine. Tried by this test, the North American Provinces will stand comparison with any other portion of the Queen's dominions.

The West India colonies, the Australian group, including New Zealand, the African colonies and the East Indian or the Mauritius and Ceylon, owned collectively in 1846 but 2128 vessels or 42,610 tons of shipping. The North American group, including Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island, owned in that year 5119 vessels, measuring 393,822 tons. Of these, Nova Scotia owned in tonnage 141,093, and in number more than the other four put together or 2583.

But it may be asserted that the climate of North America is rigorous and severe. The answer we North Americans give to this objection is simple. Do me the honour to glance, my Lord, at the hemisphere which contains the three-quarters of the Old World, and dividing the northern countries from the south, the rigorous climate from the warm and enervating, satisfy yourself in which reside at this moment the domestic virtues, the pith of manhood, the seats of commerce, the centres of intelligence, the arts of peace, the discipline of war, the political power and dominion,—assuredly in the northern half. And yet it was not always so. The southern and eastern portions, blessed with fertility and containing the cradle of our race, filled up first and ruled for a time the territories to the north. But as civilization and population advanced northwards, the bracing climate did its work as it will ever do; and in physical endurance and intellectual energy, the north asserted the superiority which to this hour it maintains.

Look now, my Lord, at the map of America. A very common idea prevails in this country that nearly the whole continent of North America was lost to England at the Revolution, and that only a few insignificant and almost worthless Provinces remain. This is a great and, if the error extensively prevail, may be

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a fatal mistake. Great Britain, your Lordship is well aware, owns up to this moment one-half the continent; and, taking the example of Europe to guide us, I believe the best half. Not the best for slavery or for growing cotton and tobacco, but the best for raising men and women, the most congenial to the constitution of the northern European, the most provocative of steady industry, and, all things else being equal, the most impregnable and secure.

But they are not and never have been equal. The first British emigration all went to the southern half of the continent, the northern portion for one hundred and fifty years being occupied by French hunters, traders and Indians. The British did not begin to settle in Nova Scotia till 1749, nor in Canada till 1763. Prior to the former period, Massachusetts had a population of 160,000; Connecticut, 100,000. The city of Philadelphia had 18,000 inhabitants before an Englishman had built a house in Halifax; Maine had 2485 enrolled militia-men before a British settlement was formed in the Province of New Brunswick. The other States were proportionally advanced before Englishmen turned their attention to the Northern Provinces at all.

The permanent occupation of Halifax and the loyalist emigration from the older Provinces gave them their first impetus. But your Lordship will perceive that in the race of improvement the old thirteen States had a long start. They had 3,000,000 of Britons and their descendants to begin with at the Revolution. But a few hundreds occupied the Provinces to which I wish to call attention at the commencement of the war; only a few thousands at its close. Your Lordship will, I trust, readily perceive that, had both portions of the American continent enjoyed the same advantages from the period when the Treaty of Paris was signed down to the present hour, the southern half must have improved and increased its numbers much faster than the northern, because it had a numerous population, a flourishing commerce, and much wealth to begin with. But the advantages have not been equal. The excitement and the necessities of the War of Independence inspired the people of the South with enterprise and self-confidence. Besides, my Lord, they had free trade with each other; and, so far as they chose to have, or could obtain it by their own diplomacy, with all the world. The Northern Provinces had separate Governments, half-paternal despotisms, which repressed rather than encouraged enterprise. They had often hostile tariffs, no bond of union, and down to the advent of Mr. Huskisson, and from thence to the final repeal of the navigation laws, were cramped in all their commercial enterprises by the restrictive policy of England.

In other respects the Southern States had the advantage. From the moment that their independence was recognized, they enjoyed the absolute control over their internal affairs. Your Lordship, who has had the most ample opportunity of estimating the repressing influence of the old colonial system and, happily for us, has swept it away, can readily fancy what advantages our neighbours derived from emancipation from its trammels. On reflection, you will think it less remarkable that the southern half of the continent

has improved faster than the northern, than that the latter should have improved at all. CHAP. XVIII

But I have not enumerated all the sources of disparity. The national Government of the United States early saw the value and importance of emigration. They bought up Indian lands, extended their acknowledged frontiers by purchase or successful diplomacy, surveyed their territory, and prepared for colonization. The states, or public associations within them, borrowed millions from England, opened roads, laid off lots, and advertised them in every part of Europe by every fair and often unfair means of puffing and exaggeration. The general Government skilfully seconded or rather suggested this policy. They framed constitutions suited to those new settlements; invested them with modified forms of self-government from the moment that the most simple materials for organization were accumulated; and formed them into new states with representation in the national councils whenever they numbered 40,000.

What did England do all this time? Almost nothing; she was too much occupied with European wars and diplomacy; wasting millions in subsidizing foreign princes, many of whose petty dominions if flung into a Canadian lake would scarcely raise the tide. What did we do in the Provinces to fill up the northern territory? What could we do? Down to 1815 we were engrossed by the wars of England, our commerce being cramped by the insecurity of our coasts and harbours. Down to the promulgation of Lord John Russell's memorable despatch of the 16th of October 1839, to which full effect has been given in the continental Provinces by the present cabinet, we were engaged in harassing contests with successive Governors and Secretaries of State for the right to manage our internal affairs.

This struggle is over, and we now have the leisure and the means to devote to the great questions of colonization and internal improvement; to examine our external relations with the rest of the empire and with the rest of the world; to consult with our British brethren on the imperfect state of those relations and of the best appropriation that can be made of their surplus labour and of our surplus land, for our mutual advantage, that the poor may be fed, the waste places filled up, and this great empire strengthened and preserved.

But, it may be asked, what interest have the people of England in the inquiry? I may be mistaken, but in my judgment they have an interest far more important and profound than even the colonists themselves.

The contrast between the two sides of the American frontier is a national disgrace to England. It has been so recorded in her parliamentary papers by Lord Durham, by Lord Sydenham, and by other governors and commissioners.

There is not a traveller, from Hall to Buckingham, but has impressed this conviction on her literature. We do not blush at the contrast on our own account; we could not relieve it by a single shade beyond what has been

accomplished. We have done our best under the circumstances in which we have been placed, as I have already shown by reference to our social and commercial progress; but we regret it, because it subjects us to the imputation of an inferiority that we do not feel, and makes us doubt whether British statesmen will in the time to come deal with our half of the American continent more wisely than they have in times past.

It is clearly then the interest and duty of England to wipe out this national stain and to reassure her friends in North America by removing the disadvantages under which they labour, and redressing the inequalities which they feel.

Having, however imperfectly, endeavoured to show that as a mere question of economy, of relief to her municipal and national finances no less than of religious obligation, it is the duty of England to turn her attention to North America, permit me now for a moment to direct your Lordship's attention to the territory which it behoves the people of these United Kingdoms to occupy, organize and retain.

Glance, my Lord, at the map, and you will perceive that Great Britain owns on the continent of North America, with the adjacent islands, 4,000,000 square miles of territory. All the states of Europe, including Great Britain, measure but 3,708,871 miles. Allowing 292,129 square miles for inland lakes of greater extent than exist on this continent, the lands you own are as broad as the whole of Europe. If we take the round number of 4,000,000 and reduce the miles to acres, we have about ninety acres for every man, woman and child in the United Kingdom. Now, suppose you spare us 2,000,000 of people, you will be relieved of that number, who now, driven by destitution into the unions or to crime, swell the poor-rates and crowd the prisons.

With that number we shall be enabled with little or no assistance to repel foreign aggression. We shall still have a square mile or 640 acres for every inhabitant, or 4480 acres for every head of a family which British America will then contain.

Is not this a country worth looking after; worth some application of imperial credit; nay, even some expenditure of public funds that it may be filled with friends, not enemies; customers, not rivals; improved, organized and retained? The policy of the republic is protection to home manufactures. Whose cottons, linens, woollens, cutlery, iron; whose salt, machinery, guns and paper, do the 701,401 emigrants who went to the United States between 1825 and 1846 now consume? Whose have they consumed after every successive year of emigration? Whose will they and their descendants continue to consume? Those not of the mother country but of the United States. This is a view of the question which should stir to its centre every manufacturing city in the kingdom.

Suppose the republic could extend her tariff over the other portions of the continent; she could then laugh at the free trade policy of England. But if

we retain that policy and the colonies besides, British goods will flow over the frontier, and the Americans must defend their revenue by an army of officers extending ultimately over a line of 3000 miles. CHAP. XVIII  
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The balance of power in Europe is watched with intense interest by British statesmen. The slightest movement in the smallest state, that is calculated to cause vibration, animates the Foreign Office and often adds to its perplexities and labours. But is not the balance of power in America worth retaining? Suppose it lost, how would it affect that of Europe? Canning, without much reflection, boasted that he had redressed the balance of power in the Old, by calling the New World into existence. But, even if the vaunt were justifiable, it was a world beyond the limits of the Queen's dominions. We have a new world within them, at the very door of England, with boundaries defined, and, undeniably by any foreign power, subject to her sceptre. Already it lives and moves, and has its being; full of hope and promise and fond attachment to the mother country. The New World of which Canning spoke, when its debts to England are counted, will appear to have been a somewhat costly creation; and yet at this very moment Nova Scotia's little fleet of 2583 sail could sweep every South American vessel from the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans.

I am not an alarmist, my Lord, but there appear to be many in England and some of them holding high military and social positions, who consider these islands defenceless from continental invasion by any first-rate European power. Confident as I am in their resources and hopeful of their destiny, I must confess that the military and naval power of France or Russia, aided by the steam-fleet and navy of the United States, would make a contest doubtful for a time, however it might ultimately terminate. But suppose the United States to extend to Hudson's Bay, with an extension over the other half of the continent of the spirit which animates the republic now. Imagine Great Britain without a harbour on the Atlantic or the Pacific that she could call her own; without a ton of coal for her steamers or a spar to repair a ship: with the 5000 vessels which the Northern Provinces even now own with all their crews and the fishermen who line their shores, added to the maritime strength of the enemy, whose arsenals and outposts would then be advanced 500 miles nearer to England, even if Newfoundland and the West Indies could be retained, which is extremely doubtful. The picture is too painful to be dwelt on longer than to show how intimately interwoven are the questions to which I have ventured to call your Lordship's attention, with the foreign affairs of the empire. I do not go into comparative illustrations because I desire now to show how a judicious use of the resources of North America may not only avert the danger in time of war but relieve the pressure upon the Home Government in times of peace.

There is no passion stronger, my Lord, than the desire to own some portion of the earth's surface, to call a piece of land somewhere our own. How few Englishmen, who boast that they rule the sea, own a single acre of land. An

CHAP. XVIII Englishman calls his house his castle ; and so perhaps it is, but it rarely stands upon his own soil. How few there are who may not be driven out, or have their castles levelled with the ground, when the lease falls in.  
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There is no accurate return, but the proprietors of land in the whole United Kingdom are estimated at 80,000.

Of the 2,620,000 inhabitants which Scotland contains but 636,093 live by agriculture ; all the rest, driven in by the high price of land, are employed in trade and manufactures. Evicted Highlanders rot in the sheds of Greenock ; and Lowland peasants' offspring perish annually in the large cities for want of employment, food and air.

In Ireland, there are or were recently 44,262 farms under one acre in extent, 473,755 ranging from one to thirty. Between 1841 and 1848, 800,000 people were driven out of these small holdings ; their hovels, in many cases, burnt over their heads, and their furniture "canted" into the street.

Whence come Chartism, Socialism, O'Connor land-schemes, and all sorts of theoretic dangers to property, and prescriptions of new modes by which it may be acquired ? From this condition of real estate. The great mass of the people in these three kingdoms own no part of the soil, have no bit of land, however small, no homestead for their families to cluster round, no certain provision for their children.

Is it not hard for the great body of this people, after ages spent in foreign wars for the conquest of distant possessions, in voyages of discovery and every kind of commercial enterprise, in scientific improvements and the development of political principles, to reflect that with all their battles by land and sea, their £800,000,000 of debt, their assessed taxes, income-tax, and heavy import duties, their prisons full of convicts, their poor-rate of £7,000,000,—that so few of all those who have done and who endure these things should not have one inch of the whole earth's surface that they can call their own.

While this state of things continues, property must ever be insecure and the great majority of the people restless. With good harvests and a brisk trade, the disinherited may for the moment forget the relative positions they occupy. In periods of depression, discontent, jealousy, hatred of the more highly favoured, however tempered by liberality and kindness, will assuredly be the predominant emotions of the multitude. Their standing army and the 21,000 constables may keep them down for a time. But even if they could for ever, the question naturally arises, Have all your battles been fought for this—to maintain in the bosom of England a state of siege and ever impending civil war ?

A new aspect would be given to all the questions which arise out of this condition of property at home, if a wise appropriation were made of the virgin soil of the empire. Give the Scotchman who has no land a piece of North America, purchased by the blood which stained the tartan on the plains of Abraham. Let the Irishman or the Englishman whose kindred clubbed their muskets at Bloody Creek, or charged the enemy at Queenstown, have a bit of the land their fathers fought for. Let them have at least the option of owner-

ship and occupation, and a bridge to convey them over. Such a policy would be conservative of the rights of property and permanently relieve the people. It would silence agrarian complaint and enlarge the number of proprietors. The poor man who saw before him the prospect of securing his one hundred or one thousand acres, by moderate industry, would no longer envy the British proprietor, whose estate owed its value to high cultivation, but was not much larger in extent.

But it may be urged that, if this policy be adopted, it may empty the United Kingdoms into North America, and largely reduce their population. No apprehensions of this result need be entertained. There are few who can live in Great Britain or Ireland in comfort and security, who will ever go anywhere else. The attachment to home with all its endearing associations forms the first restraint. The seat of empire will ever attract around it the higher and more wealthy classes. The value of the home market will retain every agriculturist who can be profitably employed upon the land. The accumulated capital, science and machinery, in the large commercial and manufacturing centres, will go on enlarging the field of occupation just in proportion as they are relieved from the pressure of taxation. Besides, emigrants who have improved their fortunes abroad will be continually returning home to participate in the luxury, refinement and higher civilization which it is to be fairly assumed these islands will ever pre-eminently retain. Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania still enlarge their cities and grow in wealth and population, though all the rich lands of the republic invite their people to emigrate and there is no ocean to cross. The natural laws which protect them would operate more powerfully here, where the attractions are so much greater.

But it is time, my Lord, that I should anticipate the questions that will naturally arise. Assuming the policy to be sound, what will it cost to carry it out?

Let us first see what the present system, or rather the public establishments without a system, cost now :

Poor-rates—England . . . . .	£6,180,765
Scotland . . . . .	544,334
Ireland . . . . .	1,216,679
Constabulary—England . . . . .	579,327
Ireland . . . . .	562,506
Convicts at home and abroad . . . . .	
Emigration, 1849 (exclusive of cabin passengers) paid from	
private or parochial funds . . . . .	1,500,000
Paid by Government . . . . .	228,300
	<hr/>
	£10,811,911

The cost of prisons or that proportion of them which might be saved if the criminal calendar were less might fairly be added to the amount. The

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prison at York cost £1200 per head for each criminal—a sum large enough, the inspector observes, “to build for each prisoner a separate mansion, stable, and coach-house.” A large proportion of the cost of trials might also be added; and as twelve jurymen must have been summoned to try most of the 43,671 persons convicted in 1848, the waste of valuable time would form no inconsiderable item.

The loss of property stolen by those whom poverty first made criminal, no economist can estimate; and no human skill can calculate the value of lives and property destroyed in agrarian outrages, when wretchedness has deepened to despair.

My plan of Colonization and Emigration is extremely simple.

It embraces—

Ocean steamers for the poor as well as the rich, the preparation of the wild lands of North America for settlement, and public works to employ the people.

I do not propose that the British Government should pay the passage of anybody to America. I do not therefore require to combat the argument upon this point with which the Commissioners of Land and Emigration usually meet crude schemes pressed without much knowledge or reflection. The people must pay their own passages; but the Government or some national association or public company to be organized for that purpose must protect them from the casualties that beset them now, and secure for them cheapness, speed and certainty of departure and arrival. If this is done, by the employment of steamships of proper construction, all the miseries of the long voyage, with its sure concomitants—disease and death—and all the waste of time and means, while waiting for the sailing of merchant ships on this side of the Atlantic, and for friends and conveyances on the other, would be obviated by this simple provision. A bounty to half the extent of that now given for carrying the mails would provide the ocean omnibuses for the poor. Or if Government, by direct aid to public works or by the interposition of imperial credit to enable the colonies to construct them, were to create a labour market and open lands for settlement along the railway line of 635 miles,—these ships might be provided by private enterprise.

By reference to the published Report of the Commissioners for 1847, your Lordship will perceive that in that year of famine and disease, 17,445 British subjects died on the passage to Canada and New Brunswick, in quarantine or in the hospitals,—to say nothing of those who perished by the contagion which was diffused in the Provincial cities and settlements. An equal number, there is too much reason to apprehend, died on the passage to or in the United States. In ordinary seasons the mortality will of course be much less, and in all may be diminished by the more stringent provisions since enforced by Parliament. But bad harvests, commercial depressions, with their inevitable tendency to drive off large portions of a dense population, should be anticipated; and no regulation can protect large masses of emigrants, thrown into seaports, from



delay, fraud, cupidity and misdirection. No previous care can prevent disease from breaking out in crowded ships that are forty or fifty days at sea, to say nothing of the perils of collision and shipwreck.

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Mark the effects produced upon the poorer classes of this country. Emigration is not to them what it might be made,—a cheerful excursion in search of land, employment, fortune. It is a forlorn hope, in which a very large portion perish, in years of famine and distress, and very considerable numbers in ordinary seasons, even with the best regulations that Parliament can provide.

The remedy for all this—simple, sure, and not very expensive—is the ocean omnibus.

Steamships may be constructed to carry at least one thousand passengers with quite as much comfort as is now secured in a first-rate railway carriage, and with space enough for all the luggage besides. If these vessels left London, Southampton, Liverpool, Glasgow, Belfast, Cork, or Galway, alternately or as there might be demand for them, on certain appointed days, emigrants would know where and when to embark and would be secured from the consequences of delay, fraud and misdirection.

The Commissioners report that last year the sum spent in “the cost of extra provisions and conveyance to the ports of embarkation and maintenance there, amounted to £340,000.” The cost of reaching the seaports cannot be economized, but the extra provisions and maintenance at the ports of embarkation would be materially reduced. But how much more would be saved? The average sailing passage from London to Quebec is fifty-two days; from Liverpool, forty-five; from London to New York, forty-three; from Liverpool, thirty-five. The average passage by steam from any of the ports I have named need not exceed—to Nova Scotia, ten; to New Brunswick and Canada, twelve days. But assuming forty-three days as the average sailing passage from England to America, and thirteen to be the average by steam, let us see what the saving would be to the poor even taking the present amount of emigration as a basis.

299,498 emigrants left Great Britain and Ireland for America in 1849. A very great proportion of the Irish had a journey and a voyage to make to some English seaport before they embarked upon the Atlantic. But pass that over and multiplying the number of emigrants by thirty, and we have the number of days that would have been saved to these poor people if they had been carried out by steam. It is clear that they wasted 8,984,940 days at sea in, to them, the most precious year of life and the most valuable part of that year; which, estimating their labour at 1s. a day in the countries to which they were repairing, would amount to £449,247.

The employment of ocean steamships for the poor would save all this, and it would put an end to ship-fever, disease and death. The Government of England expended in Canada and New Brunswick alone, in 1847, in nursing the sick and burying the dead £124,762 sterling. The ocean omnibus, whether established by Government or by a private association, would save all this in

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future. Restrictive colonial laws would disappear ; and from the moment that there was a certainty that emigrants would arrive in health, however poor, the colonists would prepare their lands and open their arms to receive them.

The saving of expense and time on our side of the Atlantic would also be immense. These ships could run down the southern shores of the Maritime Provinces and land emigrants wherever they were required, from Sydney to St. Andrews. Passing through the Gut of Canso, they could supply all the northern coasts including Prince Edward Island. They could go direct to the St. Lawrence, landing the people wherever they were wanted, from Gaspé to Quebec.

Knowing exactly when to expect these vessels, our people would send to England, Ireland and Scotland for their friends, and be ready with their boats and waggons to convey them off without cost or delay the moment they arrived.

We should thus have a healthy, almost self-sustaining British emigration to the full extent of the existing demand for labour, even if no public works were commenced.

But much would soon be done, still without costing the British Government a pound, to extend the labour market. The moment that the arrival of healthy emigrants at convenient points and early in the season could be counted upon with certainty, the Provincial Governments would lay off and prepare their lands for settlement, advertising them in all the British and Irish seaports. They would empower the deputy surveyors in each county to act as emigrant agents and locate the people. They would call upon the county magistracy to prepare at the autumn or winter sessions returns, showing the number and description of emigrants required by each county in the following spring, with the number of boys and girls that they were prepared to take charge of and bind out as apprentices.

Proprietors of large unimproved tracts would soon by similar exertion and kindred agencies prepare them for occupation.

All this may be done by the employment of steamships for the poor ; and they I am confident might be drawn into the public service without any cost to the country. If it be objected that to so employ them would diminish the demand for sailing vessels, I answer, no ; but on the contrary there would be an annually increasing demand for British and Colonial tonnage to carry on the commerce and reciprocal exchanges that this healthy emigration would create.

But, my Lord, I am anxious to see these cheap steamers on another account : that they may bring English, Irish and Scotchmen and their descendants from time to time back to the land of their fathers, to tread the scenes which history hallows or revive the recollections of early life ; to contemplate the modern triumphs and glories of England and contrast them even with those of the proud republic beside us. This ennobling pleasure cannot be indulged in now but at a cost which debars from its enjoyment the great body of the Queen's colonial subjects.

Reduce the passage to ten days and the cost to £5, and thousands would come over here every summer, to return with their hearts warmed towards their British brethren ; to teach their children the policy of England and to reverence her institutions.

So far, my Lord, you will perceive that I have suggested nothing which would involve Her Majesty's Government in heavy expense. On the contrary, I believe that even the cost of emigrant steamers would be more than made up either by a reduction of expense in the naval service, retrenchment of the cost of lazarettoes and quarantine by the relief which a healthy system of emigration would at once give to some, if not all the branches of the public service, which now cost £11,000,000 sterling. It would require but a slight calculation to show that the planting of half-a-million of British subjects in the North American Provinces, where the duty on British manufactures ranges from  $6\frac{1}{4}$  to  $12\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., while in the United States it ranges from 15 to 100 per cent., would amount to more than the whole sum wanted to establish these steamers.

To illustrate this, I have made a selection from the United States tariff of certain articles in which British manufacturers feel a deep interest. It embraces 110 articles and branches of manufacture, upon which the duties in Nova Scotia with very few exceptions do not range higher than  $6\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. :

*British Manufactures which pay 15 per cent. in the United States.*

Tow, hemp or flax, manufactured.  
Steel, in bars, cast or shear.  
Tin plates, tin foil, tin in sheets.  
Zinc or spelter.

*That pay 20 per cent.*

Acids of every description.  
Articles used in tanning and dyeing.  
Blankets.  
Blank books, bound or unbound.  
Caps, gloves, leggings, mitts, socks, stockings, wove shirts, and drawers.  
Chocolate.  
Copperas and vitriol.  
Copper rods, bolts, nails, and spikes ; copper bottoms, copper in sheets or plates.  
Dressed furs.  
Glue.  
Gunpowder.  
Hats, or hat bodies, of wool.  
Oil used in painting.  
Lampblack.  
Leather.

Lead, in pigs, bars, or sheets ; lead, in pipes, and leaden shot.  
Linens, of all kinds.  
Litharge.  
Malt.  
Manufactures of flax.  
Manufactures of hemp.  
Marble, unmanufactured.  
Mineral and bituminous substances.  
Medicinal drugs.  
Metals, unmanufactured.  
Musical instruments, of all kinds.  
Needles, of all kinds.  
Paints, dry or ground.  
Paperhangings.  
Tiles and bricks.  
Periodicals.  
Putty.  
Quills.  
Saddlery.  
Salts.  
Sheathing paper.  
Skins, tanned and dressed.  
Spermaceti candles and tapers.  
Steel.  
Stereotype plates, type metal, types.  
Tallow candles.

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- Velvet.  
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Window glass, of all kinds.

*That pay 25 per cent.*

- Buttons and button moulds, of all kinds.  
Baizes, flannels, floorcloths.  
Cables and cordage.  
Cotton laces, insertings, and braids.  
Floss silks.  
All manufactures of hair of coarse descriptions.  
Cotton manufactures.  
Manufactures of mohair.  
Silk manufactures.  
Manufactures of worsted.  
Mats and matting.  
Slates.  
Woollen and worsted yarn.

*That pay 30 per cent.*

- Ale, beer, and porter.  
Manufactures of Argentine or German silver.  
Articles worn by men, women, or children of whatever material composed, made up in whole or in part by hand.  
Perfumes.  
Manufactures of grass, straw, or palm leaf.  
Beads.  
Hair manufactures of finer descriptions.  
India-rubber manufactures.  
Fur caps, hats, muffs, tippets.  
Carpets, carpeting, hearth-rugs.  
Carriages, and parts of carriages.  
Cheese.  
Clothing, of every description.  
Coach and harness furniture.

- Coal and coke.  
Combs.  
Confectionery.  
Corks.  
Cutlery, of all kinds.  
Jewellery.  
Toys.  
Earthen, china, and stone ware.  
Manufactures of gold.  
Artificial feathers and flowers.  
Umbrella materials.  
Cabinet and household furniture.  
Stained glass.  
Glass and porcelain manufactures.  
Iron, in bars or blooms, or other forms.  
Iron castings.  
Japanned wares.  
Manufactures of cotton, linen, silk, wool, or worsted, if embroidered.  
Marble, manufactured.  
Manufactures of paper, or papier-maché.  
Manufactures of wood.  
Muskets, rifles, and other fire-arms.  
Ochres.  
Oil cloths.  
Plated and gilt ware, of all kinds.  
Playing cards.  
Soap.

*That pay 40 per cent.*

- Cut glass.  
Manufactures of expensive wood.  
Tobacco manufactures.  
Alabaster and spar ornaments.  
Sweetmeats.  
Preserved meats, fish, and fruits.

*That pay 100 per cent.*

- Brandy, whisky, and other spirits, distilled from grain.

A similar list might be made of East Indian and British colonial staples and productions, with the endless variety of small manufactures which they stimulate, and to which these high duties apply.

I pass now to the only remaining topic, the formation of public works of approved utility, as a means of strengthening the empire, developing the

resources of the Provinces, and as an aid to more rapid and systematic colonization. CHAP. XVIII

Having, my Lord, in my former letter, entered largely upon this branch of the general subject, I need not repeat what that paper contains. Every mail brings fresh evidences of the feverish longing and intense anxiety with which all classes in the Provinces look forward to the establishment of those great lines of intercolonial and continental communication, which are not only to bind us together and secure to the British Provinces great commercial advantages, but which would with cheap steamboats reduce the Atlantic to a British Channel and continue the Strand in a few years to Lake Huron, and ultimately, perhaps, even in our own time (so rapidly does the world advance), to the Pacific Ocean.

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The first one hundred and thirty miles of this communication Nova Scotia will make, and amply secure the British Government from loss, should the advantage of its credit be given. We will do more. We will prepare our lands, collect returns, appoint an agent in each county, and repeal our taxes on emigrants; offering on the best terms a home to all who choose to come among us.

If Her Majesty's Government have no objections to the employment of such portion of the troops as are not required to do garrison duty, we will give them a fair addition to their pay, or land along the line, to which in war their discipline would be a defence; thus saving to the British Government the expense of bringing these veterans back to England.

The ability of Nova Scotia to fulfil any obligations she may incur to the Imperial Government may be estimated by reference to her past progress and present financial condition.

Montgomery Martin, in his late work, estimated the value of the Province in movable and immovable property at £20,700,000. Without counting wild lands and property upon which labour has not been expended, we rate it at £15,000,000. This has been created in a century by the industry of a few thousands of emigrants and loyalists and their descendants. To the amount of shipping, as evidence of a prosperous commerce, I have already referred.

Within the twenty years from 1826 to 1846 the population more than doubled; the tonnage rising in the last ten years of this period from 96,996 to 141,043 tons.

The exports rose in the twenty years from £267,277 to £831,071.

The revenue of Nova Scotia is chiefly raised from imports, the royalty on the mines and the sale of Crown lands. There is no property tax or assessed taxes, except poor and county rates raised by local assessments.

Her tariff is the lowest in North America. Her *ad valorem* duty on British goods is  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., that of Canada  $12\frac{1}{2}$ .

All the liabilities of the Province amounted on the 31st December 1849 to £105,643, 13s. 1d. The Receiver-General writes me that there has been an

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increase of the revenue during the past year of £15,000, which will reduce the liabilities to £90,643, 13s. 1d. No part of this debt is due out of the Province. Province notes, which circulate and are sustained by the demand for them to pay duties, represent £59,864 of the whole, which bears no interest. Of the balance, £40,000 is due to depositors in the Savings Bank, who receive 4 per cent. The holders of stock certificates, covering the remainder, receive 5 per cent.

The public property held by the Government in the city of Halifax alone would pay the whole debt, which could be extinguished by applying the surplus revenue to that object for two years.

The income from all sources fluctuates between £90,000 and £110,000. The permanent charges on this revenue secured to Her Majesty by the Civil List Bill are £7500 sterling. The balance is expended in maintaining other branches of the civil government, in opening and repairing roads and promoting education.

We should make the interest of the loan we now require a first charge on this surplus in the event of the railroad not yielding tolls sufficient, which, judging by the experience of our neighbours, we do not apprehend.

This surplus must steadily increase; because, while population and revenue will probably double within the next twenty years, as it has done almost without emigration or railroads during the past twenty, the expenses of the civil government will be but very slightly augmented.

The revenue could, and if necessary would be promptly increased, by raising the *ad valorem* duty, readjusting specific duties, or if even that were necessary to sustain our credit with the mother country, by a resort to a legacy, income, or property tax.

The Government of Nova Scotia (exclusive of lands in Cape Breton) still retains 3,982,388 acres of ungranted Crown lands. These, if required, could also be pledged, or the net amount of sales of land along the line could be paid over from time to time in liquidation of the loan.

The whole amount required is £800,000. The city of Halifax being pledged to the Provincial Government to pay the interest on £100,000, the whole amount that would therefore be chargeable on all sources of Provincial revenue, the tolls on the railroad included, would be £24,500.

Although having no authority to speak for the other colonies, I may observe that the Province of New Brunswick, which lies between Nova Scotia and Canada, has in addition to her ordinary sources of revenue, 11,000,000 acres of ungranted lands. She might pledge to Her Majesty's Government the proceeds of as many millions of acres of these lands, along the lines to be opened, as might be necessary, in addition to the pledge of her public funds, to secure this country from loss. The troops might be employed and settled in this Province also. The lands pledged could be sold to emigrants; the British mails and soldiers would be transported at fair prices and the amounts might be carried to the credit of the loans. I believe that New Brunswick could, if

moderately aided, ultimately make her great lines, absorb and provide farms for millions of emigrants, increase the home market for British goods by the annual amount of their consumption, and in a very few years pay any loan she may require to contract, without costing England a farthing.

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The resources of Canada are well known to your Lordship. Her interest in these great works cannot be exaggerated, and must be greatly enhanced by the approaching removal of the seat of government to Quebec. They would bring her productions to the seaboard at all seasons of the year, connect her by lines of communication with all the other Provinces and with the mother country; preparing the way for a great industrial if not political union, of which the citadel of Quebec would ultimately form the centre. That her Government would second any policy by which this might be accomplished there is no reason to doubt.

My Lord, there is one topic of extreme delicacy, perhaps, and yet, so far as my own Province is concerned, I will venture to touch it without hesitation. Some of the British colonies aspire to obtain notoriety just now by spurning from their bosoms the criminals of England; without modestly remembering that some of them, at least, owe their original prosperity to such emigrants and that thousands are annually tempted or driven into crime in this country by the absence of employment and by the resistless pressure which the slightest derangement in this highly artificial state of society creates. I believe that among the 43,000 persons convicted in this country in 1848 some thousands were more to be pitied than condemned. If such persons, organized and disciplined, were employed upon the public works of North America, as has been suggested, I believe that they would ultimately be restored to society and that the Government would be immediately relieved from serious embarrassment. I do not shrink from the responsibility of making the suggestion, nor will I shrink from my share of the responsibility of carrying it out. The people I represent, my Lord, are generally a religious people, who know that our Saviour had none of the sensitiveness manifested at the Cape. He found some virtue in the poor woman that all the world condemned, and did not consider at least one of the malefactors who were hung beside Him unworthy of Heaven.

It has been suggested that convicts might be advantageously employed on a large scale in North America for the construction of a railroad to the Pacific. I should like to see the experiment tried upon a small scale first, and do not believe that if a judicious selection were made of those whose offences were superinduced by poverty and extreme distress or of those whose conduct in some probationary course of punishment had been exemplary, the North American colonies would object to such a trial, if an appropriate choice were made of some locality along a great line in which they feel an interest, and if the men employed were properly officered and controlled by stringent regulations. A corps of 500 might be formed, subject to military organization and discipline, with the usual prospect of promotion to subordinate commands if

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they behaved well. Summary trial and punishment should be equally certain if they misbehaved; solitary confinement in the colonial penitentiaries would be an appropriate punishment if they deserted or committed any new offence. If a portion of comparatively wilderness country were selected for the experiment, the men might have sixpence per day carried to their credit from colonial funds while they laboured, to accumulate till their earnings are sufficient to purchase a tract of land upon the line with seed and implements to enable them to get a first crop when the period of service had expired.

The experiment would, I believe, succeed. It would cost the Imperial Government nothing more than it now costs to maintain the people elsewhere. The colony where they were employed would get the difference between sixpence per day and the ordinary rate of wages, to compensate for any risk it might run, and would besides ultimately secure customers for wild lands and many useful settlers.

In conclusion, my Lord, permit me to crave your indulgence for the length of this communication, which would be an unpardonable intrusion upon your Lordship's time if the topics I have ventured to discuss were less numerous and important.—I have, &c.,

JOSEPH HOWE.

The letters to Earl Grey were read in the House of Assembly in the session of 1851 amid the plaudits of Mr. Howe's most inveterate political opponents. When laid before Parliament and printed in England, they raised Mr. Howe to a position in the estimation of the press and public men of the mother country, of which any colonist might be justly proud.

Having, in these two very able letters, placed before Her Majesty's Government his views of the true policy to be pursued towards British America, Mr. Howe determined to make a public appeal to the people of England. Having availed himself of a chance introduction to the Mayor and some of the leading members of the corporation of Southampton, he had so far interested them in the objects of his mission that an invitation had been given to him to go down to that great seaport and address its assembled citizens. On the 14th of January, 1851, a public meeting was held in the Town Hall of Southampton, over which the Mayor, Richard Andrews, Esq., presided. The hall was crowded with a numerous and highly respectable audience, naturally curious to know what this native of a distant colony had to say. The speech delivered by Mr. Howe on this occasion was reported in the Hampshire papers, printed in pamphlet form and distributed over England, being sent to members of Parliament, to reading-rooms, clubs, and periodicals, in every part of the three kingdoms. Having been introduced to the meeting by



the Mayor, Mr. Howe, oppressed no doubt by the novelty of his position, rose and said :

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MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN,—You may imagine the various and conflicting feelings by which I am embarrassed, in rising to address this intelligent and prosperous community and through them the 28,000,000 of people who inhabit these British Islands—the centre of modern civilization—the honoured home of my fathers. Be assured that I deeply feel the responsibility which your kindness and my public position have tempted me to assume. The memory of those great orators with whose highest flights of eloquence you have been familiar from childhood, whose voices like distant thunder still linger in the ears of the present generation, weighs upon me no less than the immediate presence of those polished and skilful speakers that you are daily accustomed to hear. Would, for your sakes, that I could as easily invoke the spirit of the dead, as I do in all sincerity and humility crave the indulgence of the living. The magnitude of the interests which I desire to present to your notice, involving as I believe they do to some extent the relief of these islands from the burthen of poverty and crime, the integrity of this empire, and the permanence of the connection between the North American Provinces and England, oppresses the mind even more than the intellectual character of my audience. I wish those interests were less imposing, that the danger of neglecting them was less imminent, or that my ability to deal with them was proportioned to the magnitude of the theme.

When I last visited Southampton I little thought that I should ever return to it again, and certainly never dreamed that I should have the honour and the privilege to address within its ancient walls and with the evidences of its modern enterprise all around me such an audience as is assembled here. I was then a wandering colonist, surveying, eleven years ago, Europe for a first time. Attracted to Southampton by the beauty of its scenery and by its old associations, when I entered your spacious estuary and saw on the one side the fine old ruin of Netley Abbey and on the other the New Forest, famed in ancient story, I felt that I was approaching a place abounding in interest and honoured by its associations. And when I put my foot on the spot trodden in days of yore by the warriors who embarked for the glorious fields of Agincourt and Cressy and on which Canute sat when he reproved his fawning courtiers, I felt my British blood warming in my veins and knew that I was indeed standing on classic ground.

But sir, on that occasion I did not see those evidences of commercial prosperity which I was anxious to observe. In visiting to-day your splendid docks, your warehouses, your ocean steamers, your railways, and rising manufactories, which have been created by untiring energy and honourable enterprise within a few years, my pride in your historical associations was quickened and enlivened by the proofs of modern enterprise which distinguish this great seaport.

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The object of my visit to England is to draw closer the ties between the North American Provinces and the mother country. To reproduce England on the other side of the Atlantic; to make the children, in institutions, feelings and civilization, as much like the parent as possible, has been the labour of my past life; and now I wish to encourage the parent to promote her own interests by caring for the welfare and strengthening the hands of her children, to show to the people of England that across the Atlantic they possess Provinces of inestimable value. The interest which Southampton has in a clear appreciation of their importance no man can deny. Already her advantages are obvious and patent, but they may be largely extended by North American connections. You have the British Channel flowing by you like a mighty river, with the great continental markets on its opposite shore, the trade of the Baltic on your left, and of the Mediterranean on your right. You have your East and West India steam lines; the Isle of Wight is your natural breakwater; a lovely country surrounds you; and the royal city of Winchester and the imperial city of London are at your very doors. Add to these advantages permanent and profitable connections with the vast territory and rapidly expanding communities of British America, and the prosperity and importance of Southampton will be greatly enhanced.

I found existing in this country when I was here before, and I still observe it on every hand, I will not say a criminal but certainly a very lamentable ignorance of the state of the British Provinces on the continent of America. An erroneous opinion prevails that at the American Revolution all that was valuable on that continent was severed from British dominion, that but a few insignificant and almost worthless Provinces remain. This is a great mistake, and, if not corrected in time, may ultimately prove fatal. Glance at the map above you, sir, and you will perceive that one-half of the whole American continent still owns allegiance to Great Britain, is still subject to the sceptre of Queen Victoria. That vast extent of country is, however, but little known in England. Intelligent men ask me every day where it is, of what it consists, what are its boundaries? Gentlemen perfectly familiar with Canada know comparatively nothing of the Maritime Provinces, which here (though as distinct as Germany, France, Belgium and Holland, are from Russia) are yet confounded with Canada. Merchants who trade with Newfoundland know as little of Canada; Nova Scotia is a sort of *terra incognita* of which one rarely hears, and many Canadians know nothing of the boundless and beautiful tract of country which lies between their Province and the Pacific.

Although the United States have extended their boundaries by the conquest of the Mexican Provinces, Great Britain still owns one-half the continent of North America. This territory with its adjacent islands is 4,000,000 square miles in extent. All Europe, including the British Islands, measures but 3,708,000; so that, throwing away 292,000 square miles for rivers and lakes of larger extent than are found in this hemisphere, you have in North America, for the inexhaustible sustenance of British subjects, a country as large as

Europe. This country resembles Europe in all its principal features; it is full of the same natural advantages and as capable of improvement as Europe was in her early days. Taking the round number of square miles and reducing them to acres, we have above ninety acres for every man, woman and child in the British Islands. Now, suppose that they throw off 2,000,000 of their population—and I shall show you presently that there are that number to spare—we shall have a square mile of land for every inhabitant or 4480 acres for every head of a family that British America would then contain. Is not this a country to which in the present condition of England the attention of her statesmen and of her people should be turned? But it is often said the climate of North America is rigorous and severe. Do me the favour to glance at the eastern hemisphere, including Europe, Asia, and Africa, and, separating the northern countries from the south, the vigorous parallels from the warm and enervating, tell me in which reside at this moment the domestic virtues, the pith of mankind, the seats of commerce, the centres of intelligence, the arts of peace, the discipline of war, the political power and dominion. Assuredly in the northern half. And yet it was not always so. The southern and eastern portions, blessed with fertility, and containing the cradle of our race, filled up first and ruled for a time the territories at the north. But as civilization and population advanced northwards, the bracing climate did its work as it will ever do; and in physical endurance and intellectual energy, the north asserted the superiority, which to this hour it maintains.

Glance again at the map, and you will perceive that England still owns half the continent of North America, and taking the example of Europe to guide us, I believe, the best half. Not the best for slavery, for, thank God, we have not a slave or a Fugitive Slave Law in our Northern Provinces. Not the best for raising cotton or tobacco, but the best for raising men and women, the most congenial to the constitution of the northern European, the most provocative of steady industry, and all things else being equal the most impregnable and secure.

The climate of North America, though colder than that of England, is dryer when it is cold. I rarely wear an overcoat, except when it rains: an old Chief-Justice died recently in Nova Scotia at 103 years of age, who never wore one in his life. Sick regiments invalided to our garrison recover their health and vigour immediately; and yellow fever patients coming home from the West Indies walk about in a few days. Look at the countenances and robust appearance of the inhabitants, and you will see the vigour and energy that the climate of North America imparts.

I have said that, all things being equal, the two divisions of the continent would be similarly improved; but, sir, they are not and never have been equal. The first British emigration all went to the southern half. Whither went the *Mayflower* that sailed with the Pilgrims from this port? To the heart of the New England States. Whither went Penn's and Baltimore's emigration? To Pennsylvania and Maryland. The northern portion, for

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150 years, being occupied by French hunters, traders and Indians. The British did not begin to settle in Nova Scotia till 1749, nor in Canada till 1763. Prior to the former period Massachusetts numbered 160,000 inhabitants; Connecticut, 100,000; Philadelphia had her 18,000 before an Englishman had built a house in Halifax; and Maine had her 2485 enrolled militiamen long before a Briton had settled in the Province of New Brunswick. All the other states were proportionably advanced before Englishmen turned their attention to the Northern Provinces at all. The permanent occupation of Halifax and the loyalist emigration from the older states gave them the first impetus. But you will perceive that, in the race of improvement, the old thirteen states had a long start; they had 3,000,000 Britons and their descendants, a flourishing commerce, and much wealth to begin with, at the Revolution. But a few hundreds occupied the Provinces, to which I wish to call your attention, at the commencement of the war; but a few thousands at its close.

Now, Mr. Chairman, you will perceive that, had both these portions of the American continent enjoyed the same advantages down to the present hour, the southern half must have improved and increased its numbers much faster than the northern. But the advantages were not equal. The excitement and the necessities of the War of Independence inspired the people at the South with enterprise and self-confidence, and non-intercourse with Great Britain stimulated domestic manufactures. Besides, they had free trade with each other, and, so far as they chose to have or could obtain it by their own diplomacy, with all the world. The Northern Provinces had separate governments—half-paternal despotisms, which repressed instead of stimulated enterprise. They had often hostile tariffs and, down to the advent of Mr. Huskisson, and even to the period when the navigation laws were repealed, were cramped in their commercial operations by the restrictive policy of England.

In other respects the South had the advantage. From the moment that their independence was recognized, the confederated States enjoyed the absolute control over their internal affairs. Fancy what this did for them. For more than half a century the Northern Provinces were governed by politicians voted in and out of office by the fluctuations of opinion in England, or by officers sent out and by the permanent irresponsible cliques that these almost invariably gathered round them. Down to the year 1839, when Lord John Russell's celebrated despatch was promulgated in the colonies—and the struggle was scarcely over till 1848, when that despatch was acted on and enforced by the present Government,—the Colonies were carrying on perpetual contests with Governors and Secretaries of State, to win that which Englishmen have enjoyed since the Revolution of 1688,—the privilege of managing their own affairs. To that contest I devoted twenty years of my life, and I thank God it is now over. England has given us that self-government which she has herself enjoyed for a century and a half, and I trust we shall make a good use of it.

But I have not enumerated all the sources of disparity. The national Government of the United States early saw the value and importance of emigration. It bought up Indian lands, enlarged acknowledged boundaries by pertinacious and successful diplomacy, surveyed its territory and prepared for colonization. The States, or public companies or speculators in them, borrowed millions from England (a good many of which they have forgotten to pay), opened roads, laid off and advertised lots in every part of Europe, and invited emigration. Congress framed constitutions suited to the new settlements, investing them with modified self-government from the moment that the most simple materials for organization were accumulated, and formed them into new States, with representation in the National Councils, whenever they numbered 40,000 inhabitants. Ohio, for instance, which is one of the colonies thus planted, did not exist in 1783. It now contains a million and a half of people and has its nineteen members in Congress. British America contains 2,000,000 and has not a single representative in your National Council.

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But pass that over. While all this was going on, what did England do to people and to promote the prosperity of her Northern Provinces? Almost nothing. She was too much occupied with foreign wars and diplomacy, often descending from her high estate to subsidize foreign princes, whose petty dominions, if flung into a Canadian lake would scarcely raise the tide. What did we do in the Northern Provinces to fill up this territory? We did the best we could. We married as early and increased the population as fast as we could. But, jesting apart, what could we do? Down to 1815 we were engrossed by the wars of England, our commerce being cramped by the insecurity of our coasts and harbours. Down to 1848, we were engaged in wars with successive Governors and Secretaries of State for the right to manage our internal affairs. These are now over, and we on our side of the water have got command to some extent at least of our own resources and of our time. We have now the means and the leisure to devote to the great questions of colonization, emigration, and internal improvement, to examine our external relations with the rest of the empire and with the world at large, to consult with you on the imperfect state of those relations and upon the best appropriation that can be made of your surplus labour and of our surplus land, for our mutual advantage, that the poor may be fed, the waste places filled up, and this great empire strengthened and preserved.

Having shown you why the contrast is so striking between the United States and the North American Provinces, let me now show you what the latter have accomplished, even under all the disadvantages which they have had to encounter.

The five that occupy that portion of territory which has been politically organized are: Canada, which lies the farthest back and is the most extensive and populous of the whole; New Brunswick, which joins to Canada; Nova Scotia, next to that; Prince Edward Island, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and

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the Island of Newfoundland. With all their disadvantages, let me now show the audience what these colonies have done and what they are worth. The five provinces number about two millions of inhabitants. Their annual average imports and exports, from 1842 to 1846, have been as follows:—

	Imports.	Exports.
Canada . . . . .	£2,174,332	£1,819,695
Nova Scotia . . . . .	984,225	767,596
New Brunswick . . . . .	794,785	651,668
Newfoundland . . . . .	783,870	885,251
Prince Edward Island . . . . .	110,783	63,867
Showing a total of . . . . .	£4,847,995	£4,188,077

Now, a total amount of imports of near five millions and over four millions of exports does not show a bad industrial condition in such a short time, and under such disadvantages.

I have noticed the common mistake which people make in Europe, who confound the Maritime Provinces and Canada together, as though there was no distinction. Canada is a noble colony, full of resources, but its harbours are closed with frost in winter, while those of Nova Scotia and of most of the Maritime Provinces are open all the year round. For general commerce, you will perceive then, that our advantages are very superior; that our people are destined much more extensively than their brethren in the rear, to “go down to the sea in ships,” to be the carriers and factors of those who occupy the extensive regions further west. These maritime colonies in point of territory include 86,000 square miles, an area half as large again as the kingdoms of England and Scotland and nearly as large as Holland, Greece, Belgium, Portugal and Switzerland all put together. They are rich in mines and surrounded by the best fisheries in the world. Taking all the Provinces and summing up the number of registered vessels they now possess, not including vessels merely built for the English market, I find that Canada owned in 1846 604; New Brunswick, 730; Newfoundland, 937; and Prince Edward Island, 265; being a total of 2536 vessels, measuring 252,892 tons. Nova Scotia, my own Province,—the peculiar character and resources of which are but little understood in England,—possessed in 1846 2583 vessels, or 47 more than all the other four Provinces put together, and measuring 141,093 tons. Nova Scotia in many respects greatly resembles England. It is nearly an island, being joined to the Province of New Brunswick, by a narrow isthmus. Of coal it has endless fields; it has iron in rich abundance; inexhaustible fisheries surround its shores; and its noble harbours are open all the year round. Its population is made up of English, Irish and Scotchmen; or rather, of a native race combining the blood and the characteristics of the three kingdoms, with a few Germans and French, who make agreeable varieties.

With this brief description, I trust, sir, that you will perceive that we have

wrestled manfully with the disadvantages I have described ; are not unworthy of our lineage ; nor have been heedless of the resources of the countries we occupy. Five thousand vessels floating on the ocean under your flag is our contribution in a single century to the mercantile marine of the empire. This does not include boats engaged in the shore fisheries. Of this fleet, little Nova Scotia owns one-half, or more vessels in number than all Ireland, though the tonnage is not quite so great. To enable you more nearly to appreciate the value and resources of these Northern Provinces, let me furnish a very striking contrast. I take the Eastern colonies or Mauritius and Ceylon ; the African colonies, including the Cape ; the Australian colonies, including New Zealand ; and the West India colonies, including the Bahamas and Guiana ; and putting all their tonnage together, they have but 2128 vessels, measuring 98,183 tons. You see, therefore, that the five North American Provinces own more than double the number of vessels which belong to all the other colonies of England, Nova Scotia alone having nearly twice the amount of their aggregate tonnage.

But some may ask, "What interest have the people of England in these statistics? Why should they trouble themselves about the extent or the resources of the countries you describe?" Let me now show you, Mr. Chairman, how deep and all-pervading an interest the people of these islands have in this inquiry. The late Charles Buller (whose loss North America deeply mourns, for he was her steady and enlightened advocate, whose aid I regret I have not now, for he was my personal friend) declared in the House of Commons a short time before he died that in Ireland, on an average, two millions of people were unemployed for thirty weeks in the year. To what extent fever and famine have diminished that number since I do not know ; but I take the fact as it then stood and fear that too near an approximation to that statement might be hazarded even now. In Ireland, in the year 1848 (to say nothing of the £10,000,000 voted by Parliament, of the provisions sent in from foreign countries, or of the voluntary aid extended to that unhappy country), there was raised within her own boundaries no less a sum than £1,216,679 and expended in poor-rates, or an average of 1s. 10d. on £13,000,000. Nearly a million and a half of persons were relieved to the extent of 16s. 8d. per head. In Scotland, £544,000 was raised and expended ; the number of persons relieved, 227,647 ; and the amount paid averaged £2, 7s. 9d. each, enough to have shipped every poor Scotchman out in a well-appointed steamer to Nova Scotia ; there to become a blessing to the colony ; a customer, not a burden, to the mother country. In England,—which, if this plague-spot were removed, would be as near perfection as can be attained by any civilized community,—the enormous amount of £6,110,765 was raised and expended in 1848, being 1s. 6d. on £67,000,000. 1,876,541 persons were relieved or about one in every eleven of the whole population in this garden of the world ! The average cost of each person relieved was £3, 5s. 10d., more than enough to have shipped every man to our own Northern colonies and made proprietors and freeholders of them for life.

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I turn to the workhouses, and find that in 1849 they contained :

1851	In England—Boys . .	30,158	Fit for service . .	4,570
	Girls . .	26,165	Ditto . . . . .	3,690
		<u>56,323</u>		<u>8,264</u>
	In Ireland—Boys . .	62,514		
	Girls . .	66,285		
		<u>128,799</u>		

Making a total of 185,122, without including Scotland, from which I have no return.

Then again, look at the number of committals for offences in the three kingdoms in the year 1848, viz. :

In England . . . . .	30,000
Ireland . . . . .	38,552
Scotland . . . . .	4,900
Making a total number of . . . . .	<u>73,452</u>

Of this number 6298 were transported, and 37,373 were imprisoned. I refer to these painful facts, not because I believe you are worse than the people on our side of the Atlantic but because I believe that a vast number of poor wretched creatures break the laws in these islands because they have not the wherewithal to live; they are absolutely driven by poverty to the commission of crime. Many of these are imprisoned and expatriated from their country, who in my conscience I believe to be as innocent in the sight of God as any man in this assembly. You maintained in Ireland in 1849 a constabulary force of 12,829, and 340 horses, at a cost of £562,506; and in England and Wales, including the London police, nearly an equal number at a nearly equal cost. In this service you expended a gross total of £1,140,000, thus maintaining as many constables in these two small islands as doubled the whole standing army of the United States of America.

And is this necessary, because the people of these islands are worse than their brethren of the New World? By no means; but Government is compelled to maintain this force in consequence of the immense pressure upon the means of subsistence in this country, and which pressure would be relieved, till you might reduce your constabulary one-half, by promoting sound and wholesome emigration. Then again, I might refer to the cost of prisons. I find that the prison at York cost £1200 per head for each prisoner they have to maintain in it; enough, as the inspector reports, "to build for each a separate mansion, coach-house, and stable." If you multiply by twelve (the numbers of jurors summoned on a jury) the number of criminals tried, you will see the enormous amount of time wasted in the punishment of crime. Then, there is the amount of property stolen by criminals, which no man can gauge; it still continues to



increase with the progress of population and the advancement of crime. There is another consideration,—the cost of life and property destroyed by agrarian outrages, superinduced by the artificial and pressing system under which you suffer in this country. And what is the remedy for all this? I turn at once to the four millions of square miles of territory under the Queen's sceptre on the continent of North America, with its noble rivers, fertile soil, exhaustless fisheries, and valuable mines; and I ask, will you allow three-fourths of this vast territory to continue a howling wilderness? Many persons have an idea that large emigration may empty England. Empty England? The idea is preposterous. No Englishman, Irishman or Scotchman will live out of these islands that can live in them. No man would voluntarily choose to leave this country, which is a garden from shore to shore, and exchange it for a comparative wilderness. Who would leave the land of their fathers,—with all its historical associations,—unless driven out by poverty or stimulated by high enterprise?

But, we are sometimes told, there is only one enlightened mode of colonization, and that is being very extensively tried in our southern and eastern colonies. Of the Wakefield theory of colonization, I would speak with all respect; of the combined efforts of public-spirited individuals, seeking to give it a fair trial, I would be the last to disapprove. I do not wish to check the progress, in valuable colonies, of associated enterprise; but having for more than a month closely examined all that they have done and are capable of doing, I turn from them to the North American field, satisfied that they must continue to furnish but homœopathic remedies for the internal maladies of England.

In twenty-two years, from 1825 to 1846 inclusive, only 124,272 persons went from these United Kingdoms to the Australian colonies and New Zealand. In the same period 710,410 went to the United States, to strengthen a foreign and rival power, to intrench themselves behind a hostile tariff ranging from 15 to 100 per cent. over British manufactures, to become consumers of American manufactures instead, and of foreign productions sea-borne in American bottoms; they and the countless generations that have already sprung from their loins, unconscious of regard for British interests and of allegiance to the crown of England.

In twenty-two years 124,272 settlers have gone to Australia and New Zealand! About half the number on the poor-rate of Scotland in 1848. Not a tenth part of the paupers relieved in Ireland; or one in fourteen of those who were supported by England's heavily taxed industry in that single year. Not more, I fear, than died of famine in a single county of Ireland, from 1846 to 1850; and less, by 60,000, than the number of the young people who were in the workhouses of England and Ireland in 1849. Valuable then as these Eastern colonies may be, and respectable as may have been the efforts to improve them, it is obvious that as aids to the removal of pressure upon the resources of the United Kingdom those who calculate largely upon them are

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sure to be deceived. The reasons are obvious. Australia and New Zealand are 14,000 miles from the shores of England; the British Provinces of North America are but 2500. Every poor man who embarks for Australia must be maintained by somebody for 120 or 150 days, while he is rolling about in idleness on the sea. The ordinary passage to North America in sailing vessels is about forty days. With steam we may hope soon to reach Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in eight or ten days and Canada in twelve. The expense of a passage to the East is £20, to the West it is £3, 10s.; and with emigrant steam vessels may be still further reduced. Then, mark the disproportionate prices of land. In Australia or New Zealand 100 acres of land cost £100 sterling; in the Canterbury settlement, £300. In Western Canada 100 acres of the best land in the empire can be bought for £40; in Lower Canada for £20; in New Brunswick, where there are still 11,000,000 of ungranted acres in possession of the Government, for £12, 10s. In Nova Scotia, where land is now in many districts as valuable as in any of the colonies, and from the increase of commerce soon will be in all, we give 100 acres of Crown land to an emigrant for £10.

But we are told that in the Eastern colonies these high prices are not paid for land alone, but for civilization—for roads, schools, religious ordinances and education—without which land is of no value. I know not whether we are very highly civilized in North America, but I will just explain the position of Nova Scotia and let the audience judge for themselves. It is divided into seventeen counties, and every county has its sheriff, magistrate, jail, court-house, and two terms of the supreme court, in which the common and statute law of England is administered. The Province is intersected with roads, and bridges span all the larger and most of the smaller streams. Every county is divided into townships, and each township has its shire town; and in those towns there are places of worship for the Episcopalian, the Methodist, the Baptist, the Presbyterian, the Catholic, the Independent, and for the various modifications of religious opinion which divide the inhabitants of these islands.

Every county has from fifty to one hundred schools. There is scarcely a house in Nova Scotia without a Bible in it, and hardly a native of the Province who would not be ashamed to be unable to read it. This is the "barbarous" state of the North American Provinces, for Nova Scotia is but the type of them all. If what I have described be civilization, we shall be extremely glad to give all these blessings, this civilization, such as it is, to every Englishman, Irishman or Scotchman who chooses to come into the Province, and 100 acres of land besides, for £10.

But England's political, as well as her moral and industrial interests, demand that her North American possessions should be strengthened and improved. We hear a good deal occasionally about the balance of power in Europe; and one would suppose, by the excitement created by some paltry continental intrigue or petty principality in Germany or the Mediterranean, that the very existence of this great nation was often involved. The people of British

America in their simplicity are sometimes apt to think that, if half the trouble was taken about the territories which belong to us that is wasted on those which do not, our British brethren would be nearly as well employed. I am no alarmist, but there appear to be many in England, and some of them holding high military and social positions, who regard England as defenceless at this moment from the assaults of any first-rate European power. Now, suppose that France or Russia were to combine her military and naval forces with those of the United States to attack England, hopeful as I am of the destiny and confident in the resources of these islands, I doubt not but they would in the end come gloriously through the struggle. But who can deny that the contest would be perilous for a time, and under the most favourable circumstances very expensive? One American war added £120,000,000 to your debt: a few millions, profitably employed but not wasted, in the Northern Provinces will so strengthen them as to make another war a very remote contingency and comparatively little burdensome or hazardous, if it ever comes. But, suppose the Northern Provinces neglected and ultimately lost; imagine the territories of the republic extended to Hudson's Bay, and that the spirit generated by two wars, and which a word, a single act, so readily revives, pervaded the continent. Strip England of every port on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; leave her without a ton of coal for her steamers, or a spar to repair a ship. Fancy the 5000 vessels that we now own added to the enemy's fleet, and the 400,000 men that we could arm to-morrow added to her forces; the enemy's outposts and arsenals would then be advanced 500 miles nearer to England, and the West India colonies overpowered and lost, as a matter of course. Would not the balance of power in Europe be thus fearfully disturbed because England had failed to maintain the balance of power in America? The picture, Mr. Chairman, is too painful to be dwelt on even for a moment; and I gladly turn to the measures which I believe, by strengthening and inspiring the Northern Provinces with grateful confidence in the policy and maternal forethought of the United Kingdom, will render the empire impregnable and secure.

The measures which I propose are extremely simple, and in the end will be found almost self-sustaining, relieving rather than adding to the burdens of the State. They include—

- Ocean steamers for the poor as well as the rich;
- The preparation of wild lands for settlement by the colonial Governments;
- The promotion of public works of acknowledged national utility, by the interposition of imperial credit, that the labour market may be extended, and the poor of Great Britain employed, as an aid to colonization.

The bounties which you now pay to encourage your North American and West India mail steamers amount to £385,000. For this sum you maintain, on the ocean, twenty-four noble vessels, which in peace are a protection to commerce in the seas they traverse, and could in a moment be converted into formidable vessels of war. The postage on the letters they carry pays a large

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portion, if not the whole expense. To build and equip the same number of steamships for the navy would require an expenditure of £2,400,000 in the first instance, and the annual cost would not be less than the bounty now paid. It is clear that by these contracts the nation is stronger by the twenty-four ships, and yet saves the £2,400,000 it would cost to build them, even should no postage be received. Apply the same principle to the conveyance of emigrants that you do to the conveyance of letters. The same bounty which you now pay to one of these lines would at once add eight or ten more noble ships to the naval force of England. There might be some loss at first, but ultimately they would be self-sustaining, and the millions you now maintain in unions and workhouses would not only be enabled to maintain themselves, but would ultimately, by their increased traffic and intercourse, maintain for you an important addition to the naval force of the empire.

[Mr. Howe illustrated the necessity for the employment of emigration steamers, by showing the deplorable results of emigration as it had been conducted to the North American Provinces in sailing vessels, particularly in years of famine or industrial derangement at home. He showed from the official returns that in 1847 17,445 British subjects died on the passage to Canada and New Brunswick alone—in quarantine or in the hospitals; that, from the infection spread through thirty colonial towns and cities, there was too much reason to believe that the number must have swelled to 25,000. By quotations from American works he inferred that an equal number perished on their way to or in the United States, in the same year, making an aggregate of 50,000.]

I am quite aware that the Government was not to blame for this mortality; that to have prevented emigration would have made the matter worse. I am quite aware that improved regulations have since been proposed and established and that a famine year affords no fair criterion of the average mortality in ordinary seasons. But when we reflect that but 800 men were sunk in the *Royal George*, that but 1993 were slain at the battle of Waterloo, that at Salamanca but one in ninety of those engaged was killed, and but one in 104 at Maida, we are impressed with the solemnity of the obligation to guard against such results in all time to come. The loss, by this single year's emigration, was equal to the aggregate population of three Irish cities or three of the smaller agricultural counties of Scotland. The ocean omnibus for the poor is the true remedy. In ordinary seasons it will make emigration a cheerful change from one part of the Queen's dominions to another; in periods of distress, of derangement and plethora in the labour market, it will transport Her Majesty's subjects in health and security from where they are not wanted to where they are.

[Mr. Howe also illustrated the evils arising from fraud and misdirection and from collisions and shipwrecks at sea, and the heavy expenses consequently thrown upon the Provincial Governments. One cargo of emigrants wrecked upon the coast of Nova Scotia in 1848 cost its Government, to relieve the

sick, bury the dead, and to tranship the survivors, £939, or £5, 10s. per head. Another cargo of 127 Highlanders, shipped by a proprietor in South Uist to clear his estate, cost him to export and misdirect £3, 10s. per head. It cost the Government £4, 10s. to bury the dead, to cure the poor people who survived of smallpox, and to tranship them to Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton. He also showed the hostile colonial legislation which the inevitable sickness and casualties attendant upon long voyages in sailing vessels generated, and explained how these laws would be swept away and how cheerfully the colonial Governments would lay off their lands and prepare for emigration, if the working classes could be sent out with certainty in health and landed at convenient ports where their friends and proprietors having lands to dispose of would be ready to receive them. Steamers could run along the southern coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and land emigrants wherever they were wanted. They could run through the Gut of Canso and supply the northern counties, including Prince Edward Island. They would go up the St. Lawrence and drop them from Gaspé to Quebec.]

But, Mr. Chairman, I am anxious to see these ocean steamers for the working classes on another account. The omnibus in the Strand,—the parliamentary train,—carries passengers both ways. So will it be with the poor man's steamer. Now, when an emigrant leaves home, he leaves it for ever. The Scotchman breathes his lament of "Lochaber no more." Green Erin goes down, as the ship recedes, like an emerald sunk in the sea; for, except in their dreams, the children she throws off from her bosom rarely return to it again. Of thousands who annually leave "Merrie England," how few ever revisit their kindred or see home again until death has robbed it of every charm. Why is this? The length and uncertainty of the voyage, the misery endured, the peril encountered, the relations lost, the fraud, the misdirection, make the emigrant family, to the close of life, dread the sea. Then the cost, in a mail steamer, to and fro, would swallow the price of a farm. What are the political effects? That the British Islands throw off not only the bodies but the souls—the clustering affections and ever-springing recollections of home, with the hope to revisit it, which, if not realised, soothes to the end of life and would if the prospects were rational be then bequeathed to the next generation. Whenever gratified, the effects would be conservative of British feelings, and a thousand links of love would be thus woven to bind the two countries together. Let us then have the ocean omnibus, not only to carry the working classes of Great Britain and Ireland to the virgin soil which invites them, but to bring them back—the fortunate to relieve their kindred and those of moderate means to revisit their home or the home of their fathers; to tread the scenes which history hallows, and compare without a blush the modern triumphs and civilization of England even with those of the proud republic beyond the frontier. Such a squadron would be worth to North America and to England a dozen ships of war, and could be maintained ultimately for a fifth part of the expense. The Britons who crossed

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and recrossed in them would not only maintain them with little or no cost to the nation in time of peace, but with light crews help to defend them in case of war.

The preparation of their lands for settlement, the repeal of all taxation upon emigrants, and the creation of facilities for settlement and distribution, would be spontaneous results of colonial legislation, costing the mother country nothing. Already works of great magnitude and importance have been designed, and are ripening to completion in North America. Some of these have already received the sanction and approval of the British Government, as they assuredly involve important national as well as colonial interests. We do not ask the British people to tax themselves for these further than we can show them that they will save two pounds for every one they risk. But we do ask them to interpose the national credit to enable us to construct them on the best terms, to create a labour-market at their very doors, to furnish within the Queen's dominions a profitable field for the investment of that surplus capital of £50,000,000 a year which lies in your coffers, and which when lent to foreign countries is rarely paid and cannot be collected without imminent risk of war. We ask you to employ your money and plant your people under the standard of England that they may not drift off and intrench themselves behind hostile tariffs. We ask you to seize the strong points of your own territory and build up British cities by securing to them the full advantages of transatlantic intercourse. We ask you to provide employment for millions who are a burden, but who can maintain themselves by industry. We ask you to divide the soil of the empire among those who have neither roof-tree to shelter them nor a hearth-stone they can call their own.

With all their wealth the freehold proprietors of these islands are, I believe, estimated at 80,000. But one in every 350 of those who tell us they rule the seas own a single acre of land. An Englishman boasts that his house is his castle; and so perhaps it is, but it rarely stands upon his own soil. How large a proportion of the inmates of these castles may have them demolished, or their household deities scattered, when the leases fall in? In Scotland but 636,000 of the inhabitants out of 2,600,000 live upon the land. All the rest, driven in by the high price of it, overerowd the labour-markets of seaports and manufacturing towns. In Ireland, there were until recently—perhaps are now—42,262 farms of only one acre in extent; 473,755 averaging from one to thirty. Between 1841 and 1848, 800,000 tenants in that unhappy but most lovely country were driven out from these small holdings (“evicted” as the term goes), their hovels in many cases burnt over their heads and their furniture “canted” into the street.

With this condition of real estate, do you wonder that Chartism, Socialism, O'Connor land schemes, are a rife upon your soil? Is it not hard for the great body of this people after ages spent in foreign wars for the conquest of distant possessions, in voyages of discovery, and every kind of commercial enterprise, to reflect that with all their battles by land and sea, their £800,000,000 of debt, their assessed taxes, income tax, and heavy import duties, their prisons

full of convicts, their poor-rate of seven millions, so few of all those who have done and who endure these things should yet have one inch of the whole earth's surface that they can call their own. Good harvests and a brisk trade may soothe the disinherited; the standing army and the 21,000 constables may keep them down even in periods of industrial derangement; but even if they could for ever, the question naturally arises, have all your battles been fought for this, to maintain in England a state of siege, to have the sword for ever hung above her bosom, suspended by a single hair?

God forbid, Mr. Chairman! But what is the remedy? Agrarian outrage and violation of the rights of property? No, sir. I would not divide the estates of the rich among the poor, but I would open up to the poor the virgin soil of the empire that they may no longer eat into the fortunes while they envy the prosperity of the rich. Give the poor Scotchman who has no land a piece of North America purchased by the blood which stained the tartan on the Plains of Abraham. Let the Englishman or Irishman, whose kindred dashed through the surf at Louisburg or clubbed their muskets at Bloody Creek, have a bit of the land their fathers fought for. Let them at least have the option of ownership and occupation, and a bridge to carry them over. The results of such a policy would as assuredly be conservative of the rights of property as it would permanently relieve the people.

For your sakes as well as for their own, Mr. Chairman, the people of British America are anxious to see you adopt an elevated and enlarged scheme of colonial policy by which relief will be given to your resources and strength to their own. The hopes and prospects of the future will then atone for the omissions and errors of the past. We shall feel that England is indeed our home, and you will feel that you have homes on both sides of the Atlantic. Men will go from these islands to British America as they now go from Hampshire to Wiltshire; and thousands will return every year to tread the scenes which history hallows, or if need be to defend the temples where our common ancestors repose. Though we cannot afford to play at soldiers every day, as they do upon the Continent,—for we prefer to handle the axe and plough the land and sea,—yet we have a Landwehr who own their muskets; who at their own expense could put a month's provisions upon their backs, and be here by steam in ten days if their Sovereign required their services. But they would be undisciplined and awkward! Perhaps so; yet full of energy and resources, they would learn as much in a week as an European serf does in a year; and when the shock of battle came, you might

“ Ask your despots whether  
 Their plumèd bands  
 Could bring such hands  
 And hearts as ours together.”

I am happy to be enabled to add, sir, that the representations which it has been my duty to make to Her Majesty's Government in reference to these

CHAP. XVIII subjects have been received in the fairest possible spirit. I believe that the  
 — present cabinet is sincerely desirous, if the practicability of the plans can be  
 1851 demonstrated, to relieve the burdens of this country and strengthen the North  
 American Provinces. But I need scarcely tell you that no administration in  
 these islands can do anything but what the people approve. The responsi-  
 bility in this as in all other important measures rests with the people. Let  
 them assume the desire of Government and act upon it. Let them stimulate  
 the Executive, if that is required.

Before the American Revolution an old philosopher came over to this  
 country on a mission in which he failed; the Government of that day treated  
 him coldly, but he forgot to appeal to the people. I believe that if the people  
 of this country had understood the question then as they do now, much blood-  
 shed and expenditure would have been saved. I anticipate no coldness from the  
 Government, and certainly have received nothing but courtesy and kindness  
 from those members of it with whom I have been brought into communication.  
 In the British people I have an abiding faith. I should regret if it were other-  
 wise, for I have an hereditary interest in these questions. During the old times  
 of persecution, four brothers, bearing my name, left the southern counties of  
 England and settled in four of the old New England States. Their descendants  
 number thousands and are scattered from Maine to California. My father  
 was the only descendant of that stock who at the Revolution adhered to  
 the side of England. His bones rest in the Halifax churchyard. I am his  
 only surviving son; and, whatever the future may have in store, I want  
 when I stand beside his grave to feel that I have done my best to pre-  
 serve the connection he valued, that the British flag may wave above the soil  
 in which he sleeps.

The impression produced by this speech was so favourable that  
 Mr. Howe was immediately invited to a banquet to be given by the  
 corporation in the audit-house. It was attended by the principal  
 citizens, including members of the Town Council and other public  
 functionaries. The proceedings were most gratifying to Nova Scotia  
 and highly honourable to all concerned. In proposing Mr. Howe's  
 health, the worthy Mayor said:

You must all have been delighted at the lucid manner in which our  
 honourable guest last evening developed his plans and showed the advantages  
 that would be derived therefrom to the working population of England. I  
 hope that he will succeed in his endeavours, and if he only succeeds in a  
 hundredth part of what he anticipates, we will have reason to be grateful  
 to him. I rejoice to have such a talented, patriotic, and worthy man as  
 our guest this evening, and I am sure you will all drink most heartily the  
 "health of the Hon. Mr. Howe, success to his efforts, and prosperity to the  
 Province of Nova Scotia."



The toast was drunk with every demonstration of delight. Mr. Howe, who was received with renewed cheers, said :

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In the North American colonies we are in the habit of speaking of England as our home ; and if I have not found a home in Southampton, I do not know where it is. Never have I expected, except by the death of a near relative or friend, to have had my feelings stirred within me as they have been this night. I have always had faith in the people of England. I came amongst you a stranger, and already I feel as an inhabitant of Southampton. The object I have come here to advance is one on which I seek to unite all parties ; one which lies at the bottom of our common Christianity—to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to people the waste places of the earth, and to make two blades of grass grow where, not one, but none grew before. I have this morning visited in the company of your Mayor some of your charitable institutions ; and I could wish that I had some of the lads I saw in one and the females I saw in another with me in the colony from which I come, where they would be removed from the necessities of either poverty or crime.

*The Hampshire Independent* thus expressed what it is but fair to assume was the state of public feeling created in the south of England by Mr. Howe's visit to Southampton :

We have much pleasure in directing the attention of our readers to the report of the meeting held at the Town Hall on Tuesday evening, which will be found in another column. A more important question than that brought before the notice of the inhabitants of Southampton on that occasion by the Hon. Mr. Howe has never been submitted to the consideration of the people and Government of England. With the lucid reasoning, the startling facts, the profound political philosophy, and the forcible eloquence of the honourable gentleman, we shall not now deal. These are points upon which our readers may form their own opinions from the speech which we have most reluctantly been compelled to abridge, but to which we shall again and again call public attention. Our principal object now is to solicit inquiry and investigation into a question of such vital importance, not only to Southampton but to the whole of the United Kingdom. If England and the North American Provinces can be brought within ten or twelve days' sail of each other by emigration steamships, they will not be farther apart than England and Ireland were a few years ago. This was a point strongly impressed upon the meeting by Mr. Howe, whose distinguished position as a minister and member of the Legislature of Nova Scotia, not less than his extensive and correct information, gives weight and authority to his opinions ; and if we can only induce the Government and Parliament of this country to devote a sufficient sum of money annually to carry his excellent suggestions into effect, his mission to England will be followed by more important consequences than any that have occurred since Benjamin Franklin made the fruitless endeavour

CHAP. XVIII to repair the breach between this country and her revolted American colonies.

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By encouraging emigration to our own dependencies, we secure the twofold advantage of strengthening the empire and obtaining good customers for our manufactured goods. We should not be doing our duty if we did not express what we so sincerely feel, that the town is highly honoured by the visit of Mr. Howe and deeply indebted to our public-spirited and enterprising chief magistrate and the trade committee for their assiduous and praiseworthy endeavours to point out to the Government and the country the great natural advantages of Southampton as a port of emigration.

The period that elapsed between the presentation of his letters to Earl Grey, the delivery of this speech, and the receipt of Mr. Hawes's letter of the 10th of March, was one of mingled triumph and anxiety. That he had distinguished himself in the estimation of the Government and people of England, he had evidences on every side. The press generally applauded his eloquence, boldness, and the skill with which he had presented questions of great interest for public consideration. In the House of Lords both Lord Monteaigle and Lord Stanley called the attention of the Government to the policy enunciated by Mr. Howe and demanded to know whether they intended to entertain it and to give the countenance of the Imperial Parliament to enterprises in which it was palpable that the mother country as well as the colonies had a deep interest. In personal interviews, with which he was honoured by both of these noblemen, Mr. Howe had explained his views, and he spoke in very grateful terms of the frankness and courtesy with which they discussed with him the objects of his mission.

From Earl Grey and Mr. Hawes he received the assurance that he had deeply interested the cabinet, and that his propositions were seriously entertained.

There were other persons who had become deeply interested. The letters had been laid before Parliament and had found their way into the hands of Sir Morton Peto, William Jackson and Thomas Brassey, Esquires, two of whom had seats in the House of Commons. These gentlemen saw in the noble country which Mr. Howe so eloquently described, and in the great enterprises which he advocated, a boundless field for the employment of their capital and resources as railway contractors. They put themselves immediately into communication with Mr. Howe, and became thenceforward mixed up with his subsequent negotiations and ultimately the active promoters of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada.

Mr. Howe described often his feelings, triumphs and anxieties

at this period. As a colonist, he had attracted notice and won great praise in the highest and most intellectual circles of the mother country. He had been referred to in the handsomest terms in the House of Lords. His letters were passing from hand to hand in the House of Commons, where men of all shades of politics acknowledged the boldness and ability with which he had treated great imperial and colonial questions. He had directed towards the broad field of British America the keen spirit of cupidity and enterprise that led the railway world.

These were honourable achievements of which any man might be proud. They opened for Mr. Howe the mansions of the great, won for him kindness and hospitality that he ever gratefully remembered, and gave him the opportunity to observe the inner life of all circles of English society. But amidst the splendour and excitement of the great metropolis, he thought most of home, of the rebound from the great country in whose interests he was toiling, of the joy which his success if he should succeed would diffuse among the attached friends he had left behind him.

The winter of 1851 was one of intense political excitement in the mother country. The Whig majority was restless and unsteady and the Conservatives pressed the Government night after night with question or debate in either House of Parliament. On the 14th of February, Mr. Howe wrote to the deputy secretary :

The incessant occupation of the leading members of the Government, in discussions which involved the whole policy of the country, has precluded the possibility of their giving to the colonial questions in which we feel an interest the consideration which would be indispensable to the defence of large guarantees or expenditures, in Parliament.

On the night of the 21st of February, Lord John Russell moved an adjournment, and on the following day the ministry resigned. This was a sad trial of Mr. Howe's patience, as at the moment he had on his table the draft of Mr. Hawes's letter giving the sanction of the Imperial Government to his policy, sent for his revision and acceptance by Earl Grey. When the ministry retired, this draft could not of course be made official or bind the incoming Government. It was reasonable to expect that if Lord Derby came in, he would give to the colonies the advantage of the generous sentiments he had uttered in the House of Peers; but nobody could tell what new combinations might be formed, and a dissolution of Parliament appeared frequently to be the only solution of the com-

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plications in which parties were involved by personal rivalries or honest differences of opinion on important public questions. Great delay and anxieties long protracted appeared inevitable, whatever might happen; and it was not at all improbable that the hopes and interests of North America might be wrecked amidst the storms and convulsions which she could neither avert nor control. The crisis lasted a fortnight. Everybody, at all presentable, was sent for and consulted, and at last, on the 3rd of March, the Whigs went back to office. On the 7th, the draft of Mr. Hawes's letter was formally submitted to the cabinet, and approved. It is dated the 10th, and reached Mr. Howe on the following day. We now give Mr. Howe's principal reports addressed to his deputy on the subject of the negotiations with which he was charged:

5 SLOANE STREET, LONDON,  
13th March, 1851.

SIR,—I had the honour to report to you on the 14th February. On the evening of that day a debate occurred in the House of Lords, which you will find in the newspapers I now enclose. In that House there appeared to be but one opinion as to the importance of the North American Provinces and upon the soundness of the policy of aiding them to complete their public works. The personal references to myself will convey to his Excellency the best evidence that I can offer as to the mode in which my public duties have been discharged.

Prior to the occurrence of that debate I had been honoured with two very interesting interviews by Lord Stanley.

On the 13th I had addressed to Earl Grey the letter, a copy of which is enclosed.

On the 21st of February, I was honoured by Earl Grey with the perusal of a draft of a communication, which his Lordship proposed to address to me, and by an appointment for the following day, to adjust any points which might be raised by an examination of that draft. On the 22nd of February the cabinet resigned, and no further progress could be made in the negotiation until their acceptance of the seals again on the 3rd of March.

I have now the honour to enclose a copy of a letter addressed to me on the 10th instant, by Mr. Hawes, in which the Lieutenant-Governor will be gratified to perceive that my mission has resulted in the determination of Her Majesty's Government to propose to Parliament to advance or guarantee the funds which may be required by the three North American Provinces, to make a railroad from Halifax to Quebec or Montreal, including a line of connection across New Brunswick with the railroad lines of the United States.

I have reason to believe that if the pressure of public business will permit, copies of this letter will be transmitted to his Excellency the Governor-General

and to the Lieutenant-Governors of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, by this mail. CHAP. XVIII

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You will perceive that all our great lines are to be provided for; the Provinces through which they pass pledging their revenues to the Imperial Government, which will advance or guarantee the funds required at the lowest rate of interest. This cannot be higher than four and will probably not exceed three and a half per cent. No American or colonial company, seeking funds in the money market here, could obtain even a moderate amount at less than six per cent. I could make contracts for completing our own line, in sections of fifty miles, paying the parties in our Provincial debentures at five per cent., but from all the information I can gather, even the Provincial Government could not depend on obtaining any large amount of funds at a less rate of interest than what Canada pays for the last loan effected here, which is six per cent.

The value to us, then, of the imperial guarantee cannot be over-estimated.

You will perceive that Her Majesty's Government leaves the Provincial Governments free to select a shorter and more profitable line than that chosen by Major Robinson, if one can be found.

As regards construction and management, we are not to be unduly controlled, the imperial commission being limited to such necessary jurisdiction as may prevent the appropriation of the funds raised to objects not contemplated by Parliament.

You will also observe that the Provincial Governments are left free to make the most they can of the lands through which the railroads are to pass. My present impression is that by making a judicious use of these colonization may be carried on extensively in connection with the railroads so that as many people may be added to the population of each Province as will swell its annual consumption and revenue beyond the charges which may be assumed for the construction of the lines. If this can be done, and I believe it may, we may strengthen the Provinces and permanently advance and improve them, adding to their wealth and population, flanking the railway lines with thousands of industrious people, and giving the Provinces in a few years an elevation which we are all anxious that they should attain.

To carry out this policy there must be mutual co-operation between men of influence here and in the Provinces, acting with the general concurrence of the Imperial and Colonial Governments.

The ground has, I trust, been prepared for such organization, and I shall spend the rest of the month in drawing together those interests and influences on which the Northern Provinces may most securely rely to aid them in filling up their waste lands and completing their public improvements.

My present intention is to leave England by the boat of the 5th of April, and I cannot anticipate that anything will occur to occasion further delay.

I regret that it has not been possible to bring these matters into a shape to be passed upon by the Legislature during the present session; but, on reflection, it will perhaps appear to his Excellency better that questions

CHAP. XVIII of such deep importance should be gravely propounded to the country for  
 — its deliberate decision than that they should have been hurried through or  
 1851 hastily rejected in the last session of an expiring Parliament.—I have, &c.,

JOSEPH HOWE.

W. H. KEATING, Esq.

5 SLOANE STREET, LONDON,  
 4th April, 1851.

SIR,—I have now the honour to make to you my final report for the information of the Lieutenant-Governor.

Mr. Hawes's letter to me bears date the 10th March. I could have left in the steamer of the 15th had I believed that no further steps were prudent or necessary. But being quite aware of the obstructions which might be presented and the delays which jarring elements on the other side of the water might occasion, I thought it best not to leave England without leaving Nova Scotia in a position not only to show to her sister Provinces the practicability and wisdom of the policy to which I had given my sanction, but to act independently of them should that policy not be approved.

Looking to the sparse population of New Brunswick and to the absolute impossibility of that Province executing, unaided and within a reasonable time, either or both of the two important lines projected across her territory, I deemed it to be my first duty to satisfy my own mind that a systematic plan of colonization could be superinduced upon the gradual construction of the railways, so that, by the time that serious liability was incurred, her population and revenues should be correspondingly increased. The way having been previously cleared for conducting the inquiries and forming the connections which I deemed desirable, I trust I shall be prepared to show his Excellency that while, by accepting the generous and advantageous proposition of the British Government, New Brunswick would obtain two railroads for a trifle more than one made with her own resources would cost, she would, by falling into the general scheme, run but little risk, and throw into her wilderness lands, in a very short time, at least half a million of people.

Into the details of the measures which I have prepared myself to propose or the extent of the resources which can be brought to bear upon the waste territory which it is wise policy to people, I do not think it necessary here to enter.

Two or three simple facts will show that I did not attach too much importance to this branch of the subject. The terms upon which the British Government is content to aid the Provinces are not less favourable than those given to the proprietors of the encumbered estates in the mother country. These parties pay for £100 sterling six and a half per cent. for twenty-two years, which extinguishes the debt, paying in full principal and interest. Those who wish us to make our railroads with American capital or contractors propose

that we should give our debentures, redeemable in twenty-five years and bearing interest at six per cent. If we did this it is quite clear that we should make a ruinous and unnecessary sacrifice, paying in interest alone a sum nearly equal to the whole amount borrowed by either mode and then having to repay the principal besides. However profitable such an operation might prove to the attorneys and contractors who appear to have been pressing this policy upon the Provinces ever since the convention was held at Portland, it would in my judgment, now that we have the credit of the British Government at our back and the treasures of London at our disposal, be one that would for ever stamp us as inferior in practical sagacity and shrewdness to the astute neighbours who tempted us to make for their advantage such a ridiculous bargain.

But I do not believe that six per cent. is all that Provincial companies, without the guarantee of the Colonial and Imperial Governments, will have to pay when once public works are commenced with insecure and insufficient resources. Our own experience of one such experiment ought to be sufficient for Nova Scotia. A modern illustration should convey a significant warning to all the Provinces.

The city of Montreal, naturally desirous to aid a work in which it had a deep interest, gave to the contractors upon the Montreal and Portland Railroad a large amount of debentures to enable them to go on. These were sold here recently. A gentleman of the highest mercantile character thus describes the value in the London money market of the credit of the first city in British America, unsupported by the Provincial or Imperial Government: "I understand that the agents of Blackwood & Co. (American contractors), who accepted as part payment of their work on the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad £125,000 six per cent. city of Montreal bonds at par, sold them lately in London at the price of £70 to the £100. They mature at various dates, averaging, I believe, ten to fifteen years."

In this case (and so it will be in all others, where haste makes waste or cupidity outruns resources), it is clear that the Canadians will pay not only high interest upon their debentures, but will have to redeem them at short periods at an enormous sacrifice. If, then, the Provinces can by mutual co-operation secure funds to complete their great lines at about one-half what money has cost in all the adjoining states and what it must cost them without the aid of the British Government; and if, while this money is being expended, their population and resources can be so increased, as to make the risks they run merely nominal, I am well assured, however timid statesmen may shrink from the responsibility or interested speculators may advocate a different policy, that sound views will ultimately prevail and that the sacrifices which precipitancy may occasion in either Province will ultimately afford instruction to them all.

Nova Scotia having led the way to the adoption of an enlarged and enlightened policy and having discharged towards her sister Provinces, in a fair and generous spirit, the obligations which her prompt adoption of that

CHAP. XVIII policy imposed, it did not appear to me that I should leave her dependent  
— upon their appreciation of her exertions, for the easy and successful completion  
1851 of her internal improvements, in the event of no common action being attainable in respect to national or intercolonial lines.

Looking at the development of her internal resources alone, Nova Scotia must have a common trunk line of railroad, extending in a northerly direction from her capital and branching to the Pictou coal mines, and west to her most populous districts, a large portion of the trade of which now flows across the Bay of Fundy. Her clear interest is to make these lines without delay, should anything retard an intercolonial enterprise. She may make fifteen, perhaps thirty miles, and then turn east or west as circumstances may determine; or she may complete the trunk and continue the branches, for the accommodation of her own trade and people, by regular and safe gradations.

Entertaining these opinions, I could not leave England without providing for the independent execution of our own internal improvements, under any and every possible contingency. I shall be prepared, therefore, to submit to his Excellency, propositions by which any amount of funds which we may require can be obtained, on our Provincial credit alone, at from five and six per cent. from banks and from individuals of the highest respectability, who will dispose of our debentures on the most favourable terms; and I shall also be prepared to submit the offers of capitalists and contractors, who have made one-third of all the railroads in the United Kingdom, and who will complete working plans at their own expense, lodge £30,000 in the Provincial treasury as a pledge of their good faith, and construct either Nova Scotia's own lines (should the Provinces not agree) or all the lines contemplated by Mr. Hawes's letter of the 10th of March, on terms much more favourable than any railroads have been or can be completed with colonial or American funds.—I have, &c.,

JOSEPH HOWE.

WM. H. KEATING, Esq., *Deputy Secretary.*



## CHAPTER XIX

1851 (*continued*)

Mr. Howe's return—Resignation of Herbert Huntington—Differences between Attorney-General Uniacke and George R. Young—Mr. Young resigns—New Brunswick opposed to Mr. Howe's railway scheme—Public meeting in Halifax—Mr. Howe's speech on railways and colonization—Resolution approving of Mr. Howe's action—Speech acknowledging vote of thanks—Speech at Amherst—Speeches in New Brunswick—St. John speech—Mr. Howe passes through Portland—Visits Toronto, Montreal and Quebec—Speech at Toronto—Speech at Quebec—Speech at Montreal—Hugh Allan's remarks—Remarks of Messrs. Primrose and Angers—Mr. Howe's report—Dissolution—Letter to the freeholders of Halifax County—Presentation by farmers of Musquodoboit—Letter to the electors of Nova Scotia—Activity during election campaign—Mr. Howe elected by acclamation—Government sustained—Letters of Charles D. Archibald—Mr. Howe's answer—Great railway celebration in Boston—Mr. Howe's speech—Speech at Portland—Legislature opens—Governor's speech—Mr. Howe's speech on Railway Bills—Bills pass—Death of Herbert Huntington—Mr. Howe's tribute—Governor's closing speech.

ON the 5th of April, 1851, Mr. Howe left England for Halifax, weary of labour and undivided responsibility, sated with the excitement and pleasures of society, and conscious that new toils and heavy responsibilities awaited him on his return; but conscious also of great triumphs achieved, of great services rendered, and above all, of the possession of great powers, tested on the broad field of European competition, and strengthened and improved by six months of observation and of discipline in the metropolis of the civilized world.

Mr. Howe reached home on the 14th of April, and found a good deal of work on his hands from the moment of his arrival. His old friend Mr. Huntington had resigned, and Mr. Creelman's appointment to the Financial Secretary's office, though securing the services of a most upright and faithful officer, had created some jealousies that required to be soothed. The old question of an Elective Council had been pressed, and some of the supporters of Government giving way, a majority had sanctioned the principle. The franchise had been disturbed, and changed from a 40s. freehold to the payment

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of taxes. But the most perplexing matter that required immediate attention was a serious difference between Attorney-General Uniacke and Mr. George R. Young, which compromised the cabinet and gave rise to general suspicions that its members were not united upon the great question of its railway policy. When Mr. Howe's letters and the despatches from Downing Street were laid before the House, the members and supporters of the Government with one exception expressed unbounded satisfaction. Even the warmest of his old political opponents acknowledged the ability, tact and moral courage displayed by the delegate; and however much some of them might disapprove of railways being made by governments, all admitted that Her Majesty's ministers had been won at last to an enlightened appreciation of the value of her North American Provinces, and were acting with a generous and sincere desire to promote their internal improvement. Mr. George R. Young professed to think otherwise, and in some speech which he had made had given great offence to his colleagues and to the public generally. Action had been taken upon this speech before Mr. Howe arrived. The Attorney-General and Mr. Young had tendered their resignations, and could no longer act together. Vain efforts to harmonize these jarring elements having been exhausted, Mr. Young's resignation was accepted with all courtesy on the 12th of May.

There were other causes for perplexity. The promoters of the Portland convention evidently did not look with a friendly eye upon Mr. Howe's policy and proceedings. They desired to make Portland the seaport of Canada, and to draw all the Provinces into friendly connection and ultimate political harmony with the United States. Mr. Howe desired to create a North American nation, watchful of republican America, even while pursuing common objects, but in perpetual friendship and alliance with the British Islands. Mr. Howe was content to make the shore line through the Maritime Provinces, either as part of a great scheme, or by itself; but he desired to keep that portion of the railway which ran through British territory, under British influence and control; and he had laboured to give to the Provinces a great intercommunication between the Atlantic and the St. Lawrence, which, even if it could not compete for the traffic of Western Canada with the Portland line, would in peace and war be of inestimable value to the empire, and ultimately secure to eastern seaports the trade of all that noble country which lies between Quebec and Nova Scotia.

In New Brunswick there were powerful interests opposed to

the northern line. As surveyed by Major Robinson and Captain Henderson, it did not touch Fredericton, the political capital, or St. John, the commercial metropolis of New Brunswick. Mr. Howe had foreseen that unless by combining the two roads in a general scheme, it was hopeless to expect the guarantee of the Imperial Government for the road to Portland alone, and equally hopeless to anticipate that New Brunswick would expend her resources upon a national highway which sacrificed to imperial or intercolonial interests the hopes and fair claims of her two most influential and important cities. Before he arrived in America, and before his policy was understood in that Province, the influences which dominated in the southern sections, combined with those which the Portland convention had created by the appointment of agents in New Brunswick, had placed the Legislature in a position of antagonism to the northern road, and of course to the general policy propounded by Mr. Howe.

In this Province some of the agents appointed by the convention had been equally active, and a bill for incorporating a company to make the road to Portland alone, with the aid of large subsidies from the Provincial Government, had been introduced into the Assembly, and was favoured by those who, for various reasons, were opposed to the more comprehensive scheme. The bill had been deferred till Mr. Howe's success in England was apparent, and then was laid aside.

After a leisurely survey of the whole field of exertion, Mr. Howe set to work with his usual energy and decision. The cabinet was united and in earnest. The telegraph had assured him of the friendly feeling and co-operation of Canada. As a general election was to come off in the course of the summer, it was indispensable that public opinion should be prepared and a friendly majority returned.

A public meeting of the citizens of Halifax was convened at Masons' Hall on the 15th of May. Men of all ranks and shades of politics attended and vied with each other in the enthusiastic reception given to Mr. Howe. It was here that he delivered the speech which Lord Grey informed him was "one of the best that he had ever read."

MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN,—This meeting has been called to ascertain whether the citizens of Halifax, after six months' deliberation and reflection, are as unanimous as they were in August last; whether they are still disposed to entrust to their Government the task of constructing intercolonial railways; and whether they are prepared to accept the terms which have been offered to

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the Province in Mr. Hawes's letter of the 10th March. The position which the negotiations have assumed renders it necessary that efforts should be made to overcome difficulties that have arisen beyond our own frontier. The Government contemplates sending a deputation to Canada to confer with delegates from the neighbouring Provinces, in the confident hope that those difficulties may be overcome, and that that unity of action and mutual harmony may be secured by which alone the great works contemplated can be rendered not only practicable but easy of accomplishment within a reasonable time. To appoint men, however, to perform this service; to send them from amongst us to negotiate with the Governments of Canada and New Brunswick, in ignorance of the state of public feeling at home, before they know whether the ground behind them is firm and stable, would be unwise, premature and useless. They could not with confidence ask New Brunswickers or Canadians to give their sanction to any line of policy before they knew whether Nova Scotians were determined to sustain it. I am happy in the belief that the unanimity which presages success, the manly forbearance and generous rivalry which ensure the perfection of large and comprehensive measures upon sound principles does exist among us, does pervade the community, actuating and animating the large and highly respectable body of our fellow-citizens here assembled. So far as I have been enabled to gather the general sentiment since my return, from frequent communication with leading men representing great interests, and the opinions of large sections of our people, I believe that the resolutions which have been prepared for submission will meet the unanimous support of this assemblage.

The Imperial Government with a magnanimity which does honour to the British people, sustained by that unanimity of sentiment among the great leaders of public opinion at home which promises a long continuance of the honourable relations existing between us, has offered to the three British North American Provinces £7,000,000 sterling at the lowest interest at which money can be obtained in the world. This money is offered for the purpose of enabling them to complete in an incredibly short space of time and with security and ease great internal improvements which their advanced condition renders so desirable, which will bind them together into one prosperous community, animate them with new hopes and aspirations, and ultimately elevate them from the colonial condition to that of a great and prosperous nation, in perpetual amity and friendship with those glorious islands to which we trace our origin and to which through this great boon so much of our material prosperity will in all time to come be traced.

Halifax has been formed by nature and selected by the dictates of sound policy as a common terminus for these great intercolonial railways. Three hundred and thirty miles will connect us with Portland and all the lines which interlace the American Republic and bind together the prosperous communities of the south and west. Six hundred and seventy miles more, opening up the central lands and settlements of New Brunswick, will not only connect us as

we originally contemplated with Quebec and the St. Lawrence, but passing through 180 miles of settlements on that noble river will place us in communication with the populous city of Montreal, which will soon be in connection with Portland on the other side; the circle will be thus complete and chains of intercommunication established, easily accessible, by shorter lines, to all the rising towns and settlements which that wide circuit will embrace.

But when Montreal is reached, shall we stop there? Who can believe it? Who can think so lightly of the enterprise of Western Canada as to apprehend that she will not continue this iron road, link by link, till it skirts the shores of Ontario and Erie and draws its tributary streams of traffic from the prolific regions of Simcoe, Superior and Huron? Already municipalities are organizing and companies are forming to extend this railway for 600 miles above Montreal. Once completed to that city, how will those interior lines advance? How many interests will combine for their extension? The British Government and people will take a natural pride in the continuation of this great national work. The success of the lower lines will be promoted and ensured by extension. British capitalists and contractors, lured into this boundless field, will seek further employment for their capital and labour; and millions of industrious people will flow into Provinces where employment is certain and land is cheap. This is the prospect before us, sir, and the duties it imposes we must learn to discharge with energy; the destiny it discloses we may contemplate with pride. England foresees, yet fears it not. She relies upon our resources and upon our integrity to repay her money. She believes in the existence of the old feelings here which are to strengthen with our strength, and bind us to her by links of love, when pecuniary obligations have been cancelled. She virtually says to us by this offer, There are seven millions of sovereigns, at half the price that your neighbours pay in the markets of the world; construct your railways; people your waste lands; organize and improve the boundless territory beneath your feet; learn to rely upon and to defend yourselves, and God speed you in the formation of national character and national institutions.

But, sir, daring as may appear the scope of this conception, high as the destiny may seem which it discloses for our children, and boundless as are the fields of honourable labour which it presents, another, grander in proportions, opens beyond; one which the imagination of a poet could not exaggerate, but which the statesman may grasp and realise, even in our own day. Sir, to bind these disjointed Provinces together by iron roads; to give them the homogeneous character, fixedness of purpose, and elevation of sentiment, which they so much require, is our first duty. But, after all, they occupy but a limited portion of that boundless heritage which God and nature have given to us and to our children. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are but the frontage of a territory which includes four millions of square miles, stretching away behind and beyond them to the frozen regions on the one side and to the Pacific on the other. Of this great section of the globe, all the Northern Provinces, including Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, occupy but 486,000

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square miles. The Hudson's Bay territory includes 250,000 miles. Throwing aside the more bleak and inhospitable regions, we have a magnificent country between Canada and the Pacific, out of which five or six noble Provinces may be formed, larger than any we have, and presenting to the hand of industry and to the eye of speculation, every variety of soil, climate and resource. With such a territory as this to overrun, organize and improve, think you that we shall stop even at the western bounds of Canada, or even at the shores of the Pacific? Vancouver's Island with its vast coal measures lies beyond. The beautiful islands of the Pacific and the growing commerce of the ocean are beyond. Populous China and the rich East are beyond; and the sails of our children's children will reflect as familiarly the sunbeams of the South as they now brave the angry tempests of the North. The Maritime Provinces which I now address are but the Atlantic frontage of this boundless and prolific region—the wharves upon which its business will be transacted and beside which its rich argosies are to lie. Nova Scotia is one of these. Will you then put your hands unitedly, with order, intelligence and energy, to this great work? Refuse, and you are recreants to every principle which lies at the base of your country's prosperity and advancement; refuse, and the Deity's handwriting upon land and sea is to you unintelligible language; refuse, and Nova Scotia, instead of occupying the foreground as she now does, should have been thrown back, at least behind the Rocky Mountains. God has planted your country in the front of this boundless region; see that you comprehend its destiny and resources—see that you discharge with energy and elevation of soul the duties which devolve upon you in virtue of your position. Hitherto, my countrymen, you have dealt with this subject in a becoming spirit, and whatever others may think or apprehend, I know that you will persevere in that spirit until our objects are attained. I am neither a prophet, nor a son of a prophet, yet I will venture to predict that in five years we shall make the journey hence to Quebec and Montreal and home through Portland and St. John, by rail; and I believe that many in this room will live to hear the whistle of the steam-engine in the passes of the Rocky Mountains and to make the journey from Halifax to the Pacific in five or six days. With such objects in view,—with the means before us to open up one thousand miles of this noble territory, to increase its resources and lay bare its treasures, surely all petty jealousies and personal rivalries should stand rebuked; all minor questions of mere local interest should give way. The smoke of past contests has perhaps at times clogged my own mind; like an old chimney, the soot of controversy may have adhered to it after the cooking of constitutions was over. But the fire of this noble enterprise has burnt it out. I come back, after six months' absence, prepared to co-operate with any man who will honestly aid me to work out the prosperity of our common country; and I am glad to discover that a reciprocal and cordial feeling is manifested by those whose opinions differ, on other subjects, from my own.

It is frequently said, sir, that a government should not touch these public

works. But the roads of a country—the Queen's highways—surely come within the purview of the Executive. In this case it is clear that, unless done by the Government, these great railways cannot be done at all. Even if companies could make them, they would cost fourteen millions instead of seven. But, sir, what is a government for, if it is not to take the lead in noble enterprises; to stimulate industry; to elevate and guide the public mind? You set eight or nine men on red cushions or gilded chairs, with nothing to do but pocket their salaries, and call that a government. To such a pageant I have no desire to belong. Those who aspire to govern others should neither be afraid of the saddle by day nor of the lamp by night. In advance of the general intelligence they should lead the way to improvement and prosperity. I would rather assume the staff of Moses and struggle with the perils of the wilderness and the waywardness of the multitude than be a golden calf, elevated in gorgeous inactivity—the object of a worship which debased.

But how came this work to be assumed by the Government? The citizens of Halifax, by acclamation, handed it over to us at the great meeting held in Temperance Hall after the return of the delegates from Portland. The capitalists of the Province were there and confessed that the enterprise was beyond their grasp. The people were there and the feeling was universal that this work was to be done by the Government, if done at all. At that meeting many an old antipathy was buried, and the Government assumed and has carried on the project in the spirit with which it was tendered. That meeting was held in August. Sir John Harvey's despatch, asking for the imperial guarantee, bears date the 29th of that month. The refusal which led to the delegation reached Halifax in October. On the 1st of November the delegate left for England. The first interview granted to me was on the 18th; I could not decide upon any course till that was over. In a week after, the first letter to Earl Grey was written; it went in on the 25th. So far, you will perceive, that from August to the end of November not a moment was lost. The meeting at Southampton was held on the 14th of January; the second letter to Earl Grey is dated the 16th. Six weeks elapsed between the dates of the two letters. How were these passed? In reading a cart-load of books and pamphlets and parliamentary records and reports, that I might gather facts and ascertain what others had written and said on the subjects I wished to treat; in diving by day and night into the mysteries of that industrial and social life which it might become my duty to illustrate. However impatient some of you have been, no Nova Scotian who had not seen England for ten years could have wisely appealed to its intelligence without this preparation. The best proof that the time was not wasted is to be found in the fact that no hostile criticism met my eye before I left England; nor was a single statement attempted to be gainsaid.

From the 16th of January to the 14th of February, the whole subject was under the consideration of the cabinet, with Lord Grey's confident assurance of a favourable result. But delays were unavoidable. The nation was

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boiling with excitement upon other questions, and the ministers were much engrossed. Even after the generous debate in the House of Lords some delay was inevitable, and it was not until the 20th of February that I had Lord Grey's draft of the proposition embodied in Mr. Hawes's letter. With that upon my table, honourably crowning my mission, you may imagine what I endured during the ministerial crisis which lasted a fortnight and during all which time no official character could be given to the draft. Mr. Hawes's letter came on the 20th of March, and my friends in England congratulated me on the termination of my labours. But I knew better. The local interests and apprehensions, the personal rivalries and jealousies, of three Provinces over the sea, rose before me, and I thought a month would be well spent in preparing to deal with these.

Before I show you what I did, let me say a word or two to those, if any there are, who hold the opinion that the offer of the British Government is not as liberal and magnificent as it has been described, because no direct contribution has been given. In the first place, as a Nova Scotian, whose forefathers have gone through difficulties and privations which the present generation are not called upon to endure; who has shared in the inheritance of a country already valued at fifteen millions; owing nothing abroad, and but a nominal debt to its own people, which a year's revenue would pay off, I am too proud to accept as a gift a single sovereign from my brethren in the British Islands. With all the surplus wealth of England, the taxation to meet the interest of weighty obligations and an imperial expenditure is onerous. What right have I to take a shilling out of the pocket of a Manchester weaver or of a poor orange woman in the Strand, to make our railroads? The credit of the Imperial Government I would freely use, without a blush of shame or a sense of dishonourable obligation, but trust me, there is not a high-spirited Nova Scotian who would take a shilling of its money. But suppose money had been given. Suppose Earl Grey had said to me, "There, Mr. Howe, are a million of sovereigns, go and get the other six millions where you can," the six would have cost us just £150,000 a year more than the whole will cost now. Suppose his Lordship had given me two or even three millions,—and the most exacting spirit over the border would hardly require more,—I must have paid £240,000 a year for the four millions at six per cent., while the whole seven will now cost but £245,000. Is it not clear, then, that if I had accepted even two millions in solid gold, instead of the terms offered in Mr. Hawes's letter, I should have been an idiot? Is it not equally clear that the interposition of imperial credit, while it leaves our pride untouched and the resources of Great Britain undiminished, actually saves us nearly three million pounds sterling in the construction of our public works? Could I have stood here to-day with brow erect, if over-taxed Englishmen's money was in my hand? Would you have taken it if I had? No, you would not. The service offered is incalculable. The sense of obligation should be as deep as it will be lasting. We incur this debt without dishonour, as we



will discharge it in all integrity and good faith. Those who undervalue this magnificent boon, offered to us by the British Government, should reflect that seven millions of money, drawn from our own resources or borrowed on our own credit in the general market of the world, would cost us just £157,000 a year more than if we take the sum upon the terms which it has been my good fortune to secure.

But, Mr. Mayor, I thought it was just possible that there might be some obstructions presented in some quarter; and I thought it might be as well to put Nova Scotia in a position to act independently of those obstructions. I am happy to say that she is now prepared at all points. I hold in my hand two letters, one from the London and Westminster Bank, the other from the Commercial Bank of London. The first is perhaps the strongest monied institution in Great Britain, next to the Bank of England; the position and resources of the other are well known. Either will open an account with Nova Scotia alone with or without guarantees, will honour our drafts, sell our debentures, and protect our credit; we may draw to-morrow for £20,000 or £30,000. Here is a letter from another capitalist who will do all this, and place £100,000 at our disposal. The interest is high, it is true, but the arrangement may be useful, should Nova Scotia be compelled to fall back on her own resources.

Even with these, you will perceive, we are tolerably well armed; but here are three letters from English contractors, either of whom could and would make one of our lines and some of whom offer to make the whole line to the St. Lawrence. [Mr. Howe here read one of these letters, signed by two gentlemen, whose notes would float, he said, through any bank in London for a million of pounds and who were associated with others equally wealthy and enterprising. They claimed to have made, either jointly or severally, one-third of all the railroads in the United Kingdom; were prepared to lodge £30,000 in the Provincial treasury as security for their good faith, and make either line through a single Province or all the lines required, in any time that might be stipulated for and upon any terms that might be fixed by imperial and colonial engineers. Another of these contractors, said Mr. Howe, will make the forty miles from Truro to Pictou, or thirty or fifty from the trunk line to Windsor or Cornwallis, in less time and with less chaffering than would be required by some of our great politicians and capitalists to build a barn. Mr. Howe also referred to a proposition from an associated body of the working men of England, who were prepared to purchase fifty miles of land along the line and transfer their skill, capital and families to the Provinces, if fair and honourable terms were given. He could, he said, if authorized, have formed a dozen of such associations, and made arrangements to settle township after township, as the work advanced, through New Brunswick to the St. Lawrence.]

The position that we occupy, then, Mr. Mayor, is one of security and varied resource. We can unite with the other Provinces for the construction of intercolonial railways, or we can "do what we like with our own." We

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can make for British America one thousand miles of railway at three and a half per cent. if these Provinces are alive to their own interests. We can make the whole line to Portland, independently of the other, if New Brunswick follow our example and pledge her public funds for the money. Or we can make our own roads to Pictou on one side and Bridgetown on the other without reference to what may be done beyond the frontier. If others choose to waste time with bubble companies and expensive experiments—if this noble offer is rejected, we have enough to do till our neighbours purchase wisdom at six per cent. In the meanwhile we shall begin at the capital and extend our own lines east and west. We can commence to-morrow if we choose, and can make one hundred miles with more ease and celerity than any private company could make ten.

It has been said by some that the delegation was premature. Yet in what position would we stand now but for the delegation? We are armed at all points. We are prepared to make all the roads projected through the three Provinces, and save them £175,000 a year in interest. We are prepared with contractors to make the whole line to Portland at five per cent., and we are prepared to make our own roads, independent of our neighbours. While we have been doing all this, Maine and New Brunswick have been passing facility bills, to try and get 275 miles of railway made with about as many thousand pounds. They have not yet made a mile or stuck a pickaxe; and yet we are told that our delegation was premature!

But it has often been said that we have broken faith with the people of Portland. I should like to know in what manner. The gentlemen of Portland invited us to discuss with them the propriety of making a railroad. The delegates who attended represented local meetings or committees only, and nobody who sent them dreamed that the Government or Legislature was to be bound by anything they said or did. The meeting was preliminary, for the purpose of comparing views and eliciting information. Had we supposed that Maine was to dictate to us how we were to make our portion of the railroad or that we were to be bound to pay some undiscovered capitalists £60,000 a year when we could get our work done for £35,000, we certainly should have been no parties to the convention. But in what essential have we broken faith? We offer to our neighbours the means to make the whole line. We have pledged our public resources to make our part of it. Have they offered us a pound or raised one-fifth of what they want themselves? Nay, can either or both show us anybody's obligation to lend them or us one-tenth of what we jointly require? They asked us to co-operate with them to obtain a railroad, and we have broken faith by providing for our own requirements and offering them money to build it to their very doors. The spirited and unanimous demonstration made by all ranks and classes in Quebec shows that our efforts have not been unappreciated in that quarter, and that the offer of the British Government has been hailed with the patriotic feeling it is so well calculated to evoke.

But, sir, all winter long, a gentleman from one of our northern counties has been pressing upon the Legislature a bill, asking to be incorporated, that he might build the Portland railway. Now, I happen to know something of that person and of the resources of the county he is trying to mislead; and sure I am, that if you had incorporated him three times over, he would not raise, between this time and next Christmas, as much money as would make a single mile of railroad. But let the county of Cumberland seriously reflect on what this gentleman and his friends are about; for just so sure as the folly of these people tempts New Brunswick to rely upon co-operation which they have not the power to give, so surely will years elapse before Cumberland sees a railroad approach her borders either on one side or the other. The people of Cumberland, however, shall not be so deceived; I will not wait till Mr. Dickey crosses the seas, but will take an early opportunity to discuss with him the merits of his scheme, and then let the people of Cumberland decide between us.

But, sir, it has been urged that by accepting the proposal of Earl Grey we pledge ourselves to make railroads in New Brunswick and to bear the burden of the whole scheme. A word of explanation upon this point. In giving my adhesion to this plan, I conceive I did nothing more than pledge Nova Scotia to repay the principal and interest necessary to construct the railroad across her own territory; I assumed that the other Provinces would do the same. If, however, it shall appear that New Brunswick is unable to bear her own burden, I am quite prepared to consider whether Canada and Nova Scotia shall lend their aid—to what amount, and in what proportions. But this is a new question to be discussed and decided hereafter upon its own merits. New Brunswick, in my opinion, will reap the largest amount of benefit from the expenditure. She will get two most important lines at three and a half per cent., the other Provinces but one. She has eleven million acres of crown lands to settle and to rise in value. Her population may be doubled in two or three years almost without an effort, and I am very sanguine that, when the true bearing of this proposal upon her great interests comes to be understood, her people will accept it without any apprehension for the result. These two lines will touch nearly all her more populous counties and breathe new life into them all; these two lines will open up millions of acres of wilderness lands and prepare locations for half a million of people, who will settle township after township as the works advance.

But it has been said that our own revenues will be swamped and that our own country will be burdened by this speculation. Now, taking the worst view that can be taken of this enterprise, let us suppose that our one hundred and thirty miles are made and do not for a few years yield a pound beyond their working expenses. In that case we should have £35,000 currency to raise. In 1849 our revenue was £15,000 less than in 1850; yet there was enough to pay all our ordinary expenses and £30,000 or £40,000 to spare for roads, bridges and schools. This year the Receiver-General assures me our

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revenue will increase from £5000 to £7000 over that of 1850. Here, then, are £22,000 over and above the revenue of 1849, before the railroads have been commenced. The difference of £13,000 may be met for a few years by an issue of Province paper, if our revenue should not increase from emigration or increased expenditure. But, sir, the population of Nova Scotia is three hundred thousand and doubles every twenty years. Some of our young men, it is true, go abroad from restlessness and a desire to see the world; a few to better their fortunes, it may be; more to be convinced by sad experience that half the labour, energy and skill fruitlessly expended in foreign states, would have made them richer and happier in their own country. But, sir, the cradles of Nova Scotia add fifteen thousand year by year to our population. I never see a bride going to church with orange blossoms in her bonnet or a young couple strolling to Kissing Bridge of a summer evening, but I involuntarily exclaim, Heaven bless them; there go the materials to make the railroads. So long, then, as love is made in Nova Scotia, and love makes children, we shall have fifty or sixty thousand added to our population every five or six years, who will add at least £20,000 or £30,000 to our annual income. The speculation is, then, perfectly safe for us, even if an emigrant should not touch our shores.

Let me now, however, turn your attention to a subject which has been too long neglected in these North American Provinces—I mean the subject of emigration and colonization. We are too apt to turn to the United States for comparisons unfavourable to our own prosperity and advancement. One of the principal causes of this prosperity we rarely pause to consider. Yet I believe that, since the recognition of American independence, the British Islands alone have thrown off at least five millions of people to swell the numbers in the republic. Every convulsion in continental Europe adds its quota of capital, skilled labour and energy to those states. Germany has sent millions; France, Switzerland, Italy, lesser but still valuable contributions. Add to the emigrants who have come the progeny that has sprung from their loins, and one-half the whole population of the United States may be taken to represent its immigration.

Should we, then, with institutions as free as those of our neighbours, with a territory of boundless extent, with natural resources which defy calculation, with a noble country in our rear, capable of sustaining millions of people, permit this stream of population and wealth to flow past us, as the Gulf Stream flows, without a thought as to its utility, its volume, or its direction?

Of late our attention has only been turned to emigration by the occasional arrival of a floating pest-house and by the sufferings of poor wretches, flung by the accidents of life upon our shores. But the time approaches rapidly when all this will be changed; when steamships of large size will transport the surplus labour of the British Islands to these Provinces, to go in upon these railroad lines and fill up the fertile lands of the interior. Simultaneously with the commencement of these railroads the stream will set this way, and it will

never cease to flow till it enlivens the shores of the Pacific. Make these railroads, and our own enterprising townsman, who has already bridged the Atlantic, will start the ocean omnibus, or if he does not he will soon have competitors upon the line.

It has been of late too much the fashion in Nova Scotia to speak slightly of emigration. How few pause to reflect how much even of our own prosperity we owe to it; and yet a small band of English adventurers, under Cornwallis, laid the foundation of Halifax. These, at a critical moment, were reinforced by the loyalist emigration, which flowed into our western counties and laid broad and deep the foundation of their prosperity. A few hardy emigrants from the old colonies and their descendants built up the maritime county of Yarmouth. Two men of that stock first discovered the value of Locke's Island, the commercial centre of East Shelburne. A few hundreds of sturdy Germans peopled the beautiful county of Lunenburg. A handful of emigrants from Yorkshire gave animation to the county of Cumberland. The vale of Colchester has been made to blossom as the rose by the industry of a few adventurers from the North of Ireland. Half a century ago a few poor but pious lowland Scotchmen penetrated into Pictou. They were followed by a few hundreds of Highlanders, many of them "evicted" from the Duchess of Sutherland's estates. Look at Pictou now, with its beautiful river slopes and fertile mountain settlements, its one hundred schools, its numerous churches and decent congregations, its productive mines and thirty thousand inhabitants, living in comfort and abundance. The picture rises like magic before the eye, and yet every cheerful tint and feature has been supplied by emigration. At the last election it was said that two hundred and seventy Frasers voted in that county—all of them heads of families and proprietors of land. I doubt if as many of the same name can be found in all Scotland who own real estate.

I remember the county of Sydney well, when the descendants of the old loyalists and disbanded soldiers were scattered upon its sea-coast and river inter-vales, "few and far between." Look at it now, and see what emigration, chance directed, has done for it even in a few years. Turn to the three counties of Cape Breton, into which emigrants have been thrown, without forethought on the part of the Imperial or Provincial Government—without any care or preparation. What would those counties be without the broad acres these men have cleared; without their stock, their shipping and their industry? And what would our revenue be without their annual consumption? What lesson should we gather, then, from the history of the United States and from our own? The value of emigration and colonization. But an idea prevails that Nova Scotia has no space to spare, no lands to people; that, however important emigration may be to New Brunswick and to Canada, we have no room for the surplus population of Europe; no lands to give them should they come. This is also a mistake. [Here Mr. Howe exhibited a coloured map from which it appeared that there were four million

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acres of crown lands yet ungranted in Nova Scotia proper, exclusive of those in the three counties of Cape Breton. Besides these, he argued, there were the vacant lands of large proprietors, while it was notorious that all the old farms would feed by high cultivation twice the population they contained.] There is room, then, for a very large body of emigrants in Nova Scotia. Is there no room in this city, which must ultimately expand into ten times its present size?

I regret that it is too much the habit to depreciate our own country instead of studying its resources and anticipating its future progress. In an especial manner has this habit prevailed among the idle youth of Halifax. I have known hundreds, whose industrious fathers had toiled upon land and sea to bring them up in luxury, who have spent their own lives upon the sidewalks or in senseless dissipation, all the time abusing the country they have been too idle to cultivate or improve. Dozens of these have died in imbecility and sloth; many more have wandered off to some "fool's paradise" or other, and those who have been too proud to work in their own noble country have toiled like slaves and died in foreign lands. Look round Halifax and ask who own the wharves and stores, the valuable corners, building lots and mansions, that these idlers, and unbelievers in Nova Scotia's resources, have let slip out of their hands. Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotchmen, many of whom came into Halifax without a shilling, but who have added to its wealth by their industry and who are living all around us in abundance and many of them in the enjoyment of ample fortunes. Even Halifax, then, Mr. Chairman, has tested the value of emigration, and as she has thrown off her idlers and grumblers, has been recruited by an influx of the enterprising and industrious. What lessons should past experience, in town and country, teach us then? The value of emigration. Let me state here that the Government propose for the future to combine the business of emigration and colonization with the duties of the land office or commit them to a distinct yet active branch of administration. Thus we shall have a colonial officer in communication with the board of land and emigration at home, and through that board with the board of poor-law guardians and with the constituted authorities of every city and parish in England. We propose to make the deputy surveyors in each county active agents of this department, to lay off the crown lands, and prepare pictures of their districts. We shall then have persons whose business it will be to instruct and advise every poor man who touches our shores, to prepare annual lists of the number and description of mechanics, farmers, servants or apprentices required in different localities, to bind the latter when they come, and protect them in case of need. By the aid of this simple and not very expensive machinery, I shall be much mistaken if we do not add many thousands to our population and a very handsome sum to our revenue. In every part of North America, there is no remark more proverbial than that the farmer with a large family gets rich, while he who has no children is generally poor. Why is this? Because the labour of young people, from twelve or

fourteen to twenty-one, is the least expensive and most profitable labour that a farmer can have. A boy or a girl on a farm soon learns to do light work as well as a man or woman; from eighteen to twenty-one they can do men and women's work, but do not cost men and women's wages. It is the same upon the shores, where our fishermen and coasters have to rely upon the strength of their own families and rarely can get an apprentice. And yet there are in the asylums of England and Ireland at this moment 185,000 children, 8000 of them, on an average, fit to be bound out. Any number of these, fine hearty boys and girls, may be had for the asking. They will be sent here free of expense, if we make preparations to receive them. Now, I propose to collect returns in the autumn of the number of apprentices wanted in the spring, so that any industrious man may send for a boy or a girl as he would for a plough or a net. To our country this description of emigration is admirably well adapted, for these young people in a few years would be heads of families themselves, requiring from others the labour they had supplied. These Provinces, I believe, could under judicious arrangements take the whole 8000 that the mother country is prepared to throw off, which she now has flung into the streets; and if they did, while our numbers were increased every day, the mother country would have 8000 paupers, prostitutes and thieves the less, and 8000 honest and industrious people more would annually contribute to colonial revenue and to the consumption of British manufactures. Let us have the railroads, then, and in addition to the natural absorption of labour by the settlements already formed, we may superinduce upon their construction an enlarged and healthy system of colonization.

Difficulties have, it is true, started up in New Brunswick, but let me say that I deprecate all attempts to scold the people of that Province for what they have done or left undone. Rash I think they were, but I quite appreciate the delicacy and difficulty of the position which the public men of New Brunswick occupied, called upon at the close of a session to deal suddenly with this great question. All that they felt I had foreseen before I left England, and, so far as I had authority or leisure, had provided for. I do not believe that the Legislature of New Brunswick will permanently obstruct this mighty enterprise; and of this I am quite sure, that the people of that Province will not sustain them if they do. Let us look at the financial aspect of this question, shutting out of view for the moment all hopes of increased population and revenue. Suppose Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, by a company, were to construct the Portland railroad, 330 miles, with money at six per cent. The annual interest would be £138,600, even if the stock sold at par. No colonial railway company's bonds or stock would bring in England within twenty or twenty-five per cent. of the amount which the debentures of the Government would bring, even without the guarantee. Take the higher rate, and there is a dead loss of twenty sovereigns in the hundred, or £200 in every £1000 and £20,000 in every £1,000,000. We want about two millions and a half to build the Portland railroad. Add to this the half-million sunk, at starting, and the

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annual interest which the two Provinces must pay for the Portland line alone will be £180,000, for 330 miles of road, to say nothing of the ruinous expenses entailed by uncertainty and delay. Now, Lord Grey will enable us to make 570 miles through these two Provinces, paying for interest but £139,650, or £40,350 a year less than Mr. Dickey and his Portland friends want us to pay for one. But, besides, New Brunswick offers £20,000 for twenty years to the Quebec line. Now, add to this her share of the interest on the Portland line at the dear rate of £119,000, and her money contribution is £139,000, about as much as both Provinces would have to pay, by my scheme, for both roads, or £31,000 more than I ask her to pay for opening up her entire country. But what more has New Brunswick pledged herself to give? A million and a half of acres of land upon the Portland line, and three millions on the line to Quebec—4,500,000 acres. This land at the low upset price of 2s. 6d. an acre, is worth £562,500; at 5s., £1,125,000. So, then, the interest on the value of the land, £75,000 a year, being added to the money already granted, and to the cost of what is to be raised at a ruinous rate, we have the round sum of £214,000 a year, while I offer to make her both roads, open her entire country, double and treble her population, for £108,535 a year, leaving her to make the most of her 4,500,000 acres of land as they rise in value. These are the facts, sir, upon which I rely to convince the public men of New Brunswick; at all events, I am very confident that they will be very easily understood by the people.

But we are sometimes told that Halifax is going to ruin the Province and that the distant counties have no interest in this scheme. Sir, it becomes Halifax to take the lead in this, as she has hitherto done in noble enterprises and battles for principle, of which all parts of the Province have reaped the advantage. The destiny of Halifax is secure. Providence has made her the natural emporium of east and west, has formed her noble harbour and capacious basin to receive the products of a vast interior. When the electric telegraph was introduced, it began at Halifax, because here alone was there business to sustain it. It paid, and now it is being extended to various sections of the Province by private enterprise. Suppose it had gone first to White Head, where nobody lived and where there was nothing for it to do? The speculation would have failed and no more lines would have been built. So it will be with the railroads. We want them, not merely for strangers to pass over our country (and if we put them on such lines, they would not pay, for local and not through traffic sustains a railroad), but for our own trade and our own people. Build one to White Head to-morrow, and of what use would it be to the people of Pictou and Sydney, where much misconception prevails on this subject? A century must elapse before White Head would grow to the size of Halifax, and in the meantime the cattle and sheep and pork, and butter and oatmeal, would come to Halifax, where the consumers are, and the cars would go to White Head where they are not. For every Pictou and Sydney man that goes to Europe, five hundred come to Halifax. What would be the consequence?



Halifax would make her branch line, which would be profitable; the other would be ruinous, there being little or nothing for it to do at White Head, from the time a steamer arrived or went away. But, suppose a line made to Halifax, with money at a low rate of interest; in a few years it would pay—perhaps at once, as the telegraph did—and then, how soon would branches extend to Pictou and Antigonish on the one side, and to Bridgetown or Annapolis on the other. How long would one of my English friends be making us 40 or 50 miles east or west? Then, suppose the country behind us opened and filled up by two or three millions of people. Would they eat no fish? Yes, sir, we should have a home market for our fishermen, where they would not be interfered with by bounties or have to pay twenty per cent. Suppose Halifax and St. John become depots for the productions of the west; will the shipping of Yarmouth and Richmond, of Shelburne, Queen's, Lunenburg, and Guysborough, have nothing to do? Believe me, sir, that the eastern and western seaports would rise, as Halifax rose, and where they have one vessel at sea now, they would then have ten.

The whole Province and not Halifax alone has deep pecuniary interests in the construction of these railroads. But, after six months of thoughtful reflection on this matter, I have brought my mind to the belief that there are higher interests involved even than our own. I believe this to be God's work, and I believe that He will prosper it. I believe that a wise and beneficent Providence never intended that millions of square miles of fertile territory behind and around us should lie waste and unoccupied, while millions of our fellow-creatures rot in almshouses and poorhouses over the sea or perish for lack of food. I regard these railroads after all but as means for the accomplishment of elevated and beneficent ends. I believe that, while the mother country aids us in the great work of internal improvement and national organization, we can aid her by removing the plague-spots—poverty and crime—from her bosom; we can offer her a freehold for every surplus labourer she has; we can take thousands who are burdensome and make them help to support those who now support them; we can cut off the sources of crime by providing for the orphanage of England; we can clear the streets of the destitute and rob the gallows of its prey. During my recent visit to the British Islands, I surveyed with pride and exultation their accumulated wealth, their high cultivation, their noble cities, their unsuspected courts, their active commerce, their science, art, refinement and civilization. But I saw with sorrow and regret much poverty and wretchedness which I believe may be largely abated if they cannot be entirely removed. Aid me in this good work, and the capital of England will flow into North America, providing healthy employment for her surplus population; aid me in this good work, and the poor-rates of Britain may be beaten down from £8,000,000 to £3,000,000; aid me in this good work, and the streets may be cleared, and the almshouses closed up; aid me in this good work, and, while the home markets are extended, British North America will rise to the rank of a second or third-rate power, with all the organization and attributes of a nation.

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There is one passage of my published letters upon which I perhaps owe to my fellow-citizens some explanation. It is that in which I suggest that convicts might be advantageously employed upon these railroads. Before you decide against this proposition, reflect how convicts are made in over-peopled states. In Britain, the man who shoots a hare passing across his neighbour's ground is a free man one day and a convict the next. What harm would he do in North America, where every urchin is at liberty to shoot what game he sees? What harm would the poacher do us, if after making half a mile of railroad he got a bit of land beside it and reared a race of "mighty hunters" to pay us revenue in peace and to defend our frontiers in war? In Ireland there were until very recently 44,000 families, each living on one acre of land. One acre of land! While a farmer in Nova Scotia is half-smothered if he has less than one hundred. In seven years, 800,000 families were "evicted" from these small holdings. How many convicts did this process make? Fancy that either of you, with a large family, occupied a poor cabin on one acre of ground. That you had toiled and struggled to pay the rent and could not; and that the house was pulled down over your head, and your furniture and children, and sick wife, perhaps, were flung into the road. Who is there in all this audience, who, when night closed above him amidst such scenery and such temptations, might not be a convict? If I were not, I would say of myself as an English martyr said when he saw a man going to be hanged, "there goes John Bradford but for the grace of God."

Let me sketch another picture. I was returning at midnight from the Mansion House where the abounding wealth of London was fitly represented at the Lord Mayor's hospitable board, where the luxuries of every clime tempted the palate, amidst the appliances of almost barbaric splendour. As I rode through the streets, shadows occasionally darkened the doorways; poor wretches appeared to be crouching for shelter from the rain. At last I got out of the cab and found a group of three children, the eldest a girl of seven, the others about three and four years old, sitting on the steps of a closed shop, with the winter rain beating in their little faces, at one o'clock in the morning. I asked why they did not go home. They said they had no home; their mother was dead; their father seeking work somewhere, and the elder girl was vainly endeavouring to spread the ends of a threadbare shawl over the little brother and sister who cowered beside her. My first impulse was to bundle the creatures into the cab and take them to my lodgings; but I compromised with my conscience, gave them some money, and went home to bed, not to sleep, but to reflect. Suppose your children or mine were seated in that doorway, growing day by day in destitution and misery, amidst the temptations of a great city, and nightly exposed to the contact of all that was vicious by impulse, and resistless from organization. What might our children be? Such as these become, thieves and prostitutes first, and convicts afterwards, almost as a matter of course. The question naturally arises then, can we do anything in this matter? I think we can. By taking the older children and making good farmers and fishermen and sailors of them, we

can create a vent to relieve the asylums, and then the streets may be cleared. By furnishing land and employment for industrious adults, "evictions" will cease and agrarian outrages diminish in number; but we may do more, if a single experiment which I am anxious to try succeeds, and it can be shown that convicts, disciplined and guarded, can be worked in the woods. This idea originated with Major Robert Carmichael Smyth, than whom I may say the North American Provinces have not a more fervent admirer nor a more zealous and devoted friend. To his brother, Sir J. C. Smyth, we owe the admirable military survey and report which have strengthened our defences; and if my friend's experiment can be fairly tried, to him we may owe the extension of these railroads and the opening of the route to the Pacific. In view of such vast advantages I would not hesitate an instant to turn him in upon the lines with a regiment of convicts, who would be maintained and guarded without any expense to us. If he fails, we have tried a benevolent experiment; if he succeeds, in five years our roads are done, and these pioneers will be far beyond the western frontiers of Canada, opening up the magnificent country behind to settlement and civilization.

With one word of personal explanation, I shall move the first resolution. While in England some of my friends sent me a New Brunswick paper, in which it was more than insinuated that I had gone to seek, not the railroad but the government of Prince Edward Island. That government was vacant for months after I reached England, but it was never named by me, nor was that or any other personal favour ever asked of the Colonial Secretary. Sir, from first to last, I felt that nothing would so lower and degrade my country, so injure her cause, or evince greater unworthiness of the confidence she had reposed, than for me to solicit any personal favour. I felt that I was charged with your interests, not my own; that I had the honour of my country in my hands, and was bound to protect it. This I may say perhaps, that the noble Secretary for the Colonies would not have withheld from me any personal favour that I could have fairly asked; that he would gladly have improved my fortunes if I could have suggested the mode. But his Lordship did not pay me the poor compliment to suppose that I could abandon the field of honourable exertion which lies before me. To that he knew, as you know, my energies must be devoted till these great works are completed; until these experiments of philanthropy and moral obligation are fairly tried. To labour with you and for you, that we may work out the prosperity and happiness of our common country, is for me sufficient distinction; and let me say, in conclusion, though my eye has rested during my absence upon many noble objects and many beautiful scenes, for them all I would not exchange the warm hearts that are beating around me here.

The following resolution was carried by acclamation at this meeting:

*Resolved,* That the citizens of Halifax have read, with unmingled satisfaction, the letter addressed on the 10th of March, to the Hon. Joseph Howe,

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by Benjamin Hawes, Esquire, acting under the directions of Earl Grey, and by which funds to the extent of seven million pounds, to be expended in the construction of intercolonial railways through the North American Provinces, are tendered to the Governments of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, on terms which secure the completion of those works at a little more than one-half of what they would cost without the direct interposition of imperial credit.

Replying to a vote of thanks moved at this meeting, Mr. Howe observed:

You know, my fellow townsmen, all that I feel on this occasion, and I appreciate all that you would express. If I am good for anything, if I have fittingly discharged the duties of this mission, I owe it to the opportunities you have afforded me to ripen and discipline the powers of my mind. I have done my best, and I did it with the consciousness that you would have been satisfied on that score even had I failed. Perhaps I may have had my moments of depression. When I steamed up Liverpool harbour, and saw the noble docks stretching for miles along the shore, ships gliding past every instant like birds upon the wing, and all the evidences of the dense population and restless activity of a great commercial emporium, I may have doubted the possibility of an unknown colonist obtaining a hearing upon any subject. And I must confess, that when I found myself in the heart of England's great metropolis, with its two millions of people around me, of whom I knew not ten, I sometimes felt that if I ventured to raise my voice at all, amidst its aggregate industry and high domestic excitement, I would probably resemble the man howling in the wilderness. But the light that led to other victories led to this. It flashes into my mind I know not whence, and I have been accustomed to follow it wheresoever it leads. My heart is ever strengthened when my country has work to do; and ideas, which books supply not, crowd upon me. I toil till it is done and your cheerful faces are my best reward. Of one thing I am proud to-day—of the unanimity and ardent attachment to the home of our fathers, which have characterized this meeting. In the generous offer of the Government and people of England, we have felt John Bull's heart beating against our own. When the news of the great demonstration at Quebec and of this cross the sea, he will hear the throb of ours too audibly to doubt the sincerity of our attachment. And why should it be otherwise? Until the time arrives when North America shall rise into a nation, nothing can be more honourable than our connection with the parent state. We must have a metropolis, an imperial centre somewhere, and I do not hesitate to acknowledge that I prefer London, with her magnificent proportions, to Washington, with her "magnificent distances."

Give me London, the metropolis of the world, with her time-honoured structures, in which the mighty dead repose; with all her faults, it may be,

but with her abounding wealth, her high art, science, and refinement; but above all, and before all, the freedom of speech and personal liberty by which no other city that ever I saw is more honourably distinguished. I do not disguise from you that I look hopefully forward to the period when these splendid Provinces, with the population, the resources, and the intelligence of a nation, will assume a national character. Until that day comes, we are safe beneath the shield of England; and when it comes, we shall stand between the two great nations whose blood we share, to moderate their counsels, and preserve them in the bonds of peace.

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United action on the part of the three Provinces being indispensable to success, it was desirable that delegates should proceed to Toronto and confer with the Governor-General and his Council. Mr. Howe was selected for this service, and shortly after, Sir John Harvey, who had lost his amiable lady during the winter, went home on leave.

It was very important that two objects should be accomplished before the conference at Toronto was held, that the agents of the mere Portland scheme should be left without footing in Nova Scotia, and that the tone of public opinion in New Brunswick should be changed. As the promoter of the bill for incorporating the Portland company resided at Amherst, Mr. Howe determined to attend a meeting at that place and give the people of Cumberland an opportunity to hear both sides of the question. On the 2nd of June, he addressed them in a speech of which no record remains, but which carried the audience with him, *en masse*, and made such an impression on the county that its leading men came forward and asked Mr. Howe to become its representative, an honour which he accepted a few months afterwards.

From Amherst, Mr. Howe passed into the Province of New Brunswick, and addressed public meetings at Dorchester, at the Bend of Peticodiac, at St. John, and at St. Andrews, taking Fredericton on his route that he might confer with the Lieutenant-Governor. At all these meetings he produced a most favourable impression. Mr. Howe, having convinced the Hon. Edward Chandler that the decision of the New Brunswick Legislature had been hasty and that his own policy was entitled to support, that gentleman thenceforward zealously co-operated with him, spoke at the public meetings in favour of the combined scheme, went with him as a delegate to Toronto, and returning to Cumberland paid him in presence of the electors the highest compliment.

Of the four speeches delivered by Mr. Howe in New Brunswick

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but one was reported,—that made at the Temperance Hall at St. John, when he was suffering from severe cold caught on the journey. It was plain and practical. It had been urged that the Government of Nova Scotia had broken faith with the Portland convention. This was denied. The Government had declined to send a delegate to that convention. Though a member of it had attended as a representative of the city of Halifax, he had only expressed there his own opinions, the cabinet being free to act on the new condition of things presented by that convention. It had acted in good faith to all the parties concerned. Finding that no feasible plan had been arranged by which the funds required could be commanded, and being assured that they could not be raised within the Provinces themselves, they had sent a delegate to England empowered to pledge the public revenues and to raise all the money required to make that portion of the line which lay within their territory. Finding that the Imperial Government would not give the guarantee without provision was made for the intercolonial line, a scheme had been arranged by which both lines could be constructed without loss to the mother country, without burthening too heavily the resources of the Provinces, and without any necessity for calling upon the State of Maine to make a mile beyond her own frontier. Was this a breach of faith or was it not a substantial service rendered by Nova Scotia to all the parties who were interested in the accomplishment of common objects? To the charge that Nova Scotia was interfering unfairly with the policy of New Brunswick, he replied, “we have never done so. The only time that we ever interfered with your Provincial affairs was a few years ago, when we pledged every pound in our treasury, and every bayonet upon our soil, to aid in defence of your Province from invasion.”

He explained how many years had been wasted in Nova Scotia in fruitless endeavours to make railroads by companies; how, by commencing the Shubenacadie Canal with insufficient means, ruin and disgrace had been brought upon the country; how the cost of American roads had been enhanced by the enormous discounts paid for money to complete them.

The policy I recommend is simply to borrow the money with the aid of the British Government in the cheapest market in the world where money can be had, to make the railroads with that money on the pledge and security of the Provincial revenues and lands, and thus to effect those works completely in four or five years, which would never be secured by mere private speculation. I have been also influenced by a desire to keep these Provinces in the hands of

the people, to whom in all time coming I believe that they ought to belong. Even if we could effect these great works ourselves, I believe that if we were to withdraw such large sums of money from the industrial pursuits of the country, we should produce here the very same evils which were formerly produced by similar causes in England. It is a common thing, in discussing such projects as these, for men in humble positions in society to ask, "what are the great capitalists going to do? Let us inquire what the great capitalists are doing." Take the wealthiest man that we can see around us. If he is a shrewd, clear-headed man, of business habits and alive to his own interest, where is his money? Is it hidden in an iron chest or stowed away in an old bureau? No. Then where is it? In the hands of the industrious, and circulating all over the country; it is in the mortgage of the farmer and the trader; in the notes-of-hand of business men, and in every form and shape of commercial operation; earning not only six per cent. to the man who lent it, but also profits to the man who employs it. The money of Nova Scotia is thus employed to my certain knowledge. Suppose, then, we draw two millions and a half of this money out of such circulation. It is all very well for the poor man to say, "let the rich build the railroad." But where are the rich to get the money? The rich man must come down on Tom; he must come down on Dick, to get his money back from them; somebody's ship must be a long while before it can be launched; another's must be a long time before it can get out to sea; business must be impeded; everything must be cramped, and the whole business of the country must be far more deranged and injured than would be counterbalanced by all the benefits of the railroad, even if it were made. What happened in England in this respect? I believe, that if all the railroads of England had been made by the Government, it would have saved millions of pounds to the country. The railroads drew from general circulation more than even rich England could afford; and hence came difficulty and distress; in the fall of 1847, bankruptcy was prevailing everywhere throughout England, Ireland and Scotland; and Willmer and Smith's paper came out by every mail, with lists of bankrupts almost as long as my arm. This was the effect of private companies and of railroads constructed by private associations even in wealthy England. Suppose, then, we withdraw half a million or a whole million of money from our commercial resources, why, the whole country would feel the pressure and general distress would be the result. Then my policy is the most beneficial for us, because I wish to keep the money in the hands of the people for their own ordinary pursuits; while its withdrawal from them would cramp the business of the country, and produce universal commercial distress.

He thus explains why the co-operation of New Brunswick was not asked in the first instance:

When I was selected to go to England I would gladly have had the company and assistance in my mission of a delegate from New Brunswick. But

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this Province had recently had a general election, the people were divided in opinion, the result of the elections with regard to future policy was doubtful, the Government appeared likely to be overturned, and therefore we did not suppose Sir Edmund Head was then in a position to assume the responsibility that we had undertaken, as he had no settled or stable Government to advise him and to sustain him afterwards in the Legislature. Therefore it was that we did not ask New Brunswick to send a delegate to co-operate with us, because this Province was not at that time in the same settled position as we were. I will not disguise the fact that I left home for England, feeling the weight of all the difficulties attending the object I had in view; and let anybody who does not appreciate such a position, go on a similar mission and try for himself what such difficulties are. I trust I approached the subject in a proper spirit; and I hope that in no single instance did I assume to represent either New Brunswick or Canada or to exceed the legitimate limits of my mission, which was to borrow money for the public works of Nova Scotia either with or without the guarantee of the British Government. But I felt it my duty to state frankly what I felt to be the public opinion, not only of my own country, but of New Brunswick and of Canada also; and I trust that in doing so I have in nothing misrepresented you, or offended the public sentiment of this Province; though I must say frankly that I could not urge my own cause without also urging yours. I first wrote to Earl Grey setting forth the value of these Provinces, the importance of free and speedy communication between them and the mother country, and the importance of building up large seaports and cities in these colonies, as rivals to those beyond the frontier; and I did not hesitate to express what I believed to be the views of public men in the Provinces. I assumed that we wished the aid of England, that we desired to continue the connection with England and to raise ourselves to a higher status, one imposing higher obligations than that we at present occupied; and in doing this, I am sure that I did not offend the public sense of New Brunswick; I am sure that no man will say that I betrayed the trust reposed in me as the advocate of the railroad from Nova Scotia to Portland. It has been said that I have betrayed my trust, and that I was sent to England to represent the Portland convention. Now, the plain truth is that I never represented any convention, but the Government of Nova Scotia, which was not represented at that convention. I did not abandon the Portland line; I placed it before the British Government in every light that my imagination could conceive, and urged it on their consideration as honestly and favourably as any man from either of these Provinces could have done. But that was not the whole of my mission; we had other objects of equal importance to discuss. Suppose that to-morrow we make our Provinces a thoroughfare for strangers and foreigners, do we want nothing else? Our Provinces have been such a thoroughfare for years past, ever since the Cunard steamers were established; but as for the great advantages supposed to arise from such transit, I would back a dozen clippers employed in our fisheries



against all the steamers that can be built. I thought it was now full time that we had higher objects in view than a mere transit traffic, and therefore I urged the general aspects and views of these Provinces, for the purpose of preparing the public mind in England to promote their elevation to a far higher status in the scale of nations.

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Having very adroitly sketched some of the prominent public men of New Brunswick, and brought out in bold relief the proportions of that great field of honourable emulation and exertion which they would tread, when union of the Provinces by iron roads had been followed by the political organization which would be the immediate result, he continued :

If the sphere were wide enough here, what would you do with such men? You would send Judge Wilmot to administer justice where? To a small Province? No; but to an American empire. You would place Mr. Chandler on the bench of the United Provinces; you would hold out to the young men of your country a sphere and a field for their exertions and their ambition, which none of them has open to him now. How? By violence? By rebellion? By bloodshed? No. You would seek to live under the old flag; you would seek not separation from the mother country; that would be madness, folly and bad faith; but with the consent of the Sovereign and the acquiescence of the imperial authorities, by the united action and good sense of all these Provinces, you would seek by union to elevate them all to a higher status than any of them separately can ever occupy. I believe that railroads will be of very great use to these Provinces; but I believe, also, that it is necessary, nay, almost indispensable, to produce a social and political organization of the people, to raise these Provinces to a higher position than they can ever singly attain. I saw that if New Brunswick was called upon to make 200 miles of railroad with money borrowed at six per cent., it would be no great hardship for her to make 400 miles, with money at three and a half per cent. But look also at the territory of New Brunswick. I believe that your extent in proportion to ours is 30,000 square miles to 18,000 square miles; therefore, New Brunswick has 12,000 square miles more than Nova Scotia. The natural inference is that your Province will hold a great many more people than ours and that it will ultimately be inhabited by a great many more. Professor Johnston, you know, calculates that New Brunswick will support 5,000,000 inhabitants, and population produces revenue. How, then, can you best incur this obligation? I believe Nova Scotia is quite ready to do her part; and the question is, How can you undertake yours? By this mode. I believe that to make the Portland line, the money to be borrowed will not only cost six per cent., but will eventually cost from six to eight per cent. But it is said that that line will pay and yield a profit. Then my answer is, that if it will pay the people who make it on speculation, at six or eight per cent., it will

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pay the Government for making it at three and a half per cent. But then it is said, there is a wide difference between making it in the way that you propose, and in the way that we propose. Suppose that the company be formed, and the money raised to-morrow. If the money be raised in the Province, it must be borrowed at six per cent. interest at least. Does any man in the Province buy stock that will not yield six per cent.? No; no man in New Brunswick would lend his money under six per cent. Will anybody in England do it? When I was there, a person came to me (a gentleman of high standing and agent for a number of foreign noblemen, who had money to invest) and offered to lend me £100,000, at six per cent. interest. I declined the offer, and said that I could get it at three and a half per cent. elsewhere; and I heard nothing more of him for a month or six weeks. No doubt, if English capitalists were to go into the State of Maine or New Hampshire, and offer to lend the people plenty of money at three and a half per cent. interest, they would take it most readily; they would make bonfires, and eat I do not know what quantity of pumpkin-pies, in honour of the event. But strange things do happen; and I never thought, that after the British Government had offered us so large an amount of money, it would be so difficult to persuade our people to take it.

He thus contrasts the two great lines, and shows how honourably the great interests involved in each had been considered:

I want to put the Portland line through as speedily as possible. But it is said that I want to clog it with another line that nobody wants and that will not pay. I was not authorized to say to the British Government that the Provinces did not want that other line. Each of the Provinces had pledged their money and lands to secure its construction; therefore I had a right to assume that that line was very near and dear to the people of all the Provinces. It has also been said that we want to array the north against the south. How? We have done nothing of the kind. I for my part have not held any communications with any parties for any such purposes; I have not written or published anything in any of the public papers having any such tendency. But I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that any government, having excited the hostility of northern New Brunswick, would have serious difficulties to contend with in carrying on any scheme objectionable to that part of the Province. Are Restigouche, Gloucester, Northumberland and the other counties in the northern and eastern districts going to be satisfied with the arrangements which up to the present time appear to be made with regard to the Portland line? It is not at all likely. What are the apparent resources at present? Massachusetts has pledged itself to the amount of \$500,000, Maine has guaranteed the same amount, and New Brunswick the sum of £250,000; making a total of half a million of money (not yet granted and paid up, but only promised), to build a railroad that will cost two millions and a half. Where will you get the rest of the money? You cannot get it in the Provinces; you

cannot get it in England, except on the terms which I have already stated to you. Then your only source of safety and certainty will be to accept in good faith the terms offered by the British Government and adopt the Quebec line as well as the other. But then it is said, that will be running too great a risk. You say the Portland line will pay; there will be no risk there, but the whole risk will be in building the other line; and you state, as an objection, that the terminus will be at Halifax. But suppose the line comes down from Quebec to the isthmus between the two Provinces, that station will be at about an equal distance from St. John and from Halifax; then a man coming from Canada to St. John will stop there and take the other line from thence to St. John; a barrel of flour coming from Quebec to St. John will take the same route—they will neither of them go on to Halifax; therefore, the idea that Halifax is to gain something by the northern line that St. John does not is utterly fallacious. But how are you to make the line pay? I will not now weary the audience with papers and documents; but I may say that while I was in England I was not idle; and the subject of peopling the northern line engaged much of my attention. I found that there were thousands of the mechanics and traders of England, who were ready and willing to effect that object, in this way. The Province could sell them tracts of land on the line of the railroad, at a moderate price, and reasonable credit; they would make the line running through their own settlements; they would bring their families and friends out with them; they would lay off and cultivate the lands on both sides of the line, and thus bring them rapidly into a productive state. It would be to the interest of all parties to people the land as fast as possible; and in this way it might be done so fast that by the time the line of railroad was finished, there would be almost as many settlers on it as the present whole population of the Province. I assume that you have at present about 200,000 people in New Brunswick. What is your ordinary Provincial revenue? About £100,000; or, by a simple calculation, about 10s. per head per annum. Suppose the Portland line will pay when constructed and suppose you also incur the responsibility of the other line; the whole amount of annual interest required to be paid will be made up by the additional revenue raised from the additional population thus settled in the Province. I believe you have 11,000,000 acres of land now unpeopled; what revenue do you get from that immense tract? Very little, I believe. But pour the stream of emigration into the Province and the result will be that the real estate of every one of its inhabitants will be improved in value and the public resources of the country will be largely enhanced.

The obligations imposed on all the Provinces by the restrictive policy of the United States are thus humorously enforced:

Every day shows me the necessity of our taking steps to raise the organization and condition of our country. The institutions and policy of the United

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States are such and so influential, as to make it obligatory on these British Provinces to have institutions and a policy of their own. Mr. Dickey said, the other day, that he would have liked to see Mr. Howe at the Portland convention; it was such a beautiful sight to see the two national flags floating and intertwining together. But I asked Mr. Dickey whether he would not have liked to see two mackerel there? the mackerel of the United States and of Nova Scotia, hung up side by side? But the mackerel of Nova Scotia would have had to pay twenty per cent. duty before it could have got admission to the convention at all. So it is with our lumber, our hay, our coal, our cattle, our potatoes, and everything we produce; so that, in fact, there is not a single thing that could enter the United States duty free, excepting the delegates who went to the convention. This is a state of things to be submitted to only if we cannot help it; but not if we can help it. My remedy for it is this: let us open both lines; let us attract the stream of emigration to these Provinces. What then will be the result? A barrel of shad put down at the Bend of Peticodiac will immediately find its way into the backwoods; and the produce of the interior will quickly reach the seaports; we shall have an internal home market for our produce; a much larger and more productive population; increased revenues; and we shall become relatively of more importance in the estimation of the mother country. There will be the means of rapid communication between the public men of the different Provinces; and thus a united and great influence will be brought to bear on the mother country, in regard to all our Provincial affairs.

Towards the conclusion of this speech, there is a touching reference to the relief which these public works would afford to the suffering poor of the mother country:

If, then, we can make these great public works in the manner proposed, I believe that we shall largely bless and benefit the communities to which we belong. Those works will open up a sphere of operation, which will employ and feed thousands of the now suffering poor of the mother country; and I believe that blessings from above will attend our exertions. Our railroads will tend to draw from their hovels and cellars a large proportion of those who in the old country are now left without daily bread and so convert them into an industrious and thriving colonial population. If there is any obligation on a human being to hand a crust to a starving neighbour, to extend alms to the indigent, in my mind there is an obligation weightier and higher imposed on us, when we find thousands of fellow-creatures perishing for lack of employment, to do something in this way for their relief, to invite them into a country where they will find plenty of occupation—where the fruits of the earth will yield them abundant support—where the poor of the mother country may become the heads of flourishing families and will be for all time to come a source of strength in time of war and of internal activity and wealth in peace.

Having passed through Portland, explained his policy to its leading citizens and been hospitably entertained by them, Mr. Howe, accompanied by Mr. E. B. Chandler as delegate from New Brunswick, reached Toronto on the 15th of June. The delegates were received with great kindness by Lord Elgin, and were at once assured by the leading members of the Government that they were prepared to recommend to Parliament to provide for their portion of the inter-colonial line upon the terms prescribed by the Colonial Secretary. On the 16th, the delegates were invited to take seats in the Executive Council of Canada, where, the business having been discussed and matured, the basis of an agreement was adjusted and reduced to writing—the Governor-General, who attended at one of the meetings, giving his sanction to the proceedings in due form. The nature of the arrangement made will be gathered from Mr. Howe's report of the 20th July.

Mr. Chandler returned to New Brunswick immediately, that he might secure the sanction of his own Government. Mr. Howe passed down the St. Lawrence to spend a few days at Quebec and Montreal.

Nothing could exceed the hospitality and enthusiasm displayed by the Canadians everywhere. The delegates were entertained at a public dinner given to them by the citizens of Toronto, which the Governor-General honoured with his presence. They were taken to Hamilton to visit the works of the Great Western Railroad; and, with the leading members of both Houses, were hospitably entertained at Dundern by Sir Allan McNab. At Montreal Mr. Howe was treated by the merchants and leading men of that city with marked distinction. They gave him a public dinner, a picnic at Belle Isle, heard him praise Lord Elgin without a murmur, and propound his views of railway connection and North American nationality with the utmost enthusiasm. The spirit of annexation until recently rife in some parts of Canada, and which had manifested itself so unmistakably at Montreal, was laid thenceforth and it is to be hoped for ever.

Quebec gave Mr. Howe a reception of which any public man might be justly proud. He was invited by the Mayor and corporation to address the citizens, which he did. A public dinner was offered and declined, as previous engagements interfered, but he met the leading merchants at a *déjeuner* given by one of his friends. Men of all origins, creeds, and grades vied with each other in doing honour to a man in whom they recognized high intellect and ardent

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patriotism, devoted to the internal improvement and social and political elevation of half a continent.

The speeches delivered in those cities included many of the topics discussed in that made at Southampton, and in the letters to Lord Grey. But in them all, Mr. Howe spoke out boldly against the spirit of annexation, at that time active in Canada, and did justice to Lord Elgin, who had been so recently driven out of Montreal. At Toronto, addressing the chairman at the banquet, he said :

We are accustomed to acknowledge that the Queen's name is a tower of strength. And the Queen's representative, in every British Province, though not clothed with all the powers and influence of the Queen herself, is still entitled to all the respect, deference and consideration that Her Majesty would receive if she were among us. I cannot enter into Canadian squabbles. I care not which party is in the ascendant. I claim only that fair consideration for Her Majesty's representative, which, whoever may hold the reins of government, he is ever entitled to receive ; but, sir, while I listened to the eloquent and admirable observation just made by the distinguished nobleman who honours us by his presence, I tried him by the standard of his countryman Burns, who was not an aristocrat or a lord, but who left his impress on the mind of Scotland, whose name, among us all, has become a household word :

“The rank is but the guinea stamp—  
The man's the gowd for a' that.”

Who that has heard him this evening, or has marked his course in these Provinces, would fear to try him by that rule? Contrasting the eloquence we have heard to-night with that of the House of Commons or the House of Lords, I can only regret that he is not in a position where he can be more usefully employed for the nation and the empire at large than he is even at the head of this great North American Government.

But, sir, bear with me yet one single moment. It has been his Excellency's misfortune to come into these Provinces during that period of transition when we were passing from one state of political existence to another. He has, therefore, had to bear the brunt of it, and he has borne it well. It is a matter of delight and satisfaction to me that he sits here to-night with no man's blood upon his hand, that no man's life has been sacrificed to haste, to fear, or to apprehension. He sits in the midst of us, having provoked no war of races, but mingling in a friendly spirit with all races, communities and orders of men, throughout British North America, feeling that he is entitled to general respect, and that he is sure to have it.

I repeat that I care nothing for your party squabbles. The party that has the majority is the party that should be uppermost ; but the Governor who, pressed for the moment, has had the courage to endure, to wait, to bide his time, is the Governor to work out responsible government. In saying this I

am trespassing largely on your patience ; but no man can suspect me of not being a friend to responsible government. I now say this in frankness and sincerity ; not because Lord Elgin is Governor-General, but because he is a human being who has been unfairly pressed upon. During the last four years, working out the problem of responsible government, he did nothing more than he did, because there was nothing more to do.

[Alluding to his own position, Mr. Howe said :]

When I contrast this scene before me with my lonely chamber in Sloane Street, where I endeavoured to interpret the feelings and views of the North American colonies, without any authority from British North America, I cannot but be deeply sensible of the difference of the two positions, and delighted with the spectacle before me.

The father, in classic story, whose three sons had gained three Olympic prizes in the same day, felt it was time to die. But, having gained the confidence of three noble Provinces, I feel that it is time to live. In London, in the midst of a population of two millions, all boiling with excitement, and intent on their own interests, it fell to my lot to interpret the interests of British North America. I had no clue to guide, no friend to advise me ; no Canadian or New Brunswicker to aid me in consultation. What did I do ? I remembered that Sterne had said that man's mind is never interested in a mass of misery. A thousand shiver with cold or die with plague, and no man sympathizes with them ; but if you take a single individual and consider his sufferings, you are sure to understand what humanity must feel. Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, were all distant from me ; but I looked into my own heart ; I knew what I felt, and I interpreted your feelings by my own.

The speech at Quebec is the best, or perhaps was the most carefully reported. It was delivered on July 4th, and was reported as follows in the Quebec papers :

MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN,—Ten years ago I passed a delightful week in this city. I have since travelled much in the old world and the new, but I have never forgotten the scenery or the hospitality of Quebec. In returning to it again there is but one drawback of which I am conscious—I fear your expectations have been too highly raised. I have no eloquence to display, as a morning paper kindly anticipates, for if I have had any success in life, it has arisen from the unadorned simplicity with which I have spoken plain common sense to masses of people. But if I were all that my friend imagines, there is inspiration here in everything which surrounds me. Here the great Creator has Himself been most eloquent, stamping His sublime and original conception on the bold promontories and mountain ranges around us, and pouring into the beautiful vales they enclose or diversify rivers whose magnificent proportions never weary, whose sonorous music elevates the soul. Yet it is not from the works of nature alone that a poet or an orator might here catch

inspiration; he might catch it from the moral aspect of Quebec, from its noble educational and charitable institutions, from the arts of life successfully cultivated, the social virtues well illustrated and preserved, and from the pleasing variety, which to a stranger's eye is so attractive, afforded by the commingling of races once hostile and distinct.

Being at Montreal I did not think it courteous to the people of this city to leave the St. Lawrence without paying them a visit, not that any personal compliment was desired or any demonstration necessary. Quebec has already spoken. She did not wait for Halifax to speak. My foot had hardly touched my native soil, after a winter's work in England, when I found myself surrounded by obstructions; the unanimous declaration of support from Lower Canada at once relieved my mind, and as to the certainty of the accomplishment of the railroad, I can now relieve yours. Some might imagine that there have been at the seat of Government difficulties to overcome; some intricate or delicate negotiation to conduct. This was not the case. The Governor-General and the cabinet required no reasoning to convince them. Their policy, conceived with boldness, is avowed without reserve. It is to aid in completing the line from Halifax to Quebec and Montreal, and concentrate the energies of Canada that that line may be carried to Detroit. [Mr. Howe explained the nature of the difficulties which had arisen in New Brunswick, the steps which had been taken to remove them, and the grounds of the belief which he entertained, that they would be speedily overcome.] The legislators of that Province have acted under the impression that the Portland line has been abandoned. On the contrary it is provided for. They thought that imperial commissioners were to expend money as they pleased, while the expenditure was left to the Provincial Governments or any committee that might be appointed by them all. My friend, Mr. Chandler, returning home, confident that the co-operation of New Brunswick will be secured, to Nova Scotia the question will be presented by a dissolution without delay.

The importance I attach to this railroad can only be measured by the value I set upon our connection with the mother country and upon our material and social elevation as a people. I look into the heart of any young man here, I care not of what race or origin—there is a void in it—a feeling of uneasiness—a sense of something wanting? All our troubles have sprung from this source. This void must be filled; this feeling must be removed. Every young British American must feel that he has got a country, and that that country has got a policy, clear as a sunbeam, and that can be honourably avowed in the face of day. The railroad will change the whole tone of the North American mind. A young Nova Scotian now drifts off to Boston or New York, takes a sail up the Hudson or a ride over a few miles of railroad, and comes back wondering at the great country he has seen. Put the same youth upon a railroad and drive him fourteen hundred miles through his own noble country, and what would he say then? Put him into an ocean omnibus, and let him see that great metropolis, which twenty of the largest American cities expanded



together cannot equal, and what would he feel? Pride in the glories of the empire would spring up from their contemplation, and when the noble country which God has given us here can be traversed and comprehended, the void in our hearts will be filled; indeed we can then turn to a field of labour, boundless in extent, and offering to the able and the emulous the excitement which elevates and the rewards which should crown honourable exertion.

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The railway will not stop at Quebec or Montreal. It will soon extend west of Hamilton, from whence to Detroit the Great Western is in course of construction. The American lines will soon connect us with the Mississippi, so that continuous railways will follow the line of the old French forts. No financier, no merchant, however skilful, can calculate the value of such a communication. It has been truly said that the cost of railways is nothing to the cost of doing without them. But it may be said that this road, however valuable, will cost too much, will burthen our resources, is beyond our means. [Here the honourable gentleman drew a picture of the old colonies at the close of the Revolutionary war—their inland towns destroyed, their seaports battered, their credit worse than nothing.] From that condition they have risen, prospered, and drawn into their bosom an immense amount of capital from Europe, and with it Europe's surplus population. They have not been afraid to assume responsibilities and to complete great public works. Shall we not follow their example? Shall we be content to envy what we have not the enterprise to imitate. But what are we called upon to do? To bear the burthen of a foreign or a civil war? No, sir, but under the flag that has ever waved above us for a century, with the smile of our Sovereign resting upon our labours, to create a great work of peace. The railways of the United States have been constructed often at ruinous rates. The burthen of most of them has cost from seven to ten per cent. Shall we then hesitate, with money at three and a half per cent., to complete a great line which must be one of the highways of nations in all time to come? [Mr. Howe explained the reason why, until of late, he had not taken a prominent lead in reference to the railway. His hands were full of other questions, and he was reluctant to interfere with his friends until their policy had been tried and their resources exhausted.] It appears to me now that a new principle should be tried—that the Provinces should assume the responsibility and build their own roads, the mother country lending her credit and thereby saving us one-half of the cost. Why should the British Government make our railroads? They built none in India or the other colonies. Even during the Irish famine, the House of Commons rejected Lord George Bentinck's proposition to apply eight millions to employ the people, and make railroads through that country. In Nova Scotia we are too proud to take the money of England for our public improvements. Her credit we would use freely, as a merchant, who would not accept a sovereign as a gift, would use the endorsement of a friend. The service done to us will

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be immense, but England will herself derive a reciprocal advantage. Every year a surplus of fifty millions accumulates in the British Islands, for which investments must be found. This money has been lent to Greeks and Spaniards, and Columbians, and all manner of poor states and confederacies, that would not care if John Bull were hanged to-morrow. Many of these States pay neither principal nor interest, and the money cannot be collected without risks of a foreign war. While in England, I half-jocosely suggested that the North Americans should be employed to collect the twenty or thirty millions that the South American Republics owe. We have ships and seamen enough to do it, and a commission of ten per cent. would make the railroad. But, Mr. Mayor, seeing that any British capitalist can come into the Queen's courts in the colonies and collect a debt as simply and certainly as he could at home, and that any judge in either Province would decide against the Government of the Province as honestly as against the humblest man within it, I cannot but feel that this is the legitimate field where the surplus capital and labour of England should be employed. A friend told me in London that he had that day discounted paper to the extent of £10,000 for less than one and a half per cent. Millions are lying idle at home, and many more yield but two or three per cent. Who lends £100 in Canada for less than six per cent. ? There, capital is abundant and employment for it limited—here, our available capital bears no comparison to our means of profitable investment. But it may be said, why does not capital flow in here ? There are two reasons—one is, that the real value and resources of the Provinces are comparatively little known ; the other, that events which we all deplore have created in England the impression that the allegiance and friendly connection of these colonies is doubtful and insecure. Cordial unanimity among ourselves, and the frank avowal of a clearly-defined North American policy, will remove that impression, and the field will be cleared for future operations. If we can employ seven millions of pounds of British capital, open up the extent and resources of the country for inspection and observation, and create a great public work which is paying a fair return, from that moment all the capital of England will be at our disposal, and there is no enterprise that our advanced condition may require for which we cannot, thenceforward, command the means.

These reciprocal services will make the mother country and North America better known to each other. Much mischief has been done hitherto by misconceptions and misunderstandings, which a little good feeling and frankness will enable us hereafter to avoid. I found in England a good many persons whose sole end and aim was to make money out of the colonies, and cheat the people of England by some impracticable scheme or patent job. Some of these have but little means and less character. There is another set who are great patrons of colonial grievances, who are ever ready to suck the brains of any colonist that they may get up a question or a case in Parliament. When the Whigs are in, these gentlemen are Tories : when the Tories are

in, they are very good Whigs. I kept those gentlemen at arm's length and found the advantage of it. I found in the mother country, not only among those highest in rank and position, but among the great body of the people, a desire to know more of North America, to elevate her to the highest privileges of the empire, to yield to her the largest measure of self-government compatible with its dignity. There may have been times when we have thought differently. I myself may have chafed at what appeared to be the limited field of ambition presented by the small Province in which I was born. But my sphere of action is widening every day. When a single North American can obtain audience of the Government and people of England, can secure millions of money for public improvements, and find his name a household word over the wide expanse of these noble Provinces, we have much to hope and but little to apprehend.

[Mr. Howe explained the relative powers which would be exercised by the Imperial and Provincial Commissioners. He also adverted to probable difference of opinion as to the route to be selected through Canada. Canada must decide these for herself. The other Provinces would not interfere, if their line to the St. Lawrence was not unnecessarily lengthened. Mr. Howe then showed that the railway lines of the mother country being nearly finished, contractors of great resources and vast experience were prepared to come into these Provinces, and bring with them new elements of progress. These might be available, not only to construct the line from Halifax to Quebec and Montreal, but to continue it to Hamilton. He also expatiated on the probable effects which the railroad would have on the whole tone of colonial society and pursuits—on the press, the bar, the mercantile community, the church.]

I come not to propound any political scheme, nor have I formed in my own mind any theory for a more extended organization of these Provinces; but this I may say to those who have, that we must make the railroads first before any combination is possible. To the advocates of legislative union I say, your scheme is impracticable without the railroads. To the Federalist my advice is, make the railroads first, and test your theory afterwards. To the people of the Maritime Provinces I say, make the railroads, that you may behold the fertile and magnificent territory that lies behind you. To the Canadians I say, make the railroads, that you may come down upon the seaboard and witness its activity, and appreciate the exhaustless treasures it contains. I wish that, standing upon Cape Porcupine, you could see the fleets of Americans that stream through the Gut of Canso, and coming one thousand miles, carry off year after year the treasures in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, of the value of which few men in Western Canada have any idea. While they are catching your fish, whose flour and pork do they consume? Not yours, but the productions of the Western States, by which a market is made for their farmers, and employment given to their railroads and canals. Hitherto Nova Scotia has stood alone in the attempt to protect, and in the struggle for, the Gulf fisheries. The Government of Canada, I am happy to say, has

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determined to fit out a steamer to keep the Americans off the Gulf shores hereafter. New Brunswick will probably employ a vessel in the same service in the Bay of Fundy. Nova Scotia already has two upon her coast. With such a force, actively employed, the Americans could be kept beyond the limits fixed by treaty, a market would be created for colonial produce, and our exports increased at least £100,000. For reciprocity we are all prepared. We will exchange with our neighbours, if they please, the produce of the soil, the seas, or the mine. If they will not, then let them have the letter of the treaty,—a pound of flesh, but not one drop of blood.

[Mr. Howe showed how a due protection of the Gulf fisheries and the instruction of the young Canadians in nautical science would foster a mercantile marine. He also showed how rapidly emigration would flow into the wilderness which now lay between the St. Lawrence and the seaboard as soon as the railroad was made. He looked to the railroad also as a great agent by which the wandering thoughts and best affections of British Americans would be concentrated upon their own noble country.]

Now, when a bad crop or commercial depression comes (and these come to every country), our young fellows drift off to the United States, and seeing four or five large towns and a few hundred miles of railroad, wonder at the greatness of the country. I think it is Sterne who accounts for the fondness of ladies for lap-dogs, by observing, "that the human heart wants something to be fond of." It does, Mr. Chairman, and something to be proud of, too. Put a young Nova Scotian upon a railroad and let him travel 1400 miles through a magnificent country which is all his own, with scenery ever varying and interest ever new, and you inspire him with pride and self-confidence that will keep him at home. Send down the young Canadian who thinks Detroit or Buffalo the metropolis of the world, to see Montreal, Quebec, St. John, and Halifax; to see groves of masts around his own sea-coast, and a mine richer than California in his own Gulf, and like Newman Noggs, he will begin to pluck up a spirit, and feel that, after all, Brother Jonathan does not own "all creation." I have not the slightest feeling of hostility to our neighbours across the frontier; but I am well assured that if there is anything which induces them to esteem us lightly, it is our own estimate of their country and our slight appreciation of our own. When they find us alive to its advantages, standing erect, with a well-defined policy, and 1400 miles of railroad traversing its surface, made with money at three and a half per cent., they will begin to respect us more—perhaps to feel that the boot is getting on the other leg.

Before I close, let me allude to one topic which is often referred to as unfavourable to our future progress. The distinction of race is the invidious theme upon which alarmists love to dwell. Perhaps you will bear with me when I say that to a stranger coming among you, these very distinctions supply most of the variety which charms. We Anglo-Saxons, proud of our race and their achievements, are too apt to forget how largely the Norman-French element entered into the composition of that race. We forget that Frenchmen

lorded it over England for centuries, that their laws were administered in her tribunals and their language spoken in her courts. Gradually the distinctions faded, and out of a common ancestry came that new race which has given laws and civilization to the world. So it will be here. Sprung from two of the foremost nations of the earth, speaking two noble languages, copying from each other the arts of life, the varying lights and shades which give it expression, who doubts that a race will grow up in North America equal to the requirements of their country and proud of the characteristics of the great families from which they have sprung? Less than a century ago, Sir William Howe led up the Light Infantry to fight the French upon the Plains of Abraham, and the blood of brave men on both sides sank into the soil. But what of that? Their descendants form one family and his namesake comes to invade Canada in another mode,—to plant a railroad, not a scaling-ladder, and hopes to rouse the lethargic with the whistle of a steam engine, not with the blast of war. So let it ever be. Let us respect each other's peculiarities. The French should imitate the intelligent enterprise of their neighbours. The English should remember that no Frenchman ever lacked courage, no French lady, grace. Let us copy from each other till that time arrives when—

“As the varying tints unite,  
They 'll form in heaven's light  
One arch of Peace.”

Addressing the merchants of Montreal on July 7th, Mr. Howe reminded them of the orator of old, who, when bribed by the enemy, muffled his throat and declined to speak. His throat was muffled too, and his voice almost inaudible, from the effects of a severe cold caught at Quebec. He regretted his physical weakness and inability, for he never more sincerely wished for the power to utter what he so deeply felt. He continued :

I did not expect from the merchants of this noble city this handsome compliment. Indeed, if there was any body of men whom I thought the least likely to assemble to do me honour, it was the merchants of Montreal. Most of you have been or are protectionists. Living in a country surrounded by the sea and indented with harbours, where high duties would but encourage smuggling, I have always been a free trader. Our opinions upon great questions of commercial policy were antagonistic. Upon political questions, we have been sometimes wide as the poles asunder ; but I rejoice that, in all that relates to the internal improvement and national elevation of the Provinces, we cordially agree. On leaving home, my friends warned me that however acceptable my policy might be to Upper and to Lower Canada, Montreal would be dead against me. Had they rightly judged the state of public feeling here, I should have regarded your opposition as a great blow at the enterprise. I do not lightly value the intelligence and spirit of Montreal, or the influence she

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wields in proportion to her widely extended commerce. If Montreal were against me, I should regard it as a great misfortune, but with this brilliant scene before me my mind is happily relieved. Why should Montreal be against me? I recognize her forecast and liberality in all that I see around me : in your magnificent public structures ; in the beautiful private residences that adorn your city or diversify its mountain slopes ; in your commodious wharves, which strangers come from afar to see ; in your magnificent canals, which draw down to you the produce of the West. In all these, I recognize the intellect, the energy and restless activity of Montreal. The works already achieved assured me that she could not be hostile to the enterprise of which I am the humble advocate. Montreal, it has been said, is deeply interested in a line to the sea-coast in another direction. She is, and I recognize in the interest she has taken in it another proof of her activity and forethought. The line to Portland should be completed ; but its friends must perceive that if it is connected with other lines running east and north from Portland to Halifax, Quebec and Montreal, and west from Montreal to Detroit,—which must be the not very remote results of my policy if it be carried out,—their line must be largely benefited instead of being injured. In my correspondence with Earl Grey, I have advocated and provided for the extension of the Portland road to Halifax. One railroad should not content Montreal. In the present age, cities that do not stretch forth their iron arms to embrace the towns and hamlets around them,—which do not even penetrate the wilderness behind,—will be distanced in the race of improvement, and slumber away in poverty and neglect. Will Montreal be content even when her single line to Portland is completed? Ought she to be? No, sir. She must have her line westward to Hamilton and Detroit. She must connect with Galena and the splendid country that lies around the head waters of the Mississippi. Turning to the right, she will require a road up the banks of the Ottawa ; nor do I believe that she will or ought to be satisfied until she has secured the line I advocate, with another down the north shore of the St. Lawrence to Quebec.

All this sounded like rhodomontade to many people in 1851. The guarantee was subsequently withdrawn, and the Provinces were left to complete their public works with their own resources. But yet within seven years Montreal had her lines to Detroit, to the Ottawa, to Quebec and far down the St. Lawrence, beside the road to Portland.

Adverting to the hopes and fears which had alternately buoyed him up or depressed him during his mission to England, Mr. Howe said :

I was invested with no authority from Canada or New Brunswick. In speaking for them, rather than in their names, I was often compelled to assume a responsibility and to utter opinions which they might afterwards repudiate.

But I did what I believed was right, and ventured to point out what I thought all the Provinces desired. I did not disguise what I assumed it was for your interest that I should write and say, but spoke as frankly and freely to the highest in the empire as I have ever done while addressing my old constituents at home. I felt that many of the difficulties—may I not say all the difficulties—which had arisen from time to time between the people of these Provinces and the imperial authorities, might be traced to a want of that frank communication which on many accounts was so requisite, and that most of our grievances might be removed by plainness of speech, leading to complete understanding of our mutual interests. When I looked at the British Islands, I saw that they had more money than they knew what to do with, and more people than they knew how to feed. I thought that if their attention was turned to our undeveloped resources, and their capital was attracted to our great public works, their surplus labour might be profitably employed in its expenditure, and the Provinces elevated to a more favourable comparison with the neighbouring States. We have fertile lands, splendid rivers, extensive sea-coasts swarming with fish—all the elements of prosperity profusely scattered by the Almighty over a country that requires but capital and labour to render it prosperous. For every pound of capital that the mother country has to spare we have a natural demand; for every unemployed man and woman in Great Britain and Ireland we can furnish employment and a home. In the mother country they have twenty men for every tree; we have five hundred trees, cumbering the soil, for every man she has to spare. Of our neighbours across the frontier I would speak with all respect; but when I see \$400,000,000 of British capital employed in the United States and but a few millions here, I ask myself, and felt authorized to ask the Imperial Government, why should this be? And I endeavoured to make them comprehend the national importance of turning the streams of capital and emigration in this direction.

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The impression made by Mr. Howe in Canada might be gathered from the flattering notices of the press, of all shades of politics. Introducing him to the merchants of Montreal, the President of the Board of Trade, Hugh Allan, Esq.,<sup>1</sup> said:

Mr. Howe is an eminent man; eminent as a politician, as a legislator, and an advocate of internal improvements. He is not here present as a politician. The meeting is one entirely independent of politics; and he will not introduce anything to mar its harmony. I am surrounded by gentlemen of all shades of politics, from the staunchest Conservative to the most zealous Republican, and it would be wrong in me to say a word on politics. I have also before me a great number of gentlemen of French origin to-night, and I am delighted at the occasion which has brought them together. I take occasion to express to them the sentiments of pleasure felt by gentlemen of English

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<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Sir Hugh Allan.

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origin at seeing them here. We are glad to see them taking that share in commercial affairs to which their position entitles them, and which properly belongs to them. The English are not only willing, but anxious to yield it to them, if they will only take it. It is not, then, as a politician that we meet Mr. Howe, or as a legislator, but as a great advocate of internal improvements. The people of this colony are glad of a chance of associating and extending connections with their fellow-subjects of Nova Scotia and of the Provinces below.

At Quebec, the following resolution was passed with acclamation :

That the thanks of this meeting be voted to the Hon. Joseph Howe for his eloquent address on the great undertaking which now occupies the attention of all the colonies of British North America,—the railroad from Halifax to Quebec and Montreal ; that this meeting has no doubt that his efforts will be crowned with success, and that, while expressing their approval of an acceptance of the liberal offer of the British Government, they give their entire approbation to any measure which may be adopted by the Legislature for the execution of this road.

In moving it, the Hon. F. W. Primrose said :

It must be a source of the greatest gratification to all present, to understand how favourable the appearances are ; that at length this project, so important, as well to the mother country as to all the British North American Provinces, is likely soon to be realised ; and to express how deeply sensible we all are of the debt we owe to that honourable gentleman for his indomitable exertions in behalf of this splendid scheme of national communication between these Provinces, and to which must be mainly attributed the probability which now appeared of its accomplishment.

Mr. Angers, who spoke the sentiments of the French Canadians at the Quebec meeting, was equally enthusiastic :

In seconding this resolution, I beg to say a few words to express the feelings of gratitude of his fellow-citizens of French origin towards the honourable traveller who has just addressed the meeting, for the mention he has made of the people of that origin, and principally for the eminent services he has rendered in England and on the continent in promoting the magnificent scheme of a railroad on British territory from Halifax to Quebec and Montreal. After the eloquent address I have listened to with so much pleasure and enthusiasm, I feel more embarrassed than I have ever felt in giving utterance to my thoughts and feelings ; but I am encouraged by a sense of justice to declare that for his zeal, talent and success in promoting the great Halifax and Quebec Railway, the Hon. Joseph Howe will be considered the benefactor not only of Nova Scotia, but of all the North American colonies. Nature has



traced a great public highway, that extends from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the interior of North America; and to complete it, it requires that we should place alongside of it an iron rail, that will baffle the inclemency of our winters. The interest and future prosperity of the British North American colonies require that we should unite and draw near each other, and seal the common cause and our common friendship with an iron tie. If we aspire to anything noble, to anything grand; if we desire a name amongst the nations; if we do not wish to see our respective countries disappearing piece by piece, and overwhelmed in the American Union, we must form a Union of our own, and, as the honourable gentleman observed, the descendants of the two nations, the English and the French, who on this day rule the world, must form a race surpassed by none on the continent of America. The difficulties resulting from the difference of origin and the absence of intercourse between the people of the different Provinces, will soon disappear, when one can on one day shake hands with his friends and fellow-citizens at Toronto, and the next day at Halifax.

Within the last ten years a great change in that respect has occurred in Canada. Independently of advantages, I see the very great benefit, in a financial point of view, of obtaining a loan of £7,000,000 at three and a half per cent., while the value of money in Canada is about seven or eight per cent. The expenditure of such a capital will have the effect to spread a line of farms, hamlets and towns from Halifax to Quebec. After what has been said by the honourable gentleman, I feel it would be unbecoming for me to enter at length on the importance of this work, and to divert the attention of the meeting from the impressive and eloquent remarks of the Hon. Joseph Howe, and I will conclude by stating that I am sure that every one present will respond to my sentiment, when I salute that gentleman as the apostle of the progress and future greatness of the North American colonies, united in a powerful confederacy.

Mr. Howe returned through New Brunswick, meeting Mr. Chandler at Dorchester, and receiving from him the welcome information that the Government of New Brunswick had ratified the agreement made at Toronto and was prepared to construct the two lines upon the terms proposed. On the 20th July he addressed to his own Government this official report of his proceedings:

AMHERST, *July 20th, 1851.*

SIR,—The negotiations which I was charged to conduct with the Governments of Canada and New Brunswick having been brought to a close, in a final conference held with the delegate from the latter Province this afternoon, I lose no time in submitting, for the information of his Honour the Administrator of the Government, a report of my proceedings under the commission and instructions with which I was honoured by his Excellency Sir John Harvey.

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You are aware that his Excellency Sir Edmund Head had selected the Hon. Edward B. Chandler to represent the Government of New Brunswick at Toronto, and that it had been arranged that I was to meet him at Dorchester on the 1st of June.

As I had to pass through the county of Cumberland, where the bill pressed so earnestly on the Legislature at its last session originated, and as it was more than probable that public opinion in New Brunswick would be largely influenced by the decision of that county against the measure, and in favour of the proposition made by Her Majesty's Government, I deemed it to consist with my duty to invite, in the shire town, the most ample discussion of the whole subject. I therefore addressed a letter to the Custos Rotulorum of Cumberland, acquainting him with my intention to attend any meeting that might be called for that purpose.

On reaching Amherst I found that a meeting had been convened, and that a very numerous and respectable body of the leading men of Cumberland crowded the court-house. The result of an animated discussion, which extended over several hours, was an almost unanimous decision to sustain the views and policy of the Government.

At Amherst I received invitations to attend two meetings in the county of Westmoreland, New Brunswick, and another in the county of Kent; the former I accepted, as the places named lay upon my route; the latter I was compelled to decline. The unanimity of feeling displayed at Dorchester, and at the Bend of Peticodiac, convinced me that the rural population of New Brunswick only required information; and that, when the subject came to be fully discussed, their support would be given to any fair modification of the terms which the Legislature had rejected.

An experiment on the city of St. John appeared to offer less assurance of success. The office-bearers and agents of the Portland company resided there, and formed, with their friends, clients, and stockholders, an organized combination. A large portion of the press had taken its tone from these gentlemen; and, for many weeks, the proposition contained in Mr. Hawes's letter and the general policy of this Government had been discussed in a spirit which was certainly not calculated to ensure me a very cordial reception. When I entered the city I was assured that there would not be three exceptions to the unanimity with which the offers of Her Majesty's Government would be rejected and condemned. The result of the discussions which ensued, at a public meeting to which I was invited by the citizens, may be gathered from the altered tone of a very influential portion of the press and from the fact that the promoters of the Portland company have postponed further proceedings until the 20th of August. "It is evident," says the editor of *The Freeman* (a journal originally hostile, still doubtful, but faithfully interpreting the prevailing sentiment of the community), "that the public mind is excited by the magnificent proposal of Earl Grey, as interpreted by Mr. Howe and others."

Having attended three meetings within his Excellency's Government, I deemed it but respectful to proceed to Fredericton, and explain to Sir Edmund Head the reasons by which I had been influenced, and the general views which I entertained. These explanations were regarded as satisfactory and I received from his Excellency very gratifying marks of confidence and consideration.

On reaching St. Andrews, on my way to the United States, I was met by a deputation, with a request that I would address a public meeting at that place on the following day. Though apprehensive that the interest which the people of St. Andrews naturally felt in the success of their own railroad might place them in hostility to the intercolonial lines, I consented to attend the meeting, and received at its close the most satisfactory assurances, from a very large assemblage of all ranks and classes, that no mere local interests, or predilections, would induce St. Andrews to place herself in opposition to a great scheme of intercolonial policy and improvement.

The charge having been frequently made, that the Government of Nova Scotia had broken faith with the Portland convention, and much pains having been taken to persuade the people of that city that the North American and European line had been abandoned, it appeared very desirable that the conduct of this Government should be vindicated, and its policy clearly explained to the leading men of this friendly and very interesting community. Mr. Chandler and myself spent nearly a day at Portland, on our way to Canada. Mr. John A. Poor, one of the most active members of the convention, rejoined us at Toronto, and we exchanged frank explanations with, and received much courtesy from, that gentleman and his friends, on our return. Misconceptions, previously entertained, were dispelled by these friendly conferences. Mr. Hawes's letter of the 10th March, Earl Grey's despatch of the 14th, addressed to the Governor-General, with the copious extracts from the correspondence between the Imperial and Colonial Governments, have been published and extensively circulated in the State of Maine. Assuming that the policy explained to them will be acted upon in good faith, and "that the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia will, in some mode or other, most agreeable to themselves, carry out the plan of a continuous line of railway from the boundary of Maine to the eastern shores of Nova Scotia," all opposition to our policy has been wisely withdrawn by the people of Portland; who are now appealing to the Legislature and citizens of Maine, to come promptly forward and supply the means to complete that portion of the line which is to extend from Bangor to the boundary of New Brunswick.

Mr. Chandler and myself reached Toronto on the 15th of June, and during our stay at the seat of Government, received from his Excellency the Governor-General, from the Speakers of the two Houses of Parliament, from the members of the administration, and from the Mayor and citizens of Toronto generally, such marks of distinction and courtesy as assured us of the very high estimation in which the Provinces we represented were held.

Invited to take seats in Council on the 16th, we were at once assured of

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the cordial co-operation of the Government of Canada ; of the readiness of the administration to accept the terms offered by the Imperial Government, and to unite with Nova Scotia in meeting the difficulties presented in New Brunswick, by such fair modification of those terms as would enable Mr. Chandler to secure the co-operation of that Province. It is due to that gentleman to state, that he made no importunate demands ; explained the position of his Government, and the prevailing sentiment of the country, frankly, and then left it to the discretion and good feeling of the conference to determine to what extent the peculiar aspects of New Brunswick should be considered, and aid given to that Province, in the construction of one of her great lines, to enable her to complete them both.

If New Brunswick maintained an antagonistic position, it was clear that neither the line to the St. Lawrence nor that to Portland could be accomplished ; the proposition of the British Government would in that case have to be rejected, and the three Provinces be driven, in bad temper, and at ruinous rates of interest, to carry on their internal improvements without mutual sympathy or co-operation.

To obviate this state of things appeared to all parties most desirable ; and at length Mr. Chandler was empowered to invite the co-operation of his Government upon these terms, it being understood that the Governments of Canada and Nova Scotia were to be bound by them, if New Brunswick acquiesced :

That the line from Halifax to Quebec should be made on the joint account and at the mutual risk of the three Provinces ; ten miles of crown land along the line being vested in a joint commission, and the proceeds appropriated towards the payment of the principal and interest of the sum required.

That New Brunswick should construct the Portland line, with the funds advanced by the British Government, at her own risk.

That Canada should, at her own risk, complete the line from Quebec to Montreal, it being understood that any saving which could be effected, within the limits of the sum which the British Government are prepared to advance, should be appropriated to an extension of the line above Montreal.

That on the debt contracted, on the joint account of the three Provinces, being repaid, each should own the line within its own territory.

It was also understood that Canada would withdraw the general guarantee offered for the construction of railways in any direction, and that her resources should be concentrated upon the main trunk line, with a view to an early completion of a great intercolonial highway, on British territory, from Halifax to Hamilton ; from whence to Windsor, opposite to Detroit, the Great Western Company of Canada have a line already in course of construction.

This policy having been arranged, it became very desirable that Mr. Chandler should return promptly to New Brunswick to submit it to his colleagues and to assure himself that in the event of the administration assuming the responsibility which it involved, they would be sustained by a

majority of the Legislature. Allowing a sufficient time for a deliberate review of the whole ground and for a final decision, a meeting was arranged with Mr. Chandler at Dorchester, on my return. I rejoined him this afternoon, and was happy to receive from him the assurance that the Government of New Brunswick will be prepared to submit the policy agreed upon to the Legislature of that Province, with the whole weight of its influence, so soon as the Government of Nova Scotia intimates that it is prepared to co-operate on the terms proposed.

The final adoption of this great scheme of intercolonial policy now rests with the people of Nova Scotia, to whom it is probable that it will be submitted by a dissolution of the Assembly at an early day. I have pledged the Government to it beyond recall. I have staked, upon the generous and enlightened appreciation of their true interests by my countrymen, all that a public man holds dear. Having done my best to elevate Nova Scotia in the eyes of Europe and of the surrounding colonies, I have no apprehension that she will repudiate the pledges which I have given.

Her clear interest demands the prompt acceptance of the proposition.

1st. Because it secures to her within a very few years a railway communication of 1400 miles, extending through the noble territory of which she forms the frontage and with which her commercial, social and political relations must be very important in all time to come.

2nd. Because it gives to her almost at once connection with 8000 miles of railway lines, already formed in the United States; makes her chief seaport the terminus for ocean steam navigation, and her territory the great highway of communication between America and Europe.

3rd. Because, on the extinction of the debt, she will possess a road with which there can be no competition within the Province, a road towards which two great streams of traffic must perpetually converge and the tolls upon which must become a source of revenue, increasing with each succeeding year.

4th. Because the completion of these great lines of communication will give to all the North American Provinces a degree of internal strength and security and consideration abroad which will far transcend any pecuniary hazards which may be incurred.

5th. Because the completion of these lines will draw into the Province much of the surplus labour and capital of Europe.

6th. Because the line from the sea-board once completed to Canada, there cannot be a doubt that it will soon be extended into the fertile and almost boundless country beyond, being followed, at every advance, by a stream of emigration, and ultimately and in our own time reaching the shores of the Pacific.

It may be argued that we ought not to risk anything beyond the limits of our own frontier. But I regard the risk as involving a very slight liability beyond what we have already cheerfully assumed.

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All our calculations have been based upon the presumption that our roads will cost £7000 currency per mile. From the best information which we could obtain in Canada and the United States—and we gathered the opinions of the chief promoters of the Vermont, Great Western, Portland and St. Andrews roads—there is every reason to believe, if the Provinces avail themselves of the most modern experience and of the present low price of iron, that with the money in hand and large contracts to offer, the work need not cost much more than £5000 currency per mile. Should this be the case, the sum which was originally contemplated will probably cover the whole expenditure for which Nova Scotia will be liable; and, if it does not, with her present low tariff and annually increasing consumption, the deficiency may be soon supplied.

But after a careful examination of the country traversed by American and Canadian railroads and of the general testimony borne by their promoters and officers, that in all cases the money with which they have been constructed has cost from seven to twelve per cent., I have brought my mind to the conclusion that a railway built with money at three and a half per cent. will pay almost immediately, even if made through a wilderness, provided the land be good, water-power and wood abundant, and provided that there are formed settlements at either side to furnish pioneers and local traffic with them, when they are scattered along the line. We have other resources, beyond our own limits, in associations of the industrious and enterprising, who are prepared to come into the Provinces the instant these great works are commenced; and who, within the limits at least of the lands dedicated to this enterprise, will soon form a continuous street, through that portion of the territory between our frontier and the St. Lawrence which appears to present any really serious hazard.

In estimating the relative risks and advantages which this scheme involves, it should also be borne in mind, that while Nova Scotia has but little crown land left along her portion of the line (and this has been frankly explained), the lands which Canada and New Brunswick are prepared to grant are extensive and valuable. They will probably amount to three millions of acres, which, if sold at 5s. an acre (and with a railroad running through them they will soon command a much higher price), would form a fund out of which to pay the interest on the whole capital expended for the first three or four years.

I cannot close this report without some notice of the very enthusiastic and honourable treatment that I received during short visits to Quebec and Montreal. In both cities, men, the most distinguished for social positions, commercial and intellectual activity and commanding influence, vied with each other in recognizing the importance and value of the Maritime Provinces. Among all ranks and classes, the railroads seemed to be regarded as indispensable agencies by which North Americans would be drawn into a common brotherhood, inspired with higher hopes, and ultimately elevated by some form of political association to that position which, when these great works have

prepared the way for union, our half of this continent may fairly claim in the estimation of the world.—I have the honour to be, sir, your very obedient servant,

JOSEPH HOWE.

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WM. H. KEATING, Esq.

On June 21st, Mr. Howe returned home, and was greeted by a brilliant display of fireworks and by other enthusiastic demonstrations on the part of his fellow-citizens. His report was immediately published, and the House was dissolved on the 26th of July.

All parties now prepared for the elections. The railway policy had been matured; it was for the people of Nova Scotia to accept or reject it, upon the terms arranged with the Imperial and Colonial Governments. With a view to lighten the load which New Brunswick would have to assume, in providing for the two lines through her territory, Mr. Howe had generously offered that Nova Scotia should assume the cost and proprietorship of thirty miles beyond her territory. This was a noble offer, worthy of the country and characteristic of the man, who regarded British America as a whole and sought no small advantage for that part of it where he happened to reside. It formed, however, the most assailable point of his policy; and political opponents were not slow to magnify the risks and dangers of such an expenditure.

On the 28th of July, Mr. Howe retired from the representation of the county of Halifax, and threw himself upon the county of Cumberland. His reasons for taking this step are given in his parting address:

For the last fourteen years, you have done me the honour to elect me one of your representatives. During all that time, I have enjoyed a measure of public confidence and received an amount of enthusiastic support of which any man might be justly proud. Judging from the opinions expressed on every side, I am assured that I should receive, at the election which approaches, almost unanimous support. Were I at liberty to consult my own personal feelings, nothing could be more gratifying than to afford you again the opportunity to stamp with your approbation my public labours and exertions. But it is my intention to throw myself upon another constituency, for reasons which, when frankly explained, will, I have no doubt, meet your approbation.

Circumstances have opened before me a field of labour so extensive that I cannot successfully cultivate that field, perform my official duties, and attend to the local affairs of 40,000 people, spread over a county 100 miles long. My obligations to the whole Province, to North America, to my Sovereign, whose honour I believe to be deeply involved in the great measures now in progress, compel me reluctantly to resign a charge which others, not more

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zealous but less occupied, may easily be found to assume. I must seek a constituency less numerous, whose local interests will occupy less time. I should prefer the smallest township in the Province, for just in proportion as I am relieved from minor responsibilities will be the degree of leisure I shall have to investigate and deal with more important questions.

I have another reason. Upon the great issue now presented to the constituencies of Nova Scotia hangs not only their material interest but the security and advancement of all the British Provinces in North America. Halifax is keenly alive to the magnitude and importance of the question. A degree of intelligent unanimity exists here, which elsewhere may be wanting. Here no man can be elected who is not pledged to carry out that great measure of public policy to the ripening of which we have dedicated a year of life. I may be useful in other quarters where information is wanted and where united action may not be so easily secured. The citadel being safe, I must take my stand somewhere upon the outworks of the position, that those who are open or concealed enemies may not gain at this important crisis any advantage.

On the 1st of August, the farmers of Upper Musquodoboit, among whom Mr. Howe and his family had resided two years, presented him with a silver tray bearing this inscription :

“TO THE HONOURABLE JOSEPH HOWE.

PRESENTED BY THE INHABITANTS OF UPPER MUSQUODOBOIT,

*August, 1851.”*

“It is,” said the person who presented it, “the spontaneous and grateful offering of the inhabitants of a settlement to whom you have endeared yourself by stronger ties than those of political party.”

“I shall accept this gift,” Mr. Howe replied, “in the same spirit in which it has been bestowed. It will often remind me of happy hours passed among you, of peaceful pursuits which recruited my body and my mind, of old friends, whose steady industry and unostentatious virtues fitly illustrated the rural life of the country for which it is my pride to labour.”

On the 14th of August, the Legislature of Canada voted \$16,000,000 in aid of the Intercolonial Railway, thus fulfilling her part of the agreement made at Toronto.

It was soon apparent, in Nova Scotia, that the Government was to be everywhere stoutly opposed at the elections, and that while many of his former opponents declared themselves supporters of the railway policy, there was an evident disposition to displace many of Mr. Howe's old friends upon whose support he could confidently rely



and to return gentlemen whose hearty co-operation was more than doubtful. CHAP. XIX

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On reaching Cumberland, Mr. Howe found the county flooded with slips and placards in which he was assailed with great bitterness and in which the burdens and dangers to be entailed upon the country by his railway policy were exaggerated with reckless ingenuity. He argued justly that if this had been done in Cumberland, the same mischievous activity would be displayed in all the other counties. He determined at once to counteract it, and on August 15th prepared one of those terse, argumentative and trenchant letters, which seem to cost no effort and yet carry conviction from their boldness, plausibility and command of facts. Simultaneously printed at Pictou and Halifax, this letter in a week was circulated all over the Province and armed his friends everywhere with answers and arguments upon all the points discussed.

After grouping and laughing at all the "cries" got up at former elections, he writes :

Not one of all these things that the obstructives prophesied would surely happen ever did happen, nor can they at this moment put their fingers on one act of Howe and his associates that has not done good to Nova Scotia. What have we done, my friends? Let me group together some of the results of our labours. We—

Opened the Council doors and separated the Legislative from the Executive Council ;

Removed the judges from politics, made them independent and only removable from office by addresses from both branches of the Legislature ;

Reduced the number of judges from eleven to six ;

Passed the Quadrennial Bill, by which the right was secured to you of electing members every four years instead of once in seven ;

Passed the Qualification Act, by which a man owning property in any county could be elected in all the others ;

Passed the Civil List, by which the expenses of Government were largely reduced ;

Passed the Registry Bill, by which the expenses of recording deeds is reduced one-half in all the counties ;

Passed the Post Office Act, by which the whole department was transferred from the Imperial to the Provincial Government, and the rates of postage, varying from 9d. to 2s. 1d., were reduced to a uniform rate of 3d. all over the British Provinces ;

Passed the new School Act, by which a superintendent of education was appointed to visit and inspect the schools, and by which libraries, open to the whole body of the people, will be established in all the villages ;

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Passed laws combining the two Revenue Departments into one, saving time to the merchant and expense to the Province ;

Opened fifteen or twenty new ports for trade and commerce ;

Passed the Departmental Bill, and so arranged the financial business of the country, that while there is an accurate inspection of accounts, a farmer coming for road or school money is paid in a few minutes, instead of having to dance attendance for hours with his team waiting in the street ;

Passed the law by which every man who has paid taxes or voted at an election, can plead in any of Her Majesty's courts for himself or his neighbour ;

Established a commission by which all the laws of the Province have been simplified and consolidated, and will be published this year in a cheap single volume, costing 7s. 6d., that everybody can read and understand ;

Passed the law by which Halifax was incorporated and invested with all the privileges of an English city ;

Built the electric telegraph across Nova Scotia, by which instantaneous communication has been established with all the cities of the American continent.

Passed the law by which every man who pays rates is entitled to vote at elections ;

Established responsible government, by which a majority of the people's representatives can turn out a bad Government whenever they have lost the confidence of the country.

These, my fellow-countrymen, are some of the things which my friends and myself have done for the elevation and improvement of Nova Scotia, during the fourteen years that I have been in the Legislature.

His personal activity and energy, throughout this contest, may be judged by the fact that he rode 400 miles, the greater part of it on horseback, in twelve days, and made twenty speeches ; to say nothing of explanations, replies, and rejoinders.

So decided and widespread was the impression that Mr. Howe had made on the county of Cumberland by his speeches in various parts of it, and so general was the conviction on the nomination day that he would not only win his own seat but carry his friends with him, that the opposite party proposed a compromise. A candidate was withdrawn and two gentlemen were returned by acclamation with him, pledged to sustain the railway policy and resist a vote hostile to the Government.<sup>1</sup> It was on this occasion that the Hon. Edward B. Chandler sketched Mr. Howe's character with a force and

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Howe and Stephen Fulton were declared elected by acclamation, but they were unseated at the next session of the Legislature on the ground that the sberiff kept the poll open after four o'clock and received after that hour the resignations of the opposing candidates.

fidelity rarely equalled, if ever surpassed, by the most ardent of his admirers :

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Mr. Howe need not on personal grounds come to Cumberland to seek a seat. Any constituency in the three Provinces would be proud to accept his services. His reputation is North American. His speeches at Southampton, his letters to Earl Grey, have elevated all the Provinces in the estimation of Europe—have roused them to a knowledge of their own resources. I do not hesitate to say that no other man in the empire could have conducted that negotiation so ably—that no other man could have ripened this great scheme, so far, or can now bear up the weight of it in the Legislature. This we all feel to be true ; but what I admire about Mr. Howe is the simplicity of his manners, combined with such high intellectual resources. Negotiating with ministers of state, at the Governor-General's Council Board, or even in the presence of the Sovereign, as beneath the lowly roof of the humblest farmer in the land, he is ever the same—JOE HOWE.

The metropolitan county, which Mr. Howe had left, elected his four friends.<sup>1</sup> The contests generally resulted in the return of a good working majority to sustain the Government, and of a still larger majority pledged or disposed to adopt and carry out the railway policy.

So far, by immense labour great results had been achieved. The public mind of the mother country had been turned to the vast undeveloped resources of British America. The two Houses of Parliament had been informed and conciliated. The confidence and support of the imperial cabinet had been nobly won. The difficulties presented by the peculiar position and hasty determination of New Brunswick had been toned down and the pledge of her Government obtained. A great intercolonial scheme had been sanctioned by the Governments of the three Provinces. Canada had voted her sixteen million of dollars ; and Nova Scotia, solemnly appealed to at a general election, had determined not only to assume the construction of the whole of the Trunk line for the two roads, but thirty miles beyond her frontier.

At this moment a new element of perplexity and discord was presented. Messrs. Jackson, Peto, Betts, and Brassey, two or three of them members of Parliament and all of them extensive railway contractors, had had their attention drawn to the great North American field of operations by Mr. Howe's letters and speech at Southampton. The contemplated expenditure of seven millions

<sup>1</sup> John Esson, William Annand, L. O'C. Doyle, and Benjamin Wier.

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sterling, to be raised under the guarantee of the British Government and paid in cash, offered irresistible attractions. Mr. Howe had courteously entertained and frankly stated to all the Governments concerned their offers to build the roads. Any action on these offers was premature and impossible until all the laws had been passed, the funds secured, and the joint commission appointed. If Mr. Howe had had the power, he could not have given a contract to expend £7,000,000, risked on the colonial revenues, to three or four strangers, without competition or comparison of terms and prices, without suspicion of manifest and flagrant corruption. But he had not the power, and nobody else had or ought to have had but the joint commissioners, whoever they might be, acting with a single eye to the faithful expenditure of a large sum of money dedicated to great national undertakings.

The contractors, however, looking to their own interests solely, were anxious to secure the expenditure of the £7,000,000, however it might be raised; and with this view Charles D. Archibald, Esq., was despatched to North America to see how the land lay, and with a sort of roving commission to act in their interests as circumstances might arise.

He had presented himself at Toronto while the delegates were deliberating with the Canadian Government and obtained a delay of two days, that some proposition which he stated he had brought with him should be considered. It turned out that he had brought none having the sanction of the Imperial Government or the signature of any eminent capitalist or contractor. The Canadian Government and the delegates, therefore, proceeded in their own way, acting upon what was definite and finally maturing their own policy.

The conference broke up on the 20th of June. On the 21st, Mr. Archibald addressed a letter to his Excellency the Governor-General, which was printed and circulated in all the Provinces early in September.

It is impossible to read this letter, by the light of our modern experience, without a smile :

“In order to carry out a complete railway scheme, commensurate with the requirements of the British North American Provinces,” we are told, “provision must be made for the construction of a Grand Trunk line from Halifax to the American frontier at Detroit.”

What could Canada want more ?

“The configuration and geographical position of New Brunswick render it necessary to the completion of a perfect railway system, that the Province should be traversed its entire length by two main lines.”

Who could doubt it ?

After describing the unsettled condition of the Province, he proceeds to show how, through the instrumentality of his friends, the great contractors, he intended to occupy her waste lands with an “army of peaceful operatives” :

“I propose, on the part of the association which I represent, to construct the European and North American line through New Brunswick, agreeable to the charter of incorporation and the conditions of the Facility Bills, and to subscribe for this purpose all the capital not already taken up. I therefore provide for the accomplishment of this project upon the precise terms already arranged by the Legislature.”

Why should Lord Grey or Mr. Hawes go down to Parliament, and ask for a guarantee to build this road, when it was already as good as built without their interference ?

“With respect to the Halifax and Quebec, or northern line through New Brunswick, I propose (certain facilities being granted) in like manner, on the part of the association, to organize the company by subscribing all the capital that shall not be taken up in New Brunswick. *Ex necessitate*, the company must expedite by every possible means the sale and settlement of their lands and the development of their resources ; the coal-fields will be opened up, iron mines will be worked, foundries, machine shops and factories established. Every first-class station along the line will become the nucleus of a town, and every stopping-place will form the centre of an agricultural ambit, and a rallying point for the poor and unskilled emigrants, who will be cheered and instructed by the well-regulated operations they will witness on every side. The expenditure upon the works will facilitate the settlement of the lands along the line, and the improvement of these lands will bring traffic to the railway. It is not too much to expect that the population and revenue of the Province will be doubled within ten years, and long before the £20,000 a year guaranteed to the northern line shall become payable, the amount will be anticipated in the exchequer from the effects of these operations ; and thus the end, in advance of its accomplishment, will furnish the means to this extent. This is no fancy picture, nor does it foreshadow half the realities of such a future as New Brunswick may now command.”

Then the line from Montreal to Toronto was summarily disposed of, it being demonstrated that Canada would only be required to provide half the money wanted, and have that secured by a first mortgage.

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Mr. Archibald's clients were to have "the entire contracts for all the contemplated lines without competition." This was the pith of the letter. The most attractive but least prophetic part of it was that in which "the countless millions of the Indian Archipelago, China and Hindostan" were seen travelling up and down the roads which the writer was about to make.

This letter, so frank, so plausible, so full of generosity and elevation of spirit, captivated the credulous in all the Provinces. It captivated another class—those who saw in the lucrative offices and lavish expenditure of a great company more attractions than in devoted service, poorly enough rewarded, perhaps, which the Provinces wherein they lived had a right to claim.

Mr. Howe was not captivated. He saw through the scheme, and held fast to his integrity. Mr. Johnston, the leader of the Parliamentary Opposition in Nova Scotia, having published a letter, and declared his intention to support Mr. Archibald's project, Mr. Howe replied to it. His remarks gave some offence to Mr. Archibald, who wrote a second letter, to which Mr. Howe also replied. Though the public mind of Nova Scotia was kept steady by Mr. Howe's firmness and discrimination, it was apparent that a party was forming to give opposition to his policy; and when Mr. Archibald paid into the Commercial Bank of New Brunswick a deposit to entitle his associates to claim all the stock in the Portland line, it was difficult to resist the fascination by which many shrewd men in that Province were perfectly bewildered.

It is impossible to read this correspondence without the thorough conviction that to the proceedings of these great contractors and their agents is to be attributed the ultimate failure of the whole negotiation, and the fact that Nova Scotia was compelled, upon her own resources, to make her own roads; that New Brunswick after the waste of years and of thousands was compelled to do the same; and that no intercolonial road for many years was made or provided for. A few extracts from Mr. Howe's letters are given :

Had Mr. Archibald (who is a personal friend to whom I am indebted for much courtesy while in England) or anybody else come to me when I entered London, with a company prepared to build our railroads at their own risk or even upon the terms already granted by the colonial Legislatures, my task would have been simple and my labour light. On the contrary, I found lots of embryo companies and individuals, zealous to spend money raised upon our credit and to speculate in colonial lands. I found none who were willing to run the slightest risk or to advance funds not guaranteed by the Colonial

or Imperial Governments. I laboured to work out my own policy in the full conviction that none were to be found. When I had succeeded and it was known that so large a sum, advanced or guaranteed by the Imperial Government, was to be expended in the colonies, the question "who should spend it?" became deeply interesting. It is deeply interesting now. The interest we have in it, my friends, is this—having got the money cheap, to make it go as far as possible. Assuredly it is not to embarrass ourselves with companies and associations, who shrunk from us "in our extremity," but who appear very anxious to aid us now that we can do without them. Entertaining this opinion strongly, I still adhere to the belief which I expressed at the Masons' Hall in May,—which was reiterated at St. John, Toronto, Montreal and Quebec,—that if we can bring into these Provinces British contractors of eminence, on fair terms, it will be sound policy. If they come, as contractors, I see no reason why they should not expend, for their own and our advantage, the whole seven million. *If they come as co-partners, we shall be at their mercy and involved in complications and embarrassments which I desire to avoid.*

You invite me to state the objections I entertain to your proposals, which you think are not derogatory "to the honour and interests of New Brunswick." I will do so frankly.

In the first place you assume that a noble Province like New Brunswick, with a territory as large as Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Rhode Island, all put together—with a free government, responsible to her citizens—with an industrious population, a flourishing revenue, light taxes, and overcrowded Europe to draw upon for a steady stream of emigration, cannot, with the sympathy and co-operation of her sister colonies and the credit of the Imperial Government at her back, hazard the construction of public works, which you and your friends will yet cheerfully construct, provided you are invested with one-seventh part of her territory, half a million of her money, and provided the other Provinces give you the construction of their railways.

Now, I am simple enough to believe that this proposition includes a flagrant disregard of the intelligence and an insult to the dignity of New Brunswick. Put all your friends together, unite their entire fortunes and resources, and as our neighbours quaintly say, they could not "begin to buy" the homestead of New Brunswick. They could not purchase the property upon a single river. Yet we are told that the people who own the whole cannot risk the construction of these railways, which can easily be accomplished by those whose resources are insignificant in comparison.

After stating a variety of objections to the plans, as detailed in Mr. Archibald's letter, he says:

My last objection touches higher interests than pounds, shillings and pence. Show me the State or Province that ever willingly granted five millions

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of acres of its territory, with all its mines, minerals and appurtenances, to a private association. Nova Scotia would not make such a grant if she never had a railroad. The man who proposed it would sit alone in our Assembly. New Brunswick may be less particular, but such a grant once made, to any association, with all the patronage, expenditure, and revenues of her two great roads, and a power would be created in her midst which would very soon control both her Government and her Legislature.

The citizens of Paris used, under the Orleans dynasty, to celebrate their three days of July, commemorative of a revolution in which some blood was shed and but little rational liberty secured. The citizens of Boston, this year, kept high holiday for three days to celebrate the completion of their railway communication with the West and the establishment of a line of ocean steamships to facilitate and enlarge their commercial intercourse with the Old World.

The 17th, 18th, and 19th of September, 1851, were devoted to pleasure, to civic demonstrations and boundless hospitality. The President, Millard Fillmore, and the chief officers of the national Government, came by invitation, with many of the Governors and prominent public men of other States. Lord Elgin, Governor-General of British America, was also present, by special invitation, attended by many of the leading men of Canada and of the other North American colonies. The occasion was most appropriate for such a gathering of the notabilities of the continent. They came together to celebrate the peaceful triumphs of science and industry, to rejoice over great lines of inter-communication, mutually advantageous to their commerce and social relations. The descendants of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and of the loyalists of 1773 met on common ground to exchange thoughts and courtesies, with mutual pride in their achievements and institutions, and without any sacrifice of self-respect. Such a gathering would have been dangerous, before, by a peaceful revolution, responsible government had been secured. It would have brought with it a sense of humiliation, had not the British Americans felt that a great railway system was already outlined and quite within the compass of their resources. As matters stood, they could view the prosperity of their neighbours without despondency or regret.

Levees, processions, steamboat excursions, dinners and balls followed each other in quick succession, and intellectual displays added everywhere a grace to civic hospitality. The leading men of the continent met face to face; and many who only knew each other by reputation enjoyed the advantages of personal intercourse and



tested each other's powers of fascination and of intellect on public arenas or at the festive board.

In a mammoth tent, erected on Boston Common, five thousand persons sat down to dinner. The principal speakers were the President, the Governor of Massachusetts, the Mayor of Boston, the Hon. Edward Everett, Mr. Winthrop, and Josiah Quincy, junior. British America was represented by Lord Elgin, Mr. Francis Hincks, and Mr. Howe. Mr. Howe's speech is copied from the published report issued by the committee of management :

MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN,—At this late hour it would be unfair to trespass long upon your patience. With the voices of the eloquent speakers who have preceded me still charming the ear, how can I venture to address you at all? Though feeling the full force of the comparisons which must be drawn, and representing one of the smallest Provinces of the British Empire, I am reluctant to be altogether silent lest it might be supposed that my countrymen do not appreciate your hospitality or take an interest in the great works, the completion of which we have met to celebrate. To me the occasion is full of interest, for I stand here, the son of a banished loyalist, to rejoice with you in the prosperity of the city of which my father was a native. How many stirring passages of old colonial history have the scenes presented to my eye during the past three days revived! How strangely has the past been blended with the present, as I have listened to sentiments of mutual respect and friendship, breathed by the leaders of two great nations, sternly opposed in the olden time, but now rivals only in the graces which embellish life or in the fields of profitable industry. As the son of a Bostonian, I cannot but rejoice—whatever may be the distinctions of allegiance, the claims of country or the high hopes of the future which we British Americans cherish—in the permanent prosperity and advancement of this city.

Mr. Mayor, I have looked on the great pageant of the day with extreme interest and care, have marked the thronged streets in which the citizens of Boston conduct their profitable commerce, and observed the praiseworthy evidences of the skill and ingenuity of your mechanics. But the sight which challenged the highest interest and admiration—which appealed to the finest and most elevated feelings, were the lines of life and intelligence presented by the young Bostonians who represented the fostering care of the free schools of New England. I might have passed the other features of the celebration with comparative indifference, but when I saw those children I was reminded of that German schoolmaster who declared that when he entered his schoolroom he always took off his hat, for there he met the future dignitaries of his land. So here, sir, I saw the guarantee and the gauge of the future prosperity of this interesting State. The sight of those children, even more forcibly than the beaming faces which smiled from your balconies and windows as we passed,

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naturally called to mind those upon whose knees they had been nurtured, and led me to conclude that though we had seen the proud city in its holiday attire, and might, perhaps, see it in its working dress to-morrow, we could see nothing more interesting than the free schools which educate its children, and the beautiful and virtuous mothers who nourish them in their bosoms.

Gentlemen, I speak to you as the descendant of a son of the old soil of Massachusetts—the representative of an offshoot which has some of the virtues of the original stock. I hope that Massachusetts men will come to the Northern Provinces and note them. We British Americans who share with you, down to a certain period, the vicissitudes of a common history, and the treasures of a literature bequeathed to us all—who have, since the Revolution divided us, made for ourselves a noble country out of a wilderness, while we survey your prosperity without envy, and cherish attachment to the parent state, have not forgotten the trials or traditions of a common ancestry. Nova Scotia has adopted the little “Mayflower” as the emblem upon her escutcheon; and those who laid the foundations of her society and built up her towns and seaports were as proud of their Pilgrim stock as you are here. Though Halifax dates 127 years after Boston in point of time—though all that our fathers toiled for in that century and a quarter, they left behind them at the Revolution—still we are following in your footsteps, emulous, it may be, but I think I may assure you that throughout the British Provinces on the continent there is now no feeling but that of cordial friendship towards these noble States. We desire to see you work out in peace the high destiny which your past achievements and free institutions promise. At the same time, as the territory we occupy is as broad as yours,—as broad as the whole continent of Europe,—watered by lakes as expansive as your own, drained by noble rivers, blessed with a healthy climate and unbounded fertility, with fisheries and commercial advantages unrivalled, we are content with our lot, and feel that the mutual prosperity and success of both nations are to be found in peace, harmony and brotherly love. I hope, sir, that many years will not pass away before you are invited to a railroad celebration on British soil, and this I promise you, that when that day comes, even if our railroads should not be as long as yours, the festival shall be as long and the welcome as cordial. In conclusion, sir, permit me to make another allusion to those who, if they are not here, ought to be “freshly remembered”; for they have enlivened our visit by their marked beauty and fascinations. You have tried once or twice, I believe, to invade our frontiers. When next you make the attempt, let me advise you to put the women of New England in the front rank and then you will be sure to succeed.

On his return homeward Mr. Howe was requested to address the citizens of Portland in explanation of his railway policy, and he did so on September 24th to a representative gathering. Of the impression he produced we may form some conception from the opinions expressed by *The Portland Advertiser* :

Throughout his remarks Mr. Howe vindicated most ably his position as a Nova Scotian, and his efforts to promote the welfare of his own country ; yet, with most amicable regards for the common welfare of the Provinces and the States.

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The address of Mr. Howe was skilful, eloquent and able in all respects ; frank, lively and witty in many places, and was repeatedly interrupted by bursts of applause. Few public speakers have ever entertained our audiences with more satisfaction. The occasion has given us another proof of the capital material they have among our eastern neighbours, for orators, statesmen and railway kings.

At the close of Mr. Howe's address, John Appleton, Esq., offered, with eloquent remarks, a resolution of thanks to Mr. Howe for his able, eloquent and lucid statements in reference to the subject of the address, which was unanimously adopted by acclamation.

On the 6th of October, Sir John Harvey returned from England, and on the 4th of November the new House met, and the two branches were thus addressed by the Lieutenant-Governor :

Public attention has for some time been directed to the importance of establishing railway communication between the southern sea-board of Nova Scotia and the St. Lawrence, with a branch line to connect the main trunk with the railway systems of the United States.

The negotiations which I deemed it my duty to open last year with the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies resulted in a generous offer from Her Majesty's Government to recommend to Parliament to guarantee, or advance the funds required to construct both these lines, upon certain conditions, the adjustment of which, during the past summer, rendered communications with the Governments of the neighbouring Provinces indispensable.

The Legislature of Canada has made provision for their portion of the line from Halifax to Quebec, and for its extension through the territory of that Province to the western frontier.

The Government of New Brunswick waits your ratification of the terms proposed at the conference held at Toronto in June last, to assemble the Legislature, with a few to secure its friendly co-operation.

As the Imperial Parliament will probably meet early in the new year, and as it is of great consequence that the laws passed by the colonial Legislature should be transmitted without delay, to secure the appropriations contemplated in time to warrant the commencement of operations in the spring, I have called you together at this unusual period, confident that you would, at whatever personal sacrifice, cheerfully aid me by a prompt and calm consideration of a question of the greatest magnitude and importance.

The correspondence that has taken place, and the measures which I have

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directed to be prepared, shall be laid before you as soon as the forms of Parliament permit.

I confidently commend the subjects which they embrace to your diligent and enlightened review; and believing, as I do, that the destinies of these noble Provinces are to a great extent involved in the result of your consideration of this question, I shall anxiously await your decision, and trust that the Author of all wisdom and goodness may guide your deliberations.

On November 8th, Mr. Howe brought down the Railway Bills, explaining their provisions and anticipating objections which might be urged to them. The following are a few extracts from this speech:

But I may be told, now as heretofore, that after all poor little Nova Scotia should have no railway, because she is so favoured in having water communication. Sir, I have ever been accustomed to regard certain peculiarities of our country with pride and pleasure; it may be, however, that Nova Scotia, like other beauties, is destined to owe her misfortunes to the very charms upon which our eyes love to dwell. Look at her on the map; not only does the sea like a fond lover embrace her, but in the Bras d'Or Lake and Basin of Minas, it seems to rest on her bosom. Should she then have no railways because the waves love her? because she has been so blessed by Providence? Sir, I wish those who entertain that opinion would glance at the map and see how rails run side by side with rivers and down the margin of streams. Upon the points and headlands these railways are to be found. Look at the noble State of New York; beside the Hudson, one of the most magnificent rivers in the world, whose floating palaces strike with wonder and admiration the traveller from the Old World, runs a railway, paying handsomely, and not diminishing to the slightest extent the traffic and trade and travel flowing down that river. But there is a still more striking illustration of the idea which I wish to convey. Let any man look at Long Island; a small, narrow strip of land surrounded entirely by the sea; and even where its very waters embrace and girdle it, runs a railway between the waves. Then, sir, I ask if there be the slightest shade of reason in the argument that because Nova Scotia has extensive water communication she should not possess a railway? But again it is said Nova Scotia should not have a railway, because she is so small, so young, so poor. Well, sir, we have been told by the poet that the mind is the standard of the man; and the size of a country is generally measured by the men who are in it.

Let this Assembly but have the elevation of sentiment, the enlargement of soul, the energy, vigour, enterprise, to deal with it as they ought to deal, and its dimensions will be forgotten. Nova Scotia, however, is not so small as many may imagine. Take Massachusetts, with its numerous railways, extensive trade, vast capital, and place it side by side with Vermont, and together

these two states do not comprise so many square miles as little Nova Scotia,—Massachusetts having 7000 and Vermont 9000, making 16,000. Again, Switzerland is not a very large country, but her enterprise is appreciated by every nation of Europe. Holland is not a large country, and yet the people have shut out the sea, and maintained in the very heart of Europe the freedom which elevates and the enterprise which prospers a nation. Why then should we despair? Look at our country! Sir, I have rambled and travelled over the most of it time and again, endeavouring to familiarize myself with its resources. Take her inexhaustible fisheries, and fruitful soil; her mines, minerals, water power, timber, all the natural advantages of which she is possessed, and I do not believe there is a spot of ground of equal area on the face of this continent, combining and including on its surface and in its bosom, so many natural advantages as does Nova Scotia. The rough elements of prosperity lie in profusion, within the grasp of all who choose to avail themselves of them; and with all this, she has a long line of sea-coast, nearly equal to the whole available sea-line of the United States. Go into her western counties and contrast them with those of Western Canada, and sir, I firmly believe that we should not lose by such a comparison. I have travelled in the United States and in Canada, and have never entered a farmer's house where I could obtain a more abundant or substantial meal, than in the vales of Cornwallis or on the mountains of Pictou.

We have been told, sir, that Nova Scotians will be unable to bear up under the weight of taxation which the supporters of this bill are about to impose. I have heard and read this statement, and I have wished that I could but direct back to the past history of our Province, the gaze of those who used it. I would have them contemplate the position occupied by us in years gone by. Let me say to my honourable friend from Yarmouth, whose strenuous opposition I have been led to expect, that whatever that opposition may be, nothing can ever lessen the respect I entertain for his ability and judgment. But I wish he could have viewed the old sturdy settlers of Yarmouth, as they stood beside the sea-shore, constructing the first ship that floated on the waters fronting that rising village. Sir, these old men had the nerve and energy to brave the dangers that surrounded them, with the primeval forests and unbroken solitudes stretching behind them, peopled by the red man, then their foe. With no roads, no bridges, no schools, no churches, scanty means for civilization; yet with strong arms they hewed down the timber, built their vessel and dared all the risk.

But, sir, how would that risk have been lessened, the toil and danger sweetened, if that little group, gathered around their first ship, about to be launched, could have been informed that but a few years later and their offspring would have peopled Yarmouth with thousands of inhabitants and own two or three hundred sail of vessels, that their roads would intersect the surface of the whole country, connecting them with its most remote districts, their bridges span every stream, their churches dot every village, that schools

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would be found the country over offering every facility for internal improvement and progress, and, in addition to all this, that they were on the eve of having railway communication with the whole continent of America, already having obtained rapid steam communication with the continent of Europe, and that in order to obtain all this, they were to be taxed just 2s. 6d. per head. Think you they would have been afraid to launch their vessel? No! they would have smiled at any man who attempted to terrify and frighten them with such a weight of taxation as that.

Let me turn the attention of the honourable member for Clare,—and no portion of the Province has been more frightened from its propriety by this taxation bugbear, than the township he represents,—let me direct my honourable friend's attention to the trying circumstances through which that hardy French population passed in the early settlement of this Province. If, sir, while their villages were in flames, their churches being destroyed by the axe—while general confiscation of their marsh and upland was made, any man had said to them, you shall have security and peace, the free exercise of your own religion, secure possession of marsh and upland; nay, more, you shall have an immense market opened up to you in the other British possessions on this continent, with which you will be connected by railway; and you may hear weekly from your friends in France, but, mark you! you shall be taxed 2s. 6d. per head!! Sir, I understand the spirit of that bygone race better than to believe that such an apprehension would have alarmed them. They would have felt bound to transmit down, from generation to generation, all the improvements they could possibly make in the country, and 2s. 6d. per head would not have prevented them from doing their duty.

But, sir, I have no fears for the way in which this measure will be dealt with by the people of this Province. I am, however, at this moment ignorant of the course of conduct which any member of this House may deem it right to pursue; I have not canvassed a single man, believing it to be beneath me and a degradation and disgrace to them; but, sir, I commend it to the good sense and kindly feeling of those who have stood with me, side by side, during many exciting and interesting epochs of my political existence. To those who hitherto have been my political opponents, I would say, that down to the present hour, neither personally nor as a member of the Government, have I endeavoured by the ordinary means in the hands of an administration to influence the mind, the opinions, or the judgment, of a single member of the Assembly. But, sir, I would say, that if after all the time and labour this negotiation has cost, personal interest, selfish or party feeling, should strangle the measure in its birth, I would feel deeply mortified and hurt. As an individual, I should feel much; for little Nova Scotia—her honour, credit and welfare, I should feel more. The eyes of the American States, the eyes of British North America and of the mother country are upon her at this hour; every message coming from the adjacent colonies evinces the feverish and intense anxiety with which they are looking to her example. And, sir, let me

say in conclusion, that deep and strong as are my feelings at this moment, I have not the shadow of the shade of an apprehension for the mode in which it will be dealt with. Sir, I have never known this Legislature deficient in harmony and unanimity where a great occasion demanded it. It is my pride to contemplate those green spots which dot the history of this deliberative Assembly—neutral ground where we all meet as Nova Scotians uniting for their country's welfare. Sir, the common defence of our country, education, those offices of charity to surrounding colonies when afflicted by the hand of Providence which we are sometimes called on to perform, unite us. And, sir, I firmly entertain the belief that, by the time this question is discussed and tried out, we shall be united. Sir, I should rather that the bills were lost than that this work should remain, after its construction, a hostile tower—the object of attack and defence; but I fervently believe it will be like the smiling rivers, with which a bountiful Providence has blessed our land, the common highway of all, the undivided property of every Nova Scotian, man, woman and child, and that each one within these walls will have his share of the pride and gratification of aiding its construction.

A long and animated debate followed. Amendments were moved, in various forms, but were defeated by a majority of thirty-three to seventeen.

The burthen of this debate was borne by Mr. Howe, who was compelled to speak often, to meet all sorts of objections, to argue with opponents who were sincere, and to laugh at those who were factious and unreasonable.

The bills were finally passed by large majorities, and on November 24th, Mr. Howe called the attention of the House to the importance of surveying and preparing the Crown lands for the occupation of settlers who might, by the construction of our public works, be attracted into the country.

The Hon. Herbert Huntington had been a prominent and able member of the Liberal party. An intimate friendship had existed between that gentleman and Mr. Howe, running over a period of fifteen years. They differed upon the railway policy. Mr. Huntington, whose health had been giving way for some time before, died in the course of this summer. A graceful tribute to his memory was paid on November 29th, the closing day of the session, by Mr. Howe, who moved the following resolution, which was seconded and supported by the Hon. J. W. Johnston, the leader of the Opposition, and unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor be authorized and respectfully requested to cause some appropriate testimonial to be erected over

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the remains of the late Herbert Huntington, whose loss to his country and his family this House sincerely deplore.

Mr. Howe said :

Mr. Speaker, although our proceedings during the present session have not been quite unanimous, I trust that the resolution which I hold in my hand will be adopted without a division. It is the custom in civilized countries, to perpetuate the memory and to record the virtues of those who have rendered eminent service to the state; and even among barbarous nations, some rude cairn marks the spot where sleeps the warrior whose voice was respected at the council—whose arm in battle was strong. To the dead such memorials are of little worth, but they are of value to the living. The rising generations study the history of their country in the monuments which grace its surface; they emulate the virtues which their forefathers have regarded it as a sacred obligation to record. The gentlemen who have recently been returned to this Assembly may not be so familiar as the old members of the House are with the peculiar characteristics and eminent qualities of the man to whom this resolution refers. For twenty years he served his county and his country faithfully; during the whole of that time he acted under our personal observation. Every phase of his character was familiar to us; we saw him tried in every conflict, by every vicissitude of colonial public life; and I think that gentlemen on all sides will agree with me that for varied information, unbending integrity, and a rigid adherence to what he believed to be right, no man ever was more deservedly distinguished than the late Herbert Huntington. Self-taught, his stores of knowledge were yet various and ample; trained in the Legislature, and in a community where agricultural and commercial pursuits blend, his mind was practical—his knowledge suited to circumstances as they arose. To permit a man like this to slip out of our ranks without a recognition of his services or a word to his memory would not be creditable to this House; nor would such neglect be very encouraging to the rising intellect of our country. Let us place over Huntington's remains, then, some tribute to his worth. Let the country he served stamp her approbation on the spot where his body moulders. There may be novelty in the proposition, but if this is the first monument erected by Nova Scotia, let us hope that it may not be the last. Any elaborate or expensive work of art I do not contemplate or propose. It would be in bad taste. A simple shaft of Shelburne granite, with his name upon it, would be an ornament to his native town, and an appropriate memorial of plain manners, enduring virtues and unbending integrity.

In closing this remarkable session, Sir John Harvey could not restrain the feelings of honest pride with which he surveyed the results of energetic government and the elevated future of the noble Provinces in which he had served so long :



Never during my long administration of colonial governments did I close a legislative session with more pride and more entire satisfaction than I feel at this moment.

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Having served in all the Provinces which you have laboured to unite by bonds of peace and mutual co-operation, I know their value and highly estimate their vast resources.

At the close of a long life, nearly thirty years of which have been passed in the North American colonies, in peace and war, the great measure in which you have been engaged assures me that, more firmly set and beaming with higher lustre, they are yet to remain the brightest jewels in the British crown.

The moderation and elevated spirit which have pervaded the deliberations of both branches will ever honourably distinguish the present session.

In returning to your homes, I beg you to be assured that the high powers which you have conferred and the grave responsibilities that you have imposed upon my Government will but increase my vigilance and care to carry out the measures you have perfected in the spirit in which they have been conceived.

## CHAPTER XX

1852

Mr. Howe declines to join Fredericton conference—Delegates come to Halifax—Mr. Chandler's tribute—Mr. Howe's speech disapproving of making the Legislative Council elective—Messrs. Howe and Fulton re-elected—Death of Sir John Harvey—Mr. Howe's reception at Halifax—Reasons for not joining Messrs. Chandler and Hincks in England—Sir Gaspard Le Marchant appointed Governor—Minute of Council for construction of railways—Mr. Howe visits England.

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ON the 8th of January, 1852, Sir Edmund Head opened the Parliamentary session in New Brunswick. "In my opinion," said his Excellency, "a railroad uniting Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, especially in connection with a line to the United States, would produce an abundant return in this Province; I believe that your revenue would increase very largely without imposing additional burdens on any one; that millions of acres, now untrodden, would supply food for man; and that millions of tons of timber, now standing worthless in your forests, would find profitable markets."

These bright visions of prosperity for the Province of New Brunswick were destined soon to fade. The guarantee for the Portland line was soon after withdrawn, and that series of movements commenced with which Mr. Howe had little or no concern, but which ended in the abandonment of both the intercolonial enterprises.

For the merits of the controversy between Earl Grey and Mr. Howe, the reader is referred to the official papers. His Lordship's case will be found in his *déspatches*, and Mr. Howe's in his reports and in his letter to Mr. Hincks.

In January, Mr. Howe was invited to join a conference of delegates at Fredericton. He saw the nature of the influences at work and declined to assume individually any further responsibility. The delegates came on to Halifax, and then it was for the first time apparent that the interests of Montreal and the chief cities of New Brunswick would be combined to force a line by the valley of

St. John, instead of by the route located by Major Robinson at the cost of the three Provinces. A proposition to change the line upon which all the negotiations had hitherto proceeded, was made to the Government of Nova Scotia, with a demand that she should make the thirty miles beyond her frontier as she had agreed to do in the scheme arranged at Toronto. This was referred to a committee of the House and declined, but the Government subsequently determined to assume the responsibility of making the trunk line from Halifax to the frontier of New Brunswick, leaving the other Provinces free to locate the lines through their own territory as they pleased, provided they could obtain the consent of Her Majesty's Government to the change. Mr. Chandler propounded the new arrangement to the Legislature of New Brunswick on the 16th of February, and it was of course sustained, as it conciliated all the counties along the river St. John, at the sacrifice of the northern ones, which had fewer representatives. At the close of his speech Mr. Chandler made this pretty reference to Mr. Howe's exertions in the general cause of North American elevation :

I cannot close without again referring to the Hon. Mr. Howe, and repeating my opinion that no colonist can peruse those magnificent letters addressed by him when in England to Earl Grey on the subject of colonial interests, without a feeling of pride and gratification ; and whatever may be the issue of the final proceedings, that he has performed a noble duty to British America.

To obtain the consent of Her Majesty's Government to the change of the line, Messrs. Hincks and Chandler shortly afterwards went to England. Mr. Howe was invited, but could not accompany them, having been unseated on a point of form by a committee, and having an election to run over a large county in mid-winter. Before leaving for Cumberland he delivered on February 23rd the following speech, in opposition to a motion made by Hon. J. W. Johnston to introduce the elective principle into the Legislative Council :

Mr. Speaker, if it be really true, sir, that there is no such thing as public virtue or enlightened public opinion in Nova Scotia ; if the denunciation which has just fallen from the lips of the honourable member for Annapolis to-day of the moral and political condition of this country be a true picture, then, sir, we might as well bring this debate to a close at once ; for why should the privileges of such a people be enlarged ? or of what use is it for us to debate the subject here when there is not within these walls, according to his

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doctrine, sufficient public virtue, spirit and independence to give a righteous decision on this measure? Sir, the language of the honourable gentleman reminds me much of a document he sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies not many years ago, describing the moral, social and political condition of this country; and, sir, as that remarkable paper was intended to prevent the introduction of responsible government, so the speech he delivered to-day was to effect its destruction. I concede to him, sir, that we have advanced one step in our political improvement, even though there is no public opinion in Nova Scotia, and even though this Assembly are incapable of judging by the dictates of sound reason; we have learned, sir, for the first time in our Parliamentary experience that it now takes a member two days to make one speech. If the doctrine he enunciated be true, whence come the volumes of light literature with which he has entertained us? Whence come those mouldy records he has passed tediously under our review? Of what use are they to men who, he says, are incapable of judging of his argument? Has he read them merely for the sake of obstructing the public business? The extract he has read from a speech of mine was uttered in 1837, fifteen years ago; and it would be answer enough if I were to tell him that I have changed my opinion once, as he has changed his a hundred times within the same period. Sir, have we had no constitutional changes since then? Have we had no concessions that materially alter the case and change our position from what it then was?

We were struggling for an advance in our political existence; for something more of popularity in our institutions; and I think we would gladly have accepted those precious constitutions which have lately been offered to the Kaffirs of the Cape of Good Hope and to the convicts of Australia! But, I ask, would we have taken them in preference to the constitution we have got, containing the responsible Executive Council which the gentleman wants so much to get rid of? I think not. No public opinion in Nova Scotia, sir? Why, I stand here the creation of public opinion. Comparatively self-educated, with small resources, and thrown into conflict with others in many public questions, I had nothing but an appeal to public opinion to sustain me. I found the honourable gentleman and his friends entrenched behind half a century of prescriptive reverence in a Government which owed nothing to public opinion; but I shook them out of their shoes, and showed that the mass of the people in this Province are ready to prove at any time that there is such a thing as public opinion. But the learned member now complains of a body into which he crammed a great number of his friends. It does not please me, he says, and I must get rid of it; because my friends were beaten and outvoted and failed to prevent the passage of the Departmental Bill and the introduction of responsible government; for all this was going on in another place, in the absence of some members who supported the Government, when in walked William Grigor and put an end to their efforts. He came in constitutionally, and why should he not? But suppose

he did outvote the Opposition; suppose by the vote of some gentleman from any county in the Province, the views of a member or of many members of this House were defeated, would that be any reason for sweeping the Council off the face of the earth? Why, sir, there were imperative reasons for the course then pursued. The Council was not full. It is well known that one gentleman was expected from Cape Breton, whose early arrival was prevented by a February snowstorm. What were the Opposition doing in the other end of the building? They were trying to obstruct the passage of our measure, and we should not have been good politicians if we had allowed them to succeed. It would have been fair and honourable for those gentlemen to have waited till the Council was full; but they took advantage of circumstances, and it would have been a breach of trust for the Executive to have allowed them to do mischief to the country, by the defeat of good measures during the temporary absence of their supporters. The gentleman tries to make it appear that there is something very defective in our system. But I ask whether the Reform Bill of England was not carried by the expressed determination of the Crown to swamp the House of Lords? Then, I say, there is an example for him; but we did not swamp the Legislative Council, we merely filled up a single seat.

But why does he show such hostility to this Council? It consists of only twenty-one members; and, out of the twenty-one, he appointed eight. Does he say that these possess no spirit or independence; no public virtue? If so, he libels nearly one-half of the body which was created by his hand.

Mr. JOHNSTON: I wish the honourable Provincial Secretary would not put into my mouth what I did not say. I did not speak of the Legislative Councillors individually; I distinctly avoided it, and so expressed myself several times. It would have been very unbecoming in me to have done so. I spoke of its constitution as a body.

Mr. HOWE: I am sure I do not want to put anything into the gentleman's mouth when so much absurdity has come out of it; but he is the last man in the world to complain of the construction of that body. No less than eight members of it were appointed by himself; and when he complains that the country is not represented there—that farmers are excluded, I ask how many out of the eight that he put in were farmers? Only three, sir; and yet he has the courage, I should almost say the audacity (although it is a strong word, but I do not mean it offensively), to reproach the friends of the Council for his own default. Sir, I sat in the Executive Council from 1840 to 1843; he and I sat there together. During that time I had some influence in choosing three members of the Legislative Council, and two out of the three were appointed from the country. No sooner had I left, on the appointment of a gentleman resident in Halifax over the heads of others, which split the Government, than he appointed eight, five of whom were from the town of Halifax and three only from the rural districts. The gentleman is then in this curious position; he is finding fault with his own handiwork and with the state of things which he

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himself created. But it is complained that Dr. Grigor was appointed. He was, sir; but so anxious were the Liberal Government to put into that body intelligent men from different sections of the country that, before that seat was offered to Dr. Grigor, it was offered to and declined by four gentlemen residing in the interior. Mr. McCully whom we appointed resided in the country at the time; he has since removed to the city. I presume it was not his fault, nor was it ours. Mr. McKeen lived in the island of Cape Breton, and we did all in our power to give the country districts a fair representation at the Council board. There is another vacancy just now, but of that I will not speak. It is sufficient for me to show that when he had the reins of power he filled up but one-third of his vacancies for the country, while we chose two-thirds from the rural districts. He has entertained us to-day with long extracts from journals and speeches, but I wish he would only take this pamphlet, containing the views of himself and his then supporters, in which I find nothing of the movement in which he is now engaged. He would be much better employed in reviewing even his own old speeches than in obstructing the public business by the papers which he has read.

Sir, the gentleman took me at a disadvantage the other evening. He availed himself of the right he possessed to close the debate and made an elaborate assault when my mouth was sealed against any reply. He told us that we, and not himself, concealed the despatch of the 31st of March, 1849. Sir, I call upon the gentlemen who voted with him to say whether it was not our complaint, not that the despatch was not submitted to the Legislature, but that it was not sent to the people. And, sir, we had to fight out on every hustings the very principles enunciated and confirmed in that despatch, and which were opposed and denied by his supporters. We did not conceal it. When we entered the Government we found and produced it; but it was concealed by the honourable gentleman, and every effort was made by him and his supporters to make the people of Nova Scotia repudiate its principles before they had ever seen or heard of it. He asserted that Earl Grey's opinions were his opinions; but I say let any gentleman, any man of common sense, take up that despatch and compare it with this pamphlet containing the sentiments of the honourable gentleman and his political supporters, and if they can reconcile them to each other, then I do not understand the English language.

I will trouble you with two lines from Earl Grey's despatch, in answer to a minute of Council on the subject of offices. Here is the minute, signed by Robie, George, Johnston, Dodd, Almon and Wilkins; and the sum total of it is that only one public office was to be vacated on a change of administration. To this Earl Grey replies as follows: "Of the present members of your Council, the Attorney-General and Provincial Secretary, to whom the Solicitor-General should perhaps be added, appeared to me sufficient to constitute the responsible advisers of the Governor." And a little further on he says, "I should feel no objection to somewhat increasing the number of political offices; for instance, by appointing a financial secretary and a responsible chief of the department

of public lands and works, should the expense of doing so, without injustice to those now in the public service, be found to be not more than the colonial revenue would conveniently bear." Thus Earl Grey agrees to what the honourable gentleman has all along, and especially during the late extra session, been endeavouring to defeat. I will not quote further from these old papers, but put it to the House whether the gentleman was justified in the statement he made. Now, sir, as regards the question under consideration, I am disposed to deal with it fairly and temperately. I am willing to try it on its merits; but I must refer to a hint thrown out by the learned member the other night, because it is just possible I may not have another opportunity to do so. He not only denied what I then said, but said he would bring me to book on my handbill. When he chooses to attack it, I shall be ready to meet him. But I may say that I ran my election in the county of Cumberland, canvassing and making speeches for ten days in different parts of the county, and I am not conscious of ever having uttered his name. If I am well informed, a different course was pursued in the county which he represents, where pretty fierce attacks were made upon the other members of Government and myself.

Now, sir, let me turn to the gentleman's arguments regarding the Legislative Council. Where is the difficulty? It is this, that while we pay ourselves, we do not pay the members of that body. Therefore, if gentlemen will come up to that standard, for the sake of seeing the public business done well, I will guarantee that we shall have the best men in the country the moment you vote the money. If you have an elective Council to-morrow, I presume you do not expect that these elected gentlemen will come here and do the public business without having at least their expenses paid. Pay them now, and you remove the difficulty; if you do not pay them, you will never obtain men from the rural districts. But, sir, we are told that that body is not independent. I speak of it with impartiality. If it is not independent, sir, it is not because its members are not wealthy enough; for I think the twenty who sit round the table in that chamber are as rich as the fifty round these benches. Are they corrupt? I do not believe one of the men who sit there could be corrupted; and as to my holding up the bag of sovereigns, as the learned member has described, I think he little understands the feelings of gentlemen in this House, on both sides, if he supposes that any one of them could be tempted to desert his duty by pecuniary considerations. He pays a very poor compliment to the honourable members of this House. Sir, the Government did think, when a question of great interest was before the country,—one, in comparison with which all others sink into insignificance,—that, if they had not given an intimation that the patronage arising under the railway measures would not be dispensed exclusively to one political party, they would have failed in their duty. The country was entitled to such an intimation, and this House was entitled to it. With regard to filling up the Council, I believe that there are men in this House, on both sides, that

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have been drawn into the support of the Government on that great question, that will not allow the business of the country to be obstructed. I believe that there are some who will abandon a standard under which they are subject to endless rivalry and fighting, and devote themselves to the public business.

Why, sir, look at the prospects of our country! If we have an influx of industrious people in the course of a few years,—mechanics, labourers, manufacturers, farmers and others, who will give our country an impulse beyond what we have any conception of, is it right that with these hopes and anticipations before us we should be discussing resolutions which both sides of the House believe to be nothing more than tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee? I do not believe that the honourable member has the slightest expectation of carrying his measure. He may be convinced that it is necessary; but how is he to carry it into effect? The Council is a branch of the Legislature and may pass a bill to abolish us, and the officers of the respective branches may meet half way, exchange courtesies and bills. I think we ought to be better employed than in embarking in a crusade against a co-ordinate branch of the Legislature. Sir, if the honourable member supposes he can intimidate the Legislative Council, he knows little of the men of whom it is composed. He has called it a mere idle pageant. Sir, I do not know what feeling there is in that body, but I do think that if this House were to run riot, there is spirit enough there to check bad legislation; and if the Government were to show a want of knowledge of the opinions of the country and that it did not possess the sympathies and confidence of the people, there would be independence enough in the Legislative Council to force a dissolution. But the gentleman is casting reflections on his own friends.

Did he ask these eight gentlemen to take seats in the Council chamber merely that he might have the pleasure of disbanding his troops in this summary way? I put it to the House whether it is fair that the men with whom he sought to strengthen his hands, who have carried forward the public business of the country and spent thousands of pounds out of their own pockets, should receive the reward he is preparing when he proposes to read the Riot Act and send them about their business. Why, sir, even Cromwell, when he dismissed a House of Commons, did not demolish the work of his own hands—he did not elect the Commons he destroyed. The man who burnt the temple of Diana at Ephesus, that his name might go down to posterity, did not erect the temple. The French *sans-culottes* who pitched their enemies into bottomless boats did not drown their friends and brothers. Sir, I believe the Legislative Council, as now constituted, is not only generally acceptable to the country, but that it ought to be so to this House. What was the complaint against the old Council? That they sat in secrecy and that nobody could hear their debates. The learned member seems actuated by this feeling: that as the Liberal party destroyed one Council, he ought to have the privilege of destroying another. The old Council bore no resemblance to the present body



in the aspects of which we complained. Five out of the twelve were commercial partners, four or five were relatives, and nearly all the great interests of the country were totally unrepresented at that board. Now there are eleven merchants—not all belonging to Halifax, for that would be an unwise selection, but they come from the counties east and west—some members are gentlemen farmers; then there are two manufacturers, three professional men, and two practical farmers. I wish there were more of the latter class, and I believe there will be more as the country increases in wealth and intelligence; but pay their expenses to-morrow and the agricultural class will have a full and fair representation. Again, sir, am I to be told that its members are beyond and unconnected with popular sympathies? I answer that five of them received their legislative training here, and all their public schooling among popular influences.

They ran elections as we do, and carried with them the sympathies and confidence of the people. Look at the Council in another aspect—I do not speak individually or offensively, but in the old Council the members were pretty much all of one faith—now there are six Churchmen, two Catholics, two Methodists, two Baptists, four belonging to the Kirk of Scotland, one Free Churchman, one Independent, and three of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia. Here is a pretty fair sprinkling of the different denominations in our country; there may be too many of one and too few of another, but the inequality will be redressed as vacancies occur. And as regards their talents for public business, I believe that the six or eight gentlemen who attend from the country are men of influence; that most of them might be elected to this branch if they pleased; and that they are men of intelligence and worth.

The honourable member said the other day that he wanted to sweep the Council away, because it *might* obstruct the public business; but does any man shoot his dog because he *may* one day go mad, or throw his food into the street for fear he *may* be poisoned? Why, sir, the gentleman appears not to be dealing with practical matters but with fallacies which have no foundation. What is his complaint? Not that popular principles have been set at naught and the public business obstructed, by the second branch. No: his complaint is that the Council is not obstructive! Take the bill he mentions, sir,—the Departmental Bill. Why, that measure was fought out at every hustings; it was discussed, understood and approved of, in every village in Nova Scotia; and after it was passed by a large majority in this House, by the aid of Dr. Grigor, we got it through the Council, too. So that the complaint is that the Council agrees with the Assembly; not that it is an impracticable and obstructive body. I feel desirous to deal with the question, now fairly before us, with all deference; but I do believe that if it were not for personal respect for the member for Annapolis, both sides of the House would vote his bill to be “frivolous and vexatious.” I believe it ought not to be here, first, because it is unnecessary; secondly, because it interferes with other important, interesting and necessary business; and thirdly, because it disturbs the harmony

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and good understanding between the two branches. It may be that the learned member's bill is going to pass in the other end of the building; and it may be that his speech the other night, imputing corruption to that body, may lead to a collision and a delay of the public business. He has quoted a native writer on the subject of the pilgrims in New England; but I can remember the time when that very same gentleman was brought to the bar of this House and made to apologize for much less than the honourable member's speech. There are decencies and courtesies which we ought to observe towards each other. Of what use, sir, is all that the gentleman has paraded here, about eight to eight, and nine to eight? It is a question of internal discipline for the Council to decide, as we have to frame the rules and orders of this House.

Suppose it were wrong for them to yield the President's double vote? Sir, the Legislative Council have the right to deal with the question and we have not. Suppose, on the division the other night, that you as Speaker had given two votes instead of one; would the Legislative Council have any right to interfere? If such an attempt were made, I am sure that it would only unite the members of this House as one man to defend their privileges. The learned member told us, sir, to-day that Earl Grey had entirely agreed with his opinions in the celebrated despatch which is the foundation of our argument; he says he did not conceal it; that it expressed his own policy and his own views. Why then, sir, the very thing he wanted has been done! What then does he want? I cannot comprehend. It occurs to me that the gentleman, having got everything his own way, now wants to have everything changed to suit his whim, like a spoiled child. I think when his views come to be examined side by side with Earl Grey's, it will be found that there is a common agreement in some things; in others an irreconcilable difference. I think Earl Grey left some points open to be fought out at the hustings. The Departmental Bill was one; we carried that, and hence the honourable member's mortification with the Legislative Council. If there had been just three more members in it against the Bill, enough to have permanently defeated and obstructed us, the Legislative Council would have been the finest body on the face of the earth, and, in Oriental language, the honourable member would have prayed that it might "live for ever."

The gentleman did not publish the despatch, and still we came back here in a majority, to pass our Departmental Bill; and I do not care whether it passed the Council by a majority of only one or half a one; the people were entitled to and have got it. I never searched the journals to find how the Council was divided. The honourable member reads enough of them to us. I would rather have something more entertaining; something more enlivening. I advise the member from Annapolis to get one of his friends to read his extracts to the Council just now, when that branch has nothing else to do. We shall gladly dispense with the infliction. I presume he wants to get his views before the country, and these extracts from the journals with them; but of what service can they be, after all, when there is no "public opinion" in

Nova Scotia? The learned member has wasted the best part of a day in trying to convince us that we are an enslaved people, because the two branches are not independent of each other. Can he show us two such bodies in the world, as he wishes to create, entirely independent of each other? He talks of our people being too much imbued with party feeling, compared with the population of England; but, sir, England herself, though he seems tired of admiring her, gives an immense weight of influence to the second branch. In the United States, the Senators and Representatives are elected by the same parties; and therefore, the complexion of both Houses must be very similar, coming from the same source. The gentleman seems to be smitten most remarkably with the similarity between the institutions of the United States, and those we ought to have. It may be, sir, that I entertain for British institutions something of an hereditary and permanent respect; at all events, I should like to see them fairly tried before we substitute anything else. The learned member has gone back to an old speech of mine in which I argued that splitting the old Council in two, adding a few more members, and keeping them both independent of the people, would be no better than cutting a rotten orange in two; it would not give us either a harmonious and efficient second branch, or a responsible executive; and it is wonderful that I should so clearly have seen, in that early period of our constitutional history, what the country really required, as gathered from subsequent experience.

If, sir, the system of government had been then what it is now, I should never have raised my voice against it. The constitution we have is far superior to anything we can draw from the United States, prosperous as they are, numerous as is their population, glorious as may be their destinies. I cannot, sir, as a descendant of the old stock, forget that we are humbly endeavouring to imitate a constitution which has grown up, ripening and strengthening for a thousand years, and possessing an aspect of solidity and permanence which the free institutions of our neighbours, admirable as they are, cannot rival. The honourable member for Annapolis wishes to give us a new constitution; nothing pleases him but the republicanism of our neighbours. He casts behind him the noble institutions of our parent land, and I could not help smiling, the other evening, as he came to these strange conclusions: away with the trappings of royalty, away with the prerogatives of the crown, away with the second branch of the Legislature. Sir, I prefer a system of administration, which has some experience to recommend it—a mode of conducting public business, which has been worked well for ages by the Anglo-Saxon. Does he seek for that? No, but a departure from our old landmarks, and the election of the second branch of the Legislature. Let me ask, sir, how long this innovation will satisfy the people if once yielded? We shall soon have our governors and judges elected; in short, the principle must be carried out through all the ramifications of society. Should we then have the British Constitution? Should we have either the will or the power to defend the independent exercise of the prerogative, on occasions where we all admit it should be full and

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unrestrained? We should have, sir, to change our entire administration and perhaps soon to sacrifice our connection with the parent state; and part from and bury for ever those glorious associations which are ours so long as the tie is unsevered. He tells us that he copies the Anglo-Saxons, but I challenge him to show me a time in the whole history of Saxon England, when the second branch was elected by the people. He has frequently taunted me about bringing out convicts to settle the wild regions between Canada and the Pacific; yet he draws his example of free government from the convicts of Australia, and the Kaffirs of the Cape.

When I was in England last year, sir, I met the delegate who came from the Cape to get this constitution; he came with the idea of having the second branch elected by the suffrages of the whole colony. I perceive his bill has been slightly altered in that particular, and instead of there being but one electoral district, the colony has been split into two. I asked him one day at dinner, "How will you carry on your elections if you make the whole Cape one electoral district? I find it hard enough to canvass a county and run my election within that limited circle. I would not think of offering for the whole Province, and if any man attempted it at the Cape he would be eaten up by the Kaffirs before he got back. I do not believe the new constitution will work; and before a year it will have to be abandoned or some very material alterations must be made." I advised him to throw out his elective Council and put in responsible government. "Responsible government," said he, "what is that?" I explained it to him, and he admitted that if he could have abandoned his plan and taken mine he would have done so. Therefore, sir, I do not feel that there is any particular necessity for our going for a constitution to the Cape of Good Hope. Suppose Nova Scotia split into two halves, and one set of candidates had to scour all the western counties, and another set all those east of Halifax.

Mr. JOHNSTON: That is not my bill.

Mr. HOWE: Then why quote to us the Cape of Good Hope? I am endeavouring to show the gentleman that in the only example he has quoted for our imitation the thing will not work, and I confess I have some respect for degrees and orders and the general adaptation of parts to a whole. I would not like to see the tail of a terrier on the head of a spaniel. It is true there is a composite order in architecture, but it is not destitute of symmetry. We must have either republican institutions, which I do not desire, or the British Constitution, which I think we ought to have. Now, sir, let me turn your attention for an instant to another of those precious constitutions he quotes to us—one that has been suggested by a British nobleman for the settlement of Australia, but which has never been sanctioned after any fair trial by British freemen. The Cape Constitution provides that no man can be a candidate for legislative honours, unless he is worth £2000. Apply that to this House, sir! How many men would walk out of that door if they were obliged to swear that they were worth that amount? But the constitution

for Australia goes a point further ; it provides that no man can be a candidate who is not worth £4000 in property or has a yearly income of £200. Let him put those features in his bill, or else he is only quoting these new examples of free government to deceive and mislead. At present, sir, we have in Nova Scotia a good deal of administrative power and an effective popular control, but when the Australians come to settle down under their new constitution there will be much dissatisfaction. The gentleman admits that he has no good ground for making the constitution he has quoted a foundation for his bill. I say then, I object to his bill, because it is unnecessary, a waste of time, and may lead to a collision with the other branch.

But I have other objections. His bill does not give us the British constitution, the Cape constitution, nor even the Australian ; and I believe constitution-making in the hands of a single individual rarely succeeds. The Liberals had sense, discernment and firmness enough to adhere to the time-honoured constitution of the mother country ; and their prudence is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact, that for the last twenty years, in almost every state of Europe, new constitutions have been tried ; some of them partially succeeded and others totally failed, while that of old England has stood intact, with no fundamental alterations, while the political systems of the Continent were tumbling to pieces. Many persons with minds very much like that of the learned gentleman have framed new constitutions without number, but they all have one slight defect. They will not work. Talk then about our Council being a mere useless pageant ; why, anything is better than what will not work. The constitutions so hastily adopted in Europe are a wreck ; they have gone to "everlasting smash." But the constitution of England still stands as our guide, proving itself the pride and glory of the age. It is true that we are humbly imitating the glorious bequest of our ancestors, and I may be told that our little constitution is a poor imitation of its great prototype. Sir, the village church may be but a humble imitation of the magnificent cathedral, but at all events the spire points to Heaven ; pure hearts may worship at its altar, and the eternal God, who looks with favour upon all His creatures, hallows and accepts their devotions. The little streams which run through our country have not the power or extent of noble rivers, but they perform their part in the economy of nature by moistening and fructifying the soil. This House may be but a humble imitation of the House of Commons, but the spirit of liberty is here, and independence enough to guard the rights and privileges committed to our charge ; and day by day we see gentlemen around these benches transacting the public business, with capability, intelligence, integrity and public spirit, and the rights of the people are as ably defended as in any legislative body in the world. Take then the Legislative Council ; its members are not peers of the realm, tracing their ancestry back to the days of William the Conqueror ; there may be noble blood flowing in their veins, or there may not ; but they have grown up with us all, and are worthy of our confidence and respect. They may not have the ermine on their shoulders

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or coronets on their heads, but in that little body there exist as pure hearts, as unflinching determination, as high spirit and as unswerving integrity as in that chamber which Her Majesty honours with her presence. But the honourable member has referred to the third branch of the Legislature. To that part of his address I shall give but a passing notice. I did, sir, think that some passages in the resolutions he read here the other day, with reference to the office of Lieutenant-Governor, might have been spared. I confess I do not comprehend his argument. Is it that the head of the Government has no power to defend the rights of the people under responsible government? I sometimes think, sir, that we very much undervalue what we have got.

Suppose this House and the Legislative Council united together to pass a law trenching on public liberty or invading private rights, I do not believe there will appear in North America, for a century, a man at the head of affairs destitute of sufficient spirit to appeal to the people. Does the Sovereign in England possess any more power than a Governor under the responsible system? Why, sir, I saw Her Majesty herself for a fortnight without a Government. We hear sometimes very lamentable stories about the intelligence and prosperity of this country, but have we ever yet been in a position that no public man would undertake the government of the Province? Have we ever been in the position which Her Majesty occupied when her cabinet recently resigned; when she called around her the great officers of state who declared themselves incapable of forming a Government, while the Opposition also declined? The same thing might happen to any Governor to-morrow, but what would it prove? Nothing against our system, for it is as liable to occur in England, where the Queen is as dependent on the House of Commons as the Governor of Nova Scotia must be upon the Attorney-General or the member for Annapolis.

It may sometimes happen that the administrator cannot come to terms with either section of the House, and cannot form a cabinet. That, sir, is a temporary incident inseparable from our free institutions. The gentleman talks about the constitution of the United States working so well; but, sir, I have seen the Legislature of Maine engaged for three weeks in trying to elect a Speaker; and in Pennsylvania the military had to be called out to put down a row got up on account of the difficulty of working her institutions. Therefore, sir, the argument is fallacious. Our constitution is better than theirs, and if we have not the Queen here in person—and I hope we shall see Her Majesty one day after we get our railways laid—we have got a functionary who exercises the same powers and stands in a similar position. If we have not got the House of Lords, we have the next best thing—the leading wealthy men of the Province to form a barrier and a check against hasty legislation; we have the rules and forms of Parliament for our guidance, and the business of the country goes on as it does at home, in accordance with the wishes and feelings of the people. And, sir, the reforms which from time to time are made by the Parliament of the mother country—the passage of the Reform

Bill, the abolition of slavery, the repeal of the Corn Laws, and a dozen other splendid measures I could name—show that instead of our constitution being worn out, it is reinvigorated every day, and preparing itself for new trials and new questions as they may arise. Look at it during the war, when England was menaced on every side, surrounded by hostile nations; see her with her nicely-balanced constitution, affording the means of free and powerful action; bursting through the combinations arrayed against her, and moving triumphantly through the machinations of Continental enemies. But we are told that the Pilgrims came out to New England and brought with them an elective Council. Sir, I ought to say nothing against the Pilgrims, because I am a descendant from that stock; but, because I have Pilgrim blood in my veins, that will never blind me to Pilgrim errors. The old book the learned member for Annapolis has quoted to-day reminds me of some of them. The Pilgrims were fond of liberty, but has he ever heard of the Blue Laws of Connecticut, which flourished under one of these old charter constitutions? Talk of Church and State, sir! why, they existed in more rigorous form in some of those old colonies of New England than they do in the mother country; which, although it gives preference to the Church, does not proscribe and persecute everybody who does not conform to the privileged religion. But this was done in the old colonies whence the gentleman now draws his examples. Who burned the witches? Who hunted down and persecuted hundreds of people that ought to have had the protection of the Government? Had the prerogative of the Crown existed in those days in its proper strength, supported by a second branch, it would have mitigated in some degree the horrors of persecution. Therefore the gentleman's examples are unfortunate, and his bill is true to no system he has quoted. It is neither fish, flesh, nor good red herring. He does not give us any constitution that now exists or that ever did exist on the face of the earth.

One word, sir, about the American constitution. It was framed while the States were in deadly conflict with the mother country; when every man who had anything to do with its construction hated and detested England, and therefore they wanted to make it as different as possible from anything English. It results from that feeling that the best men in the republic, the moment they accept office, have to withdraw from the Legislature and are cooped up within the four walls of their respective departments and become incapacitated from mingling in public discussions; and their superior intelligence, tact and abilities are lost to the country.

When in Massachusetts the other day, I saw a man of much worth and intelligence who had lost his seat in the Legislature. Well, said I, why do you not offer again? He told me that he could not; he had given an unpopular vote about the Blue Mountains, or some other local affair; and because he had lost his seat for one place, and the law did not allow him to offer for another, the Legislature lost the benefit of his labours. Now, sir, that may be a very good system, but I like ours better. A man in London may represent Dublin

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or a man in Dublin may represent Cork ; a man in Scotland may represent London, if London chooses to elect him. There are many restrictions and disabilities in the American system which we hardly see, but which operate much worse than those in the constitutional government we possess. I do not say that an elected judge may not do justice as well as one chosen by the Crown ; but if I were going to be hanged, I would prefer to be hanged by a judge chosen in the old way, which has been sanctioned by the usage of centuries, rather than by one elected. But, says the gentleman, the country is ruled by an oligarchy. I answer that the country was ruled by an oligarchy when twelve men, sitting in secret, carried on the legislation of the second branch, and wielded the executive functions of the Government independent of public opinion. We are no oligarchy now, because our power must be exercised in strict accordance with the will and wishes of the people, no matter what political party holds the reins. But that old Council carried on the government for years, and I might call him an oligarch for sustaining and defending it.

But we showed, sir, that no oligarchy can exist in this Province ; for we scattered that Council to the winds, and had others formed more adapted to the requirements of the country ; and now the people have as much control over the Government of Nova Scotia as they have in either the United States or England. Who doubts that if the honourable member had come here with a majority at his back, we should have retired and left him the offices and patronage of the Government ? I might have thought it hard, as any man would who does his best for the good of his country, but I would have had no right to complain ; and I am sure I would not call the gentleman an oligarch for availing himself of the power which the suffrages of the people had conferred upon him. I should have taken my hat and left him in undisturbed possession. He may ask, would I be satisfied ? Perhaps not ; but what would public opinion care for that ? I might show the people that they were wrong and I was right ; and perhaps I might get back before many years, with my friend the Attorney-General, to measure swords with our friend again. But our system is disliked as too monarchical ; and the learned member talks as if he were determined to banish everything aristocratical off the face of the earth. Does he take his lessons from the United States ? If so, let me ask him if he ever heard of the "upper ten thousand" ?—a very expressive phrase that originated in that country and which includes a certain wealthy class, that cuts off all others less fortunate in the acquisition of worldly possessions, and looks down upon the poor and the snobs with commiseration and contempt.

Let the gentleman go into any large city of the Union—let him visit any of the watering places in the summer season, and he will find as much aristocratic feeling and as much exclusiveness as he ever found in Nova Scotia or as can be found in England. Why, it is said that John Bull loves a lord ; but if a lord wants really to enjoy himself for a few weeks, the right place to go to is into the United States, where he will be fêted, lionized, and made ten times as much of as ever he was in his own country. Any brainless fellow



who can put on a title will have excellent quarters in the United States, until he is found out; and if I wanted to be treated with great hospitality and consideration across the borders, I would only have to show that I was one of the "upper ten thousand" of some other country, and that would be a passport to the favours of the wealthy. In that country they have had elective and free institutions for seventy years. Responsible government has only been in operation in Nova Scotia for four or five years. If we had got it seventy years ago, how rapidly would the country have advanced! I venture to say that any gentleman who saw Canada seven or eight years ago and who sees her now, will tell us that she has sprung forward with a bound and has felt an immediate impulse from the operation of her free institutions. All her public measures have been carried with an unprecedented spirit of harmony; every exciting question has also been swept off the books in Nova Scotia; and if the member for Annapolis had been swept off with them there would be peace and quietness in the land and Nova Scotia would go forward with vitality and success, under the operation of her free institutions.

Look at the action which this House has taken on a great public question that enlisted the sympathies of a large portion of our people.

Show me a question of importance that has been dealt with by great communities with more vigour, efficiency and harmony than we have exercised here; and although success has not yet crowned our efforts, I know free institutions have done much for us in ameliorating the asperities of party and promoting objects of public interest. Sir, I believe that five millions of people have poured into the United States since the Declaration of Independence; and if any fair comparison is to be drawn between their institutions and ours, one thing ought first to be considered—that ours should be tried before they are condemned.

Sir, I have taken this, perhaps the last, opportunity I may have of giving my sentiments on this great public question. Anything that is elective may be popular. Anything that would give privileges to my countrymen, it may be unpopular to oppose; but I have stood before them with an open countenance on other questions; and I may say to all classes that while a combination of the three Provinces is required to open up the industrial resources of the country, I do not think I ought fruitlessly, frivolously and vexatiously to lend my countenance to a measure, which I believe in my heart, I will not say is designed, because that would be discourteous, but which is most admirably calculated to render hopeless and useless all our exertions to raise British North America to the position she ought to occupy.

On the 24th of March, Mr. Howe and his colleague, Mr. Fulton, were triumphantly returned for the county of Cumberland, having been stoutly opposed by a very formidable combination.<sup>1</sup> With the

<sup>1</sup> The 24th was Declaration Day. The vote stood: Howe, 1325; Fulton, 1333; Dewolfe, 1062; Macfarlane, 1133.

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flush of victory on his brow, Mr. Howe heard by telegraph, while standing on the hustings, of the death of Sir John Harvey, under whom he had served for four years as Provincial Secretary and for whom he entertained very sincere respect and affection.

On returning from Cumberland through the county of Colchester, he was met by a large escort of the yeomanry in sleighs, entertained at a lunch, and presented with an address.

On reaching Halifax Mr. Howe was enthusiastically welcomed. He and Mr. Fulton were taken to the Parliament House in an open barouche, preceded by flags and banners, and followed by thousands of citizens. A torchlight procession enlivened the night, and Mr. Howe was compelled, before going to bed, to address some thousands of people in front of his residence.

Colonel Bazelgette, who assumed the temporary administration of the Government, closed the session on the 8th of April.

Mr. Howe has been blamed for not immediately proceeding to England, to join Messrs. Hincks and Chandler. Those who blame him should remember that he had for fifteen months before borne the whole burden of a great enterprise, involving delicate and important negotiations; that his policy had been deranged; that he did not approve of the route by the river St. John, though he had yielded, from necessity, to its adoption; that he shrewdly suspected—what afterwards proved to be the case—that a powerful combination of great contractors, having large influence in the Government and Parliament of England, were determined to seize upon the North American railroads and promote their own interests at the expense of the people. Perhaps he anticipated the refusal of Her Majesty's Government to countenance a deviation from the line adopted by Major Robinson, and thought it but fair that those who had planned that deviation should alone bear the responsibility of the change. If they succeeded in obtaining the guarantee they were entitled to the credit; if they failed, and he was not in England, no blame could attach to him. Had he been entirely untrammelled by other considerations, we think he was justified in declining to proceed. But there were other considerations to which some weight should be attached. In the first place, he was worn down by travel, excitement and fatigue; and in the next, his services were much required by the officer who, suddenly and for the first time, had been called to the administration of the government of the Province. Had he gone, he must either have differed from his co-delegates or have been compromised by their acts. By not going he left himself free to

strike out an independent policy for his own Province, when that which had been forced upon Nova Scotia should, as he probably anticipated, had failed.

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The refusal of the Earl of Derby's Government to give the imperial guarantee for the line by the St. John; the quarrel between Sir John Pakington and Mr. Hincks; the contracts arranged between Messrs. Chandler, Hincks and Jackson,—followed in rapid succession. With none of these proceedings had Mr. Howe any concern; but, distrustful and reserved, he kept his own counsel, and Nova Scotia free from entanglements and partnerships until the time arrived for the final adoption of those laws under which her railroads were constructed with her own resources and without the character of the country being injured by corruption, deception or fraud. In the meantime New Brunswick, after wasting two years in reliance upon those contracts, had to buy Mr. Jackson off at a cost of £90,000, and, adopting the policy of Nova Scotia, to push forward her roads as public works. The Grand Trunk Railway through Canada was made, but at a fearful sacrifice to all concerned but the knowing ones who had the expenditure of the money. The Government advanced £3,000,000, for which it had no security.

Sir Gaspard Le Marchant assumed the government of Nova Scotia on the 5th of August, 1852. On August 25th, a minute of Council was adopted, pledging the administration to proceed with the construction of the railways east and west in convenient sections, and authorizing contracts to be entered into, subject to the approval of the Legislature, for raising the funds and for carrying on the works. This minute was published as a declaration of policy. It elicited two offers to construct the whole of the works required; one from Mr. Jackson, representing Messrs. Peto, Brassey & Co., and one from Messrs. Sykes, King & Brookfield.

It became now very important that the standing of the latter firm and the extent of their resources should be ascertained, and absolutely indispensable that financial agents should be secured in England, able to place the bonds of the Province at their proper value in the market and to advance funds upon them whenever they should be required.

To put the Government in a position to satisfy the Legislature upon both these points, Mr. Howe left for England on the 28th of October; and, having executed his mission, returned home on the 27th of December.

## CHAPTER XXI

1853

Session of 1853 unsatisfactory—No progress made with railway project—Mr Howe temporarily abandons Railway Bill—Speech on Free Trade and Protection—Speech at Amherst.

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THE session of 1853 was to Mr. Howe perhaps the most perplexing and unsatisfactory that he had yet passed through. He brought down the propositions of Messrs. Sykes and Jackson. He brought an offer from Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co., to negotiate the bonds of the Province to the extent of a million of pounds currency, and he introduced bills authorizing the Government to construct upon the most advantageous terms railways upon our great thoroughfares to the extent of that sum.

An organized opposition to these bills soon showed itself within the House, which was strengthened and inflamed by all sorts of influences from without. Canada and New Brunswick had handed over their roads to Mr. Jackson upon his own terms. The influence of both these Provinces was brought to bear to compel Nova Scotia to follow their example. This Mr. Howe steadily resisted, adhering to the cardinal principles with which he had started at Temperance Hall :

1. That whatever roads were made should be made as public works, paid for honestly, and owned by the Province.

2. That money should be borrowed on the best terms, and expended without any respect to who were the contractors.

The opposition contended that if acts of incorporation were passed, with moderate facilities, Mr. Jackson and his friends would come in and construct our roads as they were about to do those in the other Provinces. The resources of the great contractors were magnified ; those of the Province depreciated ; and all the arguments by which Canada and New Brunswick had been misled were reiterated here with dexterous ingenuity and powers of face worthy of admiration. When a doubt was suggested or an argument required, it was only necessary to telegraph to Quebec or St. John to obtain a satisfactory reply. Promises the most mendacious and offers the most

generous were reiterated in debate or reduced to the form of deliberate business propositions. The House, though there was a clear majority to sustain the Government, became equally divided and brought to a deadlock upon the railway question. A large committee spent a great part of the session collecting evidence, and were nearly as much divided as the House. The results are well known. By a masterly retreat Mr. Howe abandoned the field, offering to pass the Facility Bills required by the opposition and calling upon them to fulfil all the magnificent promises they had made. The position was a trying one—even more trying than that he had been called to assume when rescinding his own resolutions in 1838. But his nerves were equal to the strain, and his foresight and political sagacity were never more finely tested. The Facility Bills were passed, and though some surveys were prosecuted in the course of the summer by Mr. Jackson's engineers, no company was formed, no pledge was fulfilled; and, before the House met in 1854, the field was cleared of Mr. Jackson and his friends, and the sounder policy advocated by Mr. Howe rose again into the ascendant.

Of many speeches made on the varying phases of these railway questions, during the session of 1853, probably none would now be read with much interest. During the session a report was made to the House strongly recommending a protective tariff. It elicited the following speech from Mr. Howe on March 24th :

MR. CHAIRMAN,—The question now under consideration of the committee is one of vast magnitude, and I regret that my condition of body and mind—suffering as I have been for the past few days—is not such as to permit me to do it the justice its importance demands. I could not postpone addressing the House longer, for it has become necessary, as rapidly as possible, to bring the business of this session to a close. I was not present last session when the subject was discussed; I cannot charge my mind with having read the debates; nor had I an opportunity of reading the report of the committee<sup>1</sup> until last evening. But, sir, after perusing that report—when I came to compare the magnitude of the interests with the loose, casual, and desultory manner in which the question was treated yesterday—I felt that I could not shrink from the performance, to this House and country, of the duty which my official position imposes. With all deference to the honourable and learned chairman of the committee [Martin I. Wilkins], he will allow me to say—for it is due to each other and to the country that we should speak our sentiments frankly—that I read his report with deep sorrow and regret; that I felt humiliated to

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<sup>1</sup> The committee consisted of Martin I. Wilkins, John Holmes, Andrew Cowie, Benjamin Smith, and Gloud W. M'Lellan.

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see a Nova Scotian seeking to put on the journals of the Legislature what I believe to be a piece of systematic, though not intentional, misrepresentation and defamation of his country. True, we may see in the newspapers denunciations of the position, character, commercial resources and advancement of our Province; and I believe these have greatly disheartened our people; setting them at variance with their condition and country; and leading them to believe that there is something abroad and beyond our borders infinitely superior to anything that can be found at home. This, however, does not justify a legislator in stamping with the seal of official authority these aspersions, in sapping the springs of vitality and energy that alone are left to quicken or animate them, and by a steady, persevering system of self-abasement, inducing an utter absence of all hope. Sir, I believe that this Province is as progressive, as forward in the race of civilization and improvement, as half the countries that may be compared with it on the face of the earth.

I find that the honourable gentleman starts with the assumption that Halifax is the Province of Nova Scotia; he takes the exports and imports of this city as evidencing the state of trade the Province over. The time was, prior to 1828, when all the other ports in the Province had their tables of foreign imports blank. There was no other free port down to that period but Halifax. Now Yarmouth, Shelburne, Lunenburg, Pictou, Sydney, Pugwash, all ports in the Province, are free warehousing ports; and therefore no comparison can be drawn between the exports and imports of this country, unless they are embraced in the calculation. Even in his comparison of the exports and imports of Halifax he has made an error of about £33,467. Assuming the report to be correct of our imports in 1852 being £222,293, our real exports amounted to £119,385 instead of £85,918, or £33,467 more than the report states. This sufficiently proves the general looseness and inaccuracy of the report. Halifax has no natural export. It produces neither coal, plaster, grindstones, deals, agricultural produce, cordwood nor ships, which are produced and exported from other parts of the Province. It appears to me, sir, that the honourable member augurs the downfall of Nova Scotia on very insufficient premises. He would have us believe that the country is going to the dogs, because, according to his views, we do not manufacture stoves, leather, furniture. Sir, I revert to the period when free trade was first introduced into this country; what was our situation then? Can he point to a single foundry then in existence? Not one! Now we have some five or six. Look at Mr. Johns, who came here not a great many years ago, a poor Welshman; without friends, capital or experience, he commenced in this city; now he owns a square; his steam engine goes night and day, and he has set an example to those of our countrymen who, not possessing the steady energy to work their way up, turn their backs upon the land of their birth and flee abroad. I turn to Freshwater Bridge, and can recollect the period when scarce a pound's worth of property was owned in that region; now there is £100,000 worth on the soil. A foundry is there also; does it need protec-

tion? It has sprung up within a year or two; and now I am told that it can supply the very iron pillars required to support this building cheaper than they can be obtained in the United States. In Pictou these foundries have also made their appearance since the adoption of this much-reviled system of free trade. But the report asks us to tax the milk-pail of every farmer's wife in the country, that we may encourage one or two manufacturers in the Province. The single one now in operation is supporting itself; and although the gentleman who carries it on is my personal friend, yet I would not consent to violate what I conceive to be sound policy, to do an act which I am sure would be of no service to him and injure everybody else. As for our tailors and shoemakers, there are ten in the city now for every one there was when the old protective system began to relax in 1828. Then you could scarcely obtain a decent coat unless you employed a particular tailor; now good workmen can be found in almost every street. Sir, Halifax has had her seasons of trial, privation and depression, as all other cities have; but she has emerged from out of every struggle the stronger and better for the energy she was obliged to put forth. But, says the report, our mechanics go abroad. Suppose they do? Does not the honourable member for Pictou know well that in Germany, comprising millions of people and many states, no young man is allowed to set up in business for himself until he has travelled, seen the world and treasured up some knowledge and experience useful to him in the branch of industry to which he has determined to devote his time? This, in Germany, would be quite correct; but it never occurs in Nova Scotia but a qualm and an apprehension is excited in the mind of some anxious, over-zealous protectionist—some ingenious and clever man, who, not bestowing the time to satisfy his own mind upon the subject, weaves all the old women's apprehensions into a report and thereby attempts to unsettle that policy which for the last ten or twelve years has worked to our advantage. Household furniture is spoken of. Why, sir, I will undertake to assert that one house alone sells and exports in a single year more household furniture than was manufactured in the whole city when the system that prevailed up to 1828 began to relax. Have they not prospered? See the large and extending establishments that now dot the city, where the manufacture of furniture is carried on; mark the comfort and elegance of style with which many of the houses of our mechanics are furnished. And do I envy them this? No, sir, I thank Providence that this is a country where any industrious man can command these comforts for his family. Manufacturers of pianofortes are also to be protected. Sir, I can remember when the city could boast of few, if any, of these musical instruments; when a piano manufactory was unknown, and when at almost every party old Hurst's violin was heard. Now it would almost be deemed heresy to dance to anything but a piano or full brass band. I know not whether the change is for the better, for I am sure that nothing could be more blithe, gay and frolicsome than the jovial dancing parties of my younger days. But who owns these pianos now? The wives and daughters of our public officers or professional

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men? No, sir, but the wives and daughters of those very men who, according to the honourable gentleman, are on the verge of ruin, and therefore stand desperately in need of Protection. Sir, I say, long may those pianos sound; long may they dance around them, and long may they cherish in their hearts a feeling less desponding than some of our public men would infuse into their bosoms.

The report is also mournful on the condition of the tanners. Sir, the true secret of the difference between the prosperity of the American and Nova Scotian tanners is this: an American has the sense to know that if he carries the hides to the bark, instead of carrying the bark to the hides, he makes a large saving, for he reduces the amount of carriage from three or four loads to one. The Americans have also ascertained that the application of machinery to this branch of industry doubles the profits of the manufacturer. If a hedge be drawn around those engaged in this manufacture in Nova Scotia, no inducement will be offered them to introduce these improvements here. They will not then tax their ingenuity or expend their capital to compete with the foreign manufacturer. Had the honourable and learned member for Pictou, instead of bringing in this report, moved a grant sufficient to send some able and experienced man to the United States, whose duty it should be to examine into the mode of conducting the various branches of business in that country, and report as to which of them could be successfully carried on in Nova Scotia—what machinery was necessary, what the required outlay, the result would have been far more beneficial and of infinitely greater value than any law we can pass founded upon his views. Last summer I was in Amherst, and while there I called to see an old-fashioned New England man. I walked through his establishment, and his conversation at once evinced his intelligence and shrewdness. Around his shop were to be seen looking-glass frames, furniture, picture frames, and to all appearance he had plenty to occupy his time, and seemed in most comfortable circumstances. “Can you tell me,” I asked, “how it is that you have been able to come here, establish, and successfully carry on a business which none of our own people had the wit to understand?” “Why, Mr. Howe,” said he, “your people are not up to it. No man does anything in the United States with his hands that can be done with his head. These articles that you see around have been manufactured at one-half the sum they would have cost had they been made by hand.” I ran through, this autumn, a large foundry in Glasgow, and while passing round the works the overseer said, “From the swarthy appearance of the men engaged here, you would suppose them overworked, but it is not so. It is a curious fact in the history of modern mechanism that nearly everything of this kind is manufactured by machinery, the men merely being engaged to watch the progress of the work and arrange and keep the machines in order.” While there I saw a shaft of iron, as thick as my body, cut like cheese, the man attending the machine merely shifting the bar and replacing it with another. So with almost everything else. That is the secret of American success.



But, sir, let me ask the honourable and learned member for Pictou whom he is going to tax, and for what? According to the census of 1852 we have in all the Province—

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Employed in manufactures . . . . .	3,200
Mechanics . . . . .	8,895

12,095

While our—

Lumberers number . . . . .	1,954
Men at sea . . . . .	3,961
Registered seamen . . . . .	1,413
Fishermen . . . . .	9,927
Farmers . . . . .	31,604
Merchants and traders . . . . .	2,415
Doctors . . . . .	145
Lawyers . . . . .	143
Clergymen . . . . .	288

51,850

The class to be protected, then, it is apparent, number less than one quarter of those to be taxed for their advantage. Assuming that they are one-fourth, and adding the families to the men, 225,000 people are, by the report, to be taxed for the benefit of 75,000.

Even were his arguments sound, I represent Cumberland, and I ask myself if I am prepared to tax the farmers, lumberers, quarrymen, the sawmen—competing, as they are obliged to, with all the world—for the purpose of bolstering up certain artificial branches of industry, which cannot stand competition on a fair and just basis? But the true reason why I am opposed to the imposition of the proposed duties is that I believe they can stand on their own strength; and that emerging as our farmers and fishermen are from the stagnation and depression occasioned by bad crops and unprolific fishing seasons—afflicted as they have been by the dispensation of Providence—it would be unwise, unfair and impolitic to burden them with a single shilling of duty more than is absolutely necessary for the purposes of revenue. Why, sir, does not the honourable and learned gentleman know that even between this and the head of St. Margaret's Bay a large sum has been this year applied to save unsuccessful fishermen from starvation? And yet he would increase the price of the articles they need that a few manufacturers—who now live, some of them at least, in affluence and splendour—may be better paid.

He is apprehensive of what he terms the exodus of our population. Admitting all he says to be correct, are we singular in that respect? Has the outgoing of our people been such that we should be marked down among the colonial possessions of England as a country depopulated? Sir, I find by a report of the Maine Legislature that they are obliged to build more railways than those now in operation that they may keep their people at home, and yet

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Maine is within the charmed circle of American protection. In the United States as in other countries the large cities attract the rural and far-off population. Boston, New York and Philadelphia are larger, gayer and more attractive places ; in them is an aggregation of amusements unknown to the rural village, and therefore the younger portions of its population go to swell the numbers of the metropolis. So it is in the old world. The population of London has grown to be equal to that of all Scotland put together, and yet Scotland was under a protective system long enough. Almost every baker in London is a Scotchman, and every milkman a Welshman.

Again, sir, there has been the gold excitement of California and Australia. You hardly take up a *Punch* that does not contain a ludicrous joke on this subject. But on all hands it is admitted that never under the old protective system has England been as prosperous as she now is under that of free trade. Nova Scotia, then, is not singular in this. Her population have gone away to a certain extent, but so have the people of Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, of all the States of the Union ; of England, Ireland and Scotland. The tide set to California ; it is now setting to Australia : but those of our young men who have left their homes to seek gold had better have stayed at home. Within my own knowledge at least a dozen have lost health, constitution, life, or prospects, while but few have returned a pound better off than when they left ; and surely their minds and hearts are less open to contamination here, where peace, order and steady progressive industry distinguish this people, than among the gambling, unprincipled population and the various fascinations and temptations that abound in those distant regions. Show me the country, sir, where gold-fields exist that has ever arrived at extended civilization. Take Spanish America—the whole race of its native Indians destroyed, its people uneducated and immoral ; contrast that country with England. No gold is found within her borders, but she has iron, copper, coal and timber, ores and oehre, and stalwart men to work her mines and catch her fish. Rumours reach us of gold being found at Annapolis, at the Chaudière, and silver in Queens county. I trust in Heaven they may prove untrue. Nova Scotia, like England, has iron, coal and copper ; she has timber to build ships and fisheries to supply them with a hardy race, to make the most of these great natural resources. Let us, then, cease to invent libels upon our country, but make the most of the blessings of Providence, leaving those who prefer to seek adventures to push their fortunes abroad.

As to the cry of empty houses in Halifax, I had the curiosity to turn to the census in order that I might ascertain how we contrasted in this particular with other countries. The census of 1852 shows that there were in all Nova Scotia, 2028 uninhabited houses ; in the large county of Halifax, including the city, 316. [He then showed that in London, the metropolis of the world, there were in the parish of Marylebone 658 uninhabited houses ; in the Strand, the great thoroughfare of universal commerce, 537. That Windsor, with a population of 19,000 living under the very smile of royalty, had 307 empty

houses—about the same as the county of Halifax, with double the population. Stockport, with a population of less than one-third that of Nova Scotia, had 2599 uninhabited houses, or 570 more than were to be found in all this country. Bolton had 2274 empty houses, and a population of 113,712. Contrasted with Wales, Nova Scotia had largely the advantage; and taking Fifeshire, in Scotland, with its population of 150,000, about half that of Nova Scotia, it had 1076 empty houses, or about 100 in the whole above our proportion. In the city of Dublin, there were 1561 empty houses. In Wexford, 1108. In Antrim, 2674. In Londonderry, 2359. In Cork, 3688.] Let us hear no more then about empty houses being proof of decline in Nova Scotia. There are empty houses in every city in the world, and have been since the world began. In the largest and most prosperous they are often the most numerous, just as there are empty hats and boots for the same reason; because if the supply were not greater than the demand, people would sometimes go unsheltered, and sleep in the street.

The report professes a desire to put the manufacturers of Nova Scotia on a footing with those of other countries. What, sir, is the secret of the growth of American manufactures? Their boundless market and perfect freedom of trade with each other. A wooden nutmeg or a ham has the whole range of the Union for a market; a clock, a hat, anything that Yankee ingenuity invents may be sent into thirty States. Again, asks the report: Shall we buy from a people that will not buy from us? Why, sir, I have bought from many men that never purchased of me; I bought because I wanted what they had. Does the honourable and learned chairman mean that we should do without flour, corn, brooms, or rice, subjecting our people to inconvenience that we may retaliate on the Americans for not purchasing from us? But, sir, they do purchase from us. Where does all our coal, wood, potatoes, butter, fish, plaster, go but to the States of the Union? All that we have to export there finds a ready market. Jonathan is a pretty good customer after all. The report wants perfect freedom of trade; that, sir, is like perfect happiness—you must take as much of it as you can get. I have no doubt but that we should all desire to be perfectly happy, wealthy and healthy; but necessity compels us to obtain as much of what is good as we can. It has been said that a little learning is a dangerous thing; the honourable and learned gentleman would apply the same principle to free trade. I think if we cannot get a great deal, a little of either is much to be desired. He tells us that the consumer does not pay the duty. Suppose a Nova Scotian takes his plaster, grindstones, or other articles to the American market, sells them, and brings back the proceeds in Yankee notions; now he is met by a merely nominal duty here; but if twenty or twenty-five per cent. were imposed, would not the price of the article be enhanced to the buyer by the amount of duty levied? It would. The seller, in making up his costs and charges, would add the duty, and the price would be increased one-fourth. Therefore it is, sir, that I believe the consumer pays the duty. As to the famine of which the honourable and

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learned member for Pictou speaks, he reminds me of the Frenchman who went to the Court of Versailles to represent to the King the destitute state of some starving department. The King said, "You are a fine, portly man; have you lived in that department all your life?" "Yes," was the reply; and the King was pleased to refuse the application, placing more reliance upon the real picture of starvation presented in the person of the delegate than on the imaginative one he had drawn.

Look at the honourable member himself; he is a host, when used as an argument against the dreadful destitution of which he complains. Go into any part of Nova Scotia, and I will back the population for general comfort of condition and circumstances against the same classes in any country; yet, sir, by the report of this committee, we would be led to the conclusion that all was going to rack and ruin. I do not believe in such prognostications. I believe they give but a false colouring to the picture of our country; and that although the weevil and loss in the fisheries have been upon us, yet but in a few isolated instances is real want perceptible. Still further do I conceive the committee have erred in attributing the distress that does prevail to the system of trade now in operation. Let me exhibit a bird's-eye view of our commerce before the adoption of free trade; let me give a few facts to sober the fancy as a set-off against these flights of imagination. Sir, the honourable gentleman has been soaring above our heads like a balloon at a horticultural show, until dazzled by the height to which he has attained he has become rather unsteady and seems to require a little ballast that he may attain his equilibrium; the result may perhaps teach him not again to be emulous of the clouds. In 1852, says he, the imports were £222,347, the exports about £119,000. What were they in 1821 and 1828 under the old protective tariff? They were respectively £162,362 and £217,933, but little less than the present average. If our city is ruined and desolate now, was it not in a condition equally ruinous and desolate then? Surely these prophets should have flown from it as from Sodom or Gomorrah. Why did they not leave?

Mr. JOHNSTON: They got the worst of it, for not leaving the cities the honourable Provincial Secretary has mentioned.

Mr. HOWE: We did not suffer much; but if any unforeseen calamity does arise, surely the sufferers should be the false prophets from Pictou. We are not in the grievously awkward and destitute position that the honourable and learned member for Pictou would make out; he had better turn his attention to this subject more closely and make himself acquainted with the real facts of the case before attempting to stigmatize his country as he has done in this report. His argument reminds me much of a conversation said to have been held by Agricola with a despairing farmer from Cornwallis, who complained that he had no market. "Why," said Agricola, "what have you to sell? Any poultry, mutton, potatoes?" "No." "Any beef, cabbages, or turnips?" "No." Go into Annapolis and you will not find an egg, a chicken, or a pound

of butter, you will scarcely find a single article produced in the country, for which a ready and remunerative market is not at hand. The honourable member for Kings and I know his noble county well; and there never was a period when its people were more prosperous, when property was so fast becoming released from mortgage or when productions were so readily disposed of. Look at our fish trade; there is not a barrel left on our hands in the spring, whatever the catch. Instead, therefore, of grumbling and growling, I think it is the duty of Nova Scotians to elevate their country, if possible, in the eyes of their own people and of all the world.

[Mr. Howe then exhibited a tabular return showing a picture of our commerce in 1807, 1814, 1821, and 1828. By this it appeared that down to the latter period no Provincial port but Halifax had any foreign trade; that not a single vessel then entered or cleared for the United States from Yarmouth, Digby, Pictou, Sydney, Kings, Hants, or any other active centre of the American trade; while the consular certificates showed that, during the past year, voyages had been made by our own vessels from every port in Nova Scotia to the ports of that republic with which Mr. Wilkins declared the export trade had declined. Mr. Howe admitted that the exports would be more extensive if reciprocity or entire free trade could be secured; but as matters stood, the American consumers paid a large portion of the duty and all parts of the Province participated in a convenient and profitable traffic which it would be madness to destroy. Our exports to the United States, from all our ports, had now reached £266,850, or forty-four times what they were in 1828 under the old restrictive and protective system to which the learned member from Pictou wished to return.]

Again, says the report—"Property is of little or no value." Well, sir, I have always thought that to own anything that can be sold was to be worth something. But if the value of property depends upon protection, why did not this magic power increase its price previous to 1828. My mind again reverts to that period when fields were sold for £5000 that would now readily command £50,000, and when the whole of Granville Street could have been purchased for the value of two stores now situated in it. Since that period, Halifax and Dartmouth have doubled in size. New Glasgow and North Sydney, towns that have sprung up, a result of our coal trade with the American Union, did not then exist; Yarmouth was a scattered village; Pugwash a hamlet of half-a-dozen houses; Hantsport was unknown, and not a single square-rigged vessel was owned in the Basin of Minas. In what quarter of Nova Scotia, then, has property depreciated in value? Surely here as elsewhere the increase of population and the construction of new property on the face of the soil will enhance the intrinsic value of the soil itself. Our population has nearly trebled since that period, and in a fair ratio property has increased in value. But I must pass on. The report says,—“You import more than you export; therefore your country is going to ruin”; this notion, like the story of the philosopher's stone, has deluded the world long

enough, for hardly can a country be found the imports of which do not appear to be greater than its exports.

There is another extraordinary fallacy, among many with which this report abounds, and these combined with its sonorous and grand sentences, propounded with an air of entire truthfulness, are well calculated to mislead those who are too indolent to investigate for themselves. Now for a politico-economic axiom: "The price of property is regulated by the quantity of money in the market." Indeed? Take California; there gold and gold-dust are the common productions of the country; there flour has risen as high in price as forty-five dollars per barrel, because it was not plentiful. Cast the wealth of Golconda upon a desolate island, will it add to its value? No! They pay as high as four dollars for a goose in Australia.

Mr. M. I. WILKINS: Because money is plentiful.

Mr. HOWE: No! I say because geese are scarce. Let gold flow in large quantities into a country, and with every other commodity it will depreciate in value; and although a party may obtain a larger quantity of the precious metal for the article he sells, yet the real value will not be greater than that of the smaller quantity when the gold was less plentiful. And then the report would terrify us with the picture of some fabulous giant in armour, crushing us for admitting foreign manufactures into our markets; but why not admit them if they are required? The report says, because a multitude of manufacturing labourers would be called into existence. Suppose they could, would he have the farmer of Cumberland, Pictou, Annapolis, Kings, forsake his implements of husbandry; the fishermen of Sambro or the Gut forsake his nets and seines and the calm content and even equality of fortune they enjoy, to become like the manufacturing labourers of England or of the neighbouring Union? Would he oblige our fishermen or farmers to pay a large sum for the articles needed in their households that they might maintain somebody else? Sir, I hope not; I would desire them to purchase what they require wherever it can be obtained cheapest. Obtain protection, says the honourable and learned member for Pictou, and money will become abundant and wages high. To show the absurdity of this doctrine let me give him but the example of the United States in which protectionist principles are rife. About eighteen months ago specie was so scarce that the best commercial paper could not be discounted at less than from ten to fifteen per cent., while six per cent. is the highest rate ever asked in Nova Scotia; and everybody knows that the wages received by our labouring classes are at all events equal to the sums paid in the United States. And this with all the gold California has thrown into the Union. There is another curious paragraph; Oh, says he, we will protect the fishermen. How? By giving them bounties? Oh! no, sir, but by preventing the Americans from fishing on our grounds. Have we not done so already, and is it not our intention to carry out what we have commenced? It is; therefore let him not credit protection with what free trade is doing.

But the object is palpable. He sees that to foster those branches of

industry which he regards with peculiar respect, it is necessary to tax all others; and therefore he gives to the fishermen this one drop of comfort as compensation for the burdens he intends imposing upon them.

The assertion in the report that, if the present system be continued, "the population would be thinned down to the aged, infirm, and others, who, in consequence of poverty and the peculiarity of their circumstances, have neither the means nor ability to leave the country," is a foul libel on Nova Scotia. Such assertions, daily made or repeated by those who ought to know better, are calculated if not intended to break the spirit of the people at home and to depreciate the character and resources of the Province abroad. The learned member for Pictou is a false prophet of evil, which exists only in his own imagination. Out of his own mouth I cannot convict him, for there comes so little out of it to enable one to construct a rational argument about anything, but I will convict him out of his own county. [Mr. Howe then took the census of Pictou for 1829, and showed that in that year it contained but 13,949 souls.] This was in the good old protective times before free trade commenced. Of course, under the ruinous system which the learned member denounced, the House would expect to find the county depopulated and nobody left but the "aged, the infirm and the poor." What is the fact? That, not counting the restless or adventurous whom she has thrown off to other countries—to the United States, to California and to Australia, Pictou contained in 1852, 25,593 souls, having doubled her population in twenty-four years.

Now, sir, besides this, I can show to the honourable and learned gentleman that Pictou has increased in wealth as well as population. He will admit, of course, that every acre of ground cleared and tilled, every house and barn put up, every horse and ox, sheep or pig added to the farmer's stock, increases by its value the general wealth of the Province.

In 1828 the county of Pictou included but 49,181 acres of cleared land. It now has 103,562 acres. The increase, taken at the low rate of £5 an acre, would show that Pictou, to say nothing of buildings and other improvements, had added a quarter of a million to the value of her real estate in twenty-four years. Take the same ratio for the other seventeen counties, where the same thing has been going on, and then tell me that Nova Scotia is becoming poor and worthless. But not only has Pictou doubled her numbers and breadth of cultivation but advanced in every other element of wealth and profitable industry. In 1828 her cattle numbered 11,701. She has now 18,920 head. In 1828 she had but 1600 horses. She has now 4561. I would therefore tell the learned member who represents this fine county, that before sitting down to pen such an extraordinary production as that upon the table, it might be as well to inform himself as to its actual condition and to gather the most obvious and elementary materials for judging of the condition of our country.

Now, sir, suppose Scotland had acted on the principles which the honour-

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able and learned member would apply to this Province, would her sons have been as active, intelligent and wealthy? She drew no cordon around her, but allowed her sons to go abroad to see the world; some to the Indies, some to America; many of whom returned to the land of their birth with the accumulated wealth and experience they had acquired; and their country marks their track over the mountain wave with delight, rejoicing that they went abroad and on the wide field of the world fought their way up to eminence and wealth. Why, then, should our ears be assailed with these eternal lamentations whenever a Nova Scotian quits our soil, and why should those who remain in the old homestead be libelled, misrepresented and abused? Our sons go abroad to take their chance with the adventurous youth of all nations, animated by a natural desire to see the world and emulous of distancing their competitors in the race for wealth or fame.

Now, sir, our official returns show that down to 1828 no vessel could enter or clear out of any port but that of Halifax. I admit that in consequence of the change Halifax may not have advanced as rapidly as she otherwise would, but the other ports have been benefited in a degree more than compensating for her loss. I will now read a statement of our imports and exports for 1852, prepared by the honourable Financial Secretary. They were as follows:

## IMPORTS.

From Great Britain . . . . .	£427,532
„ United States . . . . .	347,843
„ British North American colonies . . . . .	243,041
„ British West Indies . . . . .	21,938
„ Other Countries . . . . .	153,819
Total . . . . .	£1,194,173

## EXPORTS.

To Great Britain . . . . .	£62,675
„ United States . . . . .	266,850
„ British North American colonies . . . . .	352,105
„ British West Indies . . . . .	214,034
„ Other Countries . . . . .	85,035
Total . . . . .	£980,699

From this it will appear that if we are carrying on a losing trade it is with John Bull and not Brother Jonathan. Our imports from Great Britain were £427,532; exports, £62,675: while our imports from the United States were £347,843; our exports, £266,850.

But, sir, the difference is more apparent than real. The exports were charged at home prices. Ninety-seven thousand barrels of mackerel which sold in the United States at £2 are charged at but £1 in the returns. Forty-nine thousand cords of wood, worth 20s. per cord across the bay, are set down



at 10s., and so with everything else. From these returns it will appear that the country which sold us the most and took the least was Great Britain; our imports being £427,532, and our exports but £62,675. If then we wait protection at all it would appear to be against our mother country. But, even in that direction, things are not really so bad as they appear. On the registry of Great Britain in 1847 there were 439 Nova Scotia built vessels, numbering 103,319 tons. Take these at £6 per ton, and the amount of export in an article which the returns did not include would amount to £619,914. Then there were the vessels built here and sold to the fishermen of Newfoundland, and the vessels built all around the shores of the Bay of Fundy, and sold to New Brunswick. The amount which Great Britain expends annually in maintaining the fleet and troops in the Province should also be set down to the credit side of the account. But even if our imports exceeded the exports, which they really did not, the labour of 300,000 people is expended annually upon the face of the soil; accumulated property in cleared land, buildings, stock and improvements, which are the real evidences of a country's advance and prosperity, constitute the stock in trade out of which, if we owe anything, we are able to pay.

Beside this, sir, there are the vessels built in our ports and floated over to New Brunswick, there rigged and hailing from that Province, but in point of fact being a real export from our own. Sir, had I had more time and been in better physical condition than I am, I should have gone more thoroughly into the subject; but I believe I have said enough to show that the report, the accuracy of which I have impugned, is not a correct picture of the condition of this Province or of the extent and nature of its trade in 1853, and should therefore not be placed on our journals. I may say to the honourable and learned member for Pictou that neither he nor I have received the training that would fit us for dealing with this subject. Is it not matter of fact that since Great Britain has repealed the navigation laws and thrown her ports and carrying trade open to the competition of the world, her shipping and tonnage have been steadily on the increase? It is. Sir, I admit that the time may arrive when the union of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia with the other Provinces may be necessary to compel the United States to grant us more extended freedom of trade. My mind has not yet come up even to that point. Surrounded as we are by the sea, I believe it is our true policy to give the freest scope to the maritime propensities of this people. Take Liverpool, Pictou, Arichat, Shelburne, Yarmouth and Digby; our duty is to connect these seaports with our agricultural and mining counties by good roads, that every facility for the exportation of our productions may be afforded. But, sir, I put it to the House whether the experience of the past has not taught us that if our impositions on foreign importations exceed a certain rate means will be found to evade their payment. You may impose your duties, you cannot collect them. It is a well-known principle that if your penal enactments be too severe, juries at once become lenient; and on the same principle, if you increase your tariff beyond what is rational and reason-

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able, the sympathies of the community are enlisted in favour of the smuggler. The commerce will be hampered east and west; you offer a bounty for a breach of the revenue laws. With these remarks, sir, I shall conclude, satisfied with having recalled the attention of the House to a sense of the magnitude of this subject, its vast importance and the great effect it will in future have in improving the condition of our people, in stimulating them to active exertion and adding to the general wealth of the Province.

For more than a year Mr. Howe had been assailed in the Opposition press. At a dinner given to him on June 29th by about two hundred and thirty of his constituents at Amherst, he paid these writers off, vindicating his own conduct on all the points on which it had been assailed, and carrying the war into the enemy's country with a great deal of energy and effect. The following extracts are taken from this speech :

I turn now with pleasure from mere personal defamation to the general charges which the Opposition bring against the Government. You hear it complained from day to day that it has ruined the Province. You look round upon a smiling and prosperous country and know that charge to be groundless. Never within my memory was Nova Scotia more prosperous. The breadth of cultivation is everywhere extending. New farmhouses, barns and mills are going up in all directions. The internal trade is active; new ships are building all round the coast, and our mercantile marine is profitably employed. Bad crops have but quickened the industry of the people. Prices are high, wages good, and the people cheerful. Where do the Tories find the evidences of ruin and decay? Not in Cumberland, I am sure. Not in the Eastern counties, from which I hear the most gratifying accounts. Not in Yarmouth, which launches a new vessel every week and finds employment for them all. Not in Kings, where a gentleman told me the other day that money was so abundant that he knew of £8000 or £10,000 lying in that single county which could not be invested at five per cent. Not in Halifax, where new shops are being opened and new houses are being built on every street. There, as everywhere else, public improvement keeps pace with private enterprise. Look at the edifice behind us as large as all the old hotels put together. In the capital a new barrack is being built, the citadel advances, a new market is in course of erection, a new court-house and lunatic asylum are already provided for, and the Common has been more embellished within the last two years than in half-a-century before. Let us hear no more, then, of the Tory twaddle about ruin and decay.

But it is said that you are living under a tyrannical Government. This I take leave to deny. There is not a man from end to end of the Province who can complain that his civil and religious rights are denied to him. There is not a man, however poor, of any sect or denomination, who has not free

access to every officer from the Lieutenant-Governor downwards. There is not a man or woman, a black man or an Indian, whose complaint is not promptly investigated, whose written or verbal communication is not treated with courtesy and respect. Long may such tyranny continue in Nova Scotia.

Turn to the public departments and you will find a new spirit breathed into them all. A few years ago you had no audit of accounts—even the treasurer audited his own. Now the inspection is perfect as it is prompt. Formerly a farmer would wait half a day to get a road account examined, with his team standing in the street. Now, no man who enters the Province Building leaves it till his accounts are audited and the cheque for his money is in his hand. Formerly your statistics were imperfect and the returns of your trade of little value. Now voluminous returns, showing the condition of every branch of industry, are laid upon the table of the House. With the lowest tariff in the world our revenue is steadily increasing, while new free ports have been opened in all directions, giving additional facilities to trade.

Look at the Post Office. A few years ago you paid 9d. on a letter from Amherst to Halifax, 1s. 6d. on one sent from Halifax to Sydney, 2s. 1d. if it was sent to Montreal. Now you can send a letter all over the Province, all over British America, for 3d., and yet with this reduction of postage, since the Liberal administration came into power, forty-six new rides have been set up, and seventy-three new post and way offices have been established, conferring upon numerous settlements and upon many thousands of the people the blessings of postal communication.

Look at the Land Offices. Formerly you had two, costing an enormous sum; and yet any man wishing to buy land had to travel to Halifax or Sydney with his money and make another journey to obtain his grant. Your deputy-surveyors gave no bonds, and often pocketed the money which ignorant people paid them. Now one department does the work at a moderate expense and in every county there is a deputy, under bonds, to whom money may be safely paid and through whose hands the grants when perfected are delivered to the people.

If you turn to the Board of Works you will find a number of miscellaneous services,—Sable Island, the penitentiary, lighthouses, public buildings, and vessels for the protection of the revenue and the fisheries, which were formerly managed or mismanaged by irresponsible commissioners, all combined under one methodical and responsible department, the work being better done at very much less expense. Of my own department, I will only say, that a Tory secretary, who represented no constituency, formerly cost the country about £1800 a year. Now the unfortunate wight who stands before you does all his work for £700, finding time to do much that he never thought of doing and representing the fine county of Cumberland besides.

But it may be said, "What have you done for Cumberland?" Reflect for a moment how little time Mr. Fulton and myself have had to do anything. The extra session was devoted to the railroad alone. During nearly the whole

of the session in 1852 we were running a second election. We have had but one session to mature any measure calmly. But have we done nothing? It used to be said, during the elections, "Oh! you will never see Howe's face again; he will never travel over the county and look at your roads and bridges." They knew little of me. Last summer I was twice in Cumberland. I rode over every part of the township of Parrsboro and through much of the township of Amherst, and traversed the shore from Pugwash to Malagash. I have just returned from a circuit nearly as extensive, in which I have visited Point de Bute, Bay de Verte, Tidnish, River Philip, Leicester, Little River, and Pugwash. These rides I shall continue till I have the whole county in my head. Nor have these rambles been barren of results. For years had Cumberland paid light duties and yet had not a lighthouse on either of her coasts. Now a new lighthouse at Parrsboro, built last year, sends its beams far out over the Basin of Minas, and we must have another at Pugwash by-and-by. For twenty years a bridge across the River Philip had been talked of by the people and promised by the Tories. They would have promised it for twenty years more. Fulton and I provided for it the very first session that we represented the county together. Already are the piers completed, and by the end of September the whole will be done. The House gave us £300; the bridge will cost £1600, but before the end of autumn we shall have the happiness to contemplate the finest public work ever constructed in the county and which will connect all the thriving settlements on the northern shore together in all time to come. Yet we have not been unmindful of other parts of the county. Bent's Hill, the worst upon the post road, has been altered. A new line from Half-way River to Parrsboro has been surveyed, and, after this season, we travel the Fullerton hills no more. Next year we shall attack the hills between Pugsley's and Maccan. The whole coast line from Advocate Harbour to Colchester has been surveyed, and as soon as the River Philip Bridge is paid for we shall show you a new line on the Parrsboro shores.

But you ask me, "What about the railroad?" Well, I have no information to give more than all the world has. I know that it has been said, "How dare not come to Cumberland, now that his railway policy has failed." But here I am, and neither afraid nor ashamed to defend any act I have done and every word I have said in reference to the railways. After all that has been written and said upon the subject, after all the phases the question has assumed, is there a sane man in North America who will assert that my original scheme of borrowing the money at three and a half per cent. under the guarantee of the Imperial Government, and constructing the railways as Government works was not far superior to any other that has yet been proposed? If I failed to carry out that scheme, I am proud that for two years I struggled to accomplish it with all my might and with the sincerity of an honest conviction. But why did I fail? Is there a man here who blames me? Is there a man who does not feel that I failed because the interests of powerful parties in England who wanted to make money out of those roads were opposed to the

interests of the Provinces? You may remember that all through the summer and winter elections we were told, "Howe is going to ruin the Province with his railway scheme." Mark, now; my scheme was to build them with money at three and a half per cent. and to let the people own them. That was to bring ruin on us all. I hold in my hand the prospectus of the Canada Grand Trunk Railway Company. Now what have they published to all the world, after, we are told, careful surveys and estimates? Why, that, made with money or bonds bearing interest at six per cent., the Grand Trunk Railway, which was to ruin us if made with money at three and a half, will not only pay all expenses, but yield a clear profit of eleven and a half per cent. besides. Now, assume that statement to be true, and what are the inevitable conclusions; that all the tales of mischief and ruin to arise from making railroads, spoken and published by the Opposition in 1851, 1852 and 1853, were baseless fabrications; and that the motive was to put this eleven and a half per cent. into their own pockets, that ought to have been a permanent source of revenue to the people of British America, lightening their taxation and ultimately giving them railroads as free as their common highways are now. Yes, my friends, this was the motive: and when you calculate eleven and a half per cent. on millions of money, besides contractors' profits, you need not seek far for the reasons which disturbed my policy in 1851.

The interests of a few members of Parliament and rich contractors in England were on one side, and the interests of the colonists on the other; and in such a case there was no great difficulty in giving two meanings to a despatch or in telling a Nova Scotian with no seat in Parliament or connections or influence in England that he had made a mistake. Who doubts, then, that down to 1852 my policy was sound, and who blames me that powerful combinations in England, and no fault of mine, caused it to miscarry? And what care I for the taunts and slanders of those recreant Nova Scotians who, combining with these speculators against their country, hope to put some portion of the eleven and a half per cent. into their own pockets? My defence of my conduct in 1852 is soon made. Hincks and Chandler came to Nova Scotia in that year to induce us to adopt the line by the valley of the St. John. I resisted that line as long as I could, and their line was subsequently condemned by the British Government and pronounced impracticable by Mr. Jackson's surveyors. They went to England, and you know well the reasons why I could not go. They did the best they could for their several Provinces, and I have never blamed them for what they did. But, as Nova Scotia was unpledged by their arrangements and had six months to review her position, I saw clearly that she could do better—that she could upon her own credit and without any imperial guarantee carry out her original policy and make, control and own her own railroads. I saw, also, that it was for the interest of all the Provinces to have competition and to cheapen the cost of their public works. With this view I laboured down to the middle of last session. When that session opened, the money was ready on the credit of the Province alone to build all our railroads.

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Contractors were ready to build them for twenty per cent. less than New Brunswick and Canada were to pay. In ten days the bills might have been passed ; in ten more the contracts would have been signed, and five hundred men might now have been upon the lines. Again, the interests of rich contractors and scheming attorneys clashed with the interests of the Province and united the opposition to a man. I could have beaten them notwithstanding, had not one or two persons, calling themselves Liberals, conspired with the enemy to destroy our bills and to dash down the hopes and prospects of their own party at the proudest moment of its political history. This work accomplished, the combined opposition were powerless for good. They could neither form a Government nor build a railroad. To secure a party triumph, they promised that Mr. Jackson would build the three roads and pay us interest at six per cent. for any bonds the Province gave him. I did not believe that he could do this ; I do not believe it now ; but the moment that his friends put that pledge in writing we accepted it and a compromise was the result. That compromise we shall stand by in good faith. If Mr. Jackson or anybody else will form a company and construct the railroads under the Act of Incorporation which has been passed, the Government will give them every fair co-operation. But, should no company be formed, the alternative bills come into operation and the roads will be built as originally proposed. The day is far distant, my friends, when I shall be ashamed of my railway policy or afraid to discuss it in any part of Nova Scotia. Against fearful odds I have battled for the general interests, and if I have not done all that I wished, I have at least done all that I could.

## CHAPTER XXII

1854

Hon. L. M. Wilkins supports Mr. Howe's railway policy—Railways to New Brunswick frontier, to Pictou and to Windsor to be constructed—Railway commissioners appointed—Mr. Howe's speech on the Organization of the Empire—Mr. Howe resigns office of Provincial Secretary and is appointed chairman of the Railway Board—Speech on Address to the Queen—Governor's closing speech—Industrial Exhibition : Mr. Howe's poem : " Our Fathers."

WHEN the House met on January 26th, 1854, it was quite apparent that the Province had lost a year by relying upon the promises of the Opposition, that Mr. Jackson had abandoned the field, and that, if railroads were to be made, they could only be secured by pledging the public funds for their construction. Mr. L. M. Wilkins, member for Windsor, acknowledged his conversion to Mr. Howe's views and tendered his support to the Government. His example was followed by some other gentlemen ; and, before the session closed, the laws under which our railways have been constructed were matured and passed. By these the Government was authorized to construct three railways :

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A trunk line from Halifax to Pictou, to connect the capital with the eastern counties, to tap the trade of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and to secure the export of coal from the Albion and any other mines that might be opened along the track, during the winter months, when the Gulf is closed by ice ;

A line, running westward to Windsor and onward through the western counties to Digby, connecting Halifax with the Basin of Minas at either or both points and ensuring easy and rapid communication with St. John, New Brunswick, Portland, and the whole railway systems of Canada and the United States ;

A line from Truro to the frontier of New Brunswick, to form part of any intercolonial line that Canada and that Province might hereafter make.

These works were to be constructed under the supervision of six commissioners to be appointed by the Government. The funds were to be raised by the issue of Provincial debentures, for the

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payment of the interest and principal of which the Provincial revenues, with the revenues of the roads, were pledged. The Government were empowered to complete such sections first as were most required, and were limited to the expenditure of a million pounds currency until the experiment was fairly tried.

The political Opposition exhausted all their resources in order to defeat these bills, but they were finally carried through both branches and received the royal assent.

On the 23rd of February a motion was brought forward by Mr. J. W. Johnston, the leader of the Opposition, to promote a union of the Provinces of British North America. Mr. Howe, speaking to the motion, on the 24th of February delivered a speech on the Organization of the Empire, which has been justly regarded as very able. It was extensively circulated and much admired on this side of the Atlantic at the time of its delivery: and, when republished in England in 1855, attracted a great deal of attention from the metropolitan and provincial press of the mother country:

MR. CHAIRMAN,—Had the Government brought this question here, my honourable friend from Londonderry might have charged upon us the selection of an inappropriate season or disregard of the pressure and strain of public business already tasking the industry of this Assembly. But, sir, this resolution has been brought here by the leader of the Opposition, and we are challenged to discuss it. Perhaps if we had introduced the measure, it might not have been met in the spirit which I trust we shall display. One-half of the House might have fancied that some sinister design lurked within the resolution and the supposed interests of party might have combined them against it. But I desire to treat the gentleman with more courtesy—the resolution, with the consideration it deserves; and I trust that the day is yet far distant in Nova Scotia, when questions of transcendent importance will be entangled in the meshes of party or fail to challenge, no matter whence they emanate, earnest and thoughtful investigation in this Assembly. Sir, I differ with my honourable friend from Londonderry, and with all those who are disposed to treat this subject lightly. Come from whose hand it may, the resolution before the committee opens up for discussion the broadest field, the noblest subject, ever presented to the consideration of this Legislature. A day or even a week may be well spent upon such a theme. If, sir, such topics were oftener presented here, our ideas would expand beyond the charmed, it may be, but the contracted circle of party disputations; our debates would assume a higher tone; and the hopes and aspirations of our people, clustering around their firesides, would point to interests more enduring than even the result of half our controversies—some poorly paid office or paltry Provincial distinction.



Sir, I regret not the time which this question will engross, but my inability to do it justice. When the prophets and orators of old were about to discourse of the destinies of nations, they retired to the mountains or by the streams, to meditate; they communed in the abundance of their leisure with God above, and caught their inspiration alike from the tranquillity which enabled them to penetrate the dispensations of His Providence, and from the phenomena of nature all around them; a communion which tinged with beauty the "thoughts that breathe, and words that burn," which have come streaming down, like lines of light, even to the present hour. They were often untrammelled by daily duties and human obligations. Borne down by official labour and responsibilities of various kinds, I feel that for me at least the occasion of this discussion is inauspicious. Believe me, sir, that my obligations to my Sovereign as her sworn councillor, to the head of the Government as his constitutional adviser, and to the party with which I act, press heavily upon me. But yet, rising with the magnitude of this great theme, I shall endeavour to catch its inspiration; remembering only that I am a Nova Scotian, a son of a loyalist, a North American, a true subject of the Queen; but one whose allegiance, to be perfect, must include every attribute of manhood, every privilege of the empire.

Sir, I wish that my leisure had been greater that I might have brought before you the ripened fruits of meditation, the illustrative stores of history which research only can accumulate. In no vain spirit do I wish also that the sentiments which I am about to utter might be heard and pondered, not only as they will be by those who inhabit half this continent, but by members of the British Parliament, by imperial statesmen, by the councillors who stand around, and by the gracious Sovereign who sits upon the throne. Perhaps this may not be. Yet I believe that the day is not distant, when our sons, standing in our places, trained in the enjoyment of public liberty by those who have gone before them, and compelled to be statesmen by the throbbing of their British blood and by the necessities of their position, will be heard across the Atlantic; and will utter to each other and to all the world, sentiments which to-day, Mr. Chairman, may fall with an air of novelty upon your ear. I am not sure, sir, that even out of this discussion may not arise a spirit of union and elevation of thought that may lead North America to cast aside her colonial habiliments, to put on national aspects, to assert national claims and prepare to assume national obligations. Come what may, I do not hesitate to express the hope that from this day she will aspire to consolidation as an integral portion of the realm of England, or assert her claims to a national existence.

Sir, the first question which we men of the North must put to ourselves is, "Have we a territory broad enough of which to make a nation?" At the risk of travelling over some of the ground trodden yesterday by the learned member for Annapolis, I think it can be shown that we have. Beneath, around and behind us, stretching away from the Atlantic to the Pacific, are 4,000,000

CHAP. XXII square miles of territory. All Europe, with its family of nations, contains but  
 — 3,708,000, or 292,000 miles less. The United States include 3,330,572 square  
 1854 miles, or 769,128 less than British America. Sir, I often smile when I hear  
 some vainglorious republican exclaiming :

“ No pent-up Utica contracts our powers,  
 The whole unbounded continent is ours ! ”

forgetting that the largest portion does not belong to him at all, but to us, the men of the North, whose descendants will control its destinies for ever. Sir, the whole globe contains but 37,000,000 square miles. We North Americans, living under the British flag, have one-ninth of the whole, and this ought to give us “ ample room and verge enough ” for the accommodation and support of a countless population. It is true that all this territory is not yet politically organized, but—

Canada includes . . . . .	400,000 square miles,
New Brunswick . . . . .	28,000
Nova Scotia . . . . .	19,000
Prince Edward Island . . . . .	2,000
Newfoundland . . . . .	37,000
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Making in all . . . . .	486,000 square miles,

which have settled landmarks and are controlled by Provincial legislation. Throwing out of consideration the unorganized territory behind, let me show you by comparison what the rest includes. The great Province of Canada is equal in size to Great Britain, France and Prussia. Charmed by her classic recollections, how apt are we to magnify everything in the old world, and to imagine that Providence has been kind to her alone. Yet the noble St. Lawrence is equal in proportions to the Nile—the great granary of the East, which from the days of the patriarchs has fed millions with its produce. Take the Italian’s Po, the Frenchman’s Rhone, the Englishman’s Thames, the German’s Rhine, and the Spaniard’s Tagus, and roll them all into one channel, and you then only have a stream equal to the St. Lawrence. The great lakes of Canada are larger in volume than the Caspian Sea ; and the Gulf of St. Lawrence (with which we are so familiar that we forget what it is) contains a surface of 100,000 square miles and is as large as the Black Sea, on which the proud fleets of four hostile nations may at this very moment be engaged. Accustomed to think and feel as colonists, it is difficult for us to imagine that the Baltic, illustrated by Nelson’s achievements and Campbell’s verse, is not something different from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and yet it is not. Its dimensions are about the same ; its climate rigorous ; its coasts originally sterile ; and the sea-kings and warriors who came out of it, made of no better stuff than are the men who shoot seals on the ice flakes of Newfoundland, till farms on the green hills of Pictou, or fell trees in the forests of New Brunswick.

But, sir, let us confine our attention for a few moments to the Maritime Provinces alone. Of these you rarely hear in the mother country. If an Englishman thinks of North America at all, he divides it between Canada and the United States. Except in some sets and circles, chiefly mercantile, you rarely hear of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, or Newfoundland. The learned member for Annapolis truly described the colonial condition when he stated that in the estimation of our fellow-subjects at home, a colonist is nothing. But, with God's blessing, we will wipe away the invidious distinction. The Maritime Provinces alone cover 86,000 square miles of territory. They are half as large again as England and Scotland together. They are as large as Holland, Greece, Belgium, Portugal, and Switzerland, all put together. New Brunswick alone is as large as the kingdom of Sardinia, and even Nova Scotia is larger than Switzerland.

Mr. Chairman, I listened with genuine pleasure to the member for Annapolis when he spoke as he did yesterday of the resources of Nova Scotia. I do not so listen to him when, misguided by passion, he disparages his country that he may have a fling at its Government. I have said that Nova Scotia is as large as Switzerland, a country which has maintained its freedom for ages, surrounded by European despotisms. If it be answered that Switzerland owes her national existence to her inaccessible mountains, then I say that Nova Scotia is as large as Holland, which with a level surface did the same.

The Hollanders, who almost won from the sea a country no larger than ours, defied the whole power of the Spanish monarchy, swept the British Channel with their brooms, and for a century monopolized the rich commerce of the Eastern Islands which they had subdued by their enterprise and valour. Our country is as large as theirs, and let us not be told, then, that we are getting on stilts, when we either point to the resources which past industry has but imperfectly developed, or foreshadow that future which looms before us, so full of hope and promise. Why, sir, even little Prince Edward Island is larger than all the Ionian Islands put together, and yet they are more thought of by European diplomatists than are our Provinces, only because they sometimes indulge themselves in the dignity of insurrection.

But it may be said, "What is extent of territory if it be a howling wilderness? If you have not the population, you can aspire to no national existence." Let us see, sir, if we have not men enough to assert and to maintain any status to which we may aspire.

Canada contains . . . . .	1,842,264 inhabitants
New Brunswick . . . . .	200,000
Nova Scotia . . . . .	300,000
Newfoundland . . . . .	100,000
Prince Edward Island . . . . .	75,000
	<hr/>
	2,517,264

Yet, after all, it may be retorted, what are two millions and a half of people? Not many, indeed, but everything must be tested by comparison. What have two millions and a half of people done? That is the question. Take Scotland, for example; she has but 2,620,000 now. Yet will any man assert, if Scotland desired a distinct national existence, if the old lion which *Punch* affects to laugh at were really angry, that Scotsmen would hesitate to unfurl the old flag and draw the broad claymore?

True it is that Scotland has not her separate Legislature; but she has what we have not,—and to this point I shall shortly turn the attention of the committee,—her fifty-three members to represent her interests in the Imperial Parliament. British America with an equal population has not one.

Turn to our own continent, and, by way of example, take the State of Ohio. She has but a million and a half of people, yet she has not only her State Legislature and Government as we have, but sends nineteen members to the National Congress. She is a sovereign State, but she forms a part of a great confederacy, and her nineteen members guard her interests in the discussions which touch the whole, as ours are not guarded in the great council of the empire of which we form a part. Will North Americans long be satisfied with less than every State of the Union claims?

Turning again to Europe, we find Saxony, that centuries ago gave conquerors and kings to England, has but 1,757,000 inhabitants. Würtemberg, with about the same population, is a kingdom, with its European potentate at its head, its court, its standing army, its foreign alliance. Denmark, which also gave kings and ravagers to England, and has maintained her national position from the days of Canute to our own, has but 2,212,074 inhabitants. Yet her court is respected; her alliance courted; she maintains a peace establishment of 25,000 men, which is raised to 75,000 in time of war. Look at Greece—

“The Isles of Greece—the Isles of Greece,  
Where burning Sappho loved and sung”—

Greece that broke the power of Xerxes, and for arts, arms, oratory, poetry and civilization, stands pre-eminent among ancient states. Greece, at this moment, has her king, who reigns over but 936,000 subjects. But, sir, does extent of territory make a nation? Never. Numbers of people? No. What then? The spirit which animates; the discipline that renders them invincible. There were but three hundred men at the Pass of Thermopylæ; yet they stopped an army, and their glory streams down the page of history, while millions of slaves have lived and died and are forgotten. Glance at Portugal; she numbers less than three and a half millions (3,412,000), and yet, when she had a much smaller population, her mariners explored the African coast, found their way round the stormy Cape, and founded in the East a political and religious ascendancy which lasted for a hundred years. We North Americans sit down and read the exploits of Gustavus Vasa or of Charles the

Twelfth of Sweden. We wonder at the prowess of those Norman adventurers who carved out kingdoms with their conquering swords, and founded dynasties in France, Italy and England. Yet we are apt to forget that Sweden and Norway together have but 4,306,650 souls, and that the mingled blood of the Scandinavian and the Saxon courses through our veins. The men who are felling pine trees upon the Saguenay or catching fish in our Baltic would make good sea-kings to-morrow, if plunder and not commerce were the order of the day. Let us, in Heaven's name, then, throw aside our stupid devotion to historic contemplation and look the realities of our own position fairly in the face.

Sir, I have spoken of Switzerland, but I forgot one striking fact; that with a population less than that of British America at this moment, she has not only maintained her nationality, but has sent armed warriors to fight the battles of half the states of Europe.

Let me now turn your attention to South America. Here we find a cluster of states, certainly not more intelligent or more deserving, but all challenging and enjoying a higher status than our own. Let us group them:

Venezuela . . . . .	1,000,000 people
New Granada . . . . .	1,678,000
Ecuador . . . . .	600,000
Peru . . . . .	1,373,000
Bolivia . . . . .	1,700,000
Chili . . . . .	1,200,000
Buenos Ayres . . . . .	675,000

Some of these countries are, in education and political knowledge, beneath contempt; not one of them contains two millions of people, yet all of them not only manage or mismanage their internal affairs, but form alliances, exchange diplomatic representatives, and control their foreign relations. Is there a British statesman, then, with a head on his shoulders, who, looking at what North America is and must become, but must feel the necessity for binding her to the empire by some enlightened provision for the protection of her material interests, for the gratification of her legitimate ambition?

Sir, a country must have resources as well as breadth of soil. Are we destitute of these? I think not. Between the extremes of cold and heat lies a broad region peculiarly adapted for the growth of wheat. About half of this—the peninsula formed by the great lakes—belongs to Canada. The soil of Lower Canada, of New Brunswick, and of Prince Edward Island, if less fertile, is still productive. Boundless forests supply us with materials for ships and with an inexhaustible export. Are there no mineral resources? I believe that the riches of the copper mines of Lake Superior have scarcely yet been dreamed of. We know that in the Lower Provinces we have iron and coal in abundance. I have spoken of the St. Lawrence; but have we no other navigable rivers? What shall we say of the noble Ottawa, the beautiful Richelieu, the deep Saguenay? What of the broad Miramichi, of the lovely St. John? Nova Scotia, being nearly an island, has no mighty

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rivers, but she has what is better than them all—open harbours throughout the year. She has old ocean wrapping her round with loving embracements, drawing down from every creek and cove and harbour her children to share the treasures of an exhaustless fishery or to carry commodities across her bosom. Though not large, how beautiful and diversified are the lakes and streams which everywhere glad the eye and give to our country water-carriage and water-power in every section of the interior! Already Nova Scotia has shown what she can draw from a soil of generous fertility, what she can do upon the sea. Sir, I am not a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, and my head will be cold long before my prediction is verified; but I know that the day must come when Nova Scotia, small as she is, will maintain half a million of men upon the sea. Already is she becoming remarked and remarkable for her enterprise. Taking her tonnage and applying to all the other Provinces her ratio of increase since 1846, they collectively own 6139 vessels, measuring 453,000 tons. We are perpetually told of the progress made by the great republic; and the learned member for Annapolis ascribes all their prosperity to their union. But the North American Provinces have not been united, and yet they own as much tonnage as the fifteen of the United States which I am about to name.

I take North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Oregon and California; and, altogether, they own only 453,946 tons of shipping, or but 946 tons more than the five North American Provinces, which have no union, no national existence, no control over their foreign relations, no representation in the national councils of the empire to which they belong. I may be told that some of these states raise more corn, cotton or tobacco, or have more manufactures than we have. I care not for these. Since the world began, the nation that had the most ships has had the most influence. Maritime countries ever take the lead in freedom, in commerce, in wealth and true civilization. Sir, let not the member for Annapolis, while he directs our attention to higher objects, fail to see in the maritime position which his country has achieved unmistakable evidence of her energy and her enterprise. And let it ever be borne in mind that the United States were a century in advance of us in point of time and that they came into possession of all the property that the loyalists left behind them. But, sir, take the combined tonnage of North America, and you will find that it equals that of Holland, Belgium, and the Two Sicilies, three of the maritime powers of Europe. Who then will say that we have not a mercantile marine wherewith to endow a nation?

Scotland maintains upon the Clyde the greatest manufactory of ships in the world. Vessels glide up and down that beautiful stream like swallows round a barn. Scarcely a moment passes, but richly laden vessels arrive or depart with domestic manufactures or the products of foreign climes. Go into the factories where the mighty engines for her steamers are wrought, and the noise of the fabled Cyclops' cave is realised. The roar of waters behind Niagara Falls is scarcely more incessant or more deafening. And yet, sir, the

tonnage of Scotland is only a trifle more than that of the North American Provinces. Her whole commercial marine included but 522,222 tons in 1853.

At the risk of being tedious, let me now turn your attention to two or three curious historical facts illustrative of this argument. Since we were boys we have all read of the Spanish Armada. We all have heard of Queen Elizabeth reviewing her land and sea forces, and preparing with grave doubts in her royal mind to defend her sea-girt isle against the foreign invaders. This was in 1588. We read in old chronicles that England then owned but 135 merchant ships. But then some were "of great size," some 400 tons, and a few reaching 500 tons! If my friend George McKenzie of New Glasgow had dashed into the midst of the Maiden Queen's navy, with his 1444-ton ships, I fear that he would have shaken her nerves and astonished our forefathers, of whose exploits we are so enamoured that we never think of our own. Sir, in 1702, the mercantile marine of England and Wales included only 261,229 tons; and even as late as 1750, not a century ago, it was but 433,922: less than the tonnage of North America at this moment. And yet, for ten centuries prior to that period, they had maintained an independent national existence.

Let me now inquire, Mr. Chairman, whether or not we have other elements upon which to rest our claims. Is there any reason to fear that our ships will rot in the docks for want of commodities to carry or of commercial activity? Look at our imports for 1853:

Canada . . . . .	£8,200,640
Nova Scotia . . . . .	1,194,175
New Brunswick, 1852 . . . . .	1,110,600
Newfoundland, 1852 . . . . .	795,738
Prince Edward Island . . . . .	298,543
	<hr/>
	£11,599,696

The imports of the whole United States in 1791, sixteen years after they had established their independence, only amounted to \$52,000,000, but a trifle over what ours are at the present time. Yet with that limited amount of commerce, they had gone through a bloody and expensive war with one of the foremost nations of the world, whose statesmen, unfortunately, still go on dreaming that they can keep continents filled with freemen, without making any provision for their incorporation into the realm or for securing to them any control over their foreign relations.

Let me now turn your attention to the exports of British America:

Canada . . . . .	£5,570,000
Nova Scotia . . . . .	970,780
New Brunswick, 1852 . . . . .	796,335
Prince Edward Island (about) . . . . .	242,675
Newfoundland . . . . .	965,772
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	£8,545,562

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And if we add to this amount another million for the value of new ships annually built and sold, we may take the whole at £9,545,562. Turn again to the statistics of the United States for 1791, and you will perceive that sixteen years after they had declared their independence their exports amounted to but \$19,000,000, or about half the value of our own.

Glance again at the parent state, from whom we have learnt so much and to whose history we always recur with interest. She occupies a proud position now; but what was she, commercially, a few centuries ago?

In 1354, when the Black Prince was carrying the conquering arms of England half over France, her exports were but £212,338; less than one fourth of what the exports of Nova Scotia are now. Turn to the period of the civil wars, when the people of England felt strong enough to dethrone a king and cut off his head—when Cromwell's Puritan sea-warriors so raised the national character abroad that an Englishman was secure and respected in every quarter of the globe. How limited was the trade of England then. Even after the Restoration, so late as 1669, the exports of England and Wales only amounted to £2,063,294. I have another remarkable contrast for you, Mr. Chairman. In 1688 England secured, for the first time in her history, that system of acknowledged accountability which we call responsible government. Now, from 1698 to 1701 the average exports of England and Wales did not exceed £6,449,394; less than our own by two millions; not more than ours were when we claimed and established the same political safeguards. The exports of England in 1850 had risen to £175,416,000. Expanding with the principles of unrestricted commerce, their value must now be above £200,000,000. While then we look back at her days of decrepitude, let us borrow hope from her small beginnings and cherish the freedom and self-reliance which have ensured her prosperity.

But it may be said, if you are going to look like a nation—if you wish to put on the aspect of a great combined people—you must have some revenues to support your pretensions. Well, sir, look at the revenues of these Provinces under tariffs remarkably low:

Canada collects . . . . .	£1,053,026
Nova Scotia . . . . .	125,000
New Brunswick . . . . .	180,000
Prince Edward Island . . . . .	35,345
Newfoundland . . . . .	84,323
	<hr/>
	£1,477,694

We raise this amount now without any extraordinary effort, with but a very inefficient force to collect it, without anybody feeling that it is collected. The sum is not large, but other people, even in trying times, have had less; and see what they have done with what they had. Take the United States. At the Declaration of Independence the revenue of the thirteen States was but \$4,771,000, or £1,200,000; so that when those thirteen colonies entered upon



a mighty struggle with the parent state they had less revenue by £300,000 than these five Provinces have now. But, sir, we are told every now and then that there is something in these northern regions adverse to the increase of population; that the Mayflower may flourish under our snow-drifts, but that children will not; that, compared with the procreative powers of the "sunny south," here they must be "few and far between." I deny the impeachment. In the North marriage is a necessity of nature. In the South a man may do without a wife; but in the long cold nights of our winters he cannot sleep alone. Large, vigorous, healthy families spring from feather beds in which Jack Frost compels people to lie close. The honourable member for Annapolis showed us yesterday that the inhabitants of Canada have increased sixty-eight per cent. in ten years. New Brunswick has advanced in about the same ratio, while Nova Scotia has quintupled her population in fifty years. At the same rate of increase Nova Scotia will count her population by millions before a new century begins, and British America—taking every means of calculation into account—will probably then contain at least ten millions of people. ✓✓

If then, Mr. Chairman, the British and colonial statesmen of the present day, cordially co-operating, do not incorporate this people into the British Empire or make a nation of them, they will long before their numbers have swelled so much make a nation of themselves. Let me not be misunderstood, sir; I shall say nothing here that I would not utter in the presence of the Queen. If disposed to declare our independence to-morrow, I do not believe that Her Majesty's Government would attempt to prevent us by force. If they did, they would fail. But what I want them to understand is this, that they lost one-half of this continent from not comprehending it; and that just so sure as they expect the sentiment of loyalty to attach the other half to England, while the people of two small islands divide the distinctions and the influence of empire among them, they will by-and-by be awakened by the peaceful organization of a great country, whose inhabitants must be Britons in every sense of the word, or something more.

This may seem to be vain and arrogant language, and I may be asked to support it by some reference to the *ultima ratio* of nations—physical force. Taking our population at two millions and a half, every fifth person should be able to draw a trigger, giving 500,000 men capable of bearing arms. Such a force would be powerless as an invading army, but in defence of these Provinces, invincible by any force that could be sent from abroad. Put into these men the spirit which animated the Greek, the Roman, the Dutchman, or the Swiss; let them feel that they are to protect their own hearthstones; and my word for it, the heroic blood which beats in their veins will be true to its characteristics. How often have we heard that our republican neighbours "down south" were going to overrun the Provinces. They have attempted it once or twice, but have always been beaten out, and I do not hesitate to say that the British Americans over whom the old flag flies are able to defend every inch of their territory, even though Her Majesty's troops were with-

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drawn. Indeed, sir, if these 500,000 men are not able to defend their country, they deserve to be trodden down and made slaves of for the rest of their natural lives.

Why, sir, the standing army of Great Britain, charged with the defence of an empire including provinces in every quarter of the globe, numbers but 120,000 men; in war this force is raised to 380,000, so that North America can muster for the defence of her own soil more men than are required to maintain the honour of the crown or the integrity of the empire at home and abroad. The whole standing army of the United States includes but 10,000 men, a number that we could call out in a day from our eastern or western counties. Sir, my honourable friend from Pictou has only to sound the pibroch in the county he represents, and 10,000 sons of the heather or their descendants would start up with musket and claymore; and I am not sure that there would not be bagpipes enough found in the county to cheer on the warriors with the wild music of a martial nation. Why, sir, the old thirteen colonies, sixteen years after their Declaration of Independence, deducting slaves, had but a little over 3,000,000 of people; while, at the Declaration of Independence in 1775, they had only 2,243,000, all told, or a smaller physical force than we have now.

My father used to tell me curious old stories of the colonial army that went to take Louisburg. The whole New England force fitted out for that expedition was but 4070 strong; just about as many as, upon an emergency, the leader of the Opposition could turn out from the county of Annapolis. I should not like to see him clothed in more warlike habiliments than those he usually wears; but if he fancied military command, I am quite sure that he could enrol in his own county 4000 as daring and gallant warriors as went to the capture of Louisburg. I do not think that I am mistaken, when I say that the women of that county are as well worth fighting for as any on this continent, and that they can regale their defenders on the best cheese and apple pies that are to be found on either side of the line.

But we have all heard of another armament, some of the wrecks of which on a calm day may still be seen reposing at the bottom of Bedford Basin. I mean the great fleet fitted out by France for the conquest of the old colonies, under the Duc d'Anville. That fleet consisted of seventy sail, but it transported across the broad Atlantic but 3150 fighting men, an armament that this Province alone should defeat in a single battle. At the battle of Bunker Hill there were but 3000 men on one side and 2000 on the other. Though there was a fair stand-up fight, the physical force engaged was nothing compared with the great political principles which have rendered the conflict immortal. I turn to Scotland again, to keep my honourable friend from Pictou from going to sleep; he has heard of Bannockburn. Well, at that great battle, which secured the independence of his country, there were but 30,000 Scots engaged; about half as many men as Nova Scotia could arm to-morrow, if an emergency demanded an appeal to physical force.

In 1745, 6000 Scotchmen marched to Derby, in the very heart of England, “frightening the isle from its propriety”; and at the battle of Culloden, where the power of the Stuarts was finally stricken down, there were but 4000 Scotchmen engaged, with muskets a great deal worse than those which we affect to despise.

At the union of England and Scotland in 1707, the population of the latter country was but 1,050,000; her shipping not 50,000 tons; her revenue only £110,694. These facts are curious, for with such apparent straitened resources Scotland had maintained her national independence for ages; often fighting great battles, and passing through fiery trials. Where, sir, is my friend the Financial Secretary? He wants something to lend dignity to the dull figures which he pores over day by day. Let me assure him that he need not fear to contrast his revenue of £125,000, with that of Scotland at the union. As late as 1766 the shipping of Scotland measured but 32,818 tons, but a trifle over what it was a century before, while ours has increased enormously in the same period of time.

Historical events, which genius illustrates, dazzle us, as stage plays do, so that we rarely count the strength of the company or measure the proportions of the scene. The Royalist army at Marston Moor mustered but 20,000 men, and yet the crown of England hung upon the issue. The Scots at Dunbar had but an equal number. Three such armies could be furnished by Nova Scotia alone. I am often amused at the flippant manner in which our old arms are spoken of; but at Naseby King Charles had only “twelve cannons” and they were not much better than those which are used for firing salutes at our mud fortresses in Guysborough and Lunenburg. Why, at the battle of Creçy there were but 30,000 Englishmen—about one-half of the militia of Nova Scotia. At Poitiers there were but 12,000, fewer men than our friends from Cape Breton could muster without drawing a man from the main. Man for man, then, we have in North America force enough to fight over again all the great battles that emblazon our national history; that is, if the blood of the sires has descended to their sons, and if the mercurial atmosphere of the north, which ought to lend it vivacity, does not render it sluggish and inert.

You will be amused to find that Frederick the Great had only two and a half millions of people to develop his schemes of conquest and to defy a world in arms. So that nobody ought to be surprised if two and a half millions of British subjects, accustomed to the forms and securities of freedom, physically as enduring and intellectually as intelligent, should at least ask for the same political status as the Cockneys of London or the weavers of Manchester.

But it is sometimes said by politicians, for party purposes, that all the world is advancing faster than we are. Is it so? Take Halifax for example. It numbers 25,000 inhabitants. How many cities in the whole United States are larger? Only twenty-one. Montreal has 60,000 people; there are only eight cities in the republic more populous.

Let us now, sir, turn to another aspect of the question. If we have got

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the resources, the trade, the territory, the men and the cities to begin with, have we not got the freedom? Look at your old monarchies or recent republics and see if any of them have exhibited more of the love of liberty or of capacity for securing its practical enjoyment than we have. The very tone of this debate proclaims Nova Scotia a free country, and that, whatever we may lack, we have the first best gift of God to man: freedom of thought, of speech, and of public discussion. The people of this country select every public officer, from one end of it to the other, either directly or by their representatives, with one single exception. The Lieutenant-Governor alone is appointed by the Imperial Government. We have more power over those who manage our affairs than they have in England, where the peers are permanent—the crown hereditary. Our people in their town meetings do their local business; this Legislature forms the administration and sustains it. We are as free as any people in Europe, Asia or Africa; and as for America, I believe the principles of the British Constitution secure a sounder state of rational freedom than the constitution of the republic. And, sir, let us bear this in mind, that these form the only cluster of colonies that have devised a system which makes freedom compatible with allegiance and to whom free constitutions have been conceded. I recollect, when in England three years ago, meeting delegates from Australia and the Cape in search of constitutions for their colonies. I told them that we had a very good one in Nova Scotia which they ought to copy. But their heads were filled with theories. Repudiating, as we have not done, the principles of the British Constitution, they saw visions and dreamed dreams. The delegate from the Cape wanted an elective Council, the members to be elected by the constituency of the whole colony. I tried to make him understand that canvassing a county in Nova Scotia was no joke; and that before a gentleman got through his canvass of the whole Cape Colony, he would either be devoured by lions or shot by Kaffirs. My friend would not believe me; but before he got home, the Kaffir war broke out, and I fear that he has been either killed or eaten before this, while in search of his new constitution.

If we look across the border, Mr. Chairman, we have, in some respects, not much to envy. I have never sought to disparage the United States. Familiar with their early history, their trials, their achievements and their blunders, I give them credit for all they have accomplished and make liberal allowance even for their mistakes. They speak the same language and are descended from the same ancestors; but have they more of rational liberty than we have? Until recently they might boast of their universal suffrage, which we had not; but we have it now, and even the member for Annapolis tells us that their institutions are more conservative than ours. As regards public burdens, how do matters stand? The United States, with a population of 30,000,000, owed in 1846 \$224,000,000, or seven dollars to each inhabitant of the country. Nova Scotia, with a population of 300,000, owes but £100,000 (half of it paying four per cent. and the other half paying nothing), or about one dollar twenty-five cents for each inhabitant. Even if our rail-

roads were completed and were entirely unproductive, we would have the use of them, at all events; and even then we would not be as deeply in debt as are at this moment the prosperous United States.

I think then, Mr. Chairman, it is obvious that whether we take extent of territory, rivers and lakes, extent of sea-coast, natural resources, shipping, imports and exports, revenue, ratio of increase, physical strength, size of cities, the enjoyment of freedom, general education, or activity of the press—we are entitled to form a nation, if so disposed, and to control our foreign relations as well as our domestic affairs.

How can this be done? In various ways; and, sir, I shall discuss the modes with the same freedom as I have done the means. First, it may be done by annexation to the United States. What would be the advantages of that step? All commercial questions now agitated between the two countries would be settled at once; we should have unlimited intercourse with the seaboard of that great country and free trade from Maine to California. Our public men would no longer be depressed with the checked aspirations of which the member for Annapolis spoke last night. Every North American, whose pride is now wounded by degrading contrasts, would be eligible to the highest offices and positions—not in a colony, but in a nation; and we should enjoy perpetual peace with our neighbours along 1500 miles of frontier. Sir, I do not deny that any man who sincerely and honestly advocates annexation to the United States has powerful arguments in its favour. I am opposed to it and would resist such a step by all means within my reach. I believe it would be, unless forced upon us, morally wrong; being a violation of our allegiance and a breach of faith plighted to our brethren across the water for more than one hundred years. Of course, if they expect us to be colonists for ever and make no provision for our being anything else, upon their heads and not upon ours be the consequences of the separation, which, when this is apparent, will be inevitable. I prefer full incorporation with them in one great empire; free participation with them in its good and evil fortunes, its perils and its distinctions. All this I believe to be practicable, and shall not despair of its fulfilment.

But, sir, there are other considerations which would deter me from any thought of annexation. At the revolutionary struggle, the loyalists were driven seaward; they lost their homes, right or wrong, acting on their honest convictions; and I rejoice that, whether right or wrong, believing themselves right, they had the courage and enterprise and energy so to act. They sacrificed everything but their principles; their property was confiscated, and they cast their lot into a comparative wilderness. They and their descendants have made it to “blossom as the rose.” They have fraternized with the French Canadians and Acadians. English, Irish, Scotch and German emigrants have gradually come over to be incorporated with them, to fill up the country, to form one race; so that North America presents the outline of a great improving and self-dependent community. Sir, the loyalists left all they owned in

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the United States, and their possessions were merged in the general property of the Union. The republicans cannot restore it to us; and I should be ashamed to go back to tell them, "Our fathers made a great mistake—they thought their glorious old flag and time-honoured institutions worth preserving; but we, their sons, with a territory larger than yours, and a population larger than you had when you framed your constitution—with education that our fathers taught us to prize, free of debt and at peace with all the world, are not fit for national existence, are unable to frame a constitution, but come back, after a separation of seventy years, and ask to take refuge under the stars and stripes!" No! Mr. Chairman, I for one will never prefer such a craven request.

Sir, I believe annexation would be unwise for other reasons. I believe the United States are large enough already. In a few years the population of that country must reach 100,000,000. They have as much work to do now as they can do well; and I believe before many years, if their union is preserved, they will have more work to do than any legislature can despatch, after their modes, in 365 days. Congress now sits for half a year. Our legislation occupies about ten weeks; that of New Brunswick about the same time. In Canada, the session often lasts three or four months. So that, if annexation were seriously contemplated, there would be no time in the National Congress to get through with the work that ought to be well and wisely done. There is another question which must be settled before you or I or any Nova Scotian will be a party to annexation. Sir, I believe the question of slavery must be settled sooner or later by bloodshed. I do not believe it can ever be settled in any other way. That question shadows the institutions and poisons the springs of social and public life among our neighbours. It saps all principles, overrides all obligations. Why, sir, I did believe until very lately that no constable, armed with a law which violated the law of God, could capture a slave in any of the Northern States; but the Fugitive Slave Law has been enforced even in Puritan New England, where tea could not be sold or stamps collected. British North America, sir, has not a slave in all her boundless territory; and I, for one, will never cast my lot in with that of a people who buy and sell human beings and who would profane our soil with their Fugitive Slave Laws or involve us in agrarian war for the preservation of an institution that we despise. There is another reason that would make me reluctant to be drawn into the vortex of the republic. There might come cause for conflict between that country and old England. Sir, there is not a man in this Assembly who does not aspire to hold his head as high as the head of any other man on earth; but I trust, nay, I know, that there is not one who would raise his hand in hostility against that revered country from whose loins we have sprung and whose noble institutions it has been our pride to imitate. If the slave States could be cut off, and the free States could be combined with us in perpetual peace with England, we might see nothing objectionable in a union such as that.

Having discussed the question of annexation, let me inquire how else could

we organize ourselves into a nation? By forming North America into a kingdom or confederation by itself and establishing friendly connections with other countries, with the entire concurrence of our brethren at home. I agree with the member for Annapolis that there would be great advantages arising from a union of these colonies. But there must be differences of opinion as to the various modes of accomplishing that object. We may have a king or a viceroy, and a legislature for the whole of North America; or we may have a federal and democratic union. The advantages of the first would be a strong executive, a united Parliament, the crown hereditary, distinctions permanent. But there would be disadvantages. Such a Government would be expensive; there would be no peerage or feudal bulwarks to sustain a Sovereign; and we might get a dynasty of knaves, fools or tyrants. We should have the monarchical and democratic elements warring for ascendancy, and our people would soon feel the loss of their local legislatures. What has been the complaint of Ireland for years? That there was no Parliament at College Green. Of Scotland, at this moment? That there is no Parliament at Holyrood. A higher description of talent, a more elevated order of men in a united legislature, would not compensate the people for the loss of local legislation which they have enjoyed for a century. By a federal union of the colonies we should have something like the neighbouring republic; and if I saw nothing better I should say at once, let us keep our local legislatures, and have a president and central Congress for all the higher and external relations of the United Provinces. We should then have nationality with purely republican institutions. But if we so far change our organization, we must substitute American precedents and practice for British. We now refer to Hastell as our guide in Parliament perplexities; we should then have to take the practice of the neighbouring republic. There might be one disadvantage in having a king or a viceroy. The Queen across the water, because the Atlantic rolls between us, offers nothing obnoxious to the prejudices of our American neighbours; but once establish a monarch or viceroy here, and I am not quite sure that we would not have a fight to maintain him on his throne, with those who apprehended danger from our example. Under a federal union we should form a large and prosperous nation, lying between the other two branches of the British family, and our duty would evidently be to keep them both at peace.

But, sir, I will say to the member for Annapolis that before we can have this organization or any other, we must have railroads. The company which has made a line of railway from Hamilton to Windsor, Canada West, deserve great credit for their enterprise and energy. I admit that the Grand Trunk Company of Canada is preparing to connect a great part of that country with these indispensable lines of communication; but, sir, it will take years to complete what Canada has begun; and then we have New Brunswick between us. It is clear we cannot have a united Parliament without railroads; for if any of us were summoned to Quebec to-morrow, we should have to travel from the end

of our own country to its metropolis through a foreign state. We must have railroads first; and then, take my word for it, the question we are now discussing will assume a form and shape that will soon lead to a tangible solution. Once put my honourable friend from Clare [Mr. Comeau, a French Acadian] on a railway, and send him up among the inhabitants of Lower Canada, and he would feel no longer as a poor colonist but as one of a million of men, speaking the same language, animated by the same hopes, participating in kindred aspirations. Let him see the noble St. Lawrence and the lakes that lie beyond; let him survey the whole of this magnificent country that God has given to his race and to mine on this side of the Atlantic, and he would come back to meet, without a blush for her capacity or a fear for her fortunes, an Englishman, an Irishman, a Scotchman, a German, a Frenchman, or even a republican from across the border. Overspread the colonies with railways, and I care not what you have,—a united Congress or nothing. The people of British America will then be united, and will soon assert the position which they will feel their capacity to maintain.

Pondering on these themes, sir, my mind ever turns to an old statesman, who has gone I trust to Heaven, but whose name will be dug up and whose writings will be read with interest in years to come, on both sides of the Atlantic—I mean old Governor Pownall. Looking through the strife and passion which preceded the American Revolution, through the fire and smoke of it, at the stupid prejudices and blunders which it engendered and has entailed, it is curious to see how a calm mind and sagacious intellect penetrated into the philosophy of a great controversy and would have laid the foundations of the empire in mutual confidence and respect. What was his advice, when the rebels of the colonies were preparing their muskets and the statesmen of England were deaf and blind? He said: "You are one family—the ocean divides you; you must have different forms of government, but that is no reason why you should not be a united family; arbitrate on disputed points; keep the peace; have distinct forms of government, if you please, but establish a zollverein, and let there be perpetual amity and free trade between the British races on both sides of the Atlantic." Had his advice been taken, the Revolution would never have occurred; we should have been spared the second war; and the paltry jealousies, which any sneering scribbler or unprincipled politician may now blow into a flame, would never have existed.

Let us, as far as we can, lend ourselves to the realisation of this grand idea. I feel now as I felt yesterday that every word which dropped from the member for Annapolis was pregnant with meaning and full of interest. Let us suppose, sir, that our railroads were finished and that we had the rapidity of intercourse necessary for union. Are there, then, no difficulties in the way? First, the French Canadians may not favour a union. I should like to be assured that they did; but certain facts have given me a contrary impression. Upper Canada favours a union because the people there think it would tend to keep the French Canadian influence down. That view of the matter has been propa-



gated in Lower Canada, and it has raised prejudices which cannot, perhaps, be easily overcome. The Lower Provinces would never sanction inequality or injustice of any kind; but yet the French Canadians may have their fears. My honourable friend from Clare might indeed be sent up as a missionary to convince his brethren that we would not be less just to them than we are to him; that Nova Scotians treat those of French descent as brethren, who are never permitted to feel any political, religious or social distinctions. The prejudice may be overcome; but it exists in Canada and may be found a difficulty in the way of a union of the colonies.

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There are other difficulties. If a project of union is to be discussed, let the proposition come from the other Provinces. For various reasons, I have but little desire to re-open intercolonial negotiations about anything just now. The seat of government would be a knotty question; the large debts that Canada has contracted another. The New Brunswick papers invite the Lower Provinces to form a union, with Amherst or Sackville for a capital. The former would be most convenient for me, for I should live in the midst of my constituents. If we have a confederation of all the Provinces, the capital should be Quebec—the natural fortress—the Gibraltar of British America. Montreal is indefensible. And I put Halifax out of the question as it is not central.

But suppose, sir, we were united to-morrow. Might we not have some diversities of interest? It is just probable that the farmers of Western Canada in their anxiety to get their wheat into the United States might throw our fisheries overboard. The member for Annapolis hopes such would not be the case; so do I. But he will agree with me that the interests of all the colonies are not the same in every respect; and what we have to fear is that the smaller Provinces may be swamped and their interests sacrificed for the benefit of their more populous neighbour. Past experience leads me to guard against such a contingency, for I know that in negotiations which deeply stirred the hopes of our people, Canada has been satisfied to sacrifice national and Provincial interests for not very weighty or very worthy considerations.

There is yet another position, Mr. Chairman, which North America may aspire to; and to my mind it presents a solution of all the difficulties which attach to this question in other directions. I think the time is rapidly approaching when there must be infused into the British Empire an element of strength which has scarcely yet been regarded. North America must ere long claim consolidation into the realm of England as an integral portion of the empire, or she will hoist her own flag. Let us look at this proposition in its broadest light and in its local bearings. We are and ever will be a commercial people. It is our interest to have free trade and close alliance with the largest number of human beings who produce and consume, who have commodities to carry and who will give the greatest activity to our commercial marine; provided always, that our security and honour can be as well maintained. Suppose Nova Scotia were to form a union with New Brunswick and

*why not more without  
withdrawing from empire*

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Canada to-morrow and that they were all to withdraw from the empire, as they will, if not elevated to equality with their British brethren. Sir, I do not undervalue the claims or standing of the colonies ; but we would withdraw from an empire peopled by hundreds of millions and unite our fortunes with but two and a half millions of people, with an exposed frontier of fifteen hundred miles and with no fleets and armies to spare, to protect our sea-coast. Suppose we should prefer annexation to an independent national existence ; we should become allied to but 30,000,000, and though the proportionate advantages would be greater, the loss by withdrawing from the mother country would be immense. We should be part of 30,000,000 of people, it is true ; but they have neither troops nor ships of war to spare, to aid us in any great emergency ; they would have enough to do to defend themselves. Now, sir, let me claim your attention for a moment, while I develop another view of this question. What is the British Empire ? Look at the outlying portions of it, which contain :

West Indies . . . . .	900,000 inhabitants
Australia . . . . .	307,645
Africa . . . . .	218,908
Ceylon . . . . .	1,506,326
Mauritius . . . . .	159,243
New Zealand . . . . .	204,000
India . . . . .	94,210,218
	<hr/>
	97,506,340

This includes the colonial portion of the empire, strictly speaking ; but to these 97,000,000, three times the population of the United States, we must add 133,110,000, being the population of states which are our allies or tributaries in the East. Add again 30,000,000, the population of the British Islands, and we have in round numbers 260,000,000 of people within the boundaries, or subject to the influence of the empire, to which we at present belong. All the states of Europe include but 233,000,000 of people. Then, sir, I ask, will any Nova Scotian, who pretends to be a statesman, will any North American, with his heart in the right place, lightly entertain the idea of withdrawing from the enjoyment of free commercial intercourse with 260,000,000 of human beings ; from participation in the securities, the sources of pride, which such an empire affords, to form, without cause, an isolated community of two millions and a half or even 10,000,000, or to seek a dishonourable share of the advantages enjoyed by 30,000,000 ?

While, however, we value our connection with the empire highly, let not British statesmen, too intent upon the intrigues and squabbles of Europe, undervalue our resources, our claims, our pride in that connection, or our physical force to achieve another, whenever this becomes irksome. All that I seek for is entirely compatible with our present relations ; by elevating North Americans to a common level with their brethren at home, I would but draw

the bonds which bind us closer together. There is no necessity to endanger the connection, commercial, physical or international, which we enjoy in common with so many human beings. "Ships, Colonies and Commerce" have long formed the boast of old England. Ships we have in abundance. Her colonies are ours. The empire includes every climate which the sun diversifies, every soil, every race of men, every variety of production. It is guarded by the largest fleet and the best disciplined army in the world. It has for its metropolis the most populous city of modern times, the nursery of genius and the arts, the emporium of commerce, the fountain-head of capital, the nursing-mother of skilled labour in every branch of manufactures. Let us then not cast about for new modes of political organization, until we have tested the expansive powers and intellectual capabilities of what we have. Let us then demand with all respect the full rights of citizenship in this great empire. It is clearly our interest to do this; surely it is congenial to our feelings. Sir, I would not cling to England one single hour after I was convinced that the friendship of North America was undervalued and that the status to which we may reasonably aspire had been deliberately refused. But I will endeavour, while asserting the rights of my native land with boldness, to perpetuate our connection with the British Isles, the home of our fathers, the cradle of our race. The union of the colonies is the object of the resolution, but in my judgment such a proposition covers but a limited portion of ground which the agitation of that subject opens up. What questions of importance have we to settle with Canada, New Brunswick or any of the other colonies? We have free trade and friendly relations with them all. What have we to ask or to fear? What questions are at issue with the United States? None but that of a reciprocal trade, which would have been settled long ago, if North America had had a voice in the making of treaties and in the discussions of the Imperial Parliament. But have we not questions of some interest to adjust with the mother country? There is one of more importance than any other except the railroads,—the questions of our mines and minerals. Does any man believe that any company would have monopolized for thirty years the mines and minerals of an entire Province had British America been represented in the Imperial Parliament? That monopoly would go down before a searching investigation for a single night in the House of Commons. No ministry could justify or maintain it. Here there is no difference of opinion. But what awaits our unanimity. The battle is to be fought in England; but here it never is fought and never will be until we have a representation in Parliament or until the Legislature votes £5000 for a luminous agitation of the question. I yield to the Association all that I have ever said in its favour. I would do it justice to-morrow had I power to do injury; but I do believe that one Nova Scotian within the walls of Parliament would do more to reclaim our natural rights in a single year than this Legislature could do by remonstrances in seven.

Take the question of the fisheries. Your fisheries, including all the wealth

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that is within three marine miles of a coast fronting upon the ocean for 5000 miles, are at this moment subject of negotiation. What have you got to do with it? What influence have you? Who represents you in London or in Washington, or discusses the matter in your behalf? The British minister, pressed upon by the United States on the one hand and by the prospect of a war with Russia on the other, may at this moment be giving away your birth-right. Tell me not of your protest against such an act of spoliation. It would amount to nothing. Once committed, the act would be irrevocable; and your most valuable property would be bartered away for ever. Sir, I know what gives influence in England, what confers power here—the right and the opportunity of public discussion. Your fisheries, if given away to-morrow, would scarcely provoke a discussion in the House of Commons; but place ten North Americans there and no minister would dare to bring down a treaty by which they were sacrificed. How often have questions in which we took a deep and abiding interest been decided without our knowledge, consultation or consent? I am a free trader, and I am glad that unrestricted commerce is the settled policy of the mother country as it is of this. But can I forget how often the minister of the day has brought down and carried out commercial changes which have prostrated our interests, but in the adoption or modification of which we have had no voice? Sir, with our free Legislatures and the emulation and ambitious spirit of our people, such a state of things cannot last for ever. Is there a man who hears me, that believes that the question of the fisheries can be settled well or ought to be settled at all without those who are most interested being represented in the negotiation?

What is taking place at this moment in the old world invests this argument with painful significance. Notes and diplomatic messages are flying from St. Petersburg to Vienna and from Vienna to London. A despot is about to break the peace of the world under pretence of protecting the Greek religion. A fleet of Turkish ships has been sunk in the Black Sea. The Cunard steamers have been taken off the mail routes to carry troops to the Mediterranean. To-morrow may come a declaration of war; and when it comes our six thousand vessels, scattered over the ocean, are at the mercy of England's enemies. Have we been consulted? Have we had a voice in the cabinet, in Parliament, or in any public department by whose action our fleet is jeopardized? No, sir, we have exercised no more influence upon negotiations—the issue of which must, peril our whole mercantile marine—than if we had had in danger but a single bark canoe.

I do not complain of the statesmen of England. I believe that Lord John Russell and the other members of the cabinet are doing their best for the honour of old England and for the welfare of the empire. But I will not admit that they have the right at the present day to deal with subjects which so largely affect the interests and touch the feelings of 2,500,000 people, scattered over millions of square miles of land, whose canvas whitens every sea—without our being consulted.

[Mr. Howe next turned to the united services and showed how slight was the chance of British Americans to rise in the army and navy. Their brethren at home had more money to purchase, they had all the parliamentary interest to ensure promotion. What inducements had our young men to enter either service? He had five boys, but he would as soon throw one of them overboard as send him to compete where the chances were all against him; to break his heart in a struggle where money and friends, not merit, would render emulation vain.<sup>1</sup>]

The statesmen of England, sir, may be assured that if they would hold this great empire together, they must give the outlying portions of it some interest in the naval, military and civil services; and I will co-operate with any man who will impress upon them the necessity for lengthening the ropes and strengthening the stakes, that the fabric which shelters us all may not tumble about our ears.

I turn now, Mr. Chairman, to a topic upon which it may readily be supposed I feel keenly—the negotiations touching our intercolonial railroads. To impress the minds of imperial statesmen with the truly national character of the works we had projected, I spent six months in England. Here was a noble scheme of internal improvement, requiring about £7,000,000 sterling to carry it out. Had it been a question about holy places in Turkey or some wretched fortress on the Danube, £7,000,000 would have been risked or paid with slight demur. The object was, however, to strengthen and combine four or five noble Provinces, full of natural resources and of a high-spirited people; but, unfortunately, with no representation in the national council of the empire to which they belong. The single guarantee of England would have saved us nearly half the cost of this operation, or £200,000 a year. The Queen's name would have been stamped upon every engine running through 1500 miles of her dominions. On the hearts of 2,500,000 people would have been stamped the grace of the act, which, while it cost nothing—for our revenues were ample enough to pay principal and interest had the roads been unproductive—would have awakened grateful recollections and a sense of substantial obligation for a century to come. At last, by the true nobility of the enterprise rather than by the skill of its advocate, Her Majesty's Government consented to give the guarantee. The Provinces were proceeding to fulfil the conditions, when, unfortunately, two or three members of the Imperial Parliament took a fancy to add to the cost of the roads as much more as the guarantee would have saved. It was for their interest that the guarantee should not be given. It was withdrawn. The faith of England—till then regarded as something sacred—was violated; and the answer was a criticism on a phrase—a quibble upon the construction of a sentence, which all the world for six months had read one way. The secret history of this wretched transaction I do not seek to penetrate.

<sup>1</sup> Two cadetships in the navy, annually, have since been given to Canada; one to Nova Scotia, and one to New Brunswick. This is a move in the right direction, for which the ministers deserve much credit.

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Enough is written upon stock-books and in the records of courts in Canada, to give us the proportions of that scheme of jobbery and corruption by which the interests of British America were overthrown. But, sir, who believes that if these Provinces had ten members in the Imperial Parliament, who believes—and I say it not boastingly—had Nova Scotia had but one who could have stated her case before six hundred English gentlemen, that the national faith would have been sullied or a national pledge withdrawn?

There are other questions of equal magnitude and importance to the empire and to us. Ocean steamers, carrying British mails past British Provinces to reach their destination, through a foreign State; emigration uncared for and undirected, flowing past them too; or, when directed, sent at an enormous cost to Australia, 14,000 miles away, while millions of acres of unsurpassed fertility remain unimproved so much nearer home. Upon these, and other kindred topics, I do not dwell. But there is one to which I must, for a brief space, crave your attention.

Sir, I do not envy our neighbours in the United States their country, their climate, or their institutions. But what I do envy them is the boundless field of honourable emulation and rivalry in which the poorest man in the smallest state may win, not mere colonial rank and position, but the highest national honours. Here lies the marked distinction between Republican and British American. The sons of the rebels are men full-grown; the sons of the loyalists are not. I do not mean that physically or mentally there is any difference; I speak of the standards and stamps by which the former are made to pass current in the world, while the latter have the ring of metal as valuable and as true. This was the thought which laboured for utterance in the mind of the member for Annapolis yesterday. Let me aid it in its illustration. Some years ago I had the honour to dine with the late John Quincy Adams at Washington. Around his hospitable board were assembled fifteen or eighteen gentlemen of the highest distinction in the political circles of that capital. There were, perhaps, two or three who like Mr. Adams himself had been trained from early youth in diplomacy, in literature, and in the highest walks of social and public life. These men were superior to any that we have in our colonies, not because their natural endowments were greater, but because their advantages had been out of all proportion to ours. But the rest were just such men as we see every day. Their equals are to be found in the legislatures and public departments of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; men superior to most of them have been on this floor every session for twenty years. Their equals are here now. But how different are the fields of emulation; how disproportioned the incitements to excellence, the distinctions, the rewards. Almost every man who sat round me that night either then enjoyed or has since won some national distinction. They were or are now senators in the national council, foreign ambassadors, governors, secretaries of state, commanders of squadrons, or leaders of armies.

Sir, my heart rose when I compared these men with those I had left at

home, their equals in mind and manners. But it sunk, aye and it sinks now, when turning to the poor rewards which British America offers to those who run with these men the race of emulation. What national distinction ever lights upon British America? Has she ever supplied a governor to the Queen's widely extended dominions, a secretary, or an under-secretary of state? Have we ever had a man to represent us in either House of Parliament or in any imperial department? How long is this state of pupilage to last? Not long. If British statesmen do not take this matter in hand, we soon shall. I yield to no man in respect for the flag of my fathers, but I will live under no flag, with a brand of inferiority to the other British races stamped upon my brow.

[Mr. Howe here contrasted Mr. Johnston, Mr. Huntington, Mr. Wilkins, the Speaker, with those who had governed the colonies within his own observation. He thought the learned leader of the Opposition would make quite as good a Governor as some that had been sent across the Atlantic. He convulsed the House with laughter in describing the attentions paid at Liverpool to a whiskered Yankee, who was the bearer of despatches from Washington, and who, with a huge bag under his arm, that might have contained his wardrobe, was instantly permitted to land, unquestioned and unsearched.]

I was also the bearer of despatches from a British Governor to Her Majesty's Secretary of State. I represented the Province of which I am a native, and the Government of which I was a member. I explained my position and showed my despatches more in jest than in earnest, for I knew what the result would be. The Yankee was in London long before I could get my portmanteau through the custom-house, being compelled to pay duty on half-a-dozen books and plans necessary to the success of the mission with which I was charged. Imagine what five-and-twenty British Americans on board the steamer would feel at this practical commentary on the respect commanded in England by successful rebellion, but denied to devoted loyalty.

[Equally animated was Mr. Howe's description of Massachusetts cotton-spinners, and backwoodsmen from the west, snugly ensconced in the diplomatic box in the body of the House of Lords, when Parliament was opened by the Queen, while colonists looked down upon them from the galleries, to which not as a right but as a favour they had been admitted.]

Mr. Chairman, the time will come—nay, sir, it has come—when these degrading distinctions must no longer peril our allegiance. Will any man say that North America does not produce men as fit to govern states and Provinces as those who rule over Maine or Massachusetts at this hour?— as most of those who are sent to govern the forty Provinces of the empire?— as many that we have seen sent to darken counsel and perplex us in the west? How long will North Americans be content to see their sons systematically excluded from the gubernatorial chairs, not only of the Provinces that we occupy, but of every other in the empire? Not long. If monarchical institutions are to be preserved and the power of the crown maintained, the leading

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spirits of the empire must be chosen to govern Provinces; and the selection must not be confined to the circle of two small islands,—to old officers or broken-down members of Parliament.

Look at the organization of the Colonial Office; that department which is especially charged with the government of forty colonies and yet has not one colonist in it! How long are we to have this play of "Hamlet" with Hamlet himself omitted? Sir, I do not share in the vulgar prejudices about the ignorance and incapacity of Downing Street. No man can now be elevated to the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies who is not a man of business habits, holding high rank in either House of Parliament. There is, perhaps, not a man in the department who is not able or adroit in the performance of duties which are admirably subdivided. The under-secretaries are men of genial manners, high attainments and varied information. They are something more; they are thoroughly well disposed to serve, and to stand well with the Provinces committed to their charge. But what then? They have no personal knowledge of colonial public or social life; no hold upon the confidence or the affections of the outlying portions of the empire. Compared with the men who might and ought and must be there, if the empire is to be kept together, they are what the clever secretaries of the old Board of Trade were in 1750, compared with such men as Franklin, Washington and Adams. What these last were then, the Baldwins, Lafontaines, Chandlers and Wilmots, of North America, are now. I speak not of Nova Scotia, although I know that her sister Provinces accord to her the intellectual rank to which she is entitled. I know the men who sit around me here; already I can hear the heart-beat of the generation which is springing up to take our places; and I do not hesitate to say that room must be made on the floors of Parliament and within the departmental offices of England for the aspiring and energetic spirits of this continent or they will by-and-by assert their superiority in the intellectual conflict which those who attempt systematically to exclude them must provoke. Talk of annexation, sir! what we want is annexation to our mother country. Talk of a union of the Provinces, which, if unaccompanied with other provisions, would lead to separation! What we require is union with the empire; an investiture with the rights and dignity of British citizenship.

In the United States, every 40,000 people send a member to Congress. North America has sixty-two times that number and yet sends not one member to the national council which regulates her trade, controls her foreign relations and may involve her at any moment in war. Mark the effects of the American system. The discovery of gold threw into California, in two or three years, a large heterogeneous and comparatively lawless population. California was many thousands of miles away from Washington and from the old States of the confederation. It was essentially a colony and under our system would have been so treated for a century. Our neighbours are wiser in their generation. Hardly were the rude communities of California



formed, while women were sleeping under tents and men under waggons ; while Judge Lynch presided over the judicatory and the better classes hung thieves in the market square ; than the citizens met together, formed their constitution, provided for education, and elected three or four men to represent California in the National Congress of the United States. Nova Scotia has been a loyal Province of this empire, with all the securities of law and the refinements of civilization, for a hundred years, and to this hour has no such privilege. What binds that rude Californian community to the parent States ? The presence of her four or five representatives in the national council. They may be negligent, incapable, corrupt, but they are there. Australia, not much farther off, with richer treasures, with wider space, has no such privilege ; and the wit of British statesmen, with the example of republican America before them, seems inadequate to a task which elsewhere is found so easy. Sir, this cannot last. England herself has a deep interest in this question, and the sooner her statesmen begin to ponder the matter gravely the better it will be for us all.

The 30,000,000 who inhabit the British Islands must make some provision for the 230,000,000 who live beyond the narrow seas. They may rule the barbarous tribes who do not speak their language or share their civilization, by the sword ; but they can only rule or retain such Provinces as are to be found in North America by drawing their sympathies around a common centre—by giving them an interest in the army, the navy, the diplomacy, the administration and the legislation of the empire.

While a foreign war is impending, this may appear an inappropriate time to discuss these questions ; but the time will come and is near at hand when they will command the earnest attention of every true British subject. We hear much, sir, every day, about the balance of power in Europe ; and we all remember Canning's boast that he was going to call a new world into existence to redress the balance of power in the old. At this moment we are plunging into a foreign war—the fiercest and most bloody it will be that we have ever seen. What is the pretext on one side ? Some question about the Greek religion. What is supposed to warrant our expensive armaments on the other ? The balance of power in Europe. But is the balance of power in America nothing, and have these Provinces no weight in the scale ? God forbid, sir, that at this moment a word of menace should escape my lips. I am incapable of such a meanness. England's hour of extremity should never be our opportunity for anything but words of cheer and the helping hand. But, sir, come peace or war, it is the interest of England that the truth be told her. Is the balance of power in America an unimportant consideration, and how is it to be preserved except by preserving that half of the continent which still belongs to England ? And that can only be done by elevating the inhabitants of these Provinces in their own opinion and in that of the world at large. I know that it is fashionable in England to count upon the sympathies and cordial co-operation of the republic. A year ago

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Cobden and other apostles of his school were preaching and relying upon universal peace. Now all Europe is arming. They preach day by day that colonies are a burthen to the mother country. The reign of peace, of universal brotherhood, may come. Should it not, and should republican America throw herself into the contest against England, when engaged with other powers, as she did in 1812, what then would be England's position, should the noble Provinces of North America have been flung away, for want of a little foresight and common sense?

The power of the republic would be broken if our half of the continent maintained its allegiance. But if that were thrown into the other scale, what then? Fancy the stars and stripes floating over our 6000 vessels; fancy 500,000 hardy North Americans with arms in their hands in a defiant attitude; fancy half a continent, with its noble harbours and 5000 miles of sea-coast, with all its fisheries, coal-mines and timber, gone. Fancy the dockyards and depots and arsenals of the enemy advanced 1000 miles nearer to England. Oh! sir, I have turned with disgust from the eternal gabble about the balance of power in Europe, when I have thought how lightly British statesmen seem to value the power that can alone balance their only commercial rival. One subsidy to some petty European potentate has often cost more than all our railroads would have cost; and yet they would have developed our resources in peace and formed our best security in time of war. A single war with half this continent added £120,000,000 to the national debt of England. What would a war with the whole of it cost? And yet these Provinces are so lightly valued that a loan for public improvements cannot be guaranteed or a single seat in the national councils yielded, to preserve them. Sir, whatever others may think, I pause in the presence of the great peril which I foresee. I pray to God that it may be averted.

Here, sir, is work for the highest intellects—for the purest patriots, on both sides of the Atlantic. Here is a subject worthy of the consideration of the largest-minded British statesmen now figuring on the stage of public life. In presence of this great theme, how our little squabbles sink into insignificance, as the witches' cauldron vanishes from the presence of Macbeth. How insignificant are many of the topics which they debate in the Imperial Parliament compared with this. I have seen night after night wasted, while both Houses discussed the grave question, whether or not a Jew should sit in the House of Commons; a question that it would not take five minutes to decide in any legislature from Canada to California. How often have I said to myself: I wonder if it ever enters into the heads of those noble Lords and erudite Commons, who are so busy with this Jew, that there are two millions and a half of Christians in British America, who have no representative in either House? A little consideration given to that subject, I have thought, would not be a waste of time. When I have seen them quibbling with the great questions of a surplus population, mendicity and crime, I have asked myself: Do these men know that there is within the boundaries of the empire, within ten days' sail

of England, employment for all, freehold estates for all, with scarcely a provocative to crime? I have often thought, sir, how powerful this empire might be made; how prosperous in peace, how invincible in war, if the statesmen of England would set about its organization and draw to a common centre the high intellects which it contains.

With our maritime positions in all parts of the globe, with every variety of soil and climate, with the industrial capacity and physical resources of 260,000,000 of people to rely on, what might not this empire become, if its intellectual resources were combined for its government and preservation? If the whole population were united by common interests, no power on earth ever wielded means so vast or influence so irresistible. But, sir, let the statesmen of England slumber and sleep over the field of enterprise which lies around them; let them be deluded by economists who despise colonists or by fanatics who preach peace at any price with foreign despots; while no provision is made to draw around the Throne the hearts of millions predisposed to loyalty and affection; and the results we may surely calculate. Should the other half of this continent be lost for the want of forethought and sound knowledge, there will be trouble in the old homestead. "Shadows, clouds and darkness" will rest upon the abode of our fathers; the free soil of England will not be long unprofaned; and the gratitude of Turks and the friendship of Austrians or republican Americans will form but a poor substitute for the hearts and hands that have been flung away.

On the 4th of April Mr. Howe resigned the office of Provincial Secretary, and accepted that of Chairman of the Railway Board. Almost his last act as a member of the Government was his moving an address to the Queen, on the breaking out of the war with Russia, which he did in language that was gracefully responded to by the leader of the Opposition, and the address passed unanimously. On this occasion Mr. Howe said:

MR. SPEAKER,—The Province of Nova Scotia has for the last hundred years been a firmly attached and loyal portion of the British Empire. She has steadfastly maintained her allegiance through all the vicissitudes of peace and war. Loyalty is here an enduring sentiment; and whenever there is menace or danger from abroad, our Sovereign is not left to doubt of the strength of our feelings or of our readiness to sustain to the utmost of our power the honour of the British flag and the authority of the Crown. When these are in peril, the voice of faction is hushed, party feelings subside, party distinctions are obliterated; and a united Legislature is seen, prepared to defend our common country, or to send to the foot of the Throne the expression of sentiments which are shared alike by all ranks and classes of our people.

Sir, I look back with pride to a period in our history, within the recollection of many around me, when with singular unanimity and enthusiasm the whole

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resources, physical and pecuniary, of Nova Scotia were placed at the disposal of the Lieutenant-Governor, when the frontier was endangered; amidst the acclamations of the people and of their representatives. At that time I led the Opposition in this House; but I at once tendered support to the Government of the day, as I am happy to know that the leader of the Opposition will now second the motion which I am about to make. Then as now our flag was about to be insulted, our country embroiled with a foreign power. We are not now threatened with any immediate danger. There is peace on this continent and I trust it may be preserved. But our brethren at home are about to enter upon a struggle the end of which cannot be foretold. The fleets and armaments on their way to the Baltic and the Black Sea instruct us that they are in earnest. It is but right that the outlying portions of the empire should comprehend and should discharge the obligations which in such a crisis rest upon them. A common sentiment should thrill throughout the empire. The Sovereign should feel that her subjects, wherever situated, are united as one man. It is our duty to take the earliest opportunity of declaring to our Sovereign the feelings of our people. Let there be no doubt in her mind; let it be felt and known that, whatever may be our party struggles or differences of opinion, there is but one feeling in Nova Scotia when the flag of England is unfurled. The latter clause of this address, I trust, will not be disapproved. Whatever might be our regret at the withdrawal of Her Majesty's troops, I believe that I am not mistaken when I assume that the militia of Nova Scotia, about to be enrolled and embodied, would be able to defend their own soil and protect Her Majesty's forts and arsenals should our gallant soldiers be required elsewhere. If they can, they ought, and we should not detain a single regiment here that may be wanted in the Mediterranean.

Sir Gaspard Le Marchant was enabled to close the last session in which Mr. Howe took the lead in conducting the public business of his country, with the following speech:

The great number of valuable laws, matured by your joint labours, and to which I have given the Queen's assent, honourably distinguished the session that it is my duty now to close.

For the unexampled liberality with which you have provided for every branch of the public service, I thank you in Her Majesty's name.

The great public works which you have authorized the Government to construct shall be commenced without delay and carried forward in a spirit that I trust will enable us all to forget, in view of their vast utility, the conflicts of opinion, which, in a free country, always precede sound and beneficial legislation.

The elevated views of national obligation, the just appreciation of the nature of the struggle in which the mother country is engaged, the devoted loyalty to our Sovereign, and the chivalrous disregard of consequences in the perform-

ance of duty, evinced by the addresses which you have desired me to convey to the foot of the Throne, will challenge the admiration and respect of your fellow-subjects in every part of the empire.

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Though I trust in God that this continent may be preserved from the scourge of war, yet it behoves us to be prepared for any emergencies ; and of this you may be assured, that while it is my determination so to organize the militia of this Province as to make defence easy, I shall not hesitate, if occasion should arise, to place myself at their head, with the same entire reliance upon their gallantry and self-devotion that I have upon your wisdom, liberality and public spirit.

In November, an Industrial Exhibition, doing great credit to the Province, and to those who originated the idea and worked out the details, was held in and around the Provincial building. Mr. Howe's contribution was the following spirited lines :

## OUR FATHERS

Room for the dead ! Your living hands may pile  
 Treasures of art the stately tents within ;  
 Beauty may grace them with her richest smile,  
 And Genius here spontaneous plaudits win.  
 But yet, amidst the tumult and the din  
 Of gath'ring thousands, let me audience crave :  
 Place claim I for the dead. 'Twere mortal sin,  
 When banners o'er our country's treasures wave,  
 Unmarked to leave the wealth safe garnered in the grave.

The fields may furnish forth their lowing kine,  
 The forest spoils in rich abundance lie,  
 The mellow fruitage of the clustered vine  
 Mingle with flowers of ev'ry varied dye :  
 Swart artizans their rival skill may try,  
 And, while the rhetorician wins the ear,  
 The pencil's graceful shadows charm the eye ;  
 But yet, do not withhold the grateful tear  
 For those, and for their works, who are not here.

Not here ? Oh ! yes, our hearts their presence feel,  
 Viewless, not voiceless, from the deepest shells  
 On memory's shore, harmonious echoes steal ;  
 And names, which, in the days gone by, were spells,

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Are blent with that soft music. If there dwells  
 The spirit here our country's fame to spread,  
 While ev'ry breast with joy and triumph swells,  
 And earth reverb'rates to our measured tread,  
 Banner and wreath should own our reverence for the dead.

Look up, their walls enclose us. Look around,  
 Who won the verdant meadows from the sea?  
 Whose sturdy hands the noble highways wound  
 Through forests dense, o'er mountain, moor and lea?  
 Who spanned the streams? Tell me whose works they be,—  
 The busy marts, where commerce ebbs and flows?  
 Who quelled the savage? And who spared the tree  
 That pleasant shelter o'er the pathway throws?  
 Who made the land they loved to blossom as the rose?

Who, in frail barques, the ocean surge defied,  
 And trained the race that live upon the wave?  
 What shore so distant where they have not died?  
 In ev'ry sea they found a watery grave.  
 Honour, for ever, to the true and brave  
 Who seaward led their sons with spirits high,  
 Bearing the red-cross flag their fathers gave;  
 Long as the billows flout the arching sky  
 They'll seaward bear it still—to venture, or to die.

The Roman gathered in a stately urn  
 The dust he honoured—while the sacred fire,  
 Nourished by vestal hands, was made to burn  
 From age to age. If fitly you'd aspire,  
 Honour the dead; and let the sounding lyre  
 Recount their virtues in your festal hours;  
 Gather their ashes—higher still, and higher  
 Nourish the patriot flame that history dowers;  
 And o'er the Old Men's graves, go strew your choicest flowers.

## CHAPTER XXIII

1855

Maine Liquor Law—Mr. Howe's speech—Opening of the first section of railway—Banquet at Four-mile House—Speech in proposing the Governor's health—Letter from the Governor—Mr. Howe's health proposed—His response—Opening of railway to Windsor—Presentation to Mr. Howe—Reciprocity Treaty of 1854—Messrs. Howe and Johnston express disapproval—Crimean War—Foreign Enlistment Bill—Mr. Howe sent to the United States—His return—Opinion of Attorney-General Cushing—Mr. Howe defeated in Cumberland—Dr. Tupper elected—Mr. Howe leaves for England—His reply to Mr. Hincks.

BETWEEN 1850 and 1855 the Maine Liquor Law was discussed in the British Provinces. Though in all of them it was advocated by able men, and powerfully supported in numerous signed petitions, it ultimately failed or was defeated in them all. It was adopted in New Brunswick, but after a year's experience of its effects, it was on an appeal to the people condemned with singular unanimity and immediately repealed. It was discussed with a good deal of ability in the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia during the sessions of 1854 and 1855, and at one time a small majority decided in its favour. The bill was subsequently postponed and abandoned. Mr. Howe's opinions upon this rather important question may be gathered from this speech, delivered on February 21st, 1855 :

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After much reflection upon the subject, I have not been able to bring my mind to assume the responsibility of voting for this bill. I would gladly have done so, because a very large and highly respectable body of my constituents were in favour of it. I had not expressed my sentiments last winter, because, during that session, I had occupied much time with other topics, and because this had been debated at great length and with marked ability by gentlemen on both sides. I would gladly now refrain, but during the eighteen years I have sat in this Assembly I have never shrunk from an expression of my opinions upon any public question. It is due to the country at large, to my constituents, to the men who sit around me, that I should, even at the risk of offending those whom I most respect, give my reasons with my vote. I fully admit the truthfulness of the harrowing pictures of physical suffering and

moral degradation, drawn by the honourable and learned member for Annapolis. I admit in all their extent the evils of intemperance. I admire the self-devotion and earnestness with which large bodies of men have endeavoured to eradicate those evils. I approve of the efforts made by the temperance societies, and wish them success, so long as they seek to reform by persuasion, by argument and by example. When they attempt impossibilities, when they seek to coerce the people into temperance, I conscientiously believe that they will fail; I believe that all the good they have done will be perilled by a resort to harshness and coercion.

The Deity has not prohibited the use of wine. On the contrary He has given the grape to man with innumerable other bounties. Our Saviour has not prohibited the use of wine. He sat with those who drank it, and by a miracle replenished their cups at the marriage feast. The apostles have not forbidden the use of wine. Its use was denounced in the Koran by the pagan Mahomet, but was not, so far as I can perceive, in the Bible. What then the Almighty has not done or attempted, what He could have done with so much ease, yet has refrained from doing, I think it not wise for man to attempt.

The evils flowing from the excessive use of wine I deeply deplore, as I do the evils flowing from over-indulgence of any other passion or propensity. But who can argue from excess of any kind that the rational enjoyment of God's gifts is therefore sinful? Who will venture to argue that because mischief is done by many of God's gifts, they should on that account be circumscribed or prohibited by human laws? The atmosphere that fans the cheek of beauty, that invigorates the frame, that flutters the leaf upon the tree, that dimples the surface of the lake, that gives variety and majesty to the ocean,—when accumulated in masses, lashes itself into the tempest and strews the shore with the wrecks of human life and property. The learned member standing amidst the wreck of navies and the whitening bones of human victims might eloquently describe the scene; but would he, if he could, attempt to restrain the eccentricities of nature, or to forbid to man, by human laws, the benefits of navigation? How beautiful is water! (the temperance man's own element), yet how dangerous. The rain which fertilizes the fields, sweeps away with its excess bridges, mills and human habitations. If not drained off, it sours the land and breeds pestilence in cities. The fire that warms our hearths, that clears our woodlands, that smelts our metals, that drives our steamers and locomotives, is not less dangerous. Would he deny to man the use of these elements, because the casualties by fire and flood are most disastrous? Would he forbid their use, because people are burned in cities—drowned in the rivers; because a boiler bursts at sea, or an engine sometimes runs off the track, or kills hundreds by the violence of a collision? William the Conqueror, it is true, once denied to the people of England fire and light after the curfew tolled; but the abhorrence in which the act is held would not encourage anybody to follow his example.

Woman is God's best gift to man. The fascination which she spreads around her—how difficult to resist; the passions she inspires—how intimately



interwoven with all that arouses to exertion and rewards us for our toils! Yet, when even love is indulged in to excess, when reason is overpowered, when passion hurries on to folly—how numerous the victims, how blasting the effects! Yet who would, reasoning from the perils of indulgence and the dangers of society, deny to man the companionship which alone makes existence tolerable? The learned member for Annapolis might draw from the sinks of vice or even from the agony of a single victim, some harrowing pictures; but would he, on that account, imitate the Turks and lock up all the women? The victims of indulgence in opium I have never seen; but even spirituous liquors do not produce the extent of physical suffering and moral dislocation that results from the abuse of this drug. But would the learned member deny to society the use of that which allays the delirium of fever—which soothes the infant upon the mother's bosom and saves more lives than it ever destroys? Take gunpowder, which blasts our rocks, loosens our plaster, defends our country, kills our game. Mark the mischiefs and miseries it produces when its mysterious power is abused. But who would argue that, because boys blow themselves up and tyrants use gunpowder for unworthy purposes, its use should be forbidden? Would the learned gentleman, even with the battle-fields of Balaklava or Inkerman before him, attempt to restrain by human laws the manufacture and sale of gunpowder? Who denies that law is the safeguard of our lives and property; that courts are indispensable institutions; that lawyers are the fearless advocates of the innocent and oppressed? But has not even law been abused? How many pettifoggers defile the courts, ensnare the ignorant, waste men's estates and embitter their lives? Walter Scott's Peebles and Planestanes, and Dickens's pictures of the Court of Chancery are familiar to us all. These are but sketches illustrative of the evils inseparable from the dispensation of equity and law by the most perfect tribunals of civilized countries. How are these evils to be mitigated or removed? I would say by discussion, by exposure, by example, by honest and successful attempts to separate the securities and the legitimate practice of law from its abuse. The learned advocate of this bill, to be consistent, should close the courts, imprison the lawyers, and forbid the manufacture of law or its importation from foreign countries. Woman from her first appearance on the scene of life has brought sorrow and suffering with her. In her train came rivalries and jealousies and war and strife. Let the learned member go into his own county where the pretty faces peeping through the apple-blossoms are lovely to behold. Even there, are there no broken hearts, no pale faces, no blighted lives, no damaged reputations? No girls with Burns's pretty excuse upon their lips—

“A dear-loved lad, convenience snug,  
A treacherous inclination”?

No youths pleading, in the intonation of passionate repentance, that even

“The light that led astray  
Was light from heaven”?

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Yet would the learned gentleman in view of all these evils point to the pretty girls and say, "Touch not, taste not, handle not"? Would he for fear of mischief coop them up like cows in a Belgian barn?

The world has come down to the present period from the most remote antiquity with the wine-cup in its hand. David, the man after God's own heart, drank wine. Solomon, the wisest of monarchs and of human beings, drank wine. Our Saviour not only drank it, but commanded Christians to drink it—"in remembrance of Him." In strong contrast with our Divine Redeemer's life and practice, we hear of the Scribes and Pharisees, who drank it not—who reviled our Saviour as a "wine-bibber," and the "companion of publicans and sinners," who would have voted for the Maine Liquor Law as unanimously as they cried, "Crucify Him!"

Such people have existed in all ages of the world. The desire of human beings to dictate to each other what they should eat and drink and wear has been evinced in different countries at different periods. The zealots in the State of Maine are mere plagiarists after all. Sumptuary laws, tried in many countries and at different periods of the world's history, are now universally condemned by the good sense of mankind. Laws restraining drunkenness are nearly as old as drinking. It is curious to see what strange experiments have been tried at times. Zælus of Locris, 450 years before the Christian era, ordained "that no woman should go attended with more than one maid unless she was drunk; and that she should not wear gold or embroidered apparel unless she intended to act unchastely." This sage lawgiver punished adultery with the loss of both eyes. His own son broke the law; and the old gentleman, unwilling to deprive his son of both eyes, compromised the matter by putting out one of his own.

As early as 747, laws were passed in England restraining drunkenness in the clergy; and Constantine, King of the Scots (who was a sort of Neal Dow in his day), punished it *with death*.

His laws passed away as this law will pass, and a good deal of whisky has been drunk in Scotland since. In England, in 995, an effort was made to restrain drinking by law, but it failed. Taverns were only introduced in the thirteenth century. In the reign of Edward III., there were only three allowed in all London; now there are thousands. Edward IV. tried to restrain them; forty were then allowed in London, eight in York, and but four in Oxford. They were not licensed till 1752. The history of wine is curious; its invention is attributed to Noah, who certainly had seen enough of the evils of water. The Chinese made wine from rice 2000 years before the birth of Christ; and although it must be allowed that they have tea enough, they make and drink it yet. Wine was but little known in England till the Roman conquest. We are told that it impairs our strength; yet the people who drank it conquered those who did not. It was only sold by the apothecaries (as is now proposed again) in the thirteenth century. In 1427, Henry VI., a sensible king, tried to restrain its adulteration, and we read "that 150 butts and

pipes were condemned and emptied into the gutters in London, for being adulterated." CHAP. XXIII

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The Stoics denied themselves the use of wine, but their sect soon died out. The Puritans tried the experiment of coercing people into temperance and virtue, but they signally failed. I invite the honourable and learned member for Annapolis to review this period of English history. I refer to the time when the Puritan cause was most triumphant; when Charles had been slain, his followers dispersed; when Cromwell reigned at Whitehall; when his major-generals held military command of all the counties; when the maypoles were struck down, the theatres closed, the taverns shut up; when mirth was restrained, and temperance enforced by the sword. Now, what was the effect of all this? No sooner was the Protector in his coffin, than the people of England by a common impulse threw off a system which they regarded as oppressive. So distasteful had these restraints become that the people restored the Stuarts, forgot their civil wars and sacrifices, and re-opened their theatres and taverns; and so disgusted were they with Puritan domination that liberty was forgotten in the general joy which the restoration of personal freedom occasioned. The wine-cup went round, and from that day to this no attempt has been made to re-establish Cromwell's system. Now, I fear that the friends of temperance are about to sacrifice all the good they have done, as the Puritans sacrificed all the reforms that they had established, by carrying restraints too far. This law may be partially enforced for two or three years, but it will coerce people into resistance and occasion a revulsion of feeling to be followed by universal license.

So far as my reading extends, I may assert that every king, every statesman, every warrior who has illustrated the page of history, drank wine. The apostles who were the companions of our Saviour, drank it. The prophets whose flights of inspiration still astonish us, we have every reason to believe drank it. Cicero and Demosthenes and all the orators of antiquity and of modern times, indulged in the juice of the grape. Who can say how much of the energy which gave them such power of language was drawn from its inspiration? Have these men been eclipsed by the Dows and Kellogs of the platform? What orators has the State of Maine sent forth comparable with the Pitts, Burkes, Grattans, Foxes and Sheridans of the British Islands, every one of whom drank wine? Let the learned gentleman glance at the noble structures—the architectural wonders that embellish Europe. Who reared them? Men of gigantic intellects whose common beverage was wine. Let his eye range through the noble galleries where the sculptors have left their statues; where the painters have hung in rich profusion the noblest works of art. Wine, we are told, clouds the faculties and deadens the imagination. Yet it was drunk by those benefactors of their race; and we cannot, with their masterpieces before us, believe the assertion, till their works have been eclipsed by artists trained up under this rigorous legislation. Has Maine turned us out yet a statue that anybody would look at, a picture that any-

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body would buy? Look at the deliverers of mankind, the heroic defenders of nations. Was Washington a member of the temperance society? Did not Wallace "drink the red wine through the helmet barred"? Who will undertake to say that Bruce on the morning on which he won the battle of Bannockburn, that Tell on that day when he shot the apple off his son's head, had not tasted a glass of whisky or a stoop of wine?

If then, sir, all that is valuable in the past—if heroism and architecture and oratory, sculpture and painting—if all that has bulwarked freedom and embellished life—has come down to us with the juice of the grape; if no age or nation has been long without it, I think it behoves the advocates of this bill to show us some country where their system has been tried, some race of men who drank nothing but cold water.

I turn to the learned member's own profession. I ask him to show me two such lawyers, two judges so eminent, as Lords Eldon and Stowell; the one the wonder of the Admiralty, as the other was of the Equity Court. Yet it is on record that at the very time when these men were oppressed with herculean labours—when day after day they were delivering judgments so masterly and profound that they defy all criticism—each of these great jurists drank his five bottles of port a day. I certainly would not advise the learned member for Annapolis to try in this country an experiment so hazardous. In the climate of England this might be done, but not in the dry atmosphere of Nova Scotia. I have sometimes seen him, however, when a few glasses would have done him good. Indeed, I often fancy that both in the Senate and at the Bar, his wit is not so poignant or his logic so acute as in the olden time when he used to take his glass of wine.

My honourable colleague and friend from Cumberland, whose sincerity in this cause I entirely respect, quoted to us last winter the passage from Scripture: "If eating meat causes my brother to offend then will I eat no more." But would my honourable friend shut up all the butchers' shops and forbid by law the sale of meat, for fear somebody would eat too much? Again, he told us, "we have tried moral suasion, and have failed." If so, who is to blame? If a speaker here fails to convince his audience, do we permit him to coerce them into belief by force of law? I resist this bill because it is a violation of the voluntary principle, because it is defended by the old arguments by which fanatics and persecutors in all ages have sought to propagate religious opinions. Hoping to save men's souls (more precious than their bodies), Catholics have burnt Protestants, and Protestants Catholics. The right of private judgment was denied. The right of one human being to coerce others into belief, as it is now sought to coerce them into temperance, has been tried a thousand times, and has failed, as this attempt will fail.

From the spring of 1854 to that of 1857, Mr. Howe discharged the duties of chairman of the Railway Board. He was ably assisted by the Hon. Jonathan McCully, by William Pryor, John H.

Anderson, Thomas S. Tobin, and Perez M. Cunningham, Esquires. Under their joint management and supervision, the Western road from Halifax to Windsor, and the Eastern road as far as Truro, were located by James R. Forman, Esq., chief engineer, and placed under contract. The first section out of Halifax was opened on the 8th of February, 1855, and the event was celebrated by a railway ride and a banquet at the Four-mile House, which was attended by members of both branches of the Legislature and by the chief executive and municipal officers of the Province. Mr. Howe presided, and in proposing the health of his Excellency, Sir Gaspard Le Marchant, who from 1852 to 1858 administered the government of the Province in a constitutional and impartial manner, paid to that officer this well-merited tribute of respect :

Again, gentlemen, it becomes my pleasant duty to announce another toast ; but before giving it, I will take the liberty of reading a short note which I received from the Lieutenant-Governor this morning with great regret. After stating his inability to attend, in consequence of a sudden attack of illness, his Excellency adds :

“Would you oblige me by conveying my deep and sincere regret at the impossibility of my attending the Railway Commissioners in their proposed excursion of to-day.

“Should the opportunity offer itself in the course of the afternoon, you would infinitely oblige me, by stating the cause of my absence and the great mortification it occasions me not to be present, to express personally what I have so repeatedly assured you and the commissioners of, that no man in the country feels a warmer interest in the perfect success of our railway engagements than myself, from the deep conviction that the works are now inseparably blended with the future happiness and prosperity of Nova Scotia.”

While, gentlemen, I regret the absence of his Excellency, it affords me pleasure to propose his health. In these warlike times we may remember that he has descended from a race of soldiers. We read, day by day, of those splendid charges of our cavalry before Sebastopol. Sir Gaspard's father introduced and brought to perfection the system by which that cavalry was trained. He practised what he taught. Even the splendid charges at Balaclava have not eclipsed that by which our Governor's father won the battle of Salamanca. Sir Gaspard himself has won the military rank which he enjoys. In the conflicts of Spain he was the companion in arms of that distinguished officer, Sir De Lacy Evans. I will not in any way trespass on topics forbidden, but no man is more prepared to speak of his course of conduct since he assumed the reins of government in Nova Scotia. Identified with no party, but above them all—he has administered public affairs with firmness, intelligence and

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impartiality; extending to all classes, ranks and shades of opinion, the same manly and generous consideration; and if at this festive board all these are gathered, may we not presume that it is chiefly owing to his example.

Major-General Gore was unable to attend, but wrote to Mr. Howe to say:

If I can get over my letters and despatches for the mail to leave to-morrow, I shall be glad to witness your triumph, for such it will be, and in which I shall rejoice, for you are highly deserving of it, and I assure you that if a soldier's praise is welcome to you, you have mine.

In returning thanks for his own health, which was proposed by Mr. Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, Mr. Howe said:

My worthy friend, the member for Halifax, has somewhat broken in upon the order of the regular toasts. I am quite sure that no person feels more pride and pleasure than my old friend and colleague, Mr. Doyle, of whom I may truly say that he is the only man I ever knew who has not an enemy; whose humour never flags, whose wit never wounds, who, by common consent, is everywhere welcome, and who, if ubiquity and immortality could be conferred by universal suffrage, everybody would vote should enliven every scene of festivity down to the end of time. I am quite sure if he lived so long, the last trump would only drown the ring of merry voices over his last jest. For myself I thank you heartily for the manner in which you have drunk my health. The day's triumph is not mine exclusively. I have been but a humble fellow-worker of the miracle which has puzzled my learned friend. It would be gross egotism if I claimed any other credit. I am about to propose a toast to the two branches of the Legislature. Among the living, who sit around me, how many are there, who by their advocacy of a common policy have brought about a great result. But the dead ought not to be forgotten, who zealously laboured in one form or other to stimulate railway enterprise. Without the co-operation of these men—without the skill of our engineers, the enterprise of contractors, and the zeal and energy of my fellow-commissioners, what could I have done? I should much mistake my duty if I sought to appropriate, or permitted my friend to attribute to me, all the credit which results from our common labours. To have been the associate of these men in such work, I consider sufficient distinction. If I have a hope beyond, it is to connect my name with the works themselves. I think it was Apelles, who, calling upon a friend and finding him absent, traced a line so beautiful upon his door that his friend, on his return, knew that the artist had been there. Hereafter, when these lines of beauty and utility cross our country, carrying animation and vigour into every district—enlarging the prosperity and developing the resources of the Province, perhaps some of my countrymen or their children may occasionally exclaim, "Howe has been here." Fill a bumper now, gentlemen,

to "the two Branches of the Legislature," and although some of you may be compelled to drink your own healths, believe me that you might be much worse employed. Though not so crowded as some other legislative chambers, our Council and Assembly fairly reflect all the good and evil of our country. From what I have seen abroad or read of elsewhere, I believe them to include as much integrity, intelligence, patriotism and manly independence as are to be found in any Parliaments in any part of the world. We have our party battles and conflicts it is true, but show me a country where these do not exist and I will show you a despotism. Out of these conflicts of opinion spring enlarged principles of action, measures of public utility, and often, I am proud to say, among the combatants themselves, mutual respect. A note of menace from abroad unites us; a touch of nature from either side, "makes the whole house kin." If we have our rugged paths of political ambition, we have our "green spots of the soul that the eye loves to rest on." After the storms of public life, which divide us as the billows are divided, comes the burst of sunshine, which hallows, as it does now, the interchange of courtesies and the celebration of some festival in which we all have a common interest.

The road to Windsor and thirty-two miles of the Eastern road were opened for traffic in the spring of 1855. In June, a number of Mr. Howe's friends and admirers assembled at Windsor, and, in presence of his constituents, presented him with £1000, and a handsome complimentary address.

The Reciprocity Treaty, which largely extended the commercial relations between the United States and the British Provinces of North America, was signed by Lord Elgin at Washington on the 5th of June, 1854. For the success of this measure, both countries were largely indebted to J. D. Andrews, Esq., who devoted many years of life to its accomplishment. He repeatedly visited all the Provinces, and communicated freely with the colonial Governments; by his personal exertions he interested those who led them, and also the prominent statesmen of the republic, in the question. A flood of light was poured upon it from the able and elaborate reports and statistical tables prepared under his direction for the information of Congress. Though offence was given by some misconception which arose at the time and in consequence of which Nova Scotia was left unrepresented at Washington, it is but fair to Lord Elgin and to all parties concerned to acknowledge that this treaty has greatly extended the trade and commerce of the two countries.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On December 5, 1854, Mr. Howe in a speech in the Assembly expressed his strong disapproval of the manner in which the treaty was negotiated. The Conservative leader, Mr. Johnston, also gave expression to his disapproval.

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The Russian war broke out in 1854. The allied armies were thrown into the Crimea, and their numbers were thinned by great battles, by incessant labour, and combats in the trenches. The British troops, being less numerous than the French, and covering too much ground, suffered most. Large quantities of indispensable supplies were wrecked in the port of Balaclava at the beginning of the winter of 1854-5, too late to be replaced before much suffering and mortality had resulted. A want of skill and administrative capacity in the higher military authorities was also apparent, and aggravated the sufferings of the army, while it heightened the anxiety everywhere felt throughout the empire for the fate of an heroic body of men, whose courage and endurance were undoubted, but whose position was most critical all through that winter. At a moment when the gloom was deepest and the necessity for speedy reinforcements was most keenly felt, Mr. Howe undertook a mission of a very delicate and, as it turned out, of a somewhat hazardous nature.

In 1846, Mr. Howe, in his letter to Lord John Russell, and again in 1854, in his speech on the Organization of the Empire, recommended that representatives from the outlying Provinces should be drawn into the Imperial Parliament and the physical force of those Provinces embodied and prepared for the defence of the flag, however and whenever it might be assailed. His advice was neglected, and when the great war came the stress and strain of it fell on the population of the British Islands, there being no preparations or legal enactments by which a man could be drawn from any one of our forty Provinces into the Queen's service. On December 23rd, 1854, a temporary Enlistment Bill,<sup>1</sup> by which it was hoped that the materials, so abundant within it, might be obtained from beyond the limits of the empire, was passed through Parliament in some haste, and perhaps without due consideration.

The winter of 1854-5, in consequence of various disturbing causes, was one of severe commercial depression in the United States. Thousands of the labouring classes of the great cities were thrown out of employment; and large bodies of British subjects and of the foreign population generally, were either supported by eleemosynary efforts or were temporarily employed by the municipalities. Under those circumstances, it was very natural that foreign officers, driven by revolutions and proscription from various parts of Europe, should offer their swords to England, and flatter themselves that their old

<sup>1</sup> 18 Vict. c. 2.



co-patriots and companions in arms would follow them into her service. It was even more natural that British subjects, who took an interest in the honour and in the welfare of their mother country, should suggest that those who were starving in the streets would cheerfully exchange the luxuries of the soup kitchen for good pay and a chance of promotion. These offers and suggestions were made by persons resident in the United States. With the passage of the Enlistment Bill, or the suggestions which induced Her Majesty's Government to test the resources of those who had urged that men might be drawn from that country, Mr. Howe had nothing to do. Had the empire been properly organized, as he proposed should be done in 1846, foreign mercenaries would not have been required; nor would there have existed any necessity for perilling, by experiments, successful or unsuccessful, the amicable relations which existed between Great Britain and the United States.

But when the bill was passed and the policy adopted, Mr. Howe did not shrink from giving to Her Majesty's Government any service or aid that might be required to render that policy successful. In the winter of 1855, he was selected and sent into the United States to test the accuracy of the statements made to the Imperial Government by foreign officers and others in that country and to gauge the extent of their resources, and he performed that service with rare prudence, sagacity and moral courage. During the two months, March and April, that he spent in the United States, he had to communicate with a score of persons, whose names had been given to him, and many of whom turned out to be reckless adventurers, utterly devoid of principle. He had to test their resources, to penetrate their designs, to estimate their characters, and not unfrequently to fling them off and run the risk of treachery and hostility, when he had proved or suspected that they were worthless. He had to do this with the neutrality laws in his front, and Russian agents and Russian sympathizers all round him. How he did it may be gathered from the fact that he left the country, after traversing it for two months, without the authorities—however well disposed to have done so—being able to prove against him any violation of law.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Upon the passing of 18 Vict. c. 2—an Act to permit foreigners to be enlisted and to serve as officers and soldiers in Her Majesty's forces—steps were taken to establish a recruiting depôt in Halifax for the enlistment of officers and men for service in the Crimea. The Governor, Sir Gaspard Le Marchant, conferred with Mr. Howe, who urged upon his Excellency the importance of sending to the United States some suitable person to see to the work of obtaining recruits and of sending them to Halifax to

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The House of Assembly was dissolved while Mr. Howe was in the United States; and, returning from his mission but a few days before the general election, he lost his seat for Cumberland, from utter inability to visit important sections of his county, where his opponents had been sufficiently industrious during his absence.<sup>1</sup>

On the 8th of June, 1855, Mr. Howe embarked for England, being, for the third time, honoured by having Provincial interests entrusted to his care. He returned in the autumn, having succeeded—notwithstanding the efforts of political opponents to damage the credit of the country abroad—in selling to Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co., £150,000 of Provincial debentures at par and in negotiating with them for the further sale of whatever might be required, up to £800,000 sterling, to complete the public works.

While in England, Mr. Howe republished his speech on the Organization of the Empire. Some passages of it gave offence to the Hon. Francis Hincks, who was then in London and who

be enlisted. The Governor concurred with Mr. Howe, and the result was that Mr. Howe was himself entrusted with the mission. He landed in Boston on March 8th, 1855. On March 15th, a notice was issued by the Provincial Secretary and published in *The Royal Gazette* announcing the opening of the recruiting dépôt; and in a circular letter “to the People of the United States,” dated April 3rd, Mr. Howe, signing himself “A British American,” published the proclamation, together with an explanation of it. In the work of obtaining recruits, Mr. Howe was assisted by Mr. John F. Crampton, the British minister at Washington. The attention of the United States authorities was soon directed to the matter, with the result that warrants were issued for the arrest of Mr. Howe and his secretary, the latter of whom was arrested and subsequently acquitted. While Mr. Howe was in the United States, William Condon, at the time the president of the Charitable Irish Society of Halifax, sent a telegram to a New York paper stating that sixty Irishmen had been entrapped in Boston as railway labourers and sent to Halifax to join the foreign legions. Of this transaction Mr. Howe disclaimed all knowledge; but the publication of the telegram compelled him to abandon the work and leave for Halifax, where he arrived on May 8th.

The position of the United States Government on the matter of the enlistment was thus stated by Attorney-General Caleb Cushing in a memorandum dated August 3rd: “The undertaking of a belligerent to enlist troops of land or sea in a neutral state, without the previous consent of the latter, is a hostile attack on its sovereignty. . . . Great Britain, in attempting by the agency of her military and civil authorities in the British North American Provinces, and her diplomatic and consular functionaries in the United States, to raise troops here, committed an act of usurpation against the sovereign rights of the United States.”—*Opinions of the Attorneys-General*, vol. vii. p. 367.

<sup>1</sup> Messrs. Howe and Fulton were defeated by Messrs. Tupper and Macfarlane. This election marks the advent of Dr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Tupper, who became, while they were on opposite sides, the most formidable opponent Mr. Howe encountered in his public career. A curious bit of political literature is the reference made at this time by the leading Government journal to Dr. Tupper as “a gentleman who may be a very fair judge of lotions and potions, but without any experience of public life and without influence in the Legislature.”

reviewed it in a pamphlet with a good deal of acerbity. Mr. Howe's CHAP. XXIII  
reply, which he published in August, is as follows :

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SIR,—That you should have rushed into print on the publication of my speech in England does not surprise me. There were some things in it calculated to give offence, and matters discussed on which I have long known that we entirely disagree. As you were on the spot, the keenness of your criticism was one of the unavoidable perils of publication, and as that was foreseen, it must be good-humouredly encountered. I would, however, rather review your reply than have you complain that the speech was published here in your absence.

Before grappling with your main arguments, permit me to set myself right upon one or two points : and, first, as to the passage which you assume to have been aimed at you. When that passage was spoken, I freely admit that I was in no humour to take the most amiable view of your public conduct upon the railway question, and believed that the expressions used were warranted by the subject and the occasion. The speech, you must remember, was spoken sixteen months ago, long before the Select Committees to which you refer were appointed and at a time when the press and parliamentary speeches in Canada teemed with accusations that, up to that period, had not been met or disproved. The reports which, you state, contain your vindication, were only made during the last session. They have not reached me ; but when they do, permit me to assure you that nobody will more sincerely rejoice than myself to find the exculpation complete. In justice to Nova Scotia, however, you should acknowledge that these imputations did not originate there. They came to us from Canada. It was roundly asserted in that Province that you had been concerned, with the Mayor of Toronto, in a transaction so gross that the "Court" of Chancery had inserted on its "records" a sentence by which that officer (the only one against whom the bill was filed) had been compelled to restore to the Corporation his share of the profits jointly made. It had been asserted that on the stock-book of the Grand Trunk Railway Company your name was found standing opposite to £50,000 of paid-up stock, and that, from being no richer than most colonial politicians usually are, you had within a marvellously short space become extremely wealthy. All these things were said in Canadian newspapers of the highest respectability and by members of the Legislature holding prominent positions, before my speech was made. To such an extent were these statements credited in Canada that the Liberal party was broken up, and Sir Allan McNab came in at the head of a new combination from which you were excluded. These charges, you say, have all been disproved. Of the extent and character of the vindication I shall soon inform myself by reference to the reports ; and, in the meantime, permit me to repeat that I shall sincerely rejoice if it should be satisfactory.

As you have thought it worth your while to favour the world at large with ten pages of comment and explanation with reference to our railway negotia-

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tions, I can scarcely pass them over without a few remarks, although nothing would be more unseemly than any attempt of ours to interest the British public in our past differences of opinion. From the account you give of them, it would be extremely difficult to comprehend the nature of my negotiations with Her Majesty's Government or of your own. A few explanations will suffice to define our relative positions and policy.

The idea of a great intercolonial railway to connect the British Provinces with each other originated with Lord Durham; that of a shore line connecting Europe and the United States, through the Lower Provinces, was suggested at the Portland convention. The trunk for either or both of these lines would pass for one hundred and thirty miles through Nova Scotia. After several years had been spent in unavailing efforts to construct some portion of these works by companies, with aids and facilities from the Provincial Legislatures, I induced the Government of Nova Scotia to assume the responsibility of borrowing the funds required to construct her own. I also suggested that if the Imperial Government could be induced to guarantee the loans required by the Provinces to complete the system, a vast amount of money might be saved and that the works would thus be remunerative at a much earlier period than if constructed in any other mode.

I came to England to press this policy on the Imperial Government, and I laboured here until my efforts had attracted to it the favour of the press, of the House of Lords, of the citizens of Southampton and of many influential members of the House of Commons. The Government then yielded an apparently cheerful assent, and the guarantee was promised in a public despatch, which was at once forwarded to all the colonial Governments.

Knowing that the consent of New Brunswick to the arrangement could not be obtained unless it included a provision for connecting her chief seaports with the system, and that if the shore line were provided for we should command the passenger traffic with the United States and build up upon British territory fitting rivals to the great commercial cities of the republic, I argued throughout that both lines were essential to the preservation of British interests and dominion and ought to be provided for. For six months the people of British America, with the official despatch in their hands believed that the guarantee was given for both. As matters have turned out, it is apparent that it might have been safely given, for the revenues of all the Provinces have so largely increased that they are now enabled to borrow all the money they require without the aid of the Imperial Government, utterly irrespective of the paying properties of their roads. But it subsequently appeared that Earl Grey only meant that the guarantee should be given to the Trunk Line.

Now you argue that for all the consequences of this misconception, blunder or second thought, whatever it may have been, I only am to blame. Suppose that this were true—that I really did erroneously assume that Earl Grey designed to do more good than he really intended, the error would be venial. But had I no foundation for this belief? We shall see.

It is true that I expressed to Sir John Harvey in my letter of the 11th of December 1851 my "regret and deep mortification" that I had misunderstood the views of Her Majesty's Government. With Earl Grey's despatch in my hand asserting the fact, I was bound to assume at the moment that I had. A little reflection, however, convinced me that I had hardly done myself justice. I mean to do it now, and I am much obliged to you for affording me the opportunity.

When I put myself in communication with the Colonial Secretary in 1850, I was aware that misunderstandings had sometimes arisen as to matters of fact, where interviews had been obtained by persons connected with the colonies and subjects discussed in an informal manner. I determined to avoid these, if possible, and therefore invariably sent to Earl Grey my own reports to the Provincial Government of what had passed, for his Lordship's inspection and approval. Mr. Hawes's letter to me, pledging the guarantee, was dated on the 10th of March. On the 13th I addressed to the Deputy-Secretary of the Province a report to accompany that letter. This was sent to the Colonial Secretary for inspection, as all my reports were. You say that they were "not read." But should they not have been read? If they were not, there was gross negligence which no public officer could have defended on the floor of the House of Commons. If they were, then with what face can you assert that the officers in Downing Street "were wholly unaware that I believed them to be committed to a scheme which they had not entertained." That these reports were read I have the best reason to believe, because one of them was cancelled at Earl Grey's request; but that they should have been, if they were not, is just as apparent as that any minister's interpretation of a treaty, about to be sent to his own Government, should, if submitted, be read by the Government to which he was accredited, in order to avoid the possibility of future misunderstandings. Hereafter, I doubt not that even you will agree with me, that others and not I are responsible for the six months' waste of time, and that it would have been better for all parties concerned, if my "letters" had been "read with sufficient attention."

Your reference to the "speeches," which were not read, you will find to be equally unfortunate. I do not refer to half-a-dozen, made in different parts of British America and regularly sent to Earl Grey during the summer of 1851, because I have no proof that his Lordship did read them and certainly no desire to contend that they were worth reading. But on my return to Halifax in the spring of that year I made a speech in the Masons' Hall, in which I not only expanded my views of imperial and colonial policy, as connected with internal improvements, immigration and the employment of destitute British subjects on British soil, but described the proposition made by Mr. Hawes, as I understood it, with unmistakable distinctness: arguing with the people of New Brunswick, in a series of calculations, that by accepting that proposition, they would get both the great works essential to their prosperity for about the same amount that one would cost if they rejected the guarantee. I must have

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been a bold man to have made that speech, believing that I was in error. He will be a bolder, who asserts, if Lord Grey read it in June and never informed all British America until the end of November that I had misunderstood him and that we were self-deceived, that he could have been defended on the floor of Parliament or anywhere else, and that a British colonist with such a case in his hands need to have been much afraid to hold up his head before six hundred English gentlemen, who, whatever their other faults may be, are dear lovers of fair play.

Now, I have never proved but you compel me to prove that Earl Grey did "read" and sanction that speech. It was sent to his Lordship on the 28th of May. It was acknowledged in a note signed "Grey," and dated "Colonial Office, June 12, 1851." As this note was marked "private," I have ever declined to publish it, and in consequence have borne much misapprehension which I ought not to have borne. Read it, and then ask yourself what you would say of the statesman who read such a speech of yours; who wrote you such a note; and who, five months after, wrote to your official superior to say that you were self-deceived. "I received," says his Lordship, "your two letters of the 28th of May, but I have little to say, beyond thanking you for them and expressing the gratification your report of what is going on has given me. I think all you have done about the railway very judicious and, without flattery, I may say that I do not know when I have read a better or abler speech than that which you made at the public meeting. I feel very sanguine of the ultimate assent of New Brunswick to the measure as proposed, and that we shall succeed in getting this most important work, destined as I believe to effect a change in the civilized world, accomplished."

An unskilful defender or eulogist often does more injury than an open opponent, and I am under the impression that Earl Grey will not thank you very much for your defence of what is indefensible or for your assertion that my "letters and speeches were not read."

Were I disposed to attribute to the great contractors whom you have named, the acrimony that runs through your pamphlet, or to revive the bitterness of past controversy, I apprehend that they would thank you just as little. With those gentlemen I have never had any personal quarrel and do not intend to have any now. They have withdrawn from all interference with the railway policy of Nova Scotia; and however attained, Nova Scotia respects too much the position which they have acquired in British America to desire unnecessarily to interfere with them. By a few very simple contrasts I could show how deeply those gentlemen "were interested" and what strong temptations they had to "interfere." That they did so from the time that they sent an agent to Toronto in the spring of 1851 down to the final signing of their contracts with you in 1852, every man in British America believes. We may charitably hope that you, in making those arrangements, thought only of the interests of the Province, but that the contractors looked after their own interests and played their game with great energy and adroitness, even you will scarcely

deny. There is hardly one of them with the power of face to back your statement, or who will pretend that their interests did not lie all in favour of the popular presumption. My policy was, after securing the money at the cheapest rate, to leave the Provinces free to get their roads built at the lowest price, by open public contract. Theirs obviously was to secure the construction of 1000 miles of railroad, at their own prices. I have never asserted that these gentlemen "exercised any influence with Lord Derby's Government," but that they had influence with the Government of which Earl Grey was a member and of which they were all supporters, even you I think will not deny; and that, having influence, they would use it in a matter involving a profit of a million of money, I am credulous enough to believe.

But, assuming that those gentlemen have been of great advantage to British America, that their policy was the best; then I think that you ought to be the last person to sneer at my labours here in England, which first turned their attention towards the North American Provinces. Mr. Jackson publicly asserted in presence of thirty gentlemen in Nova Scotia that but for Joseph Howe's able expositions of the resources of British America, neither he nor Mr. Peto, Mr. Brassey or Mr. Betts, would ever have thought of embarking their resources in their railways. If then Canada has largely benefited, and you have made a fortune by their operations, do be civil and grateful to the person who made you acquainted—

"Be to his faults a little blind,  
And to his virtues very kind;"

and "clap the padlock," if not on "your mind," at least on your restless right hand, when you feel inclined to attack him.

On your own railway negotiations I am inclined to touch tenderly. Assuming that you were sincere and disinterested in all you did, I have no doubt that you had your own trials. You attribute most of them to my absence; but I am inclined to believe that on that as on another celebrated occasion the absence of a delegate from Nova Scotia was considered rather as a relief than a misfortune. However, you might have candidly told your readers the true cause. That being most unexpectedly unseated on a point of form, after my engagement to accompany you, I was compelled to spend the winter in canvassing a large county and in running a heavy and anxious election. Had I been here I am quite sure that you and I would not have agreed. The quarrel with Sir John Pakington might have been avoided, but the results of the negotiation would have been the same. As it was, you did the very opposite to what you professed you meant to do, when you came over. You came, confidently declaring that Canada would aid New Brunswick in making a line by the river St. John and that the guarantee would be given to that line if we would consent to it. We did consent, and New Brunswick, which was simple enough to listen to the blandishments of Mr. Hincks, has been left three years without a mile of finished railroad in any direction, while

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the State of Maine enjoys all the advantage of your diplomacy. You came professing to repudiate companies and to build your roads as Government works; and you ended by throwing our common policy overboard and rushing into the arms of the great contractors. The chief reason you gave was that when the imperial guarantee was withdrawn, their influence in the English money market was necessary to enable us to command the funds and that their skill and experience were indispensable to the permanent construction of the line. The results show that Nova Scotia can construct roads with her own contractors as good as theirs, at two-thirds of the cost; and that while all the Provinces can command as much money as they require, upon their own resources, Canada is compelled to advance nearly a million of bonds at a time, to enable your company to float their stock and get their lines completed.

Such being the facts, patent and notorious to all the world, take an old friend's advice and do not be too ready to appropriate to yourself doubtful compliments. Let bygones be bygones, and if there is any little good that we can yet do on the face of the earth, let us set about it in a spirit of mutual forbearance.

Your defence of Lord Elgin's treaty could not have been rendered necessary by anything in my speech; because, permit me to remind you, the speech was made some months before the treaty and long before it was known to me that Lord Elgin was to be charged with that service. But perhaps you thought that the treaty required defence, or it may be that you have a taste for defending all the lords you know. It would have saved Sir John Pakington some trouble had you been equally indulgent to the baronets.

Not having been a member of the Government of Nova Scotia at the time, I am under no obligation to defend its conduct against the charges you have preferred. But I heard the members of it defend themselves in Parliament, and I do not hesitate to say that you have deeply wronged them. Now what are the facts? Lord Elgin, absent from his government on leave, in a private note informs Sir Gaspard Le Marchant that he is coming out to the United States to negotiate and desires his Excellency to send on a gentleman to confer with him. In the meantime an official letter comes down from Canada, addressed by the administrator of the Government of North America (Sir Gaspard's official superior at the time, bear in mind) to his Excellency, instructing him to select delegates and informing him that notice would be given of the time when and place where the delegates were to meet Lord Elgin. No notice of time or place was ever given, and before the two gentlemen who had been selected were informed to what point they were to repair, Lord Elgin had rushed in hot haste to Washington and alienated a national property of more value than I can describe. The defence made by the Government of Nova Scotia, in reference to this transaction, was perfect. The House almost unanimously held them blameless.

Though myself a warm admirer of Lord Elgin, a supporter of his adminis-



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tration from first to last and indebted to him for much personal courtesy, I condemned his conduct in this transaction, upon the facts as disclosed in the papers. It did appear to me that in this age of telegraphs and railways his Lordship might have waited four days, even to avoid the appearance of marked discourtesy and injustice to an ancient and loyal colony, whose birthright (for she was the only Province deeply interested in the inshore fisheries) he was about to barter away. "Strike, but hear me," was never considered an unreasonable request. Nova Scotia had ever treated Lord Elgin with personal respect. She nobly sustained him when he and you were driven from the capital of Canada by those who complained of a similar surprise. Nova Scotia, had a sacrifice of interest been required of her for the general advantage of North America, would have gracefully made it; but those know little of her who fancy that she will ever sacrifice her dignity and self-respect; and her conduct throughout this transaction any of her sons could defend in either House of Parliament.

Since I came to England I have been honoured by Lord Elgin's personal explanations on one or two points of this controversy; and, however unfortunate I may still think it was that ground was left for the impression, I entirely acquit his Lordship of any design to exclude Nova Scotia from the discussion. I believe that he and Sir Gaspard Le Marchant were both mystified by the stupid despatch which came down from Canada, of which the former knew nothing but which the latter was bound to obey.

But such questions as this are eternally arising in or with reference to some Province of the empire; and do you not perceive, that, when they do arise, there is no common platform where they can be discussed and adjusted?

In 1852 you suddenly threw over a great scheme of intercolonial policy, sacrificed the interests of the Maritime Provinces and of the empire at large, and added at least a million to the necessary cost of the Trunk Line through Canada. Your defence was that you had been driven to do all this—not as you now allege by the absence of Mr. Howe—but by the discourteous and unstatesmanlike conduct of Sir John Pakington and Lord Derby. Well, what happened? Both these officers went down to their places in the Imperial Parliament, explained and justified their conduct, and left the universal impression in England that Mr. Hincks,—assuming that the rage had not been put on for the benefit of the great contractors,—had acted very like the angry boy in "The Alchemist" and had at least sacrificed a great scheme of national policy to an unpardonable vanity or an unfortunate infirmity of temper.

You went home to the Canadian Parliament and there you left the contrary impression. A majority were made to believe that from Lord Derby and Sir John Pakington you had received most scurvy treatment; and under cover of the virtuous indignation thus excited your railway contracts were sanctioned and approved. I regret that your speeches and letters are not beside me, but I well remember the tone and temper of them. Not a word

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did we then hear about the "high position which a Canadian minister occupies in the eyes of the world." Your argument then was that being a Canadian minister accredited to the Imperial Government, you had been treated with marked indifference, if not with sovereign contempt.

But my argument is that, besides the two parties to this controversy, there were the British people and the people of British America, whose interests were involved in it, and sacrificed by the rupture of the negotiations; and I contend that the empire should afford the means for a fair discussion of all such questions. I say, let not error be propagated on both sides of the Atlantic, which, when such questions arise, leads to irritation and alienation; but let us have a fair and full discussion somewhere, and ascertain where the truth lies. Let not Mr. Hincks go to Canada and abuse Lord Derby, or Sir John Pakington go down to the House of Commons and disparage Mr. Hincks; but let them both be brought face to face before six hundred gentlemen, representing the whole empire, that every man in it may thereafter know what he is to believe.

What is true of your case is true of my own. What remedy had I in 1852, when Lord Grey's despatch shattered the noblest scheme of colonial policy ever devised,—a scheme which was calculated (to use his Lordship's own language) "to effect a change in the civilized world." None whatever suited to the magnitude of the wrong or of the occasion. Borne down by the weight of authority, which I had no means of resisting here, I would have given all that I was worth or ever will be for the opportunity of appealing from Earl Grey to the House of Commons, for the chance of winning from the Imperial Government a reconsideration of my policy. I might have failed and so might Mr. Johnston, had he come here to complain of the treatment of his Province or of himself, in the Fishery negotiation. But what then? We should all live and die with the satisfactory reflection that we had been heard; our own people would not justify us when we were wrong; sources of irritation would be removed, and general principles, applicable to the whole empire, would be evolved by every fresh discussion.

I come now to your reference to our mines and minerals; and I cannot but express my surprise at the *ad captandum* and flippant style in which you have discussed a subject of such importance. You used to have a keen eye for a grievance, but I fear prosperity has clouded your vision. You used to strain at a gnat, and now you can scarcely see a camel.

Let me suppose that all the mines and minerals beneath the surface of England, Ireland and Scotland, except what lay under land granted seventy years after the first settlement of either kingdom, had been improvidently granted away to a royal duke, transferred to his creditors, and were held at this hour in close monopoly by a company which only worked two or three, over the whole broad surface of the three kingdoms. How long would such a monopoly last in presence of that Parliament which has abolished the slave trade, the rotten boroughs, the Corn Laws, and the exclusive privileges of the

East India Company? Not a year. Yet this is the grievance of Nova Scotia. CHAP. XXIII

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You argue, that because the Legislature gave corporate powers to the Mining Association and because an old parliamentary report acknowledged that their operations had been beneficial up to a certain time, that therefore this lease should not be disturbed. But had the East India Company, the borough-mongers and the slaveholders no legislative sanction? Of course they had. And could not I or anybody else consistently condemn the company's monopoly, while admitting that India had been benefited by its operations? Might I not admit that the owner of Old Sarum generally made judicious selections of members of Parliament, but would that warrant his exclusive possession of what belonged to Birmingham or Manchester? Might not a parliamentary committee report that the planters of a particular island were considerate and humane; but would that justify slavery there or anywhere else? Such arguments would not avail even to amuse the House of Commons. This lease would only require to be aired there for an evening or two, to go the way of all monopolies,—to be universally condemned.

But I have ever separated from this act of the British Government—which the British Government at whatever cost should cancel and recall—the acts of a body of British merchants who bought the lease and, upon the faith of it, have expended their capital in mining operations within the Province. To these gentlemen, individually and collectively, I have ever done justice. Some of them are my valued personal friends. They know my opinions and respect them; and they know that while I believe that Her Majesty's Government is bound to adjust this question, that while I believe that it is for the true interests of the company that it should be adjusted, I have never contemplated or would be a party to any act of spoliation or injustice.

But let me fancy that all the mineral wealth of Canada, except what lay under a few old seigniories on the St. Lawrence, were thus locked up. What would the people of that Province do? Resort to the old mode of furnishing facts to members of Parliament, and sending addresses and agents to the bar of the House of Commons, as they did for half a century? No. They would resort to their more modern and more effective expedients—a successful or an unsuccessful rebellion. They would burn down a Parliament House and pelt a Governor-General.

Now, it is because I desire in the management of this great empire to avoid the delays and irritation inseparable from the old mode of discussing grievances and the perils of the new, that I seek to secure a common platform where they may be discussed and settled. I think it beneath the dignity and insulting to the intelligence of the great Provinces of this empire, that they should be asked to fee or to cram some member of Parliament to plead their cause, or to send a hireling advocate to implore attention to their grievances at the bar of a legislative body from which their people are systematically excluded. It may suit you to ignore this very rational demand; and,

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looking only to the paramount object of floating railway stock, with an awful ponderosity, to paint the colonial condition *couleur de rose*. But I have watched too carefully the development of the colonial mind and studied too long the imperfect organization of this empire, to believe that the adjustment of this question is dependent on the temporary prosperity or tranquillity of any particular Province or cluster of Provinces, or on the personal influence or opinions of any particular individual. We are but on the threshold of this great discussion—the greatest, let me tell you, in which the men of the present day were ever yet engaged. This is not a question which you or I could, if we would, control. It is not a question which concerns Canada or Nova Scotia only; it concerns India, Australia, New Zealand, Jamaica, Ceylon and the Cape. It concerns every Province into which the British races have gone and thriven and bred a native race with all the characteristics of the parent stock. It will presently concern even Canterbury—the youngest born of that great family of nations which I wish to keep together. You and I will soon float like bubbles upon the surface of this great discussion, which will swell far beyond the ordinary sphere of our influence—the narrow circumference of our ideas.

You seem to think that my official position should restrain me from discussing this great question. If it did, I should not be very long in office. While I honourably fulfil my official obligations to the Government of Nova Scotia, it has no right to complain at the free expression of my opinions on any topic of general interest. This is a question of imperial dimensions; it involves the integrity of a great empire, the allegiance of millions of Her Majesty's subjects. Is my local position as an officer of a single Province to circumscribe my rights and duties as a British subject, as a citizen of that empire? God forbid.

I never pretended that I spoke the sentiments of the Government of Nova Scotia, or that the Legislature of any Province in British America had taken action upon this question. Mr. Johnston's object in moving his resolution and mine in discussing it was to set the people in all the outlying portions of the empire thinking on a subject of common concern. To give a wider range to the discussion was the motive for the publication of my speech. My object has been attained. It would have been premature for Nova Scotia to have come to any direct action upon this question until the subject had been agitated far and wide. That I have truthfully delineated, upon many important points, the feelings of all our colonies, I firmly believe. That wide differences of opinion may exist as to the best mode of attaining a more perfect organization is more than probable. That English prejudices may stand in the way, and colonial prejudices also, I quite anticipate. But I do not care for all this, because in attaining responsible government we had greater difficulties to encounter with less efficient means.

Twenty years ago, when Robert Baldwin, myself, and a few others, claimed for the British Provinces in North America the political privileges which they

now enjoy, there were hardly ten men in England who did not believe we were mad; and powerful parties existed in all the Provinces opposed to any change of system. The system has been changed, and what are the results? Read them in the subsidence of irritation—in the settlement of old questions—in the free competition for the prizes of public and social life within the Provinces themselves—in the diffusion of education, and in the rapid march of internal improvements of every kind. All these wonders have been wrought out in a few years by the action of colonial intellect left free to operate over our internal affairs. But have we no external relations with our British brethren; with our foreign neighbours; with each other; with French, and Danish, and Spanish colonies; with the commercial states of Europe, Asia and Africa? Of course we have. Now, what I want is that the colonial mind should be called in to aid in the discussion and adjustment of such relations; that the Queen should have the benefit of the advice of her colonial subjects on all such questions; that Parliament should consult with them; that the people of the British Islands should be taught to regard them as parties concerned, to respect and to rely upon them. Is this an unreasonable request? It may indicate unpardonable presumption, but I fear not to express the opinion that even upon purely British questions our advice might be useful; that Mr. Hincks might be of service in the House of Commons, when such subjects as decimal coinage are under discussion, and that even Mr. Howe might have thrown into the debate on the Limited Liability Bill a little of transatlantic experience.

But you tell me that I may go into Parliament now. Why, I may go into the American Senate or into the Chamber of Deputies, by changing my country and qualifying for the position. You or I, in the House of Commons, unsustained by colonial associates—representing no Province—clothed with no colonial confidence or authority—would much resemble a certain animal without claws, in a place that shall be nameless. We should be, in fact, English representatives of English cities or boroughs, rather remarkable for having strong colonial tendencies, which were always put aside when the interests or the prejudices of our constituents were concerned. But ten North Americans, clothed with the authority of half a continent, enjoying the confidence of millions of people, would stand in a much higher position. They would be listened to with respect, and, even if only permitted to address the House of Commons without voting, would render essential service to the empire.

You assert that “the present colonial system is all that can be reasonably desired.” Let me disprove the statement by a single pregnant illustration.

The Russian Empire, broad as it is, contains but 60,000,000 of people. The British Empire contains 130,000,000. Now, how does it happen that when these two empires go to war, the one that has the smaller amount of population is able to hold in check her rival, who possesses more than double her numbers? Will you pretend that but for the military aid of France, Great Britain, on the land, would be any match for Russia? How long would our unaided forces beleaguer Sebastopol? How long could they pro-

tect Constantinople? The fact is startling, that the physical resources of the smaller population outnumber those of the larger in the field. Now why is this? Simply because the one empire is organized throughout and the other is not. Because every Russian is made to feel that he has a common interest in the war; while only 30,000,000 of Britons, on the other side, bear the whole brunt and burden of it. Have we not, at this moment, 100,000,000 of the Queen's subjects, beyond the British Islands, looking on as mere spectators of this death-struggle, while the Queen has no power to call one of them into the field. England, Ireland and Scotland furnish all the thews and sinews for this great controversy—theirs are the blood and treasure, the peril and the grief. There have been wailing and sorrow in every city and hamlet of these islands; but what then? We have piped and danced beyond. Crape shadows the doorway of every church in England; but our congregations come forth in gay attire, for the voice of the national sorrow has not been "heard in our lands." This people are paying a million a week to uphold the national honour, yet we call ourselves the common inheritors of that priceless treasure for the preservation of which we do not vote a sixpence. From the bosom of our mother country, as we call it, have gone forth thousands of stalwart men to carry our national flag—to die around it—to perish in the trench or in the hospital; and the boys of England, Ireland and Scotland (my heart bleeds when I look into their young faces) are preparing to follow them. Now, let me ask you, have the outlying portions of this empire sent a man? Where are the regiments that should pour in here, that would, if the 100,000,000 of people, now unrepresented and indifferent, were made to participate in the ennobling privileges and great duties of empire? Tell me not that the question that I have raised is a colonial question only, intruded at an inopportune moment. No, it is a British question in every sense of the word, the weight and paramount importance of which our hearts confess, for events daily supply us with painful illustrations. Prince Albert spoke good sense when he declared that our free institutions, balanced against the secrecy and the unity of despotism, were on their trial. His Royal Highness might have added, that our imperial organization was on its trial too. Nay, he might have gone further, and said, that it had been already tried, and found wanting. We have been eighteen months at war, and the great Provinces of this empire, where the Queen's health is drunk at every festival, have scarcely sent a man to enforce the Queen's authority. We have been eighteen months at war, and hardly a man of the 100,000,000 who profess to venerate the British flag has struck a blow in its defence. Yet you tell me that the system is perfect; and I tell you that it is no system at all; that the question of questions, at the present moment, far transcending all the other questions of the day is—how this empire is to be organized—how its strength in times of emergency may be drawn out—how the maritime and physical resources of the outlying portions of the empire can be rallied round the homestead—how the 100,000,000 beyond the narrow seas can be induced to feel

and think and fight, for and with the 30,000,000 that they enclose. When this question has been discussed and wisely determined, as it will be, lustre will be added to the imperial diadem—the Queen's name, at home and abroad, will be indeed a tower of strength; great weight and authority will be given to the decisions of Parliament, and a career will be opened up for the energetic and the ambitious, that will on every great emergency rally round our national standard the strength and the affections of an Empire.

You will present yourself in a few days to the Emperor of the French and spread before him the productions of Canada. Do not be surprised if that shrewd politician should ask you, "But pray, Mr. Hincks, does not Canada produce any men? What number have you sent to the Crimea? We have the Sardinian, but where is the Canadian contingent? Africa sends me Zouaves; cannot the great Province of Canada, peopled by two martial races, send the Queen of England a few regiments?" Should these questions be put, what is to be your answer? You cannot plead the poverty of your country, for her revenue is overflowing. You cannot plead that you have not men, for the militia returns of Canada should show 400,000. You cannot pretend that these men are unfit to take the field, for every man is a marksman; and they are of the same stock as those who fought at Chateaugay and at Lundy's Lane. You cannot deny that Canada was conquered by the arms of England—that she has been fostered and defended ever since. You cannot pretend that she has anything to complain of, for you profess to believe "that the present colonial system is all that can be reasonably desired." What then is to be your answer? I am sure you will have too much good taste to point to the few thousands of pounds which North America has contributed to the Patriotic Fund, less than it has cost England annually to maintain two regiments in Canada—less than England has often contributed when there has been a fire at Quebec or in Newfoundland. What then is to be your answer? Go down to Winchester, or Aldershot, and look at the fresh-coloured English boys preparing to do battle for our country—then think of the horny hands and stalwart forms that we have left on the Ottawa and on the St. John, who do not strike one blow in its defence. Where, when England is sore beset, are the descendants of the loyalists, a race as loyal and as chivalrous as any within the Queen's dominions? Where are the McDonalds and McKinnons, of Glengarry and Sydney? Where are the McNabs of McNab, and the Frasers of Pictou? Echo answers, where? And you must answer to the Emperor of the French that these men are cowards and poltroons, which you know they are not, or you must confess that there is something wrong in the organization of this empire—fundamentally and radically wrong, and you must retract the silly and unfounded assertion that the "colonial system is all that can be reasonably desired."

Now, my answer to such a question would be simple, candid and consistent. It would carry conviction and vindicate the character of North America, while it accounted for the position she maintains. "May it please

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your Majesty,—England entrusts her colonies only with the management of their internal affairs. These are admirably managed without expense or trouble to England, except where she needlessly interferes. But she never consults us either about her own or our external relations. She makes no provision by which the hundred millions of people inhabiting noble countries in every quarter of the globe shall share her legislation or her counsels, shall give vigour to her diplomacy, accuracy and fulness of knowledge to her administration, or numbers and strength to her armies. Under those circumstances, may it please your Majesty, we attend to our own affairs. Our sympathies are all in favour of England whatever she does, but our active interference in a foreign war cannot be demanded. We grant a few thousands of pounds to provide comforts for the wounded, and we pray in all our churches for the success of Her Majesty's arms, but we do not raise a sword to help her; we think, in the simple language of Jeannette, that 'those who make the war should be the men to fight.' This is the answer which every North American gives to his own conscience at the present hour. It is the answer which every man of the hundred millions of non-combatants gives to the world at large. If it be a fact, then, that they are non-combatants, and that this answer is sufficient, what shall we say of the system which produces such results? What shall we say of the politician who declares that it is all that can be reasonably desired? What shall we say of the British gentleman who would strangle with official trammels the liberty of public discussion on such a theme?

Logic would cease to be an art, if your argument on the distribution of distinctions was worthy of serious notice. I showed that while the humblest native of the smallest State in the Union might hold any legislative or executive position within that commonwealth, all the highest offices in the nation were open to him too; that he might be a Secretary of State, an Ambassador, a Judge of the Supreme Court, or President of the Republic. You tell me that "a Canadian minister occupies a much higher position in the eyes of the world than a secretary in Michigan or Illinois." Even if this were true—and I am quite sure that the boast would be laughed at in Michigan—it proves nothing; unless you can show that the colonist's career does not practically stop when he is a Provincial minister. I contend that it does; that, having reached that point, he is hedged in by barriers which he cannot overleap; that, thenceforward, he must "fling away ambition"; that he has got into a *cul-de-sac*; that he finds John Bull, looking very like a beadle, guarding the rich scenery beyond and saying to him, as he marks the expression of his longing eye, "No thoroughfare here." I can point to the Winthrops, the Cushings, the Rushes, the Websters—the descendants of the men who tore down the British flag and drove out the loyalists in 1783—representing their country in a national legislature, or in every court in Europe; and I can find a Buffalo schoolmaster or a New Hampshire lawyer presiding over the Union; while I challenge the world to show me a colonist in our national legislature, in any imperial department, or who is now or



has been for half a century, Governor of the smallest colony within the Queen's dominions. That is my argument; answer it if you can. You tell me that on this subject I am misrepresenting the feelings of British America; that I was "unable to convince the Assembly of which I was a member," of the soundness of my views. But I tell you that the speech of which you complain was delivered amidst the cheers of both sides of the House; that it circulated over British America almost unquestioned; that, however men may differ as to the remedy, there is no difference of opinion as to the practical exclusion of colonists from the higher employments and more ennobling distinctions of the Empire; that this conviction is sinking deeper into the hearts and souls of the rising generation and ought to be eradicated in time, by wise and generous statesmanship. Mr. Johnston's speech, of which I regret that I have not a copy, was more able and argumentative than mine. Now, what do you answer to all this? "It is true that I cannot find a colonist in the national legislature, in the diplomatic service, in any imperial department, or in the gubernatorial chair of any British Province; but I can find an office, recently filled up by a gentleman, who, though an Englishman by birth, has resided several years in a colony." If you were a British American, and not an Irishman, "who has resided several years in a colony," I should blush for my country. If I could show that every Irishman in Canada had been practically excluded from office for half a century, what would they say if you consoled them by finding a Canadian in office who once saw the Giant's Causeway.

As respects the united services, your argument is equally feeble. You say that the colonists now fighting the battles of their country in the Crimea will repudiate my opinions. How many are there? I know of one Nova Scotian, who carried the colours of his regiment up the heights of Alma. There may be another; there may be half-a-dozen North Americans in all; but why do you not speak out what all our people feel on this subject. In a letter which I addressed to Lord John Russell in 1846, I ventured to assert "that the time would come when it would be thought as disgraceful to sell a commission in the army as to sell a seat upon the bench." The time has come. You argue that because the system of purchase excludes seven-eighths of the people of the British Islands from the higher grades of the army, and nearly all the colonists, the colonists have no reason to complain. But my argument is that a system which works this general injustice weakens the empire and ought to be abolished.

What would you or I have said when we held Executive offices, if a man had walked in and offered to buy a magistrate's or a militia commission? Would we not have shown him the door, and have put him out of it, instantly, peremptorily? Yet do you justify the right to buy and sell the power of life and death; to lead men or to mislead them in the trench or in the field; to guard or not to guard them, by forethought and experience, from frost and wind and rain; from hunger, surprise and despondency? Or, if you do not, why not tell the honest truth at once—that, so long as commissions

CHAP. XXIII are bought and sold, and their distribution controlled by parliamentary influence, the colonial youth, who have no parliamentary influence and comparatively less wealth than their competitors at home, are practically shut out from the military service of the Crown.

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You tell me that the colonists can now claim "the protection of the empire," but what twaddle is this! What protection does Canada give to India, or Jamaica to Canada? None whatever. Do you not perceive that the whole business and burden of protecting the empire falls upon the people of two small islands, who, when they want aid and protection themselves, do not get it from any of the Provinces? Did not the sword of Wolfe win every acre of the soil of Canada, and did not Canada recently refuse a few acres of that very land to encourage soldiers to fight for our common country?

While she appeared to have her choice of foreign alliances, England could perhaps afford to disregard the natural strength which lay within her own possessions. But how stands the matter now? Russia and all her tributaries are in battle array; Austria is treacherous; Prussia sulky. All Germany stands aloof. We have to lend money to Turkey and Sardinia to enable them to keep their armies in the field. The United States, thoroughly Russian in sentiment, preserve a sort of armed neutrality. Our sole effective ally (a noble one I grant you) is France. God give stability to her councils, but I tremble when I think how much may depend on a single life. This is a faithful picture of England's relations with all the world. Stand before it, and tell me if it does not counsel her to strengthen her alliances with her own natural allies; with her own Provinces, peopled by her own children. Is the old Pelican eternally to shed her blood for the nourishment of offspring, who fly away when they are strong, or who, when the eagle descends upon her nest, fold their wings and do not battle in her defence. Surely the mother is careless and indifferent or the children are unnatural.

The whole Austrian Empire contains but 36,514,466 inhabitants,—a trifle more than one-third of the population of the British Provinces beyond the sea. How have we waited and pleaded and negotiated and argued, for an alliance with Austria, while we have never wasted a thought upon the strength, latent but tremendous, which lies in John Bull's gigantic limbs, that our wretched system paralyzes. Let us group all our allies together, and we have:

Turkey, with	. . . . .	15,500,000 people
Sardinia	. . . . .	4,916,087
France	. . . . .	35,781,628
Total	. . . . .	56,197,715 people

—but half the physical force that lies in the outlying portions of this empire, unrepresented and unorganized, but which a moderate share of representation and some forethought and consideration, would ever, in times of trial, rally around the throne. There is scarcely a Province that could not and would not send its regiment, if due consideration and a fair distribution of the honours

and distinctions of the empire made it a point of honour and of duty to send it; and many of them could send ten. The review of such an army would be a sight indeed; and Queen Victoria and her illustrious consort, standing in their midst, would feel that her throne was bulwarked, as it is not now; British statesmen would feel that they were independent of treacherous allies; the British people would feel that their soil, their institutions, and their high civilization were secure. To realise this great conception there is nothing wanting but to draw into the councils of this Empire the ripened intellects and noble spirits that lead this population. Talk not to me of difficulties. All government is compromise, and half the diplomacy wasted on "the four points" would soon adjust details. Let Great Britain and Ireland do their duty, and the colonies will not be indifferent to the call of patriotism, or regardless of the national honour.

If I sought to "dismember the empire," I would hold my tongue and let these contrasts work their way. I point them out, because I desire to keep the empire together; to organize and strengthen it; to rally round the national flag the energies of millions who strike no blow in its defence; to bulwark the British Islands with natural allies; to make them independent of Turks and Austrians and Sardinians; to draw into the imperial employments the high intellects that embellish, the energies which control the destinies of its distant Provinces; to make Queen Victoria's service a service of love and emulation everywhere; to enable her to command every sword within her own dominions. To teach Englishmen to value their own flesh and blood; to teach colonists to look to this great metropolis as to an arena, which at any moment they may be called to tread; to Westminster Abbey, not as to an antique pile of masonry, covering the bones of their fathers, but as the sacred depository where their children may be laid, when they have discharged in open and fair fields of emulation the higher duties of empire, and won its proudest distinctions. When that day comes, and come it will; when the good sense that extended parliamentary representation to Manchester and Birmingham shall have extended it to Canada and Jamaica, to Australia and the Cape; when the men of the east and of the west, of the north and of the south, speak with authority and fulness of knowledge, from the noblest forum to the largest civilized community in the world, then shall we have a camp at Aldershot and an army that, unaided by foreign alliances or mercenaries, can protect the civilization of the world.<sup>1</sup>

Should that day ever happily arrive, you and I will forget our past controversies in the general joy. Should it not, the consciousness of the fearless performance of a great public duty will, whatever may happen, in some measure console your obedient servant,

JOSEPH HOWE.

LONDON, August, 1855.

<sup>1</sup> Taking the population of the empire at 130,000,000, one in every seven at least may be considered a man fit for service. This would give us 18,000,000 fighting men within the empire itself.

## CHAPTER XXIV

1856

Opening of Legislature—Appointment of Mr. Wilkins to the bench — Election of Mr. Howe for Windsor—"Gourley Shanty Riot"—Dismissal of Mr. Crampton —The Crampton meeting — Mr. Gladstone's speech — Mr. Howe's letter to Mr. Gladstone—Mr. Gladstone's letter and Mr. Howe's reply.

CHAP. XXIV THE session of the Legislature opened on January 31st and closed on  
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1856 April 18th. With the exception of the first session of 1851, during which he was in England, Mr. Howe took a leading part in the debates of every session of the Legislature from the time of his first election in 1836 to the time of his defeat in 1855. That defeat excluded him from the House for the session of 1856. The appointment of Mr. L. M. Wilkins to the bench on August 14th left the representation of the township of Windsor vacant, and, on September 9th, Mr. Howe was elected by acclamation for that constituency, which he continued to represent until the dissolution in 1863.

This year saw the development of the events which in the following year resulted in the defeat of the Government, and for a period of five or six years produced a feeling of estrangement between Mr. Howe and the Catholics of Nova Scotia, who had been his strong supporters. The Condon telegram has already been mentioned. On May 26th, a number of Irish Catholic labourers on the Windsor railway created a disturbance and made an unjustifiable attack upon the shanty of a man named Gourley, who, it was alleged, had held up to ridicule some of their religious beliefs. Mr. Howe, as Chairman of the Railway Board, was quite active in prosecuting the principal disturbers, who were tried in the supreme court at Halifax on December 8th and 9th, and, the jury disagreeing, six for conviction and six for acquittal, were discharged. Mr. Howe's part in this matter served to widen the breach between him and the Catholics.

Fast following the "Gourley Shanty Riot," as it was termed, came the dismissal by the President of the United States of Mr. Crampton, the British minister at Washington, who had co-operated with

Mr. Howe in raising "the foreign legion."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Crampton passed through Halifax on his way home. A public meeting was held in Temperance Hall on June 5th for the purpose of preparing an address to Mr. Crampton, and in the course of the proceedings some dissent was manifested on the part of some Irish Catholic citizens who were present. This dissent, it appears, provoked Mr. Howe to make a speech in the course of which he severely attacked a portion of the Irish Catholics of the country. A correspondence in the press followed, in which considerable acrimony was shown on both sides; and the bitterness of the feeling reached its limit when in a letter in *The Morning Chronicle* of December 27th, Mr. Howe was betrayed into saying that every Protestant had a right to ridicule his Catholic neighbours' belief in the doctrine of the Real Presence.

Mr. Crampton's conduct was the subject of some discussion in the British House of Commons. On July 1st, 1856, Mr. Gladstone, in the course of the debate, expressed strong disapproval of Mr. Crampton's action, and stated that the municipal law of the United States "was knowingly broken on the part of the agents of the British Government." Mr. Gladstone's speech drew from Mr. Howe a spirited defence of his conduct, in a letter addressed to Mr. Gladstone which is here given in full:

SIR,—I have read with some care the debate on the Foreign Enlistment question, which occurred in the House of Commons on the motion of G. H. Moore, on the 1st of July last. Those who have read the speeches delivered by members of Opposition on that occasion will not question my right to review them,—whoever has read yours will not be surprised at my addressing this letter to you.

Presuming on the advantage which fine talents and elevated station confer, you ventured in that speech to take unwarrantable liberties with a stranger's name and reputation; to speak, in his absence, of a British American gentleman, whose only offence was obedience to his Sovereign and zeal for the honour of his country, in terms of sarcasm and reproach which, I shall presently show, were undeserved from any Englishman, and least of all from the honourable member for Oxford.

The Crown officers of England having pronounced my acts, so far as they have been questioned in connection with those of other British functionaries, legal and justifiable; Her Majesty's ministers having taken the responsibility

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<sup>1</sup> "A foreign minister," wrote Attorney-General Cushing, "who engages in the enlistment of troops here for his Government is subject to be summarily expelled from the country; or, after demand for recall, dismissed by the President."—*Opinions of the Attorneys-General*, vol. vii. p. 367.

of those acts ; and Parliament, by a decisive majority of 198, having sustained them, I do not consider that I am under any obligation to defend myself. But it may be of advantage to the Queen's service to inquire how far Mr. Gladstone was justified in arraigning the conduct of officers employed by the Government of which he had been a member, even if, in carrying out his policy, they had committed errors in judgment ; how far he was justified as a man of honour in turning evidence against his late colleagues, and denouncing the inevitable results of a policy which he himself advised. It may be also of some consequence to show to members of Parliament, disposed at times to presume too much upon their privilege, and the subtlety of their dialectics, that there is a public opinion beyond the walls, and that colonial gentlemen are not without the spirit necessary for self-defence, and even retaliation.

The war with Russia was declared by the Government of Lord Aberdeen, under whom you held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. That you were responsible for all the disasters and misery which made Englishmen in every part of the empire hang their heads with shame, during the first year of that war, you will not venture to deny. Parliament must have considered that you and your immediate friends were peculiarly responsible, because they drove you from office, and entrusted to your colleagues and to such allies as they could draw around them, the future conduct of the war.

But, long before you left office, the Foreign Enlistment Bill was passed. For that measure you are responsible. For the blunders or over-zeal of every person who honourably endeavoured to make it an effective measure, it requires some gentle casuistry to prove that you can ever escape. There is one person for whose acts you are especially responsible, by every rule of British administration, by every precedent sanctioned by the authority of Parliament, by every usage which obtains amongst high-minded and honourable men : that person is the humble individual who ventures to call you to account, and whose every act, in reference to the foreign legion, was done under the authority of instructions issued by the Government of which you were a member.

In making this declaration, I violate no confidence—betray no trust. By reference to the published correspondence, it will appear that the despatch which accompanied all the documents upon which the action of the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia was based, in which my mission to the United States originated, was signed by Mr. Sidney Herbert. From the time that I left Nova Scotia for the United States till I returned, those were the only documents, emanating from Her Majesty's Government, that I ever saw or heard of. By those documents and the policy therein disclosed, I was governed in every act which I did in the United States. Had I misconducted myself on that mission, had I violated or exceeded my instructions, Her Majesty's Government might have called me to account, and would have disavowed my proceedings. I did neither. The responsibility of what I did, whatever it was, has been assumed by the Queen's Government ; and ministers, after full discussion of the subject in all its bearings, have been sustained by Parliament. By what

rule is it then that Mr. Gladstone, a single member of the cabinet under whose authority and instructions I was employed, ventures to arraign my conduct or shake himself clear of the responsibility of my proceedings? If "this Howe" has done wrong, "that Gladstone," no less than Mr. Sidney Herbert, his friend and colleague, whose despatch was my sole warrant and authority, must share the blame. The Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, whose conduct you have denounced, had for weeks no other authority for his proceedings. Mr. Wilkins, who issued the handbill which you ventured to criticise, had no other. Mr. Howe did everything of which you complain in virtue of a mission that originated in that despatch. Had we all, with the best intentions, erred in judgment or done our work unskilfully, is there a man in England who will not concede our right to a fair construction and generous defence at the hands of Mr. Gladstone? Is there a gentleman in the British Empire who will permit a retiring minister to escape from the responsibility of the policy he advised—the machinery he constructed—the agents he employed? Had I "recruited," "enlisted," or "hired and retained" President Pierce himself, Mr. Gladstone could not have escaped from his share of the responsibility of that act. If he could, what colonial gentleman would ever volunteer to serve his Sovereign, or regard a despatch from a British minister as anything but a trap for the unwary? When shown Mr. Herbert's despatch, and asked to conceive and carry out the policy it embodied, who that knows me will believe that I would have moved a hand in the business had I not known that every member of that administration was bound to support and defend me—had I supposed for an instant that the very Chancellor of the Exchequer of the Government I was about to serve, could at any time, for personal or party purposes, or even for the mere display of intellectual adroitness, pervert all logic, and become my critic and accuser? The rules of our service, fortunately for myself, I did not misconceive. The generous construction anticipated from the Government and from Parliament has been accorded. Mr. Gladstone has thought proper to form the exception to the rule, but I think, in view of the facts which I have stated, he will be somewhat puzzled to justify his conduct before any assemblage of British gentlemen in any part of the empire.

But it may be said, that though Mr. Gladstone voted for the Foreign Enlistment Bill he might not have known where the recruits were to come from; that though he was a member of the cabinet when Sir Gaspard Le Marchant was instructed to open a depôt at Halifax, to communicate with Mr. Crampton, and to carry out the provisions of that Act, he had not the slightest conception that the foreign legion to be raised were to come from the United States. Should such an excuse be offered, let me ask the fond admirer (and I admit that he has many) of the member for Oxford, who seeks to throw around him the shield of his ingenuity, to answer these questions: Was the Foreign Enlistment Bill a measure of such mere routine that it would be likely to pass through the cabinet unobserved by the acute Chancellor of the Exchequer? Was it not rather a bill of some novelty in these modern times—

of great importance—likely to be questioned and canvassed at every stage of its passage through the House of Commons, where Mr. Gladstone sat? Was it not precisely the measure that should have been sifted in every clause, and weighed in all its bearings by every gentleman required to advocate and defend it? If the measure itself, then, was one demanding from every cabinet minister the sharpest scrutiny, let me ask, whether, of all men who sat in that cabinet, Mr. Gladstone was not the least likely to let such a measure pass without thoroughly comprehending the policy on which it was framed and the modes by which it was to be made effective? That the whole subject was discussed again and again in his presence—that the countries from which foreign troops were to come—the methods to be employed—the obstacles to be encountered, and the degree of success to be anticipated—formed the staple of Executive deliberation prior to the adoption and during the passage of that measure through the two Houses of Parliament, I am sure that you, sir, will not attempt to deny. Did you object, remonstrate or resign upon the adoption of that policy? When the bill was passed, and Mr. Sidney Herbert's despatch, with its enclosures, plainly showing where recruits were to come from, and how they were to be got, was laid before the cabinet, did you warn your colleagues of the dangers? Did you quote the neutrality laws? Did you object, remonstrate or resign? You did neither. You sanctioned that despatch, and permitted gentlemen with feelings as elevated and hands as clean as are those of Mr. Gladstone to be implicated in his policy and compromised by his instructions.

Let me contrast our relative positions up to this moment. You were responsible for the war—for the disasters which decimated our army, and rendered the Foreign Enlistment Bill a measure of expediency, if not of sound policy. You were responsible for the bill itself, and for the instructions sent to the Queen's servants in North America, to give efficacy to that enactment. Though no party to these transactions, I was not an indifferent spectator of the great struggle in which the empire was engaged. As a member of a colonial Parliament, I rendered to my Sovereign the only legitimate service which I could render. I moved an Address to the Crown, which was carried by a unanimous vote, offering to defend the Province of Nova Scotia with its militia during the war, that the regiments stationed here might be withdrawn for foreign service. This example was followed in other Provinces; and all the troops in British America were thus placed at the disposal of the Minister for War. I did more. I endeavoured to rouse public attention to such a thorough organization of the British Empire as would give to Her Majesty the entire command of its physical force, and preclude the necessity for calling in foreign mercenaries, on any future occasion.

On the receipt of Mr. Sidney Herbert's despatch and its enclosures, I was requested by the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia to go into the United States, not to violate their laws as you have assumed, but to ascertain, by actual observation and experiment, how far the policy propounded by Her



Majesty's Government, and the instructions received, could be carried out in subordination to those laws and in accordance with the amicable relations then subsisting between the two countries. Could I, as a man of honour and a loyal subject, decline this service? Our army before Sebastopol was, at that moment, thinned by incessant combats and wasted by famine and disease. Every mail brought to British America accounts of its heroism and its sufferings. To send reinforcements from any and every quarter was the duty of every man for whose nationality and security it was fighting. I should have been a craven had I declined the service for which I was selected. What have British subjects to do with the laws and policy of foreign states, in a time of war and national emergency? To obey their Queen's commands—to apprehend and give effect to the policy of their own Government, is their first and highest duty. And I do not hesitate to say that, if instructed, at that moment, to violate the laws and contravene the policy of any foreign state, in order to give the gallant fellows in the Crimea effective succour, I would have obeyed without a moment's hesitation—there is no prison so loathsome in which I would not have cheerfully spent five years, to have placed five regiments, in the spring of 1855, under the walls of Sebastopol. But I received no such instructions. I went to the United States for no such purpose. I went to test the accuracy of statements made to Her Majesty's Government by British and foreign residents in that country—to study the bearing of the neutrality laws—to make known to foreign officers and others, who had made voluntary offers of service, the terms upon which their services would be accepted, whenever, without violation of law or disturbance of amicable relations, they chose to present themselves upon British territory, and there, free to the last moment from tie or obligation, enlist in the foreign legion. How I performed this duty may be ascertained from the facts that I traversed the United States for two months without legal question or arrest—that the only person employed by me who was arrested was honourably acquitted—that I tested the resources of all the persons whose voluntary offers of service had led Her Majesty's Government to adopt the policy, without allowing one of them to entrap me into a violation of law; and never implicated, by any of my proceedings, Her Majesty's minister at Washington. How I defended myself and my country in the United States may be seen by the two letters, signed "A British American." How I have vindicated my proceedings since, you will discover by reading the letters addressed to Mr. Vandyke and Mr. Roebuck.

I cannot condescend to go again over the ground covered by the trial of Hertz at Philadelphia, which you will find exhausted in the letters to Vandyke. It may be fair to explain, however, that the chief worthies paraded at that trial, so far from being seduced or "persuaded" by me or by anybody else, had made voluntary offers of service to Her Majesty's Government weeks before I went into the United States or even heard their names. The key to their proceedings is simply this—every one of them was actuated by a double

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motive—to make money out of the British Government if he could, by shallow promises and pretensions; and, failing that resource, to implicate its officers in some unauthorized and illegal act, so that he might make money out of the American Government by turning States evidence. The statements of these men were heard; their promises sifted; the policy of our Government and the requirements of the enlistment laws explained to them. They were distinctly warned that nobody could be “hired or retained” in the United States, and that nobody could be enlisted into our service but upon British territory. They were also warned that no violation of the neutrality laws was intended, and that those who did violate them would be left utterly without defence.

I am free to admit that, on one point, there was some obscurity in all our minds. My right to publish, in the United States, an official advertisement, signed by a British officer, and issued in a British Province, stating the terms upon which men would be enlisted in that Province, could no more be disputed than my right to publish the official Declaration of War against Russia, or a commissariat advertisement for one thousand barrels of flour, for the use of our troops, to be delivered in Halifax. The Foreign Enlistment Bill, or any other Act of Parliament, I had certainly as much right to circulate as any bookseller in London has to publish the Declaration of Independence or the Revised Statutes of New York. If, then, I could publish the law and the advertisement, surely I had the right to explain their precise terms and meaning to any person seeking to be informed. In all this it will be perceived that there was no violation of the neutrality laws necessary or intended. The only point that gave me any perplexity was this, Could I or anybody else pay the passages of men going through or out of the United States to seek service under our flag? You assert that private individuals may do this, but that Governments cannot. If your law is sound, of what use is such a restriction? The evasion is so easy that the law must be valueless. But, assuming that you are right, then let me ask how it occurred that Mr. Gladstone so little understood his business—was so reckless and careless of international relations, and of the character and security of gentlemen who were to carry out his policy, that, with the Crown officers of England beside him to expound the law, he sent instructions to North America, and left Mr. Crampton, Sir Gaspard Le Marchant, Mr. Howe, and everybody else to grope their way in the dark, without any authoritative exposition by which a point so vital could be relieved from even a shadow of doubt? Your Foreign Enlistment Act was framed in the belief that poor men, out of employment, to whom a shilling a day would be an object, would take service under it; yet you now venture to assure Parliament that you expected these same poor men, without a dollar in their pockets, to pay their own passage money and expenses from all imaginable distances, for the glorious privilege of getting to our depôts, and sharing in the luxuries of the Crimea as they were presented to the imagination in 1855. The representative of a great University should square his conduct by invincible logic. Let me hang these propositions, which I am prepared to maintain before all the world, upon your College gates:

“That if Mr. Gladstone’s law be sound, in respect to the payment of passage money, his Foreign Enlistment Bill and the instructions sent by Lord Aberdeen’s Government to British America were mere waste paper ; because every British recruit, having but five miles to travel, has his expenses paid, and gets his beer into the bargain. CHAP. XXIV  
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“That, whether sound or not, his exposition of law should have been sent with his instructions, and not reserved till the officers employed had acted on the only construction which afforded a chance of success for his policy.”

Assuming your argument to be sound, these are the inevitable conclusions to which it leads. But, being bound to construe doubtful laws in favour of my own Government, I did not hesitate to act by anticipation on Judge Kane’s excellent interpretation of the law. I could very easily have covered the offence, if offence it was, by bringing the matter within the requirements of your refined distinction—taking care that passages were paid only by merchants and well-disposed British subjects, or by American citizens unconnected with our Government. But of what use are such subtle distinctions? We had a right to pay the passages, or we had not. If we had, there was no harm done. If we had not, your law and your foreign enlistment policy were mere deception. I acted upon my own construction and was prepared to test the question in the United States courts. My clerk, who was arrested, did test it, and was honourably acquitted ; Judge Kane’s opinion, which covered every act of mine up to that period, having been elicited on the trial.

But you refer to the curious fact that Judge Kane gave two opinions. Strange to say, he did. But surely Mr. Crampton, Sir Gaspard Le Marchant, and everybody else, were justified in acting throughout the summer upon the only judicial decision upon this vital point of policy to which publicity had been given. How were those officers to blame if Judge Kane qualified or reversed in September the judgment which he gave in May?—unless you can prove, which I defy any man to do, that, after the delivery of that judgment in September, a single passage was paid, or any act done in a spirit of hostility to the American Government or its laws.

But you complain that the Government of the United States was not informed of all the proceedings of British agents in that country. Mr. Crampton has given a general answer to this objection, satisfactory to Her Majesty’s Government. I have no answer to give, but I have a question to ask, which it behoves Mr. Gladstone to answer. Why did Mr. Herbert’s despatch, sent out by Lord Aberdeen’s Government, of which you were a member, and which was the foundation and warrant for all our proceedings, contain no injunction to candour and explicitness towards the American authorities? If that despatch was marked “Confidential,” who is to blame that it was not published—communicated or exposed? Was Sir Gaspard Le Marchant or Mr. Crampton instructed in that despatch to communicate with Mr. Marcy or President Pierce? Read it and satisfy yourself, and then vainly endeavour to satisfy our fellow-countrymen of your right to complain that officers, restrained by

CHAP. XXIV your instructions in 1855, are amenable to censure in 1856, for maintaining  
 — the reserve which, by your own act, you enjoined.

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You acknowledge that you are responsible for opening the depôt in Halifax, but complain that any agency was employed in the United States. But my argument is that, without such agency—without the co-operation of Mr. Crampton with Sir Gaspard Le Marchant—your Foreign Enlistment Bill, upon this continent, was mere waste paper; and I fearlessly appeal to the documents communicated with Mr. Herbert's despatch, to prove that more was contemplated; and that you, at least in the same degree as the ministers and officers you have assailed, are directly responsible for the consequences of all the proceedings inspired by that despatch.

You assume that the American Government was "deceived" and "deluded," because while Mr. Crampton frankly communicated what he was doing, he disavowed what he was not. What we were all endeavouring to do was to carry out the policy and instructions of Lord Aberdeen's Government in subordination to the laws of the United States. If you thought that this was impracticable, why did you pass your bill—forward your instructions—or send anybody on such a fool's errand? But it is plain that you did not think so. You took credit for the bill as a member of the Government, and now wish to take credit for the failure of your own experiment, as a member of Opposition! How was the policy, deliberately adopted by your Government, to be tested, but by actual experiment? We applied this test and gave it a fair trial. If it failed, you, who originated an impracticable scheme, are to blame—not we, who did our best to make it effective. If Mr. Crampton "sailed as near the wind as he could," it was because Mr. Gladstone embarked him in a boat with so little ballast, "piloting him off," like Tom Moore's Cupid, and "then bidding him good-bye"; there being this slight distinction between love and Mr. Gladstone, that the former never tried to scuttle the boat when it had got upon a lee shore.

You affirm that the "American courts and Government" should be held as qualified to interpret their own laws, but lose sight of the fact that they differed as to the interpretation throughout the entire period when it can be shown that a dollar was paid for anybody's passage by Mr. Crampton. Throughout the spring of 1855 there was a doubt upon this point. I acted upon that doubt and raised the question. In May, the point was decided by Judge Kane in our favour, and I defy anybody to prove that Mr. Crampton paid money for or on account of the recruiting service till after that decision was published, or subsequent to its reversal. He took the law then from "the courts"—acting upon their decision, whether for or against his policy. The Government, it is true, adhered to a different interpretation, but surely Mr. Gladstone would not set much value upon a legal opinion given by a cabinet minister in opposition to one delivered by a judge in Westminster Hall. Nor would he venture to reproach an English gentleman who had acted upon a judicial decision, subsequently qualified or reversed. But perhaps you are not aware that American

lawyers still contest the validity of Judge Kane's last opinion, as restrictive of the rights of American citizens—hostile to the privilege of locomotion and to the genius of American institutions. Let me invite your attention to what has been said upon this point recently by an American jurist :

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I quote from "Remarks on the English Enlistment Question," by R. W. Russell, barrister, of New York :

"The neutrality laws, as they will be henceforth understood and acted upon, especially in reference to Central American affairs, merely forbid enlistments and hirings in the United States. Anybody may open an intelligence office—may pay the passage of emigrants—may issue handbills, publish advertisements, and make speeches in favour of emigration, for the purpose of enlisting in foreign service. As observed by Mr. Marcy, in his recent correspondence on Nicaraguan affairs, any number of persons may go out of the United States to become soldiers in a foreign country, provided that there be no organized expedition from hence.

"If this Government had not sympathized with Russia, there would have been no interference with the attempt to obtain volunteers for the British army, and that attempt would have been eminently successful.

"With all due submission, it appears plain to my mind, that individuals in this country have a perfect right to render material aid and assistance to any nation at war with another, or to any people struggling for independence. Not only may articles be published in the newspapers, calculated to persuade or induce those who sympathize with one of the belligerents to go to his assistance, but subscriptions may be collected to defray their expenses ; articles contraband of war may, at the risk of the individuals, be sent ; loans may be negotiated, and everything short of acts which the laws of Congress now prohibit when in the jurisdiction of the United States may be done without affording any just cause of complaint to a foreign nation.

"I do not believe that the framers of the Act of Congress ever intended to prevent any man, or number of men, from furnishing money or other assistance to parties desirous of going abroad to join in military expeditions, provided they are not carried on from the territory or jurisdiction of the United States. The parties supplying the funds may reasonably expect that those who received the money or other assistance will carry out their expressed intentions ; but there is no violation of the law if it be left entirely to them to determine whether afterwards they will go or not. But, however this may be, it is quite clear that the admission of the British Government as to the instructions given as above to its agents does not warrant the President's conclusion, it being evident that the true intention of Congress was merely to prevent 'recruiting within the United States,' and that *there was no design or intention to prohibit citizens or residents from going abroad for the purpose of enlisting in any foreign service, and consequently no intention to make criminal the act of assisting them in the exercise of their undoubted right to leave this country for that purpose.*

“But the undeniable fact is, that any American citizen or resident of the United States has a right to go abroad, and enlist himself as a soldier in a foreign service. And it is an irresistible conclusion, that it is allowable to present to the public the reasons which may be calculated to influence them in making up their minds on the question whether they will assist either of the belligerents. This is an important right which the citizens of a republic should not relinquish or allow to be impaired.

“It may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that *so far from the spirit of the Act being as represented by Mr. Cushing, not half-a-dozen votes could have been obtained in Congress in the year 1794 or the year 1818, or at any time since, in support of a bill couched in that spirit.*”

You refer to my letter to Mr. Smolenski. But what are the facts of this case? Mr. Smolenski had gone to Halifax of his own accord, to offer his sword and his services to the British Government. I never saw or heard of him till he called on me, at the Tremont House, as I was returning home through Boston. He represented to me that there were in the United States a large body of Polish officers and men, anxious to join the allied armies and fight against the enemies of their beloved country—that he possessed their confidence—that they would follow him voluntarily, without any breach of law, or offence to the authorities of the United States, to Nova Scotia, if assured that, when there, they would be embodied into a Polish regiment, under officers enjoying their confidence, and speaking their language. I gave him this assurance in writing, taking care to stipulate that the regiment should be “raised in Halifax.” Where the men were to come from, I neither knew nor cared. On my return home, having reason to apprehend that an improper use might be made of this letter, it was formally cancelled and withdrawn. That an improper use was made of it I have little doubt, the three important words which guarded it from any pretext for enlisting men on American soil having, as I afterwards learned from a Boston paper, been erased. Mr. Smolenski may have “persuaded” men to come to Halifax, but he certainly represented to me that they would come without persuasion; and, in giving him an assurance of the honourable treatment that they might expect there, if they did, I certainly never dreamed that I was violating any law, human or divine. But even if I had any doubts, with your Foreign Enlistment Bill, and Mr. Sidney Herbert’s despatch on one side of me, and Mr. Smolenski’s magnificent promises on the other, you must admit, even if I erred, that you are greatly to blame, and that the temptation to serve my country could hardly be resisted by anybody thinking less of himself than of the exigencies of the public service. “Slippery” I may be, but I am above the meanness of doing what I am ashamed of, or disavowing what I have done.

You express your regret that “a cordial understanding with America has not been preserved” by the Government of Lord Palmerston. But will you have the goodness to inform us how this good understanding is to be preserved, and how an achievement is to be accomplished which certainly has baffled the

skill and ingenuity of almost every administration that I can remember, including that very remarkable one of which you were the Chancellor of the Exchequer—I mean of course the Government of Lord Aberdeen. CHAP. XXIV  
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This “good understanding with the United States” is a favourite hallucination in the mother country—a sort of dissolving view of peace and concord, out of which bullying and bad language ever come, and through the primrose paths of which rifles and bowie knives are poked at us whenever we feel most assured of harmony and affection. I regret this state of feeling, but the fact will not be denied, because the people of the United States are trained systematically to hate and to despise the English.

In 1850, I had occasion to address a letter to Earl Grey, the object of which was to call the attention of Her Majesty’s Government to the resources and requirements of the North American Provinces, and to inculcate the sound policy of Great Britain strengthening herself by all legitimate means on that side of the boundary where she was most beloved. Let me call your attention to a single extract from that letter :

“I am aware, my Lord, that it is the fashion in certain quarters to speak of the fraternal feelings which, henceforward, are to mutually animate the populations of Great Britain and the United States. I wish I could credit the reality of their existence ; but I must believe the evidence of my own senses.

“A few years ago, I spent the 4th of July at Albany. The ceremonies of the day were imposing. In one of the largest public halls of the city, an immense body of persons were assembled. English, Irish and Scotch persons were neither few nor far between. In the presence of that breathless audience, the old bill of indictment against England, the Declaration of Independence, was read, and at every clause each young American knit his brows and every Briton hung his head with shame. Then followed the oration of the day, in which every nation, eminent for arts or arms or civilization, received its meed of praise, but England. She was held up as the universal oppressor and scourge of the whole earth, whose passage down the stream of time was marked by blood and usurpation, whose certain wreck, amidst the troubled waves, was but the inevitable retribution attendant on a course so ruthless. As the orator closed the young Americans knit their brows again ; and the recent emigrants, I fear, carried away by the spirit of the scene, cast aside their allegiance to the land of their fathers.

“Had this scene, my Lord, occurred in a single town, it would have made but a slight impression ; but on that very day it was acted, with more or less of skill or exaggeration, in every town and village of the republic. It has been repeated on every 4th of July since. It will be repeated every year to the end of time. And so long as that ceremony turns upon England, every twelve months, the concentrated hatred of republican America, it cannot be a question of indifference whether the emigrants who desire to leave the mother country should settle within or beyond the boundaries of the empire.”

When this letter was published a good many well-meaning people regarded

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my views of the state of feeling in republican America with about as much indifference as they used to regard the speeches of the Duke of Wellington, when a few years ago his Grace endeavoured to make England understand that she was unprepared for a great war. A great deal of nonsense was talked and written between 1850 and 1855 about mother and daughter's reciprocal feelings of attachment and respect. We used to hear Manchester rhetoricians winding up very windy orations upon the subject of universal peace, with the assurance that if the despots of Europe would not be quiet, if they would not take note of peace conferences, and beat their swords into ploughshares, then England and America, the two most free, enlightened and friendly nations on the face of the earth, would combine their fleets and armies, and go into the last "holy war," in defence of freedom and civilization!

Down to the very moment when, in 1855, the real state of feeling in the United States became too painfully apparent to be longer questioned or disguised, this vision of fraternal love flitted before your eyes in the mother country. If I have read the correspondence accurately, there is evidence to show that Mr. Buchanan favoured this delusion, and led Lord Clarendon to believe that, in the event of Russia breaking the peace, England might count on the sympathy of the United States. If he did, the sin of any deception practised against his Government thereafter should sit lightly upon the conscience of any Englishman. There are not five well-informed men in republican America who did not know at that moment that the sympathy was all the other way. There is not one sagacious observer of the United States, and of the peculiar elements of their social and political organization, who is not well assured that England can never count upon their friendship, or upon the free play of natural instincts and sympathies, that (however amiable it may be to attribute) have been trampled out by two wars, or weeded out by a long course of cultivation.

If we were to believe in Mr. Gladstone, we should believe that all the bad feeling, unseemly bullying, and official discourtesy which have been recently exhibited in the United States are to be attributed to Lord Clarendon and Mr. Crampton. But what was the state of feeling in the United States long before any attempt was made to draw volunteers from that country?

What was it in 1812, when republican America fell upon the flank of England, while her fleets and armies were engaged in the great struggle with Bonaparte?

What was it in 1838, when Governor Fairfield's militia hovered upon our frontiers because Great Britain hesitated to yield to years of diplomatic menace and newspaper bluster, that valuable territory which split the Provinces of Canada and New Brunswick nearly in two?

What was it from 1837 to 1840, when swarms of sympathizing filibusteros, with arms and ammunition and even cannon, taken from the public arsenals of the United States, invaded the frontiers of Canada, and slew, within our borders, more men than we ever drew out of the republic under your Foreign



Enlistment Bill? Where were the neutrality laws, the district attorneys, the marshals, in those days? Powerless, because the sympathies of the country were against England. Unrestrained by laws human or divine, armed ruffians marched out of the United States in military array to shed our blood and violate our soil, as Walker and his armed bands have marched into Nicaragua, while you have been debating about your right to publish a handbill, or to open a depôt upon your own soil.

What was it when your first movement of resistance to Russian aggression in 1854 was met by Soule's blustering at Paris and Madrid, and by Buchanan's famous Congress at Ostend?

Sir, if you search the diplomatic records, you will find that every American administration, for thirty years, has had its theme for jarring disputation with England, and that the formula has been ever the same. No statesman prospers in the United States who is even suspected of sincere attachment to the mother country. No opportunity has ever been lost of taking her at disadvantage. The United States joined the French in 1812, because they were at war with England; in heart and soul, if not with arms, they joined the Russians in 1854 and 1855, for the same reason, before a single recruit was drawn across their border.

It is true that, while the long-cherished desire to secure the North American fisheries was ungratified, pretty speeches were made by republican diplomatists, and assurances of cordial sympathy were given. But no sooner was the Elgin treaty signed than, as if to assure Russia and her European allies that their transatlantic friends might still be relied on, the *Cyane* was despatched to Central America, and Grey Town was burnt to the ground. Those curious manifestations of fine feeling occurred in Lord Aberdeen's time, when Mr. Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a very long time before any of the gentlemen at whose door you would lay the bad feeling which notoriously exists had given the slightest pretext for that assumption.

If anything were wanted to give point to my argument—to illustrate the true state of feeling in the United States—to show how systematically public men seek for grounds of irritation and strife with England, the conduct of the person in the yellow waistcoat and black stock, who carried rudeness and menace to the foot of the throne, at the very moment that great concessions, in a spirit of peace, were being made by the Government and Parliament of England—would be sufficient. That person will never want a professorship while he lives; the buff waistcoat will be transmitted as a sacred relic to his posterity; and I should not be very much surprised to see him elevated to the Presidential chair!

If I have accurately gauged the real state of feeling in the United States, it is the clear duty of British statesmen so to organize and wield the mighty resources of this great empire as to be ever independent of their friendship, and prepared for their hostility. Depend upon it, there is little to be gained by truckling to menace, by sacrificing friends to foes—by lending to the enemy,

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on all occasions, the resources of political opposition—by disgusting those upon whose friendship England may rely, that those who systematically oppose her interests and disparage her good name, may triumph in argument or war. The course which Her Majesty's Government took, on the late trying occasion, contrasts most favourably with that of the Opposition. Amidst the difficulties in which they were involved in carrying out the Foreign Enlistment Bill, bequeathed to Lord Palmerston by Lord Aberdeen, it was conservative and yet dignified in the highest degree. No British subject could complain of it. Our criminal law requires that a man must back to the wall and bear much menace and contumely before human blood be shed. If this be the rule, where but a single human life is at stake, how much more where hundreds of thousands of lives, and millions of property, may be sacrificed, is a wise statesman or a Christian gentleman bound to bear and forbear—to exhaust every pacific resource—to reason down every pugnacious impulse, that the peace between great nations may be preserved. This has been done, and I rejoice at it. If peace could only have been preserved by the sacrifice of every gentleman engaged in the Foreign Enlistment business, I should still have rejoiced. The Civil Service of the Crown has its dangers as well as its distinctions. If we had died in the effort to send aid to our countrymen in the Crimea, there would have been but four or five Englishmen the less, and surely we should not complain if a great peace were purchased at a sacrifice so inconsiderable in comparison to the casualties of a great war. But nobody has been, and nobody will be sacrificed. Every day's discussion will but elevate the character of the officers so rudely dismissed by the Government of the United States in every British community. Sooner or later the Government of their country will do them ample justice. For myself, you may judge, from the tone of this letter, how little I apprehend from the action of public opinion, even when to some extent forestalled by the perverse ingenuity of Mr. Gladstone.

Looking to the future, however, I am not by any means prepared to relinquish the right and the policy to open depôts for enlistment at all convenient points along the North American frontier, and to use all legitimate means, during or preparatory to any future war, thereby to recruit our armies. What I would much prefer is a comprehensive and general measure, based upon the obligation of every British subject to defend the empire and recruit its armies during war. But, if the present system is to continue, we should gather wisdom from our recent experience as to the *modus operandi*, but should beware how we yield our right to recruit upon our frontiers, for these among other reasons :

The settled population of the United States—the farmers and artizans—those who have anything to live on or to enjoy, are no more fond of going abroad to fight than are the same class in the mother country, or anywhere else. The Bounty Lands, which the Government offers, in addition to its money bounty, tempt a good many of these to volunteer. If a man can win a farm of 160 acres in a short foray, or by a campaign or two, he will embark in

war as he would in any other speculation. But the staple of the United States armies and filibustering expeditions is drawn from a different source. On an average, a quarter of a million of emigrants flow into that country from Europe every year. A fair proportion of these become at once fastened upon the soil or are employed in the workshops, and are thenceforward as immovable as the resident population. A great many, however, do not get employment so soon as they expected, or as is generally believed. These float about from city to city, the number being swelled by emigration as rapidly as it is decreased by the demands upon this mass of surplus labour. There is another large class of emigrants who have seen service in foreign countries—who have been soldiers by profession, and who prefer that of arms to any other. These people have no peculiar attachment to the United States, or any disinclination to serve any other Government. Out of these two classes, the armies and marauding expeditions of the United States are largely recruited. They drew from these two classes (I state the fact on the authority of an officer who served with them) more than half of the troops that conquered Mexico. They, no doubt, drew largely upon the same classes in the last war on the Canadian frontier. General Sutherland and the filibusteros who occupied Navy Island counted upon the same resource when they flung their impudent proclamations (rather more formidable than the Provincial Secretary's handbill) broadcast over America.

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Now, if a war were to take place between England and the United States to-morrow, we should have to fight a large portion of these two floating and unattached classes, if we were so simple as to yield our right to open our frontier depôts and attract them to our standard. The British statesman who does this will be untrue to the interests of England. It will cost us a great deal more to kill these people than to recruit them. Those of them who are not for us will be against us. Every man we get will count two, because he will neutralize another who remains behind. Let us be careful, then, while we are adjusting points of neutrality, or points of war, with people from whose friendship we have nothing to expect, not to surrender rights which we clearly possess, or our power to circumscribe or countercheck the means of mischief which we know from experience will be unscrupulously employed.

I pass over the speech of Mr. Milner Gibson, because it contained nothing personally offensive, and because that gentleman, and others who conscientiously opposed the war and the Foreign Enlistment Bill, were responsible for no part of the policy they condemned, and were entitled, on such a question as that under discussion, to the independent expression of their opinions.

Mr. Moore's oration amused me a good deal. There is a blatant and noisy knot of politicians in Ireland, who are ever ready to patronize and defend England's enemies—who are never so happy as when she is snubbed—who only speak upon foreign policy to prove that Great Britain has received or given an insult. I will not assert that Mr. Moore belongs to this school, for I am not familiar with his antecedents, but his speech would be quite intelligible if he did. When he tells us that the people of the United States are governed by

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the same institutions, swayed by the same motives, and inspired by the same great instincts as ourselves, I confess my inability to understand him. If our institutions are the same, I cannot discover the difference between an Orange Lodge and a Whiteboy Association. If we are swayed by the "same motives," it is very strange that we rarely agree about anything of importance, particularly if an advantage is to be gained by a difference of opinion. Our "great instincts" lead us to obey a Sovereign whom we love, theirs to denounce our social and political idolatry. Our "great instincts" lead us to abolish slavery, theirs oblige them to maintain it even at the cost of freedom of speech—the liberty of teaching—of female purity—and of civil war. Our "great instincts" prompted us to oppose Bonaparte in 1812, and Nicholas in 1854, because on both occasions we apprehended danger to freedom and civilization. Theirs instructed them to sympathize with the two despots, not from any love they bore to either, but because both were bent on trampling out our "instincts" and destroying the British Empire.

Mr. Moore's bright vision of England fulfilling her "destiny" to be "loved and honoured by that great community of nations," I sincerely trust may be realised; but I should be much more hopeful of the good time to come, if some of those who have a nearer view of the charms and virtues of our mother country were a little more ardent in their admiration. The sincerity of a worshipper may be doubted who is always finding fault with the goddess he professes to adore—whose happiest expedient for recalling the devotional feelings of relapsed or indifferent worshippers, is throwing dirty water on the shrine. I am quite sure of this, that the readiest means that Mr. Moore can adopt, if ambitious of the luxury of tar and feathers, will be for him to go into the United States, and proclaim to the republicans that Great Britain is "the centre of their civilization—the fountain of their inspiration, and the standard of what every nation ought to be in principle, policy and conduct."

To review Mr. Moore's speech, as I have done yours, would cost me little pains, but the result would be scarcely worth the cost. Let me take a single example of the profound nonsense with which this gentleman vainly sought to mislead the House of Commons. He complained that "Strobel, a German thief, and a man of infamous character, was allowed to carry on correspondence with the Queen's representative"; and somebody cried, "Hear, hear." But let me ask, was not Mr. John Sadlier a thief and a man of infamous character—a villain of proportions so diabolical, that poor Strobel is a mere petit larceny creature in comparison with him? Yet, did not Mr. Sadlier sit in the House of Commons—kiss the Queen's hand, and preside over banks and railway companies, before his real character was discovered? Was he not a member of the Irish Brigade? Did not Mr. G. H. Moore dine and sup and fraternize with him before he was proved a "thief and a man of infamous character"? If so, what right has he to complain of Mr. Crampton's treatment of Strobel,

while that person's character stood fair, unless he can show that, after it was gone, the minister employed him in any capacity, or courted dishonour by his companionship? Had the House of Commons suffered Sadlier to sit in their midst when his infamy was known—had the Queen conferred rank upon him—had Mr. Moore dined with him—indelible dishonour would have been stamped upon such patronage and association. But if the Queen had made him a captain of militia, or lord-lieutenant of his county,—if the Speaker had asked him to dine, or Mr. Moore to breakfast, on the day before his frauds were discovered—will anybody assert that either would have done an act amenable to criticism or implying dishonour? Of this I am quite assured, that if, after Sadlier's infamy was proved, and he was driven out of British society for his crimes, he had been taken up by the Government of the United States—had been petted, patronized, and employed as a witness against his old friend Mr. Moore—the enormity of such an offence would have elicited some fervid bursts of Milesian eloquence.

“It is better,” you declare, “for a man to speak out what he has to say, and to trust to be contradicted, corrected and exposed if he has not spoken the truth.” I have taken your advice, and I hope you will admire my plainness and simplicity. “What is writ is writ,” and, with your speech and this letter in their hands, our fellow-subjects on both sides of the Atlantic can decide which of us has acted with most consistency, judgment and honourable feeling, in dealing with a question of great delicacy and importance. Conscious that I have done my duty to my Sovereign with fidelity and discretion, I cannot afford to have liberties taken with my good name, even by a gentleman whose talents I admire, and whose character I admit to be amiable. Our principles of administration are the safeguards and securities of every officer who serves the Queen. It is our duty, as it is our interest, to guard them from violation as we do our rules of Parliament and the principles of our common law. Of no less importance is it that British Americans should feel that those rules can never be strained, even by a member of Parliament, for his own advantage and to the disparagement of gentlemen, whether British or colonial, who in her hour of need have done their best to serve our common country.

Nor is it of less importance that British statesmen should weigh well the experience gathered during the recent war, of the real state of feeling on the two sides of the American frontier. Self-deception hereafter will be a blunder worse than a crime. With a fleet at sea such as the world never saw, and a well-disciplined army, we can afford to be magnanimous. But let us never forget that had war lasted a few years longer—had disaster overtaken that fleet and army, the republicans would have given us significant proofs of their friendship, as they did in 1812. Gloom and sorrow settled over the whole United States when Sebastopol fell, while every city in British America blazed with bonfires and illuminations. I state the facts without fear of contradiction.

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Let the statesmen of Great Britain then, while cultivating peace with all the world, regard it as a principle of settled policy, to be independent of the friendship or the enmity of the United States. Time may change the currents of adverse feeling. Commerce may so strengthen our relations as to make war between the two countries impossible. But in the meantime, British subjects on both sides of the Atlantic should look at the realities of their position with stern self-reliance. Let them not ignore the experience of all history—the sharp lessons of the past. Let them be just to all nations, but just also to each other, and never, in the vain endeavour to conciliate their enemies, sacrifice their friends.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOSEPH HOWE.

HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA,  
*July 30th, 1856.*

Some time elapsed before Mr. Gladstone received a copy of Mr. Howe's letter, and after its receipt the following letters were exchanged :

BOWDEN PARK, WILTS,  
*January 25th, 1857.*

SIR,—I have to regret that the copy of your published letter, complaining of my speech on Mr. Moore's motion of last July, which you were good enough to address to me, has only reached me at a recent date, or I should not have suffered it to remain so long without notice.

My purpose, however, is not to discuss the general question to which the speech referred, nor to vindicate my own conduct in regard to it. I wish simply to express my regret at finding in your publication no citation from my speech, or reference to it, which in any degree enables me to judge whether I have given you just cause of complaint or not. Undoubtedly, I do not subscribe to the principle which you avow with reference to the breach of foreign laws under certain circumstances of public emergency. But so far as I can recall the feelings under which I spoke, I had not the smallest intention of implicating you in the debate by any censure applicable to yourself personally, or even of naming you beyond the degree in which reference to matters of fact made it indispensable. I thought that I had been careful to say and to repeat that the entire responsibility of the proceedings lay with Her Majesty's Government, for I have always held that it is most unjust to lay blame upon the remote or secondary agents of a policy when their acts have been adopted in full by the ministers of the Crown.

I have only to add, that if you shall think fit to make known to me any words or passages in my speech of which you complain, I will receive the statement of them with every desire to do you justice.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your faithful servant,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

Hon. JOSEPH HOWE.

REPLY TO MR. GLADSTONE'S LETTER 347

HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA,  
*April 8th, 1857.*

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SIR,—I have had the honour to receive and beg to thank you for your note of 25th January.

Having lost the paper containing your speech, I cannot refer to the passages, of which, at the time my pamphlet was published, I thought I had reason to complain.

Nor is it necessary that I should. Your explanation, honourable to a person occupying the position you do in the Imperial Parliament, is to me entirely satisfactory.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOSEPH HOWE.

The Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., &c.

## CHAPTER XXV

1857-1858

Resignation of Michael Tobin—Opening of Legislature in 1857—Dismissal of William Condon—Resignation of Provincial Secretary—Motion of want of confidence—Defeat of the Government—Mr. Johnston forms a new Government—Formation of Protestant Alliance—Session of 1858—Mr. Howe visits the United States—Speech in Faneuil Hall, Boston—Speech at the Democratic festival.

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THE angry newspaper discussion between Mr. Howe and the editor of the *Halifax Catholic* was continued during the month of January, 1857; and it soon became apparent that on the meeting of the Legislature the administration would probably be defeated. Mr. Howe succeeded shortly after the Legislature met in inducing the Executive to dismiss Mr. Condon; Mr. Michael Tobin, a member of the Government, previously resigned, and Mr. William A. Henry, the Provincial Secretary, who represented the county of Sydney (now the county of Antigonish), likewise resigned on February 10th. The session opened on February 5th, and Mr. Johnston lost no time in submitting a resolution of want of confidence in the administration: it was debated with great vehemence for nearly a fortnight; and when the vote was taken on March 18th, the motion was carried, twenty-eight voting for it and twenty-two against it. The Catholic members of the Assembly, together with two Protestant members—Mr. W. A. Henry and Mr. John C. Wade of Digby—voted against the Government. A new administration was immediately formed, in which Mr. Johnston was Attorney-General, Dr. Tupper, Provincial Secretary, Mr. Martin I. Wilkins, Solicitor-General, and Mr. John J. Marshall, Financial Secretary. Mr. Howe, thinking that he could not with honour hold an important office under the new Government—of the composition and policy of which he disapproved—resigned his position on the Railway Board. The House closed on May 1st.

In a letter to the people of Nova Scotia, Mr. Howe announced the formation of the Protestant Alliance—an organization whose objects he actively promoted and whose activities played an important part in compassing the defeat of the new Government in 1859.



During the interval, Mr. Howe conducted a vigorous campaign against the administration. In the Assembly in the session of 1858 he made several speeches attacking the Government, but they deal with matters that are no longer of living interest. In the summer of this year he left for the United States, where he spent about five months.<sup>1</sup> On the 5th of July he delivered two speeches in Boston which are here reproduced.

At the city celebration in Faneuil Hall, the toast was :

*"The Queen of Great Britain—Her virtues have gained her more hearts than her throne has subjects."*

Being invited by the Mayor, F. W. Lincoln, Esq., to respond, Mr. Howe rose and said :

MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN,—To be called upon on such an occasion, to respond in such a place, to such a toast, I regard as an honour and a distinction—the highest ever conferred upon me abroad—the highest that can be conferred on a British subject by the people of these States. Sir, as I have of late rambled through New England, I have been pleased to mark how ancient prejudices have been toned down—how the angry passions, excited by two wars, have subsided ; but I hardly expected to hear, in old Faneuil Hall, the health of my Sovereign toasted on such a day, with so much genuine enthusiasm. With all my heart I thank you. In the name, and on behalf of my Queen I thank you, and three millions of North Americans, when they hear of this compliment, will thank you also.

I wish, Mr. Mayor, that Queen Victoria could be presented to the admiring gaze of the citizens of Boston—that she could be here in person, to be seen of all men, as she is ever seen, on all suitable occasions, mingling with her people. As republicans you may not be very fond of queens, but as men you are fond of beautiful and accomplished women.

We honour our Sovereign, because we love liberty ; because our monarch is our chief magistrate. We maintain a throne, because our liberties and franchises are thereby bulwarked and sustained. We uphold and maintain royal prerogatives because they give grace and strength to that great constitutional system which, cemented by the blood of our fathers, yields to the pressure of modern civilization and supplies all the guards which ardent lovers of freedom can demand. We honour our Sovereign, then, when a man sits upon the throne, but when it is occupied by a gifted, accomplished woman, we love her, and are not ashamed to avow the weakness, if it be one, before all the world. Queen Victoria sets to all her subjects, at home and abroad, the example of a

<sup>1</sup> While he was in Boston, he superintended the publication of the first edition of this work. The publishers were J. P. Jewett & Co., Boston, and the work was issued in December.

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good wife, of a devoted mother, of an accomplished lady, wise in art and literature, but wiser still in the domestic virtues which embellish palaces and cottages alike, and therefore it is that we thank God that in Her Majesty we have not only got a constitutional monarch, but an example for our wives and daughters.

Mr. Mayor, I never come to Boston without feeling that I am at home, for I find friends everywhere and relatives not a few. I have partaken, on former occasions, of its unbounded hospitality. We have not forgotten, in the Provinces,—who that was present will ever forget?—the noble celebration with which you inaugurated your great public works. I told you, on that occasion, that my father was a Boston boy. He, like Franklin, and like the Governor of your State (who has just done himself honour by referring to the fact), learnt the printing business in this city. He had just completed his apprenticeship, and was engaged to a very pretty girl, when the Revolution broke out. He saw the battle of Bunker Hill from one of the old houses here; he nursed the wounded when it was over. Adhering to the British side, he was driven out at the evacuation, and retired to Newport, where his betrothed followed him. They were married there, and afterwards settled at Halifax. He left all his household goods and gods behind him, carrying away nothing but his principles and the pretty girl.

The loyalists who left these States, were not, it must be confessed, as good republicans as you are, but they loved liberty under their old forms, and their descendants love it too. My father, though a true Briton to the day of his death, loved New England, and old Boston especially, with filial regard. He never lost an opportunity of serving a Boston man if in his power. At the close of your railway banquet, one gentleman told me that my father had, during the last war, taken his father from the military prison at Melville Island, and sent him back to Boston. Another on the same evening showed me a gold watch sent by an uncle who died in the West Indies, to his family. It was pawned by a sailor in Halifax, but redeemed by my father, and sent to the dead man's relatives. And so it was, all his life. He loved his Sovereign, but he loved Boston too, and whenever he got sick in his latter days, we used to send him up here to recruit. A sight of the old scenes and a walk upon Boston Common were sure to do him good, and he generally came back uncommonly well.

Though bound to say thus much, sir, for my Sovereign and my father, for myself, what can I say? I feel very much like the man bidden to the feast without a wedding garment. How can I clothe my thoughts in language to win even the indulgence of an audience whose ears have been charmed by the great orator of New England; may I not say of North America, for we have no man to match him, whatever there may be at the South. Your city pageants, your city feasts, are imposing and attractive; but these are everywhere—great orators are not. You are indeed fortunate in the possession of a man who gives to our land's language its strength unimpaired by the highest embellishment. The Indian draws from the maple the bow wherewith he kills

his game, and the sap with which he sweetens his repast. Mr. Everett draws from the same large growth and cultivation the arguments by which he sustains the great reputations and great interests of his country, and the honeyed accents which give to scenes like this the sweet cement of social life. The ancients—

“Threw pearls of great price in their goblets of gold,  
When to those that they honoured they quaffed.”

He melts into our cups the rich ingots of his imagination, and every man who listens to him is intellectually richer for the draught.

I rejoice, sir, that the small clouds which threatened to darken the counsels and disturb the peace of our two nations have passed away, and I am glad that British statesmen have had the magnanimity and discretion to throw over, at once and for ever, a claim or pretension which among commercial nations, in the present age of the world, can never be sustained. Stop your vessels on the high seas! We might as well claim to stop women in the streets, to ascertain if they were virtuous; to stop letters or telegraphic messages, coming into your country, for fear that they might contain something wrong. If we can stop your vessels in the Gulf of Mexico, what should hinder you to stop ours in the Bay of Fundy, and how would we North Americans like that?

The whole proceedings of this day, sir, so far as I have witnessed them, have been to me deeply interesting, and highly honourable to this State. The orators of the day have not imitated the bad example of some that I have heard elsewhere, who would perpetuate the animosities of the past and make history a consuming fire. I have listened to the Declaration of Independence, as I always do, not without emotions of various kinds, but with emotions similar to those with which I read our great Charter and Bill of Rights, or any other eloquent protests against the injustice and barbarities of the past.

I have never regarded England in the days of Lord North as anything to be very proud of, any more than you are very proud of New Amsterdam under Peter Stuyvesant. But judge not the British Empire by what it was in 1772, but as it is in 1858. The British Islands are now the centre of a vast commerce; the seats of science and skilled labour; the fountain-heads of capital, overflowing in honest enterprise in every quarter of the globe. Forty States and Provinces, containing three hundred millions of people, are combined by their diplomacy and defended by their arms. The England that oppressed you had but little liberty herself, and the colonies that remained faithful to her had less. But how has all this changed since 1772? We have limited the prerogative; we have reformed our laws; we have purified our courts; we have enfranchised men of all creeds and all professions, abolished monopolies, established free trade, and emancipated our slaves while extending our empire.

England is no longer the harsh mother country against whom that old bill of indictment was filed. She is founding new Provinces every day, training them in the practice of freedom and in the arts of life; and, when they are prepared for self-government, she does not force them into declara-

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tions of independence, but gracefully concedes to them the right to make their own constitutions, and to change and modify them from time to time. We North Americans may have had our grievances in the olden time. We may have had our own contests with besotted statesmen and absurd systems, but now we are as free as you. We govern ourselves as completely as any of your independent States. We have universal suffrage and responsible government. You may sometimes have to endure a bad administration for four years; we can overthrow a bad one by a single resolution, on any day of the year when our Parliaments are in session. Think of us then, as we really are, your equals in many respects; your rivals, it may be, in all things honourable, but ever your brethren, your friends, your neighbours.

You have drunk to my Sovereign, Mr. Mayor. I would gladly respond, if I am permitted, by toasting those who rule over you, in spite of all your boasted liberties, who reign supreme in your affections. To me it seems that the ladies of Boston, though not less lovely, have marvellously increased in size since I last saw them. Fashion inflates us in the Provinces a good deal, but you beat us in expansion. Whitfield, preaching about the time of the Revolution, used this language: "As I passed over your country I saw your young maidens clad in their home-spun garments. Would that I could see them clad in home-spun righteousness." What would the great preacher say if he saw them now? Jack, when remonstrated with for beating his wife, and told she was "the weaker vessel," exclaimed, "If she is, why don't she carry less sail?" Jack's complaint is becoming general. There is a terrible lot of sail carried, but the craft are weatherly and lovely to behold. Even Whitfield might mistake the pretty girls of Boston for angels peeping out of clouds of crinoline and lace.

Of our North American women I will say nothing. Come over and see them. Dine with us, and you will find our hearts as light as are your own. Mingle with us in the dance, and beauty and refinement shall lead you through its mazes. Our national festivals may not be so much to your taste, but you shall have at least a hearty welcome.

Mr. Howe closed his speech by giving

"The ladies of the city of Boston."

When Mr. Howe sat down, the whole audience rose, and gave three cheers, the band playing "God save the Queen."

At the Democratic festival, at the Revere House, this toast was given from the chair:

"Our Mother Country."

"With cliffs of white and bowers of green,  
And Ocean narrowing to caress her,  
With hills, and threaded streams between,  
Our little Mother Isle, God bless her."

On being called upon by the chairman, William C. Williamson, Esq., to respond, Mr. Howe said :

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MR. CHAIRMAN,—If this be a Democratic feast, all I will say of it is, that Monsieur Soyer could not improve the viands; that the wines have a most aristocratic flavour, and that the fruits and flowers might be set upon the tables of the gods. I do not know whether I am a Democrat or not, but I have been fighting half my life at the North, to make every man—whatever his creed or origin or complexion—equal in the eye of one responsible government; equal in the presence of universal laws. We Englishmen are endeavouring to combine in one general system the forty States and Provinces which compose the British Empire, scattered over every clime, embracing 300,000,000 of people, speaking every language; and, while combining them, we desire to develop their resources by free trade with each other, and if possible, with all the world. If the Democracy of this country are striving so to combine the thirty-one States of this confederacy, then I wish you success with all my heart. You would be fools and madmen, called to this vocation, in possession of half a continent, with a glorious history to reflect upon and boundless resources to develop, if, from any want of skill or statesmanship, you failed to preserve this Union. England, Ireland and Scotland, who do not envy but glory in your prosperity, would despise you if you did. British America, whose interests are involved in your success, would deeply regret the dissolution of this great confederacy.

The sentiment which you have just given does honour to your feast and to your nation. "Our Mother Country." Why should we not love and honour her? Why should she not respect and appreciate us? Your fathers and grandfathers and mine fought out, like brave men as they were, their differences of opinion. And I, though a British subject, have lived to rejoice that we were beaten in that old war; for human liberty and civilization, the world over, even in the British Islands themselves, have gained more by your victories than would have been gained had your rights been trodden down. But, bear in mind, my friends, that the Britons of the present day are not those who oppressed you. Your rivals in commerce and arts and arms, they may be; but, thank God, they are at last your friends. Ardent lovers of liberty like yourselves, they have worked out, under other forms, the great problem of self-government. Comprehending the destiny of the British races, they are gratified to see you, on one-half of this continent, ruling your thirty republics, while we at the North are laying slowly, but securely, the foundations of a great empire.

It would be strange, indeed, Mr. Chairman, if New England did not love Old England with all her heart. How closely do the two countries resemble each other. On every side, as I ramble over your beautiful States, contrasts which do not displease are blended with aspects highly characteristic of the two countries. I see England in your busy marts and thriving manufactories;

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in your substantial structures ; in your permanent enclosures ; in the beautiful cottage homes of your farmers ; and in the villas of your merchant princes. I see her in your love of shade trees and flowers, which droop over your highways and are festooned around your city mansions. I see her in the neatness and thrift which everywhere prevail ; in your free press ; in your free Parliaments ; in your love of education, and in your reverence for the Bible.

Why, then, should you not love your mother country ? Why should not we, men of the North and South, mutually love each other ? We do ; we will ; we must. Fraternal feelings are a necessity of our natures. I would as soon shoot a Russian as a dog, if I met him in open conflict. But to slay an American would seem like committing a great crime ; like fratricide or murder. There can be no lawful war between us ; no war that is not opposed to the higher laws which spring from our common history, and govern our mental and moral organizations. We have, it is true, been politically divided for three-fourths of a century. But what is that to the two thousand years during which our blood, our laws, our fortunes were the same ? We were the same people from Runnymede to 1688. Your ancestors and mine wrung from tyrannic kings and corrupt ministers the great charters which preserved the liberties of the world, under which you were trained for independence ; in which may be discovered the spirit of the declaration you have read to-day. Our fathers carried the Red Cross banner at the Crusades, flaunted their white and red roses in each other's faces at the civil wars ; and at Agincourt, Crecy and Poitiers bent their bows and wielded their battle-axes for the honour and to the eternal glory of "our mother country." In the struggles of the Reformation, and in the later civil wars, you had your share. At Ramilies and Oudenarde, and at Quebec, our ancestors fought side by side. Marlborough and Wolfe are yours ; Shakspeare and Milton and Spenser are yours ; Russell and Hampden, and even Chatham, are yours. We have common lot and part in all the great names that emblazon a common history, and have enriched a literature that we cannot divide. Shall it be said, then, that because an old fool like Lord North set us by the ears ; that, because the bad passions created by that first mad contest involved us in a second civil war, we are to fight again about any trifle, or that there can be any question of such magnitude as to turn back the great stream of our common thoughts, and set us to cutting each other's throats ? God forbid !

Shall we fight to test our courage ? It has been tested from Boadicea to Bunker's Hill ; from Bunker's Hill to Waterloo. We know how you can fight, for we have crossed swords with you—sometimes to our cost. You know how John Bull conducts himself in a fray : and as to our British Americans, though lovers of peace, a bracing climate gives vigour to the frame, and you can hardly see a boy in the British Provinces, who, if there be reason good, would not as soon fight as eat his breakfast. But why should we ? Such scenes as I have witnessed to-day, assure me that we never shall. Such scenes

as this are our best diplomacy. Let them ever abound, and let us carry our trumpets, as the firemen did theirs this morning, ever filled with flowers. CHAP. XXV

Not the least gratifying part of the proceedings of this day has been, to me, the oratorical displays, with which I have been charmed. The Chinese have their Feast of Lanterns; but you hang out your intellectual lights, which would be too dazzling but for the art and the courtesy with which their radiance is subdued. Before I sit down, sir, permit me to thank you for the kindness shown to me on this occasion. Webster has departed from the scene of his great labours; Everett and Choate, it has been my high privilege to hear to-day, in the meridian splendour of their reputations. I am pleased, however, to see, sir, in the chair of this assembly, so able a representative of the rising race of orators and statesmen by whom the destinies of this great country will hereafter be controlled, and if in accordance with the order of proceedings, I beg to propose your health. 1857-58

## CHAPTER XXVI

1859

Mr. Howe returns from the United States—Speech at Truro—House opens on February 3rd—Motion of want of confidence—Government sustained—House dissolved—Result of elections—Letter to Lord Mulgrave—Speech at Bridgetown.

CHAP. XXVI **MR. HOWE**, who had been in the United States for about six months, returned to Halifax about the end of January. On February 1st he visited Truro, where his friends made a handsome present to him. To a complimentary address from the people of Colchester, he made the following reply :

**MEN OF COLCHESTER**,—The cordial welcome given to me in the heart of this noble county, after six months of absence in a foreign land, touches my feelings deeply, and assures me that I hold a place in the estimation of my countrymen of which any public man might be justly proud.

Thirty years have passed away since, from one of the hills behind us, I looked down upon the vale of Truro for the first time. The Salmon River, sparkling in the sunshine, and graceful in all its meanderings, wound through a scene of sylvan beauty, for the richness of which I involuntarily thanked God. The spreading intervalles waved with grain—the marshes, which never fail in fertility, were loaded with timothy and clover—and, upon the mountain sides, the flocks and herds of an intelligent and industrious peasantry wandered in abundance and in peace. Two years later, in 1830, I came again, and witnessed the spirit and unanimity with which the yeomanry of this county rallied round Colchester's most brilliant son, who was then upholding the privileges of the representative branch against the encroaching spirit of the old Council.

During those two visits I learned to appreciate the natural beauty and great resources of this county, and to admire the intelligence and public spirit of its inhabitants. I subsequently rode and rambled all over it; and, for a quarter of a century, have found myself always a welcome guest at its fire-sides and honoured by its public confidence.

Released from the cares of office, and, in a great measure, from the responsibilities of opposition, I have devoted the last half-year to a close and attentive study of the institutions, social relations, and industrial development of the United States. With that great country our commercial relations are daily



becoming more intimate. Sprung from a common origin, and having for 1500 miles a common frontier, the progress of the great republic in arts, arms, education, literature, commerce and finance challenges from every enlightened British American earnest and thoughtful investigation. As these Provinces outgrow their old colonial proportions, and prepare for some form of national elevation—which speeches from the viceregal throne and combined delegations lead us to expect—it becomes a duty, paramount to all others, to study closely institutions which we may be asked to imitate, and to discriminate errors which it may be true wisdom to avoid. But whether organic changes impend or not, we have much to learn from a people who, in husbandry and horticulture, in architecture and all the mechanic arts, have achieved a status more elevated than our own—whose literary circles and noble public libraries, freely thrown open to strangers, present irresistible attractions even to students of my age, and whose charitable foundations are worthy of imitation and of all praise.

Whether I have come back wiser than I went, my countrymen will hereafter decide. But this I may say, that I have studied that interesting country in a spirit of fairness and goodwill—and this I ought at least to say—that I received in all parts of the United States which I visited, from men of the highest rank in politics and letters, courtesy, hospitality and consideration, which I am not very likely to forget.

Permit me to assure you, however, that I have seen nothing abroad which has weakened my attachment to Nova Scotia, which has lowered my estimate of the vast resources of British America, or made me indifferent to the discharge of those duties which may yet devolve on me as a private citizen or as a public man. You will ever find me in the right place at the right time; and none the less prepared, I trust, for the performance of my duties because I prefer to enlarge my intellectual range by travel and observation, that I may serve my country to more advantage.

I thank you very sincerely for your kind references to the past, and for the present by which they are accompanied. What I have done and said is now on record in a form accessible to the whole people. But I could have done nothing if not aided by many other able and patriotic men, all of them as zealous, and many of them as disinterested as you are kind enough to assume that I have been. However combined, we could have done nothing had we not been sustained by the active intelligence and sturdy independence of a people who inherit the love of freedom from their ancestors, and who were and are determined that British America shall hold no inferior rank in the estimation of the world at large.

That the construction of the great public work of which I was the humble advocate has already enlarged the proportions of Truro, and given an impetus to every branch of industry in Colchester, is to me a source of intense satisfaction.

Though circumstances which I could not control, and deeply regret, have

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hitherto retarded the extension of that enterprise, I look hopefully forward to the period when the sages who had not the magnanimity to commence the work, who are incompetent to its completion, will lack the power to obstruct it, and when our railway system will attain its natural development under the guardianship of its friends. Whether I shall ever again accept of office in this country is extremely doubtful. As a member of the Legislature, I shall ever, while honoured by the confidence of my countrymen, endeavour to promote their interests and give free expression to their opinions.

The Legislature opened on February 3rd, and the Opposition lost no time in making a motion of want of confidence in the administration. The debate was continued for several days, and considerable acrimony was displayed on both sides. The Government was sustained. Nothing of special importance took place during the session, which ended on April 15th, when the House was dissolved. Mr. Howe threw himself into the campaign with all his old-time vigour. He made speeches in different parts of the Province, and he was greatly assisted by the Protestant Alliance—an organization which made itself felt in many of the constituencies. The elections took place on May 12th, and Mr. Howe was returned for the district of South Hants, the vote standing—Howe, 981; Chambers, 962; Elder, 685; and Creed, 635. The Opposition press declared that the Government was defeated; but Mr. Johnston and his colleagues forbore to resign. Thereupon a letter, dated June 30th, and signed by twenty-nine out of the fifty-five members returned, was sent to Lord Mulgrave, in which the signatories stated that they had been elected to oppose the Government, and they asked that the House should be called together. In this connection the Provincial Secretary made reply that his Excellency, while ready to give due weight to the sentiments of the memorialists, declined to accept advice from other than his constitutional advisers. Some subsequent correspondence was had with the Colonial Office, but the House was not called together until the following year. It was urged on behalf of the Government that several of the memorialists were disqualified at the time of their election and that consequently their elections were void.

From a speech delivered at Bridgetown on June 8th, we make the following characteristic extract:

Before I proceed to touch the public questions of the day, permit me, gentlemen, to thank you for the very kind reception given to me in this noble

county. From the moment I crossed its borders, I have been surrounded by friends and overwhelmed with courtesies. What, to me, are the pageantries of public life—its honours or distinctions, compared with the spontaneous expressions of confidence and affection by which I have been greeted this forenoon. From the valley and from the mountain sides, a yeomanry have rushed forth, who, for intelligence, personal independence, and public spirit may favourably compare with those of any country. Your old men have blessed me, and your young men throng around me with their sparkling eyes and beaming faces, expressive of fraternal regard that I know not how I have deserved.

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As the cavalcade wound down the road this morning, however busy my mind was with the present, I could not but revert to the period when the beautiful scenery of Annapolis lay before me for the first time. Thirty years ago, just after I married and commenced business, I turned my face to the West. Familiar as I had been from boyhood with the rough features of the southern coast, I knew nothing of the beautiful country that lay behind it. Never shall I forget the surprise with which I looked down from the Ardoise Hills upon the softer scenery and richer soil of Windsor. As I descended from the Horton Mountains, over the highest elevations of which the post road at that time wound, the Gaspereau Valley, basking in the sunshine, lay beneath me. The rich marshes of Horton and Cornwallis were beyond, Blomidon rose in majestic proportions in the distance, and I involuntarily thanked God that had given me such a country. I well remember with what interest I saw for the first time the bright waters and winding links of the Annapolis River, as stealing like a glittering serpent through the grass it charmed my eye in Wilmot for the first time. The beautiful bend above Lawrencetown this morning retouched a picture which has dwelt in my recollection for thirty years. The river still rolls on, and the mountains guard it on either hand, but how extended the cultivation—how marked the signs of embellishment and higher cultivation. New, commodious, and handsome cottages line the road, and far up the mountain sides the industry of man is visible, blending with the sublimity and endless variety of nature. To me then, the day has so far been one of unmixed delight, for the beauty of my country has been heightened and improved by the political animation and kindly feeling which you have everywhere displayed.

## CHAPTER XXVII

1860-1861

Defeat of Johnston administration—Mr. Howe becomes Provincial Secretary—Re-elected in South Hants—Speech on disqualification—Repudiates charge of cowardice—Recommended by Executive for imperial service—Speech at Windsor—Mr. Howe becomes leader of the Government—Acts as Land Commissioner in Prince Edward Island—Speech on ministerial changes—Resolution respecting confederation—Speech on London Exhibition—Visit to England—Speeches in England.

CHAP. XXVII IT was not until the House met for the despatch of business on  
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1860-61 January 25th, 1860, that the Liberals had an opportunity of giving effect to the popular mandate. A few days after the opening, a motion of want of confidence in the administration was made, and after a keen debate the motion was sustained on February 3rd, on a vote of 28 for the motion and 26 against it. Mr. Johnston asked for a dissolution, which Lord Mulgrave refused, and the administration thereupon resigned. A new Government was immediately formed, with Mr. William Young as Premier and President of the Council and Mr. Howe as Provincial Secretary. Mr. Howe was triumphantly returned at his bye-election in South Hants, where he was opposed by Mr. William A. Johnston, a son of the Conservative leader, the vote standing: Howe, 1052; Johnston, 556. From Mr. Howe's speech<sup>1</sup> on nomination day (February 28th) we make the following extracts, in which he deals with the alleged disqualification of some of the members:

As I have already intimated, one of the representations made to Lord Mulgrave was, that certain persons returned by the sheriffs as members of Assembly were not qualified to take seats in the House of Assembly. Let us examine that briefly. In the mother country Acts have passed from time to time by which persons holding offices which, it was supposed, might corrupt their integrity and influence their votes, had been restrained from sitting in Parliament; and the reason was obvious enough. If the House of Commons

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<sup>1</sup> See *Morning Chronicle*, March 6th, 1860.

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could be so constituted as to have a preponderance of officers with large salaries, the Crown might swamp the independence of the House; and therefore were the Acts to which I have alluded passed from time to time. CHAP. XXVII  
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What is the general common-sense rule respecting these matters? It is that the people shall have as extensive a choice as possible; that they shall be free to select where and whom they like, under certain wise restrictions, and therefore the statutes were framed so as to limit their choice as little as possible. It would be an unwise and arbitrary exercise of power to unduly limit it. Laws of a similar nature were passed in the Province from time to time. For instance, the officers of Excise, the Judge of Probate, and others in receipt of salaries of various amounts, were properly excluded. A person running an election might exercise undue influence in reference to those offices of emolument—or members of Assembly might be affected by means of such offices, either by corrupt motives or by judgment being unconsciously influenced. All laws of that kind were based on the same principle, and for the purpose of preventing a Government from corrupting the Legislature. But who ever heard or thought that a Nova Scotian could be corrupted by an office worth forty shillings a year? Is there a man in the land who could get into the House of Assembly so poor and so degraded as to be corrupted or influenced by such an inducement? Take the office of coroner. There is but one such office in the Province, that for Halifax, worth £60 a year; very few are worth £5 a year, and many are not worth a shilling. Several of those offices do not yield forty shillings in three years. Last session a bill was introduced into the Legislative Council to remove Mr. McCully from the office of Judge of Probate, or to cause him to resign his position as a member of that Council. Such was the recognized character of that piece of legislation. The bill came to the Lower House, and, by a proposition of Mr. Annand, it was made to have a more extensive operation—to affect all offices of emolument that might be supposed to have similar influence. The language of the Act may be more comprehensive than was intended, and might technically be made to apply to offices which the Legislature did not design to include. For example, the representative of North Hants, Mack Cochran, was some years ago appointed coroner, and within the period held one inquest on the body of a man taken from the river. It is not a pleasant occupation, and except that the laws concerning public safety have to be attended to by some one, a man would be inclined to pay forty shillings a year to be excused from the office. Mr. Cochran, however, received in the course of several years fifty shillings for holding the inquest mentioned, and of that amount, when fees and expenses were paid, some eleven or twelve shillings went to himself. Was that one of the emoluments intended to be affected by the Legislature? I deny it. The letter of the law, strictly and unfairly construed, might unseat Mr. Cochran—but its spirit, generously and justly administered, would protect him. It would be a rash interpretation of the law, and a gross injustice, to apply it so as to unseat a member of Parliament holding a mere honorary office, for the protection of society, and receiving eleven

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shillings in a series of years. An office which might reasonably be expected to endanger the integrity of a member should be affected by the statute, but I do not think any election committee would unseat a man because he received a paltry fee such as that. Take the case of John Esson: he is, if worth £1, worth £40,000 or £50,000: he was included with others in a commission for taking evidence in cases of insolvent debtors. He never received a fee of office, no fee attached to the only official acts he performed; yet Lord Mulgrave was made to believe that Mr. Esson on account of that appointment was unfit to sit and vote in the House of Assembly. Mr. Blanchard of Port Hood also held some small offices. He resigned all but one in ample time, and respecting that, a surveyor of shipping, he telegraphed Mr. McCully directing him to send to the secretary's office to resign it in his name, and that notice was also given in time. That gentleman, therefore, taking any view of the question, was free from the operation of the statute; but during the summer Lord Mulgrave was induced to believe that Mr. Blanchard was disqualified, and the mystification was not removed until the facts came out in the recent discussions in the House. Mr. Blanchard holds in his possession a letter sent by the young gentleman who is to-day a candidate for your suffrages, making most liberal offers if he would give his support to the Government. Had he yielded to the seduction the question of disqualification would have been very differently treated. What light does that letter throw on these transactions? Join us and you are qualified, oppose us and ineligibility is written on your face. Another of the supposed disqualified members was the son of our old friend Gloud Wilson McLellan, who was in the Legislature for many years. His integrity had frequently been tried, but it could not be tempted by offers—he loved his country and served it faithfully for naught—he never received any official emolument. He accumulated a large property, leaving it to his family. His son had been trained in the Methodist Academy at Sackville, and he came to the Assembly with property worth thousands, gentlemanly manners, cultivated mind, good address, and high estimates of character from the neighbourhood where he had lived from boyhood. That gentleman, for the accommodation of the neighbourhood, kept a way office, for which he received in salary and other emoluments £12 a year. Is there another man in the township of Londonderry capable of believing that Mr. McLellan could be corrupted by an office worth that amount? Yet the attempt was made to unseat him also because he held such an office! Technically the language of the law might apply to him, but if the question came to be tried before a committee who would take a broad view of the law, in reference to the intent of the Legislature in passing it and to its reasonable application, I believe such a result will not occur. Lewis Smith was another of those whom the Government classed among the disqualified—and who is he? His father settled early at Brookfield and toiled there until he was surrounded by his broad cultivated acres, and by a rapidly rising settlement—and was himself clothed with respectability and honour. Lewis Smith, that man's son, inheriting his father's virtues and a portion of his

property and adding thereto, held a paltry way office, and was elected on 12th May. Lord Mulgrave was taught to believe that he also was disqualified. I am not to say what opinion a committee may take; it is quite improbable that I will be on any committee; at present I happen to be not even a member of the House, so that I may freely say that I believe no impartial committee will unseat any of these men under the statute. The cases have become narrowed down to some three or four, and if a committee should declare either of these men disqualified, what then? Mr. Esson, Mr. McLellan, and Mr. Smith would only have to go back to be returned again by majorities of hundreds. Does any one in Hants doubt that Mr. Cochran could be returned with ease? Yet on pretexts such as these the Government held on until the month of February, and then the House was put in possession of some of the transactions which were going on behind the scenes.

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I recollect saying to Mr. Young, in speaking of his letter to the Duke of Newcastle, that I would give twopence to see the volume of documents that went with or after it to England. Down they came at last, and an extraordinary volume they were; they gave just about the perversion of law and the misstatements of fact which I expected, and it was not until the arrival of opinion from England that Lord Mulgrave was undeceived. We thought there should be an extra session, and gave reasons for that view. They refused, and said that the members alluded to could not take the qualification oath. The Attorney-General of England said they could; Mr. Johnston intimated that they would commit perjury if they did so; the chief Crown officer of England said they would not. When the answer to Lord Mulgrave's inquiries came from England the Government were rather perplexed; the Lieutenant-Governor was becoming more wary. How could he implicitly confide in men who had so deceived him? The Legislature were about to meet, and something had to be done. I should remark, instead of sending to England the statute that existed here in reference to elections, the Government only sent such statements as made it difficult to give an answer to cover the whole ground. The Government put to the Colonial Secretary hypothetical cases of legislative wrong-doing which never should have been imagined.

Among the questions put was this: "Suppose the majority of the House of Assembly violated the law, what was to be done?" The reply was, that the act assumed would be a cause of dissolution by an exercise of the prerogative. All understood that. If the House of Assembly should happen to run riot, they knew what would be the result. When the House met, however, and the documents were submitted, I saw clearly that just what Attorney-General Johnston assumed the majority would do was just what it would not do and what it ought not to do. We kept within the limit of the statute, the cases were brought before the House, and did we then violate the law? No; we said, "Here is the Act relating to controverted elections, and let every case brought under the operation of the law by petition be tried in due course. Let a committee legally constituted decide as a jury does in the courts of the land."

CHAP. XXVII We were not a little amused at meeting the members of the late Government  
— on the floors of the House.

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In the course of this campaign, Mr. Howe had been charged with cowardice, and in his speech on nomination day he indignantly denied the accusation :

I take this opportunity of remarking in Dr. Tupper's presence that by losing my passage at a late election I was prevented from being here, and if that gentleman said, as was reported, that I stayed away designedly, afraid to meet him, I say that such a remark was not becoming or manly or true. Having crossed swords again and again with the ablest men of the country—with the late Master of the Rolls, Stewart, Dr. Tupper's master—with the late Attorney-General, one of the best speakers in British America—with James B. Uniacke when he was the pride of the Province—with Dr. Crawley, one of the ablest men in his walk of life—having gone the whole range of public men in such encounters, trying them in the Legislature, the press, on the hustings and the platform, to be told now that I was afraid of any man is scarcely courteous or true. I am afraid of no man, spiritual or temporal, whom my duty calls me to confront. If Dr. Tupper therefore made that boast, it was indiscreet and indelicate. We are here to-day—I might if I chose object to his addressing the meeting, but I am far from doing so—I will listen to what he has to say, only claiming opportunity of reply.

During this year Mr. Howe was appointed one of the commissioners to settle the land disputes in Prince Edward Island, and his duties in that regard called him to that Province.

By a minute of Council, dated July 28th, a short time before the visit of the Prince of Wales to Nova Scotia, the members of the Executive recommended Mr. Howe for appointment in the imperial service. The minute is as follows :

COUNCIL CHAMBER,  
HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA, *July 28th, 1860.*

The Council, in view of the approaching visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and of the expected presence in this Province of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, desire respectfully to call the attention of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor to the claims of an individual upon whom they would gladly see bestowed some mark of royal favour.

The system of responsible government so graciously conceded to the North American Colonies during the reign of her present Majesty, opens to the leading men of each Province all the public employments within it, and in so far places them upon an equal footing with the inhabitants of any single State of the neighbouring Union. But this range of ambition is very limited, and as



North Americans mark the distinctions in the civil service of the mother country open to natives of the British Islands, and in the United States to citizens of the great republic, they naturally desire to enlarge their field of honourable emulation by a generous recognition of the claims of their public men and their promotion in the imperial service. Under a strong conviction of the policy of fostering and rewarding honourable ambition, the Council with all deference desire, through the Lieutenant-Governor, to present to the Duke of Newcastle the claims of a gentleman for whom his Grace has already expressed high respect. The Executive Council, as an act of simple justice to Mr. Joseph Howe, would gladly see, at whatever sacrifice to themselves or the Province, some promotion and mark of royal favour conferred upon him, after a life in which loyal devotion to his Sovereign has ever been combined with an ardent desire to elevate and improve all the Provinces of British America.

A work published last year, containing the Public Speeches and Letters of Mr. Howe, recorded his struggles for principles now universally recognized. It contains evidence also of the possession of varied talents which, employed in a wider sphere, would have won the highest distinctions. The modes of administration happily working with success in all these colonies and rapidly extending to other groups attest the sagacity and skill of their earliest and most untiring advocate. The great internal improvements which now stimulate the industry and lend animation to the Provinces, it is but fair, at this time of general rejoicing, to acknowledge we largely owe to the gentleman who in 1850 turned the attention of English capitalists to the resources of North America, and in 1854 perfected the policy by which the Lower Provinces have secured the great lines of railway which they own.

The Council annex to this minute a list of the offices which Mr. Howe has held under the Provincial Government, by which it will appear that he has run through a curriculum admirably calculated to fit him for higher posts. They ask your Excellency to peruse, and hand to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, the letters which from their familiar intercourse with Mr. Howe they knew were in existence, and which they have obtained permission to annex to this minute.

From these letters it will appear that Mr. Howe was honoured with the confidence and the correspondence of the late Charles Buller, and of Lords Glenelg and Sydenham, at a time when the distracted state of the North American colonies severely tasked the powers of these eminent men; that he early was and is still honoured by the good opinion of Lord John Russell; and has received from the Earl of Derby a recognition of his talents and services of which any colonist may be justly proud.

It will appear also that Mr. Howe's claims to promotion have been formally recognized by several Colonial Secretaries, by Lord John Russell, Sir William Molesworth, and by Mr. Labouchere—claims certainly not weakened by the recent unanimous selection of Mr. Howe by a neighbouring Legislature to adjudicate on questions of the highest magnitude and importance.

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The Council would hardly do justice to the gentleman they desire to serve, did they not advert to his conduct on occasions when the honour of the Crown and the interests of the empire were peculiarly concerned. When the facturers of New Brunswick were manacled<sup>1</sup> in 1838, Mr. Howe, then in opposition . . . at the head of a powerful majority, sank all party feeling, and took the lead in those measures which combined the Legislature and people of Nova Scotia for national defence. At the outbreak of the Crimean war he moved the address annexed relieving the Imperial Government from all solicitude for the security of the Province should it be desirable to remove the troops; and when sent into the United States during that war, to carry out a policy for which others were responsible, Mr. Howe for two months risked capture and imprisonment, and so discharged his duties as to win the expressed approbation of the Governor who employed him, and whose opinion of his conduct will be found stated at large in the despatch, a copy of which we have the honour to annex.

That Mr. Howe's father, who was personally known to the late Dukes of Kent and Clarence during their visits to Nova Scotia, enjoyed their favour and the confidence of the Imperial Government may be gathered from the fact that prior to the outburst of the American war of 1812, that gentleman was on a confidential mission to the United States, for which he never asked or received fee or reward. His instructions are annexed.

With such claims to royal consideration, while commanding respect from political opponents, and the confidence and friendship of those who knew him best—with testimonials from noblemen and gentlemen the most distinguished in the empire, to justify the assurances given by successive Secretaries of State, the Council feel that they can confidently ask your Excellency to add the weight of your own personal recommendation that Mr. Howe's honourable ambition may be gratified, and that the marked recognition by Her Majesty of a long life devoted to the service of his country may encourage our youth to emulate his high qualities, and assure them that eminent civil service in the colonies is not without its reward.

(Signed) WILLIAM YOUNG.

A. G. ARCHIBALD.

JONATHAN McCULLY.

WM. ANNAND.

J. H. ANDERSON.

BENJ. WIER.

Matters, however, had taken a different turn from what was anticipated when the above recommendation was made. Mr. Young,

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<sup>1</sup> "Facturers of New Brunswick were manacled." There is obviously an error in copying this sentence from the Order in Council into the journals of the Executive Council. It should properly read as follows: "The frontiers of New Brunswick were menaced."

the Premier, was appointed Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, and Mr. Howe (August 3rd) succeeded him as President of the Council and head of the administration, and thus he became, for the first time, the nominal—as well as the real—leader of his party.

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In a speech delivered at Windsor on August 2nd, on the occasion of the royal visit, he made the following observations on his favourite theme—the relations with the mother country :

I believe the visit of the Prince of Wales will be productive of great good by turning the attention of our rulers to the magnificent proportions and great resources of British America. I once told a distinguished statesman at home that the policy of England should be to continue the Strand through Halifax to Vancouver Island, to build London all over England, and to pour the surplus population and capital of the mother country into the North American Provinces, until they were so strengthened that a home market would be secured in time of peace and gallant defenders in time of war. That policy will not now appear absurd to those who have seen how universal is the desire on this side of the water to maintain British institutions and to strengthen and consolidate our relations with the mother country.

When the Legislature opened on January 31, 1861, Mr. Howe as leader of the administration was obliged to make some explanations of the ministerial changes. From a speech of great beauty and force, a single extract is given :<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the House will indulge me while I say that, when looking around these benches, it is with regret I find myself almost the father of the House, for with the exception of my honourable friend Mr. Chipman, I sit here its oldest member—a member of twenty-five years' standing. My age and standing therefore, if not my abilities, might justify the appointment to which I, have referred. But, Mr. Speaker, while I look forward hopefully to the development of a successful policy—to the passage of good measures and the progress and advancement of the country, my thoughts involuntarily flow backward, and that brilliant galaxy of noble men who sat around me years ago presents itself to my mind's eye ; and I almost feel to-day that however high the position may be, these memories dash its attainment with sadness. When I recollect the late Mr. Archibald,—whose presence filled, and whose person for a long period adorned that chair, whose brilliant talents charmed all who knew him, and whose silvery tones seem yet ringing in my ear ; when I recollect that that charm is broken and that the eloquent voice is hushed, an involuntary sadness shadows the memory. Again, when I recollect my honourable friend Mr. Uniacke—with the person of an Antinous—the grace of a gentleman—the eloquence of

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<sup>1</sup> See *Morning Chronicle*, February 2.

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an Irish orator, and the common sense of an educated Nova Scotian, who so long dignified this House by his presence; when I recollect my old friend Herbert Huntington, with his rough exterior but honest integrity—that noble incorruptible man, who stood beside me during the earlier periods of my life—I cannot refrain from pausing to drop a tear over the memories of those who have departed for ever from amongst us. The beautiful language of Moore rises to my lips, and

“ I feel like one who treads alone  
Some banquet hall deserted;  
Whose lights are fled, whose garlands dead,  
And all but he departed.”

From such reflections on the past, lessons of wisdom as well as feelings of sadness may be evolved. But a short time will elapse before we may anticipate that honourable gentlemen opposite will engage us in manly encounters; for, with every desire to advance the interests of the country, however successful my statesmanship, however winning and seductive my blandishments, I can hardly expect always to convince or convert the gentlemen who sit on opposite benches. But however this may be, in glancing retrospectively at the occurrences of past years, I may say, in all sincerity, I have forgotten the sharp retorts, the biting sarcasms, the hard names and heavy charges, which diversified our legislative discussions; but I have not forgotten the public courtesies, manly consideration and chivalrous spirit, that marked and characterized the transaction of public business while the men to whom I have adverted moved on this stage. From their example, then, let us derive a lesson—let us show that we have not deteriorated—that though differences of opinion do exist, though party conflicts must take place, we have not lost that decorum of conduct, nor forgotten to practise those amenities which dignify and elevate while they adorn alike public and private life.

During this session, Mr. Howe moved (April 15) the following resolution in relation to a union of the Provinces—a resolution of which he was frequently reminded some years later, but which after all was so carefully worded as only to invite discussion of the important question:

*Whereas* the subject of a union of the North American Provinces, or of the Maritime Provinces of British America, has been from time to time mooted and discussed in all the colonies.

*And whereas*, while many advantages may be secured by such a union either of all these provinces or a portion of them, many and serious obstacles are presented which can only be overcome by the mutual consultation of the leading men of the colonies and by free communication with the Imperial Government.

*Therefore resolved*, that his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor be respectfully requested to put himself in communication with his Grace the Colonial Secretary and his Excellency the Governor-General and the Lieutenant-Governors of the other North American Provinces, in order to ascertain the policy of Her Majesty's Government and the opinions of the other colonies, with a view to an enlightened consideration of a question involving the highest interests and upon which the public mind in all the Provinces ought to be set at rest.

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The above resolution was introduced and passed on the day on which the House prorogued.

On August 28th, a public meeting was held in Temperance Hall, Halifax, in relation to the great Exhibition which was to be held in London the year following. Speaking to a resolution that Nova Scotia should participate in the Exhibition, Mr. Howe said :<sup>1</sup>

Let me say, at the outset, that making war upon *The Times* is altogether fruitless labour. *The Times* will tell its story and the world will believe it ; a war against that paper is worse, in fact, than kicking against the pricks. Both *The Times* and *Punch*, in fact, may as well be left alone.

The honourable gentleman who has just sat down remarked that he had little left to say. There is one thing left, I think. He and I, upon the arena where men may bring their personal rivalries and fair legitimate ambition, have often battled day after day and night after night ; and where the honour of Nova Scotia is concerned, as to-night, there too we meet to uphold the common flag of the civilization of our country, and show that, no matter what our political bickerings may be, wherever there comes one of those bright spots of sunlight on which the eye loves to rest, the strongest partizans can come together in unison.

Now, I wandered for a week through the great Exhibition held in Paris in 1854 ; and I declare to my countrymen and countrywomen that up to the hour I crossed the threshold I had no expectation of what the civilization and the industry of the world had produced. Then I saw what the great European nations could do. I saw the most minute and delicate industry represented ; I saw what man had done upon the face of the created universe there represented in all the departments of life and industry. I could scarcely conceive that the civilization of the globe had risen to so high a pitch. It was a perfect storehouse of information ; and when for a week I had examined its countless treasures, I not only felt that I had seen a marvellous display, but at times there came to me a thought of the delight that would be felt by many far over the Atlantic wave if they could but be present at the spectacle. But there is one saddening reflection that I have not forgotten. After wandering through

<sup>1</sup> *The Morning Chronicle*, August 31st, 1861.

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the galleries of art—after looking at the vast building devoted to them—after having seen everything, from the crown jewels of the European sovereigns down to the minutest instrument which a lady handles when she is doing her ordinary work—after having seen in wood and iron and bronze and ten thousand substances the industry of the world exhibited, I came to two or three compartments having the names of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia painted in large letters above them, and beneath nothing at all. Then I bowed my head and thanked God that nobody knew me; I was glad that there was a reasonable prospect of my being able to skulk out with the conviction that nobody knew where I came from. And when I went back to London I said nothing about Nova Scotia that season; I passed for an Englishman, and got home as quickly as I could. Let us not exhibit ourselves in such a plight again. Not only let the Legislature and the Government do what they can, but let every one of you lend a helping hand. In your family circle, by correspondence with every part of the Province, let every one do his best, that we may show the world our just position.

His Lordship has well said that he will not flatter you by saying that you could compete with the older countries of Europe in branches of manufacture. What paintings, what sculpture, what architecture can we show, in comparison with the great efforts of European nations? What beautiful fabrics like those that adorn and decorate the forms of beauty in the mother country and all over the world, can we exhibit? None of those ten thousand delicate and exquisite articles that attract the eye and gratify the taste, are among the products of our industry. Let us be honest and modest, and not attempt too much, but go to the next World's Fair with what we have, and send, as we shall send, in pamphlet form, a fair, candid account, not too voluminous, of the Province, to show to every man who may wish to emigrate, what sort of country this is. We will not pretend to rival the neighbouring States, but this we can say: that this country only began to be settled very many years after the old colonies; that we commenced with nothing in the wilderness, and all we have made has been made in little over a century. It has been said that the moose and caribou roamed through the forests a hundred years ago; and yet look what the efforts of man have done since that time!

We do not deny that we have a long and lingering winter. But yet let it be remembered that our climate is such that a man will retain his muscles, his sinews, his manhood, down to the day of his death, which cannot be said of the middle States of the republic. He will see the rosy face that the Irishwoman brings from home, and the stalwart muscles with which the Irishman leaves his native country, brought down before the hot suns of the middling States; whereas in these Provinces he lives all his days in all the plenitude of his natural strength.

Not long since I conversed with a gentleman who had been residing in Australia for ten years, and in answer to my inquiry how he liked the country, he replied, that it was well enough if it were not for the scarcity of water and

the quantity of dust. "In fact," added he, "I don't think I ever felt clean all the time I was there." Let us tell Englishmen that there are streams in every part of Nova Scotia. We may not have such magnificent rivers as the St. John, or the noble Restigouche in the adjoining Province; but in every direction, from the mountain to the seaside, come down those little limpid streams from which every man may drink. Let water be sold by the bucketful, and then will the Nova Scotian appreciate the difference between the abundance of his own country and the scarcity in other portions of the globe.

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What more have I to tell the Englishmen? This, that whilst the St. Lawrence is frozen up for months in the year, the harbour of Halifax, Sydney and numerous other noble ports are always open to the commerce of the world. Some of our friends have referred to the agricultural productions of the country. Let us tell the honest truth. We have to house our cattle longer than they have to do in England. But we can also add that, taking one year with another, the soil produces grass enough to feed them in abundance. We raise more wheat than many of the neighbouring United States. We can tell them that in oats, barley and potatoes we beat three-fourths of the United States. In butter and cheese we beat more than half the States. On our maritime advancement, I will not dwell just now; but this I can say, that taking the four Maritime Provinces, they are rapidly rising up to be the fourth or fifth maritime power on the face of the earth. When I speak of maritime strength, I do not speak of naval strength, but of that steady growth of our mercantile marine upon which rests all naval power—and from which England may draw at some future day. As I see every day a ship sailing to distant ports, I say to myself—there goes another addition to the naval strength of England. We see in the neighbouring States people coming forward with alacrity—to do what?—to cut each other's throats. But show me a cause which touched our feelings, which made us feel that the common flag of our country was in peril, and then every mariner and fisherman amongst us would volunteer to uphold that flag as heartily as hundreds and thousands in the republic now volunteer to pull theirs down.

In the autumn Mr. Howe visited England, and during his stay there he addressed public audiences at Ashton-under-Lyne and Oldham. He returned to Nova Scotia on January 25, 1862.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

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Speech at Bristol—Speech at Niagara—Visit to England—Mr. Howe appointed Fishery Commissioner—Letter to Mr. Adderley on the colonies.

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BEFORE his return to Nova Scotia, Mr. Howe delivered a speech in Bristol on the Intercolonial Railroad. He returned to Nova Scotia before the House opened, and was present during the session; but nothing of special importance came up for discussion. On September 18th he spoke on "The Future of British North America" at Niagara, Upper Canada, as follows:

I am here a stranger from a far country, and yet I did not feel, when I got into Upper Canada, altogether a stranger. I feel when I look upon the faces around me that they are very like the faces I have left at home. It has been my good fortune four or five times in the course of my life to ramble through the length and breadth of Canada. I have seen her marvellous water-power. I have hung with admiration and delight over the cataracts of Niagara, and I have fancied myself in fairyland while watching the feathery spray of the Montmorenci. I have looked at your fertile lands, and at your glorious forests. I have seen the bold headlands of the coast in the east, and the fertile valleys in the west, but I have seen no scene like this which is presented to me to-day. Five acres of stalwart Canadian freemen, with those fair forms and pretty faces interspersed, is a sight that may well gladden the eye of any British American. Talk of the Persian's Feast of Roses! When I look on the cheeks before me, I feel that the Feast of Roses must be here. But after all there are some sad thoughts that come athwart my mind to-day. I have had a high opinion of Canada, and of the men of Canada, but certain parties in the old country have recently presented them in a new light. Some two or three members of the House of Peers, two or three erudite commoners in the Lower House, one professor of a university, and two or three editors of newspapers, have set themselves to propagate this idea, that the men of Canada are cravens and cowards, and that the women of Canada are not thought worth defending. All the world is asked to believe that. Do I believe it? Seeing what I see, knowing what I know, having read and studied the history of Canada, and knowing its history well, do I believe it? No! And I tell you that Nova Scotia does not believe it, nor New Brunswick, nor Prince Edward



Island, nor Newfoundland, and Canada does not believe it herself. Mr. Currie has referred to some of the battle-fields which have illustrated the annals of Canada. Surely these noble lords and erudite commoners in England ought to have read the history of Canada better; the remembrances of those fields, and of the men who fought upon them, ought to have restrained them from sending abroad the slander and falsehood which they are attempting to make the world believe.

I feel I have no right to touch the politics of Canada. I am here the guest and the friend of the men who now rule this noble Province, but I have been the guest and the friend of men who ruled it aforetime, and I feel it would be bad taste in me to leave the impression on your minds for a moment that I come here to-day in any partisan character, to take sides with any political men or any political party in Canada. I come here to speak to you on great national questions. I come here to speak to United Canada, to address myself to the good sense and sound feeling and patriotism of the people of this noble Province, irrespective of the divisions of party politics and opinions. But I will say that those noble lords and commoners to whom I have referred, might have remembered this, that these British American Provinces have been loyal to the Crown of England for more than a century. They ought to have remembered that, when troubled by insurrection, Canada, by the mere force of her own militia, put down the disturbance, and that the great majority of her people proved themselves sound and loyal at heart. They ought to have remembered that, if the people of Canada had wished to shake off their allegiance to the mother country, if they had wished to change their political relations, if they had desired even prematurely to form a national character and achieve a national position, they could have crushed the handful of British troops who were in the Province when those disturbances took place. But it was because the heart of Canada was sound, it was because the feelings of this Province were loyal and British, that those disturbances were put down. By the battle-fields which my honourable friend has recounted on this Niagara frontier where we now stand, by the memories of the dead who fought in those bitter conflicts, and no less by the loyalty of the living, in the name of Canada, in the name of my own Province, and in the name of British America, I pronounce the language held in the House of Lords, and in the House of Commons, and in the press of England, to be slanderous, defamatory and unjust. Fresh from social intercourse with the French Canadians below, and with their public men, so far as that portion of the population also is concerned, I pronounce the statements slanderous and defamatory. I have said that by the memories of the dead these colonies ought to be judged. My honourable friend has been chosen the honoured successor of a man whom I had known for twenty years. Those who are now abusing his country ought to be put to shame by the single memory of that man alone. When Hamilton Merritt was a boy, when this Province was sparsely populated, and the Lower Provinces were feeble and far distant, he shouldered his musket and did duty upon the frontier, when the Greys and

the Ellenboroughs were far enough away and doing but little for the integrity of the empire. And then when the frontier had been successfully defended, and the Province was secure, Mr. Merritt devoted his long and laborious public life to the perfection of those great works which are an honour to the country. I have seen to-day his lonely house where I was hospitably entertained twenty years ago, but I saw beneath its windows the great work which Mr. Merritt's genius and perseverance have achieved. And when I looked upon that noble highway, covered as it was when I saw it to-day with ships carrying the grain and other products of the West downwards to the ocean, I would not give the memory of Hamilton Merritt, I would not give the labours of that honourable, gallant colonial man, for all that these slanderers of Canada have to this hour done for the empire. And there are other graveyards in which the bones might be almost supposed to stir at these slanders and defamations. Up here you have your Lundy's Lanes and your Bloody Creeks, but they have had their battle-fields in Lower Canada too, and the De Saleberrys and other gallant fellows of that noble race have themselves in their lives illustrated French Canadian loyalty and French Canadian valour. In presence of all these great memories, am I asked to believe that the men who have defended with their blood the honour of England, are in the hour of need of the British Empire to fail hereafter? Am I to believe that those whom I now address are unworthy of the sires from whom they have sprung? No; in every old churchyard in Canada there are the gages and the guarantees of her loyalty. In every old churchyard in Canada there are recollections which will inspire the sons of the men who lie in these churchyards, hereafter to do their duty as their fathers did before them. But while I invoke the dead and the living to contradict and put down this defamation, I may also invoke a higher Power. Can I believe that God in His infinite mercy and all-wise Providence created this noble country for a race of cravens to inhabit; that He placed before your eyes the wondrous evidences of His power only to cripple your resolves and make weak cowards of you? No; I believe that as long as Niagara rolls its great waters to the sea, as long as the noble Gulf is filled by the hand of Providence year after year with the countless myriads that are destined to sustain human life, as long as the noble forest trees rise from the soil to shelter you in your homesteads or to shade you in hours of festivity like these, so long I believe the Almighty stamps on the face of this great country the answer to the slanderers of the people to whom He had given it as their home. I may go further, and summon the Indian braves whom your fathers overcame, to bear testimony to the energy and to the courage and valour of the race by whom they were subdued. I believe that Brant was as much a nobleman in his way as any peer that ever sat in the House of Lords, and I believe that the men whom he fought with left upon his mind a recognition of their bravery and valour which he carried to the grave. And I believe that there is not a dead Indian warrior in all Canada who would not almost stir beneath the soil that covers him, if he imagined that the men who conquered him had been

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succeeded by a race so craven and pusillanimous that they could not defend the country which the bravery of their fathers had acquired. CHAP. XXVIII

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But then we are told by some of these learned lords and erudite commoners and able editors in England that Canada has become so corrupt and politically demoralized that it ought to be abandoned. Suppose for a moment that that is true, is it a charge for the gentlemen on the other side of the water to bring, who ought to remember what Sir Robert Walpole said of them all, that every man in England had his price? The gentlemen on the other side of the Atlantic ought to read their own history first and ours afterwards. Do we not know that English statesmen, on one occasion, bought an entire Parliament when it suited their convenience? I do not think, then, that it lies in their mouths to talk to us about corruption until, at all events, we have sold a colonial Parliament at least once in our history. Do we not know that until very recently English constituencies were bought and sold by wholesale, like cattle in the market, and that some of them are so bought and sold still? Do we not know that there is corruption and demoralization enough in the public affairs of England fully to engage the attention of the erudite gentlemen who chose to criticise colonial public men and find fault with the corruption alleged to exist in Canada? I think I could mention the names of a good many members of the House of Commons who have bought their seats. I think I could find the names of a good many noble peers in England who would not allow a railway bill to pass until a pretty good price had been paid for their own lands. And suppose that some of the farmers in Canada did make the railway companies pay too much for their lands, suppose that some of the commoners of Canada in dealing with railway bills were influenced by personal considerations, what then? Is the whole Province to be slandered for that? I venture to say that I can find for these noble lords more examples of personal corruption among the public men of the mother country, than could be charged against all the British Provinces put together. It may be said that the instances of corruption in England are of old date, that there was rascality among the public men of England only in Walpole's time. Why! have these noble lords and learned gentlemen forgotten that King Hudson sat in the House of Commons but a few years ago, and that noble lords, earls, and dukes dined with King Hudson when he was scheming and bargaining, and corrupting and socially destroying the whole railway world of England? If Canada has had her afflictions with King Jackson, England has had her afflictions with King Hudson, and I think they should not trouble themselves so much looking after the cleanliness of our skirts on this side of the water, until they have cleaned their own. Who are directors in the British Bank? Members of the House of Commons, and yet the whole concern was a swindle from beginning to end? But what would be thought of me, or of any other public man in these Provinces, if I were to stand up and charge that against the House of Lords, or the House of Commons, or the British people? Surely then what would be indelicate and unjust in us must be indelicate and unjust in them when they pursue that

course towards this colony. Do we not know that in the Crimean war a great fleet of gunboats was built at an enormous expense, under the surveillance of the Admiralty, and that it is now ascertained that half of them were rotten? Who handled the contracts for building those gunboats, and who pocketed the money that must have been pocketed in that barefaced robbery of the British treasury? If that had been done in Canada, some noble lord would have charged it against the whole Province, but it occurred in England. But do we charge it on England? God forbid! We charge it on the swindlers and fraudulent knaves who cheated the British Government.

I am rather an old politician, and for more than five-and-twenty years I have been pretty familiar with the public affairs of the Lower Provinces and of Canada also, and I will say this, that in the earliest times the Legislature of Canada was pure. I do not agree in many things with what Papineau has said and done, but I am bound to say, as one who in early life had marked his course, that, whatever might have been his faults or his errors, no man had ever dared charge Papineau with corruption. And, whatever might have been the mistakes or blunders of Mackenzie, no man could ever charge Mackenzie with corruption. He might have been wrong—he might have attempted a revolution which was impossible, or he might not; but I will say now that he is dead, what I would have said in any man's presence when he was living, that I believe Mackenzie was above all considerations of personal pecuniary advantage. I have had the honour of knowing personally Robert Baldwin, Rolph, Lafontaine, Morin, Viger—the old men who fought out the hard battles of self-government in this colony, while I and others were fighting the hard battles of self-government in the colonies below. Did any man ever lay to the charge of any one of these men, or could the allegation have been proved if it had been made, that any one of them in his public course ever cared for his own purse or his own pocket, or would have sold his own influence or the influence of his party in the Legislature, or done any act whatever from a corrupt and venal motive? And now I will ask a question which perhaps some of the noble lords on the other side of the water may be able to answer. When did we first hear any charge of corruption made against the public men of Canada? It was not made—and I am not going to say whether truly or not—it was not made till Mr. Jackson, a member of the British Parliament, set his foot in Canada, and with the power and influence and large expenditure of a combined body of contractors at his back, began to operate on the Legislature of Canada. Never till that hour was the taint of corruption imputed to the public men of this Province. There are a good many people in England who have lost a great deal of money in the Grand Trunk; and I believe there are a good many people in this country who sympathise with them, and a good many are trying to find out how they are to get their money back—a very interesting subject of inquisition.

But I wish to refer now to the inception of the Grand Trunk scheme. I wish to refresh Lord Grey's memory upon one or two points in the history of

colonial railroads. In 1850 I went to England as a delegate from Nova Scotia. My object was to get the guarantee of the Imperial Government, and upon that to bind the Colonial Governments and Legislatures to make a great highway from Western Canada to the ocean through British territory, at a moderate expense, to be owned by the three Colonial Governments. I laboured for six months to get that policy adopted by the Cabinet of England, and after six months' labour I got Lord Grey and the British Cabinet to understand what was wanted, and to promise to carry it out. Under this arrangement, we were to get the money at  $3\frac{1}{4}$  or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., the Provinces giving their bonds and becoming answerable for the repayment. The policy agreed upon was also to include a line connecting Halifax with Portland, giving the British Provinces the control for ever of a large portion of the passenger and mail traffic of the United States, giving to Canada the outlet to the sea which she required, and giving to the empire a great line, which would be as necessary for purposes of defence in time of war as it would be valuable to us in time of peace. In 1851 I came to Canada, and found its whole Government favourable to embarking in that policy. I had to spend but three or four days in Toronto, before a minute of Council was passed, pledging the Government of Canada to carry out that policy. I went to New Brunswick, and, after removing some misunderstandings, got the Government of that Province into line. In my own Province an extra session of the Legislature was called, and the necessary bills were passed. But when all this had been done, it was suddenly discovered by Lord Grey that there was a mistake; the guarantee was withdrawn, and the British Provinces were left to drift hither and thither at the mercy of English contractors. Lord Grey, then, I will say, is the last man who ought to raise his voice to argue anything with these North American Provinces. It was his failure and the failure of his Government to carry out the policy arranged in 1851 which has led to all the corruption, if corruption there has been, and all the waste which has been witnessed in connection with these railroads, from that hour down to the present time. Had the scheme been carried out, the money would have been got at a low rate of interest, which the Provinces would have punctually paid, the roads would have belonged to the people, and there would have been no jobbery or corruption at all for persons on the other side to criticise. Mr. Jackson, having succeeded well in Canada, came down to Nova Scotia, and made there the same sublime offers which misled everybody here. "Oh," said Mr. Jackson, "do you propose to make the railroads as Government works? Fie upon you! Don't you know any better than that? Are you going to encumber your public revenues in that way? Just allow me, for the good of the country, to make the roads for you. I will make all the railroads in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada. You have only to pass the bills, and they will all be made at so small a cost that you will hardly know who built them." Having been in England, I happened to learn something of the history of Mr. Jackson and his partners, and I thought the best thing Nova Scotia could do was to keep Mr. Jackson out of it. And I succeeded, although it cost

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me a winter or two's hard fighting, for his promises were so seductive and so hard to put aside. We finally beat him off, however, and built our railroads as Government works. The necessary money we borrowed in England, and have paid the interest honestly, and there have been no charges of corruption or dishonesty in connection with the railroads of Nova Scotia. And why? Because we got rid of Mr. Jackson. In New Brunswick they were not quite so fortunate, for there they entered into an arrangement with him and his friends, and he came, surveyed the road, and made contracts, and the result was that they had to buy him out at a cost of £90,000 before they could get rid of him. In Canada he got his own way, and if there has been corruption in Canada, it came here when English members of Parliament visited Canada to carry out their own railway schemes. I have a word or two more to say to Lord Grey. When I went over to England, in 1850, what was my argument to that nobleman? It was that this Intercolonial Railroad must be built for the defence of the empire—that whenever there was war, or rumours of war, if the difficulty arose in winter, it would be found hard work to defend Canada, when there were no means of communication between it and the mother country. Last winter I was in England when the *Trent* difficulty occurred, and I had an opportunity then of recalling to his recollection the argument I then used. It would be becoming in Lord Grey to reflect that but for his breach of faith and violation of the pledge he gave, that road would have been made five years ago, and when we were threatened with war last winter, the British troops could have been thrown into Canada from the seaboard in forty-eight hours, and all the waste and expense incurred in sending the troops by land at an inclement season of the year would have been spared. I charge upon Lord Grey all that expense and all that waste, as well as the anxiety caused at that time by the insecure position of Canada. I will not imitate the bad example that has been set on the other side of the Atlantic; I will not charge that Mr. Jackson's system of corruption extended to that side of the water; but I will say that the black history of that railway transaction has not yet been written; and perhaps it may not be written in our time. But, if ever all the facts should be brought to light, I believe it will be shown that by some astute manipulation the British Provinces on that occasion were sold for the benefit of English contractors and English members of Parliament.

Another charge against Canada is that she is very ungrateful, considering that the English have lent her so much money. I do not think that there is anything in this that need make Canadians feel shame under a sense of favours received. I do not believe that any Englishman is so patriotic as to lend a Canadian money if he does not expect to get it back with good interest. Would Lord Grey, or Lord Ellenborough, or any of the others who have been making those speeches, have lent Canada £500 or £5000, if they did not expect to get it back? Not a man of them. They are exceedingly anxious for the welfare of Canada, and would be very glad to have Canada keep up a standing army. They are forward to give Canada advice, but they only lend her money, as they

do to the Greeks or the Mexicans, expecting to get it back again. Nova Scotia has borrowed two-thirds of a million in England, and English capitalists would willingly have lent her a whole million sterling, if she had wanted it, but her own people have advanced a third of what was wanted, and they have spent it, not in firing away gunpowder, but in building a valuable public work. And Nova Scotia bonds went up in England to a premium of 10 and 11 per cent., and stood at those figures till three months ago. And what brought them down then? Why, these insane and absurd speeches in the House of Lords and the House of Commons. Those men had done their best to damn the credit of these colonies, but I thank God they had not the power. The bonds fell, but the loss, if loss there was, fell on those who held them; still I will undertake to say that if the English capitalists who hold the bonds of Nova Scotia will give them back at par to-morrow, others will be found ready to give the money. And why? Because 6 per cent. for his money on good Government security is just what John Bull wants. I do not envy him the interest he got, but, so long as it is paid regularly to him, he ought not to turn round and reproach them with borrowing his money. I believe that all the bonds of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, if the British people are distrustful of their credit and afraid of their stability, can be negotiated in foreign markets to-morrow, if the capitalists in the colonies are not in a position immediately to take them up.

Now a word or two upon another topic which, perhaps, interests those whom I address more than it does me. It is made now a matter of great reproach to Canada that she has not thought proper to pass a Militia Bill such as was expected in England, and to keep up an expensive standing army. I will not touch Canadian politics. I am not here to say whether the Militia Bill introduced by the late Government was or was not too costly, or whether the Militia Bill introduced by the present Government was sufficient for the purpose or not. But I will take my stand upon this broad principle, that whether the one bill or the other was the better, the House of Lords and the House of Commons are not to be the judges—the Parliament of Canada is to judge and the Parliament of Canada alone. I am astonished that noble lords should have got up and spoken on this matter as they did, when they ought to have known that they could not dictate even to their own House of Commons how they should spend a shilling, much less to the free Parliament of Canada. It was in bad taste and exceedingly indelicate for these noble lords to get up and scold the Parliament of Canada for exercising their own free judgment in a matter where they were most concerned. Suppose a war to break out with the States, would there be any foreign burglary committed upon the House of Lords? Would Lord Grey's estate be in danger? Would Lord Ellenborough's country seat be destroyed? No; the brunt of the conflict would fall upon the people of Canada, and if the people of Canada, who could alone feel the personal effects of the war, and who knew what the degree of peril was, are not to judge what number of men they should raise, and what amount of money

they should expend, then in God's name what power or privileges have they? Suppose the Canadian Parliament were to imitate the example set them in England, and get up a debate at Quebec on the sale of rotten boroughs in England, and pronounce strong judgment upon the noble lords who bought and sold rotten boroughs, how would they like that? Or suppose they got up a debate on the state of education in England. If Englishmen were to come here and take a stroll through the educational institutions of Canada, from her noble universities the very look of which inspired classic thought, down to her common schools, they would find a condition of educational improvement which they might well imitate. But suppose some public man in the Parliament of Canada, say my honourable friend just elected, when making his maiden speech next session, should undertake to dictate to the Lords and Commons of England how they should educate their people, or should propose to institute a parliamentary inquiry in Canada to discover who profited by the rotten gunboats, what would be thought of such interference? When I read those speeches made in England, I laughed at them. If I believed the sentiments they expressed were the sentiments of the House of Lords, of the House of Commons, or the deliberately formed convictions of the people of England, I should address them in a very different style. But I have rambled four or five times through the mother country, and know it better, perhaps, than I know Canada, and I am prepared to say that I believe those men misrepresented the opinions of the Commons, and the Lords, and the people of England. I believe the people of England, when well informed, and when they arrive at a deliberate conviction, will cry shame on them, as the people of British America now do. I advise my audience to read Macaulay's third chapter on the standing army and militia of England, and if any man on reading it in connection with the language recently held, does not split his sides with laughter, I will undertake to eat the book. Why, when England had five and a half millions of a population, her army could not have stood an hour before the militia of Canada as organized now. She had but four or five regiments and a few cumbrous cavalry, and as for the militia, Macaulay absolutely turned them into contempt. I advise you all to read that chapter, and, if ever you have an opportunity, I hope you will read it to Lord Grey and Lord Ellenborough.

I do not wish it to be understood for a moment that I desire that Canada should not be armed. But God forbid that she should be armed aggressively, so as to create mutual hostility between her and her neighbours. For a long time the people of the adjoining United States have been our friends and neighbours. I will not say a word about the unhappy struggle now desolating the republic. We have nothing to do with it. The people there have engaged in a controversy, and must fight it out. All we have to do is to obey the Queen's proclamation and keep neutral. But as the neighbouring republic had been compelled to raise a large standing army, that might reasonably be considered a motive and a ground why British America should arm to such an extent as might secure her own protection and defence. [Mr. Howe then explained the



features of the militia system in Nova Scotia, under which there were 4000 or 5000 volunteers trained in military exercises, and capable of defending their country, if need should require.] At the same time, means were taken for teaching the youths of the Province the use of arms. This, I hope, will be carried out in all the Provinces, but I would not have them study war for aggressive purposes. I asked the people at home to study the use of arms for defence—not to invade their neighbours; but if any one comes to invade their soil, every man, every boy, every old man and I believe every woman will turn out to defend it. And what we are doing below, I trust the people here are doing also. To keep up a large standing army is a different matter—one with which our Legislature alone has power to deal.

I was told—for I have not read them—that there is a learned professor, Mr. Goldwin Smith, who has written two or three letters on the connection of Canada with England. I understand Mr. Smith is for cutting the connection at once. I had a letter the other day from the Hon. Mr. Tilley, the leader of the Government in New Brunswick. Mr. Tilley asked me—"How are you in Nova Scotia? Are you prepared for independence? Have you read Goldwin Smith's letters?" I wrote back: "No! I have not read Goldwin Smith's letters. I am prepared for anything. Nova Scotia will float, if the devil himself cuts the tow-line." If I ever should have the pleasure of making Professor Smith's acquaintance, there are two or three simple questions I should like to ask him. I look at the future of these Provinces with hope, and without apprehension. I know what they are capable of being, and what they can achieve if they are put to it. And I should like to ask Mr. Goldwin Smith how he would like British America severed from the mother country, and England left without a harbour on the continent of America, into which her ships could go for a spar or a ton of coal. Does Mr. Smith think he could persuade the people of England to be pleased with that state of things? If he could, he would be the ablest professor in all Europe. Suppose North America gone, how long would England hold the West Indies? Suppose all the mercantile marine of British North America added to that of France or the United States, and these Provinces being then combined—is that a state of things the people of England would like to contemplate? I do not believe it. I have travelled through the mother country, and marked the evidences of its power and greatness, but, after all, England occupies but a small speck on the earth's surface. And much as I desire to maintain the integrity of this great empire, and believe that keeping all together we will be able to keep sacred for ever the old cradle of our race, yet, if Mr. Smith's ideas should prevail, and the evil day should ever come when England, Ireland and Scotland should turn to British America and say—you are corrupt, you are craven, you are valueless; go your way, we do not want connection with you—if that evil day should ever come, which I hope God in His infinite mercy will avert, I would see it with sorrow and sadness, but more on account of England than on account of the future of British America.

If we are driven to contemplate such a condition of things—if we are driven to separation from that land which we dearly love, and honour and venerate—if I, who am, like many of those whom I address, the son of a British loyalist, were to find that after all the sacrifices made by our forefathers, after all the struggles we have gone through, the mother country cast off her offspring without fault on their part or temptation on hers—then I could only say, sad and sorrowful would I be when that hour came, but when it came, I feared not for the destinies of British America. To suppose that, with such a country as we have under our feet, with its magnificent proportions, its fertile soil, its noble rivers, its open harbours, its sea-coast pregnant with life, we should permit ourselves for lack of diplomacy or of arms to lose our independence, would be to suppose us cravens and fools indeed. The men who had fought the battles of self-government for twenty years and achieved the victory had shown that they were capable of organizing North America into a great nation. We did not desire premature independence; we asked to be permitted to maintain our allegiance; but, if our connection with England, Scotland and Ireland is to be preserved, it must be an honourable connection, one we can maintain without exposing ourselves to reproach for exercising the powers which our constitution gives us. I would remind those men who have used offensive language towards these Provinces, that people would sometimes submit to a great deal of injustice who would not bear a taunt or an insult, and I would warn them that they ought to discuss these questions with a spirit of greater manliness and generosity. If they were as familiar with these Canadian forests as I am, they would know that a single nipping frost could convert all the beautiful verdure we see to-day into vermilion tints of a very different complexion. They ought not, then, so to presume on their high positions as to throw taunts upon us, and to blame British North America for not doing what British North America does not see fit in her own wisdom to do.

[Mr. Howe then proceeded to give his audience some information about the position, resources and capabilities of his own Province of Nova Scotia. He praised its agricultural capabilities, but dwelt chiefly on its inexhaustible fisheries and the greatness of its shipping interests.]

Nova Scotia built ships not merely to sell them again, but to use them in the carrying trade of the world, and at the present time I believe, reckoning the amount of her mercantile marine, British America is the fourth maritime power in the world, ranking only after England, France and the United States. The progress that was made by Nova Scotia was most satisfactory, and I am happy to tell this audience that while up here you are extending the cultivation of your noble territory into the far west, down on the sea-board they are endeavouring to deck their Province for that happy day when by their iron road they shall have connection with Canada and hitch on to this noble Province above, and once before they die have a day of hearty rejoicing over the nuptials of Canada West with the sea. When I go home I will tell the people of the compliment which has been paid to me in inviting me to meet this vast

assemblage of the yeomanry of Canada, and I am satisfied the people of the Maritime Provinces will feel it is a compliment paid not so much to me as to themselves; and that they will look forward with delight to the period when we will be able to run to and fro on an iron highway of our own; when the men of Western Canada, if they get the fever and ague, as they sometimes do, can take a forty-eight hours' ride to Nova Scotia, and after taking two or three plunges in the salt waves, will be all right again. I look hopefully forward to the time when this great Province of Canada will be connected with the Provinces below, and when a man will feel that to be a British American is to be the citizen of a country which includes all these fertile lands, all these inexhaustible fisheries, all this immense marine, carrying to all seas the flag of old England, if she will let us, and if she will not let us, the flag of British America, bearing to foreign countries the lineaments, the enterprise and the spirit of Britons, and the civilization of British America, of which, I trust, none of us need be much ashamed.

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On October 17th, Mr. Howe again left for England, accompanied by Mr. S. L. Tilley of St. John, N.B. While in England, Lord John Russell offered him the appointment of Commissioner of Fisheries under the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, and he signified his intention to accept the office, but with the understanding that he should continue to fill his Provincial office until after the elections of the year following. In December of this year Mr. Howe addressed a letter to the Right Hon. Mr. Adderley on "The Relations of England and her Colonies." The importance of the subject and the ability with which it was treated sufficiently warrant the reproduction of the entire letter:

TO THE RIGHT HON. C. B. ADDERLEY, M.P.

LONDON, *December 24th, 1862.*

DEAR SIR,—Just before leaving England in January last, I read a letter addressed by you to the Right Hon. B. Disraeli, on the present relations of England with her colonies.

A short time ago a friend put into my hands a second edition of that letter, prefaced by some observations suggested by the rejection of the Militia Bill submitted by the late ministry to the Parliament of Canada.

While I acknowledge that this brochure has been written with great skill and ingenuity, and in a spirit of commendable moderation, I regret to be compelled, by a sense of duty to the North American Provinces, and to the empire at large, to question the soundness of the conclusions at which you have arrived.

If I understand your argument, drawn from the history of the old thirteen colonies, it is this: All those colonies provided for their own defence, and kept

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up standing armies, or maintained a well-disciplined militia, wherewith to fight the French and Indians, with little or no cost to the mother country; and therefore the five existing colonies of British America, and all the other outlying portions of the empire, ought to do the same.

Granting, for the moment, the accuracy of your historical research, and the entire premises on which you found this argument, ought not every British statesman and every right-thinking man to whom you appeal in these islands, to ask, what were the results of that system? Read them in the early history of those thirteen colonies. From their first foundation down to the revolution, they can hardly be said to have belonged to the empire at all,—or to have been ruled or guided upon any system offering the slightest hope or promise of the perpetuity of amicable relations.

Founded by grasping speculators, who desired to enrich themselves at the expense of the colonists and of the mother country, or planted by Englishmen fleeing from religious persecution at home, they knew but little of the fostering care of a maternal government from the first. Their early history is the history of backstairs influence and intrigue—the rights and interests of the colonists being eternally perilled or sacrificed by the mischievous interference of the prerogative. They rarely knew the majesty of England in any of its graceful or benignant aspects. The people of England, in those days, had but little liberty themselves. The colonies had no responsible government. The transatlantic Britons had no faith in the British bayonet as a symbol of order, freedom and civilization. They had seen it, but too recently, red with the blood of martyrs for opinions' sake, and bristling round every form of despotic usurpation. Indians in the wood and Frenchmen on the frontier were dangerous enemies, but those the early settlers of New England had braced themselves to encounter and subdue. Those perils were external, but what they most feared was the internal danger of the arbitrary exercise of the power of the Crown, backed by British soldiers in their midst. The red coat was ever an object of suspicion and distrust in the New England States, and, as the Governors sent out from home were continually menacing their charters, coming into collision with their general courts, and trying every variety of sap and mine by which the peculiar framework of those democracies might be shattered and overthrown, and as the British soldiers were the janizaries of the Governors, rather than the guardians of public liberty, the prevalent feeling of the old colonies was this—the fewer soldiers the better; and this feeling of suspicion and distrust, visible to the eyes of all men in all the legislation, correspondence and military organization of the period, finally culminated in armed resistance; and, when blood was shed, and tea destroyed, and minute men and soldiers were shooting each other all along that country road which is now a beautiful carriage drive from Lexington to Boston, the Provincials reaped the advantage of their military training, and justified the policy which you approve; but, strange to say, without perceiving that they had objects in view the very reverse of those which you profess to have at heart.

That you are a loyal gentleman I know, but if I did not know it, I should certainly be at a loss to discover evidence of a desire to keep this empire together in your strong recommendation that Her Majesty's Government should pursue towards those noble groups of colonies which make up what *The Times* aptly styles "that mysterious unity called the British Empire," the very policy which always perilled the allegiance of, and ultimately lost to us, the splendid provinces which now form the United or Disunited States.

But, if we had only lost those Provinces by tolerating or encouraging the system you advocate; if, when they had established their independence, the genial influences of a common origin and of old fraternal relations had been re-established; if they had treated the Revolutionary war as Englishmen do the Wars of the Roses, or as Englishmen and Scotchmen do the old Border conflicts, as the common treasury of history, poetry, and romance, but not of bitter feeling; if they had carried into practice the wise saying of a gallant American commander in China, now a Confederate chieftain, and remembered on all occasions, or even on great occasions, "that blood is thicker than water"; if they had given us, what our colonies invariably give us, their moral support to our diplomacy and their material aid to the extent of their means in times of peril, then I will freely admit that your argument would be divested of half its danger. The colonies could not be preserved by your system, but if they were friendly nations when they were gone, to part with them might only be a question of dignity and convenience. England might still, in her isolation, be regarded as the mother of nations and be treated with all courtesy and respect. The empire would be gone, but if secure of the chivalrous support of the outlying Provinces, the islands might be safe.

But let us borrow again the stern lessons of history. Did the thirteen colonies cease to chew the old roots of bitterness? Did they turn to Old England as a lady turns to her mother after an elopement, when she is married and settled and all is forgotten and forgiven? Is it not almost incredible with what persistent suspicion and mistrust every movement of the Imperial Government has been regarded in that country ever since the recognition of its independence? Have the people of the United States ever been without a grievance? Has not their diplomacy been most aggressive? Did they not fall upon the rear of England in 1812, when her front was presented to the powerful armies and skilful European organization of the first Napoleon? Were not their sympathisers flung across their frontiers during the political disturbances of Canada in 1837? Was not their whole moral support given to Russia during the Crimean war? Were we not, last year, openly insulted and defied, and only saved from the cost of another conflict by the vigour of the British Cabinet, the divided condition of their country, and the pre-occupation of their forces by land and sea? Does not every organ of public opinion in the Northern States come to us by every mail charged with menace and hostility to England? What have we gained, then, by the independence of the United States, that should induce us to train the colonies that remain to

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follow their example and prepare for separation? Is it not clear that, under the system you advocate, the old thirteen colonies maintained a doubtful allegiance to this country? Is it not also equally clear that the troops they trained, when the struggle came, were, to a man, enemies to the British Crown? And is it not painfully apparent that, as the results of the system you advocate, the mother country lost all the advantage of her early colonization, and trained rich and flourishing communities to regard her with feelings of hostility more implacable and undying than those which her Government is called to confront in any other part of the world.

I am truly amazed that a gentleman of your keenness of perception and great political experience can be so self-deceived as to press, at this time of day, the adoption of a policy that, in every aspect in which we view it, has proved so disastrous.

Let us examine it in relation to finance. The cost of the first American war was £104,681,218; simple interest at three per cent. on this sum would amount to £240,021,996. £50,000,000 were spent in the second American war. The interest from 1815 to 1862 would be £117,500,000. Here we have then, in round numbers, the enormous sum of £616,784,432 which Great Britain has lost by training colonies in the mode which you recommend. Even if this country had assumed the task of defending the old colonial frontiers, of beating off the French, and occasionally chastising the Indians, enormous sums of money might have been saved. It is perhaps vain to speculate, at this late period, as to what might have been the results of a different system. Had timely concessions been made, had self-government been frankly conceded, had the British soldier been presented to the colonial mind as the representative of order and the friend of freedom, who can doubt that the first American war would never have occurred,—that the second, which grew out of the bitter feeling engendered by the first, might have been avoided? Even had a period arrived when political separation became a convenience or a necessity, it might have been arranged by friendly negotiation; and an alliance, offensive and defensive, between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon family, would probably have ensured freedom of commerce and perpetual amity and goodwill. The British troops might have been withdrawn, marching to their places of embarkation to the sound of merry music, and followed by the acclamations of the self-reliant communities whose early struggles they had shared, whose industrial development they had protected, whose liberties they had never menaced, whose blood they had never shed. Though it may be too late to speculate on what might have resulted from applying to the old thirteen colonies the system which now obtains, no man can deny that the old one, which you would substitute for the modern, bore nothing but bitter fruit and is condemned by every page of our old colonial history.

Let us see, now, how the modern system works. Great Britain, to maintain her position as a first-rate European power, is compelled to keep up a respectable standing army. While Russia maintains a standing army of

486,000 men—and France, England's nearest neighbour, with a chief of unrivalled enterprise, sagacity and soaring ambition at her head, can call into the field in a few days 680,000 men—could England, if she had not a colony in the world, hold any but a very inferior European position with an army of less than 100,000 in peaceful times? Could she defend her soil from intrusion and insult, in case of war, with less? If she could not, then the Army Estimates would not be much reduced even if she threw off her colonies to-morrow. The legions might come home, and the outlying portions of this great empire might be left to drift into new alliances and hostile connections, but the legions would be wanted to defend the British Islands, without the moral support or material aid of millions of human beings, ruthlessly severed from all active interest in their success, by being told that their friendship was not worth preserving.

It is, then, folly to suppose that the Provinces, having no power to protect their interests by diplomacy, and no voice in determining the policy out of which hostilities may arise, would ever consent to keep up standing armies, to waste their revenues, and to assume the burden of their own defence in any wars that England might provoke. To enforce your policy would engender ill-feeling and ultimate separation. The boy who is asked to do a man's work, and is driven from the homestead because he lacks the strength, may still love the scenery which charmed his eye, and the old trees that shaded the threshold from which he has been driven, but to expect him to love very much the brethren who expelled him, would be to hope rather more from human nature than is warranted by our experience of the world. The Provinces once separated upon such an issue, there would be an end of friendship, of mutual sympathy and co-operation.

"To be wroth with those we love  
Doth work like madness in the brain."

The greater the affection, the more intense the hatred. The colonies, whose pride had been thus wounded—whose birthright had been denied—whose friendship had been undervalued—who had been cast, like Ishmael, without the charmed circle of home thoughts and filial obligation—would form new ties, and contract Transatlantic, Asiatic or European alliances. Friends and sympathisers enough, believe me, they would soon find; and they would grow and flourish, but with their growth would grow also the root of bitterness; and at least one generation of Englishmen would have to die, perhaps twenty, before this national eviction was forgotten or forgiven.

Take the group of Provinces which I know best. For a century their inhabitants have lived under the Crown of England, but for only twenty years of that long period have they had constitutional control over their internal affairs. Over their relations to the rest of the world they have at this moment no control. Though California, three thousand miles away, is represented at Washington—though Algeria is represented at Paris—the noble North American

Provinces, with their boundless territory and resources, and four millions of people, have no representation in London. You admit us to representation in your Industrial Exhibitions, but from that great arena of intellectual display, on which the finer minds of North America and of all the colonies might occasionally shed some lustre, you carefully exclude us. Our columns of gold and our pyramids of timber may rise in your Crystal Palaces, but our statesmen in the great councils of the empire, never.

Our courts may exhibit the boundless resources and advanced civilization of the colonies, but the men they produce you regard as inferior at all times, except when the empire is to be defended; then they are to be tasked beyond their strength and are expected to rise to the dignity of citizenship, from which at all other times they are carefully excluded. Is this fair? Is it just?

You will not deny that Norway and Würtemberg, with their million and a half of people—Saxony, with its two millions—even Oldenburg and Brunswick, with their quarter of a million, are treated in England with a deference and distinction never accorded in this country to the North American Provinces, with their four millions. The people of these States are foreigners; we are only Englishmen on the wrong side of the Atlantic. Does it never occur to you that you ought to elevate us to the full dignity of citizenship, before you call upon us to assume all its burthens? That before you ask us to share with you all the perils and cost of empire, you should share with us its honours and distinctions? In the simple French ballad, Jeanette expresses her opinion:

“That those who make the war should be the men to fight.”

Whenever the war is made, Mr. Adderley makes it; and Mr. Howe is called upon to shoulder his rifle and do duty upon the frontier, where Mr. Adderley is never seen. Is this fair? Yet, if I understand your argument, it is this: Whenever war is declared by this country, the North Americans must defend their own. Let us change places for a year, and your hasty judgment would be corrected by your own feelings and experience.

But we are told the old colonies did this, and where is the hardship? I have already shown you what became of the old colonies, but will now show you what, in all human probability, would become of the North American group if your advice were to prevail.

The old thirteen colonies had to fight Indian tribes scattered through the woods, and the French on the frontiers, without roads, and hundreds of miles from the settlements. These wars were wars of outposts and excursions. Their enemies—brave and savage enough, I admit—rarely made their appearance in any very large numbers. If the whole Six Nations, or Philip's subjects, *en masse*, were paraded to-morrow, the State of Maine would crush them all; and the militia of Nova Scotia ought to be a match for all the soldiers that New France could have mustered at any period in our old Provincial history. But when you ask us to defend ourselves against thirty or



even against twenty millions of people of our own race, whose settlement and civilization precedes our own by a hundred years—who, forty years ago, were sufficiently numerous to maintain war on land and sea for three years against the whole power of Great Britain—you ask us to do that which is simply unreasonable and unjust. If this be expected or asked, it is quite clear that the Queen's Government abdicates dominion in North America. Shall it be said that the diplomacy of England is to involve us in foreign quarrels, and that the arms of England are not to be employed in our defence? It is most unfair to tell us that because the old thirteen colonies defended themselves against a few thousand French and Indians, the five Provinces of British America are to fight twenty or thirty States, with a population of thirty millions. The idea is preposterous, and can never be seriously entertained by the Government and Parliament of England.

Should the Northern and Southern States settle down under separate forms of government to-morrow, it is clear that, though our danger may be diminished, the odds will still be fearfully against us. We shall even then have twenty millions of people, active, enterprising and sagacious, on our flank, with a navy only inferior to that of Great Britain and France, and an army, familiar with war, of at least two or three hundred thousand men.

I do not mean to say that, in a struggle for the sanctity of our soil and for the freedom of our homesteads, we could not now make a gallant defence even against this mighty power.

The people of the Southern States have taught us, even if we had not learnt before in the history of Scotland, of Holland and of Switzerland, what may be done by a high-spirited and determined people, fighting on their own soil, against fearful odds and vastly superior numbers. If driven to do it, we could fight and die in unequal combats on our frontiers. We could retire to our river heads, thick forests, and mountain fastnesses, we could even fall back upon our frozen regions; and we might, if our arms were blessed by Providence, in the end weary out the enemy and win an honourable peace and secure our independence. But is it not apparent that what has happened to the Virginians would happen to us? Our cities would be captured, our fields laid waste, our bridges would be blown up, our railways destroyed. The women of British North America, as remarkable for their beauty as for their purity of thought, would become a prey to a soldiery largely drawn from the refuse of society in the old world and the new. Our commerce would be destroyed, our improvements stopped, our whole society disorganized. But, whatever its issue, when the war was over, trust me that that portion of the British family who had sought our subjugation, who had shed our blood, traversed our country and outraged our women, would stand higher in our estimation than that other branch of the family who, from craven fear or calculating selfishness, had left us to contend with such fearful odds, false to the fraternal traditions of a hundred years, to the glorious unity of our common history, to the dead Englishmen and British Americans lying side by side at Chrysler's Farm and

Chateaugay, at Bloody Creek and Queenston, false to the modern union of hearts, not pens, ratified in the sight of Heaven in every large city of British America, when Queen Victoria's son, the future Sovereign of this empire, accepted the homage of our people, who hailed His Royal Highness as the representative of our empire's unity, and who believed that protection and allegiance were reciprocal obligations.

Far better would it be, if this were to be the result of the amended relations which you propose, that England should at once say to North America, Assume the management of your own foreign relations. Send your own ministers to London, to Washington, or wherever else you please. We will admit you to the status of the most favoured nation, but we cannot longer burthen our treasury with your defence, or hazard the contingencies of a more intimate union. When this was said, of course no Englishman could confront the world with the calm self-respect which marks his demeanour now. The Russian woman who, to save her own life, flung her babes to the wolves, was slain by her friends and neighbours. This people might escape the punishment, but their turpitude would be none the less. On this point I speak strongly, but I speak as I feel. My life has been spent in developing the principles and policy by which this great empire may be kept together; and, just when the Provinces, content with well-regulated self-government and honourable imperial relations, are, perhaps for the first time in the world's history, proving that British institutions as well as a British population may safely be transplanted, that an Englishman may go abroad anywhere and carry with him veneration for his Sovereign, affection for his brethren, and love for his native land, and yet enjoy all the privileges of self-government under the old flag, is it not hard to see this magnificent system, of which the "Colonial Courts" and the Lancashire subscriptions are but the first-fruits, rudely shaken by speculative politicians, or perilled by such taunts and dissensions as have been of late too rife in England?

Talk of defending the colonies,—I hope to live to see the day when the outlying Provinces of the empire will as freely send their contingents for the defence of these islands, as they have this year sent their treasures to your Crystal Palace, and their cheerful contributions to your distressed manufacturing towns. The anti-colonial feeling has been assumed to be strongest amongst those who, in this country, are known as the Manchester School of politicians. If this be so, and I do not assert that it is, then what a pregnant answer may be drawn from the noble manifestations of national feeling, as contradistinguished from mere local obligation, by which our country's annals have been illustrated within a month.

When Lancashire is invaded by the republicans, who, at a distance of three thousand miles, have power to stop their looms and close their factories, when gaunt famine stalks through her streets, when hunger makes wan faces and weak frames which pestilence threatens to devour, does all England fold its arms and say to the Lancastrians, Defend yourselves, protect yourselves? Does Scotland

or Ireland say this? Do the outlying Provinces say so? No! Thanks be to Almighty God that this has been nowhere said. The whole empire has rushed to the relief of Lancashire, and that noble principality is saved. With such an example before him, will any Manchester man, or any other Englishman, say to three hundred and fifty thousand Nova Scotians or New Brunswickers, or even to three millions of Canadians, Defend yourselves against twenty millions of republicans, whenever our diplomacy, over which you have had no control, fails to avert a war. No! this will never be said, until the Britons of the present hour are as abject as those whose "groans" for more Roman soldiers provoke our laughter in the pages of ancient history. I grant you that all England has assumed that Lancashire should help herself; and I at once concede that, to the full extent of their ability, any of the Provinces that have, or are likely to become the seat of war, should to the utmost extent of their means provide for their own defence.

I shall by-and-by show that whatever may have been done in other parts of the empire, the British Americans have never flinched from the performance of this duty; but, before touching this branch of the subject, let me correct a very prevalent error that seems to prevail in this country, that it is the interest of North America that binds her to England. This is a popular error, and may mislead a good many people if it is not corrected.

Suppose that your Scottish border was fifteen hundred miles long, and that Scotland contained thirty millions of people, with a powerful army and navy, and the second mercantile marine in the world. Suppose British America to contain your population and England ours, would you not, under such a condition of your relations, laugh at anybody who told you that it was to your interest to adhere to us, at the risk of the hatred and hostility of Scotland? But such is our position, and yet we adhere to you. Why? Because it is a question of honour and not of interest. Is it from any special regard we have for the Manchester cotton-spinners, the cockneys of London, or even for the very enlightened individuals who now wear the coronets of England or divide the rhetorical distinctions of the House of Commons? No! By the beard of the Prophet, no; we have heard and seen you all, and we go back to our North American homes, conscious that the race we are training there are worthy to be classed as your equals. What then binds us to this country? Our interest? God forbid! Let Nova Scotia throw herself behind the Morrill tariff to-morrow, and shut out the manufactures of England, there would be cotton mills upon her magnificent water-powers in less than two years; and the whole consumption of thirty millions of people for her manufactures, as well as for her raw products, would be open to her at once. Her fishermen would immediately share the national bounties which are given by the republic to foster a national marine. The coasting trade and the free navigation of the rivers of the United States would be open to our vessels; we could coast from Maine to California. Every gubernatorial chair, every department, every diplomatic office, on either continent, would be open to us; and yet, with all

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these temptations to desert you, we still adhere to England. Why? Because, as I said before, it is a question of honour and affection and not of interest. Our allegiance has never been divided, but has come down to us in an unbroken stream, from the earliest records of the monarchy. We have never been anything else but Britons. Why should we now? Don't tempt us by unworthy suspicions and political hypercriticism of our every act, to desire to be anything else. Not only our blood but our thoughts have been mingled for centuries. Our fathers fought on the same fields, died on the same scaffolds, burnt at the same stakes, struggled for the same principles; won the Great Charter, built the great cathedrals and castles, cleared up the face of England and made her what she is; and shall you, because you happen to be left in possession of the homestead, and because we have gone abroad to extend the territory of the empire, to people the earth and to subdue it, to illustrate and reproduce our civilization under new forms and in distant regions,—shall we, I ask, forfeit our inheritance, be deprived of our birthright, and hear our brethren plead that their interest is no longer promoted by the connection?

Why, you think little of your interest where your honour is concerned in your transactions with foreign nations. You do not repudiate your treaty with Portugal or your moral obligations to defend the Turk. Shall your own brethren be treated worse than foreigners? When you violate your compact with the descendants of those Englishmen whom Cornwallis led to Halifax, with the descendants of the loyalists who stood by you when the old colonies deserted, with those British and Irish emigrants who have gone to the Provinces with their shamrocks in their bosoms and their thistles in their hats, fondly believing that they were not going from home,—when England does this, then let the holders of the national scrip look out, for she may be expected to do anything. When John Bull stoops to this humiliation, when he

“ Grows so covetous,  
To lock his rascal coffers from his friends,  
Be ready, gods, with all your thunderbolts,  
Dash him to pieces.”

I have promised to prove to you that, upon all trying occasions, the North American Provinces have not shrunk from the perils or the cost of war. When the old colonies revolted, every effort was made to induce the Northern Provinces to declare their independence. The few persons who were disaffected were sufficiently active. A slight demonstration was made upon the Common of Halifax, and the standard of rebellion was raised by a few thoughtless young men in the county of Cumberland, but these disturbances were promptly put down, and the Maritime Provinces remained firm to their allegiance.

In 1775 the British Government had but one weak battalion in Canada,<sup>1</sup> numbering not much more than 500 men. The republicans, under General

<sup>1</sup> See Sir James Carmichael Smith's "Précis of the Wars in Canada," an admirable work, just published by his son.

Montgomery, invaded Canada in the direction of Montreal, preceded by proclamations offering the most tempting inducements to shake the loyalty of the inhabitants. The Canadian militia rallied to the support of the royal authorities on every point of the frontier.

At Fort St. John, Chambly, Sorel, they did duty with the regulars, and might have successfully defended this part of the Province, had not Sir Guy Carleton's strategy been seriously at fault.

Arnold led a force of 1200 men up the Kennebec and down the Chaudière; Montgomery, who had taken Montreal, joined him with the bulk of his force at Quebec. "The garrison of that city consisted only of one company of regulars, with some seamen and marines from a sloop of war lying in the St. Lawrence." Of the 1600 bayonets that confronted this formidable American invasion, 1400 at least must have been wielded by the strong arms of the Canadian militia. Four simultaneous attacks were made by the combined republican armies, gallantly led and directed by Arnold and Montgomery. At every point the enemy was foiled and driven back by these 1600 men, four-fifths of them being those raw Canadian militia, whom it seems to be the fashion in this country just now to depreciate and undervalue.

This time, at all events, the Province was saved by the steady valour of the Canadians, as it was impossible for the British Government to send any efficient succour till the spring.

In 1776 Arnold, still encamped before Quebec, was reinforced by a strong column of 3000 men, "with some heavy artillery." Four thousand republicans occupied St. John, Chambly, and Montreal. Help came from England on the 6th of May, and the invading armies were compelled to evacuate the Province, and in the following year the war was carried into the enemy's country, and then followed that disastrous campaign which ended in the surrender of Burgoyne's army at Saratoga.

The war of 1812-15 was neither sought nor provoked by the British Americans. It grew out of the Continental wars, with which we certainly had as little to do. Whether a Bourbon or a Bonaparte sat upon the throne of France was a matter of perfect indifference to us. We were pursuing our lawful avocations—clearing up our country, opening roads into the wilderness, bridging the streams, and organizing society as we best could, trading with our neighbours, and wishing them no harm. In the meantime British cruisers were visiting and searching American vessels on the sea. Then shots were fired; and, before we had time to recall our vessels engaged in foreign commerce, or to make the slightest preparation for defence, our coasts were infested by American cruisers and privateers, and our whole frontier was in a blaze.

You count the cost of war by the Army and Navy Estimates, but who can ever count the cost of that war to us? A war, let it be borne in mind, into which we were precipitated without our knowledge or consent. Let the coasts of England be invaded by powerful armies for three summers in succession; let the whole Channel, from Falmouth to the Nore, be menaced; let

Southampton be taken and burnt ; let the Southdowns be swept from the Hampshire hills, and the rich pastures of Devonshire supply fat beeves to the enemy encamped in the western counties, or marching on Manchester and London ; let the youth of England be drawn from profitable labour to defend these great centres of industry, the extremities of the island being given up to rapine and to plunder ; fancy the women of England living for three years with the sound of artillery occasionally in their ears, and the thoughts of something worse than death ever present to their imaginations ; fancy the children of England, with wonder and alarm on their pretty faces, asking for three years when their fathers would come home ; fancy, in fact, the Wars of the Roses or the civil wars back again ; and then you can understand what we suffered from 1812 to 1815. Talk of the cost of war at a distance ; let your country be made its theatre, and then you will understand how unfair is your mode of calculation, when you charge us with the Army Estimates, and give us no credit for what we have done and suffered in your wars.

Though involved in the war of 1812 by no interest or fault of our own, though our population was scattered and our coasts and frontiers almost defenceless, the moment it came we prepared for combat without a murmur. I am just old enough to remember that war. The commerce of the Maritime Provinces was not a twentieth part of what it is now, but what we had was almost annihilated. Our mariners, debarred from lawful trade, took to privateering, and made reprisals on the enemy. Our Liverpool "clippers" fought some gallant actions, and did some service in those days. The war expenditure gave to Halifax an unhealthy excitement, but improvement was stopped in all other parts of the Province ; and, when peace came, the collapse was fearful even in that city. Ten years elapsed before it recovered from the derangement of industry and the extravagant habits fostered by the war.

A few regiments were raised in the Maritime Provinces, their militia was organized, and some drafts from the interior were brought in to defend Halifax, whence the expeditions against the French islands and the State of Maine were fitted out. Canada alone was invaded in force.

General Smith describes the conduct of the Canadian militia in the few but weighty words that become a sagacious military chieftain pronouncing a judgment on the facts of history.

In 1812 the republicans attacked Canada with two corps, amounting in the whole to 13,300 men. The British troops in the Province were but 4500, of which 3000 were in garrison at Quebec and Montreal. But 1500 could be spared for the defence of Upper Canada. From the capture of Michelimacinac, the first blow of the campaign, down to its close, the Canadian militia took their share in every military operation. French and English vied with each other in loyalty, steadiness and discipline. Of the force that captured Detroit, defended by 2500 men, but a few hundreds were regular troops. Brock had but 1200 men to oppose 6300 on the Niagara frontier. Half his force were Canadian militia, yet he confronted the enemy, and, in the gallant

action in which he lost his life, left an imperishable record of the steady discipline with which Canadians can defend their country. CHAP. XXVIII

The invading army of yeomen sent to attack Montreal were as stoutly opposed by a single brigade of British troops, aided by the militia. In the only action which took place the Canadians alone were engaged. The enemy were beaten back, and went into winter quarters. —  
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In 1813 Canada was menaced by three separate corps. The Niagara district was for a time overrun, and York, the capital of the Upper Province, was taken and burnt. The handful of British troops that could be spared from England's European wars were inadequate to its defence, but in every struggle of the campaign, disastrous or triumphant, the Canadian militia had their share. The French fought with equal gallantry in the Lower Province. At Chateaugay, Colonel de Saleberry showed what could be done with those poor undisciplined colonists who, it is now the fashion to tell us, can only be made good for anything by withdrawing them from their farms and turning them into regular soldiers. The American general had a force of 7000 infantry, 10 field-pieces, and 250 cavalry. De Saleberry disputed their passage into the country he loved with 1000 bayonets, beat them back, and has left behind a record of more value, in this argument, than a dozen pamphlets or ill-natured speeches in Parliament. Of this action General Smith says: "The affair upon the Chateaugay River is remarkable as having been fought on the British side almost entirely by Canadians. The republicans were repulsed by a very inferior number of Canadian militia and of troops raised in Canada, thus affording a practical proof of the good dispositions of the Canadians, and the possibility, to say nothing of the policy, of improving the Canadian militia, so as to be fully equal in discipline and instruction to any American troops that may be brought against them at any future opportunity."

But why need I multiply illustrations? It is apparent that but for the steady discipline and gallant conduct of the militia, who are now held so cheap, the small British force which the mother country, fighting Napoleon on the Continent, could safely spare, would have been overpowered, and that Canada would have been lost before Waterloo was won, as it would have been before the arrival of the British troops in 1775, but for the gallant defence of Quebec.

But, you may say to me, all this has changed. The year 1862 presents more formidable combinations to confront than the year 1812. The United States have grown and thriven, are populous and trained to war, have railroads pointing to your frontiers, and a powerful navy on their coasts.

I grant all this, but will show you presently that there are some elements of hope and progress at the other side. But first let me show you that if the forces are so unequally balanced, British statesmen and legislators are themselves to blame. When the independence of the United States was established in 1783, they were left with one half of the continent and you with

the other. You had much accumulated wealth and an overflowing population. They were 3,000,000 of people, poor, in debt, with their country ravaged and their commerce disorganized. By the slightest effort of statesmanship you could have planted your surplus population in your own Provinces, and in five years the stream of emigration would have been flowing the right way. In twenty years the British and republican forces would have been equalized. But you did nothing, or often worse than nothing. From 1784 to 1841, we were ruled by little paternal despotisms established in this country. We could not change an officer, reduce a salary, or impose a duty without the permission of Downing Street. For all that dreary period of sixty years, the republicans governed themselves and you governed us. They had uniform duties and free trade with each other. We always had separate tariffs, and have them to this day. They controlled their foreign relations, you controlled ours. They had their ministers and consuls all over the world, to open new markets, and secure commercial advantages. Your ministers and consuls knew little of British America, and rarely consulted its interests. Till the advent of Huskisson, our commerce was cramped by all the vices of the old colonial system. The republicans could open mines in any part of their monopoly held in this country by the creditors of the Duke of York. How few of the hundreds of thousands of Englishmen who gazed at Nova Scotia's marvellous column of coal in the Exhibition this summer, but would have blushed had they known that for half-a-century the Nova Scotians could not dig a ton of their own coal without asking permission of half-a-dozen English capitalists in the city of London. How few Englishmen now reflect, when riding over the rich and populous states of Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, and Arkansas, that had they not locked up their great West, and turned it into a hunting-ground, which it is now, we might have had behind Canada three or four magnificent Provinces, enlivened by the industry of millions of British subjects, toasting the Queen's health on their holidays, and making the vexed question of the defence of our frontier one of very easy solution.

I parade these pictures of disparity in no spirit of querulous complaint, but to show you that if the British Provinces are not stronger, the people who have struggled against all these disadvantages, and made them what they are, are not to blame. There is a British statesman, now rendering good service in another department, who in 1839 had the sagacity to see through the rottenness of this old colonial system, and who had the boldness to try an experiment which has been crowned with the most signal success. Lord Russell's despatches, written in that year, conferred self-government on the North American Provinces. Not self-government in the sense in which some shallow politicians in this country advocate it now, and who, if permitted, would destroy this empire. But self-government to the full extent that it was then demanded. Self-government which did not change our allegiance, that guarded every treaty and every prerogative of the Crown, but which left us free to change our cabinets, dispense our revenues, control our officers, open our lands,



and regulate our trade. Above and beyond all that Lord Russell has ever done, or said, or written, not excepting his services in passing your own Reform Bill, when he dies, his fame will rest upon his despatches, and on his colonial policy of 1839. The system then established has spread to the Eastern and African colonies, and it will continue to spread wherever hereafter our people occupy the waste portions of the earth and establish a British community.

Under that system the North American Provinces, for the last twenty years, have grown and thriven. Old controversies have been settled, old grievances redressed, old abuses swept away. We have no disputes with England, except when you send us a Governor deficient in constitutional training, tact and common sense. The authority of the Crown is everywhere sustained by a parliamentary majority. If we do not govern ourselves well, we have nobody but ourselves to blame.

Here lies our first great source of strength, in any future contest with the republicans across the border. Our future is assured, and it includes every element of hope, every security for rational freedom. The advancing enemy can no longer hope to find, in any of the Provinces, a divided population. His proclamations, offering us the benefit of republican institutions, would produce even less effect than the droppings from a flock of wild geese flying over the soil. We have been guided by experience, they by theory. We have clung to the institutions which have borne the test of centuries, theirs have been tried in the recent contest, and have yielded to the simplest strain. We have secured, in combination, the largest personal liberty with a strong executive. They appear to be unable to protect their country without sacrificing the guards of public and social life.

We will defend our country, then, because our institutions are a part of it, and our institutions are worth preserving. In any future contest with our republican neighbours, trust me, that the concessions made to us by England in 1839 will be worth an army upon the frontier. You seem to be half repentant for the share you have had in urging these concessions. Be reassured. Do not lend your fine talents to those who mean what you do not mean, who would go further than you, who would pollard the British oak that you would only trim; who, not having themselves the wit to guide the glorious ship of Empire, in which we are all embarked, would put her under jury-masts, and hug the shore to disguise their ignorance of navigation.

But I admit that when fighting is to be done, there is something more required even than enthusiasm in a good cause. I have not lived all my life in a garrison town without knowing the difference between discipline and the want of it; between a soldier and a civilian.

But a great mistake prevails in this country as to the amount of discipline which our North American militia would require, in order to make them, if not quite equal to your crack regiments, quite as good as the ordinary rank and file in conducting defensive warfare in a new country. Let us see what our young men know that many of your old soldiers do not. They can row, swim,

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fish, shoot, ride, walk on snow-shoes, and camp in the woods; in half-an-hour, without the aid of canvas, hut themselves in the winter anywhere where wood is to be had. These are fine accomplishments, as your Guards would have discovered last winter, had two or three thousand of our young fellows, with their rifles and snow-shoes, and a week's provision on their backs, chosen to have disputed their passage anywhere between Bic and Montreal. But suppose that war had been declared last year, and that the youngsters had joined the Guards, as they would have done to a man, how long would they, with their hearts in the business, have been learning, in addition to what they knew, all that a disciplined soldier has to teach, and how rapidly would they have taught the Guardsman what, for his own preservation and efficiency in such a country, it is indispensable that he should know? It is on this admirable combination of qualities, on this reciprocal interchange of services, sympathy and instruction, that, in the second place, I rely on any future wars which we may be compelled to wage in defence of our Provinces in North America. Your troops will always have the highest discipline, the most perfect knowledge of a profession, in its elementary stages not difficult to learn, and our young men, who cannot afford to leave their farms and play at soldiers in time of peace, will be apt scholars, and not bad teachers to the soldiers in time of peril. It was this admirable combination of the finest qualities required to make an army, that told upon the combats of 1812-15, and that will tell upon any future contests into which we may be driven. We ought to have good leadership and good drills from the first apprehension of hostilities, and, having these, it must be confessed that our materials wherewith to work are in quality unsurpassed.

But you will naturally ask, may they not be improved? and should not the youth of the colonies be trained to arms that they may be better able to co-operate with British troops in defence of our common country? and I answer, that we are training and preparing to train them in a mode suitable to the condition of our country—in a mode that, while it is but little burdensome, and excites no ill-will in the Provinces, can give no offence to our neighbours.

Let me illustrate this part of the subject by facts drawn from Nova Scotia, with which I am best acquainted. During the long peace which followed the Treaty of Paris our militia laws were very rarely revised, the militia were never called out, and our population, busy with the arts of peace, "studied war no more." Matters continued in this state till the Volunteer movement began in this country. Almost simultaneous with that movement, under the personal superintendence and guidance of Lord Mulgrave, we began to raise Volunteer companies in Nova Scotia, and there are now between three and four thousand young men, in the flower of life, who have selected their own officers, approved and commissioned by the Commander-in-chief, purchased their own uniforms, and, under the sharp training of efficient drill-sergeants, taken from the British army and paid by the Province, have become, in a marvellously short time, very effective troops. We have one battalion that

brigades with the garrison, strong companies at Pictou and Sydney for the defence of the coal-mines, and many others, formed and forming, in the sea-port towns and rural districts. Taking the number at 4000 and our population at 350,000, this would be equal to 86,000 volunteers to be raised in this country. Taking the cost of uniforms and amounts expended in ammunition and organization at £25,000, and comparing our revenue with yours, it can be shown that our expenditure is, in proportion to our means, equal to an outlay of £9,733,000 for this country. Should we be scolded for doing this in the short period of three years?

But we have done more. We have set seriously about reorganizing our militia. The whole force is being enrolled. Old officers are retiring with their rank. Those who are young enough and still desire to serve are told to qualify or resign. No young officer is appointed who has not qualified. The military spirit has revived with the apparent necessity, and is fast spreading all over the Provinces. Half the members of the Legislature last winter earned an appetite for breakfast in the drill-room, and used to pass my window on the coldest mornings with their rifles over their shoulders. The crack of the rifle is as common a sound as the note of the bobolink, and intercolonial shooting matches are becoming an institution.

Our militia laws had not been revised since that rather memorable period when Governor Fairfield called out the militia of Maine to settle the north-eastern boundary question by an invasion of New Brunswick. What took place then finely answers the argument that in the Provinces we wait for British troops to defend us.

On that occasion there were but a regiment or two in all the Maritime Provinces. The Canadian garrisons were too far off, and, it being winter, could only come to us by the road the Guards traversed, or through the enemy's country. But we did not wait for troops from England or from Canada either. Our militia law was revised in a single day, and ample powers given to the Governor to spend every pound of revenue and call out every man in Nova Scotia for the defence of our sister Province. Fancy Scotland or Ireland menaced and every man in England ordered to turn out for her defence, and you have a parallel to what took place in Nova Scotia. Had we hesitated, had we waited, there might have been collisions, perhaps war, but the promptness of our demonstration astonished Governor Fairfield; and the three cheers for the Queen and for New Brunswick, given by the members of our Legislature standing in their places, with the Speaker in the chair, however unparliamentary the outbreak of feeling may appear, proved to the militia of Maine that if they crossed the border, a loyal and high-spirited people were ready to confront them.

The territory in dispute was given away, Canada and New Brunswick were almost split in halves. The provincials laid down their arms, and accepted peace on such terms, with shame and sorrow, not much relieved by the subsequent discovery of an old map, which showed how our diplomatist had

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been practised upon. From that period till the occurrence of the *Trent* affair, last winter, the prevalent belief in all the Provinces was this, that for no North American interest, or no North American question, would Great Britain go to war. In this belief our militia laws were neglected, our training ceased. Our officers grew old and obese, or died, and nobody would take their places. No Government would spend a pound upon defence, and, after the withdrawal of the guarantee to the Intercolonial Railroad in 1851, the impression deepened that the people of this country were indifferent to our prosperity or defence.

When the *Trent* affair aroused the indignant feeling of the empire last autumn, we were, as we were in 1812, utterly unprepared. The war again was none of our seeking.

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had thousands of vessels upon the sea, scattered all over the world. Canada had her thousand miles of frontier unprotected. Had war come, we knew that our money losses would have been fearful, and the scenes upon our sea-coasts and our frontiers, sternly painted as they must occur, without any stretch of imagination, might well bid the "boldest hold his breath for a time." But, did a single man in all those noble Provinces falter? No! Every man, aye, and every woman accepted the necessity and prepared for war. Again, it was a question of honour and not interest. In a week we could have arranged, by negotiation, for peace with the United States and have kept out of the quarrel. But who thought of such a thing? Your homesteads were safe, ours in peril; a British, not a colonial ship, had been boarded—but what then? The old flag, that had floated over our fathers' heads and droops over their graves, had been insulted, and our British blood was stirred without our ever thinking of our pockets. The spirit and unanimity of the Provinces, no less than the fine troops and war material shipped from this country, worked like a charm at Washington. President Lincoln, like Governor Fairfield, saw clearly that he was to be confronted, not only by the finest soldiers in the world, but by a united and high-spirited population. The effect was sedative, the captives were given up, and the provincials, as is their habit when there is no danger to confront, returned to their peaceful avocations.

We were pursuing these most sedulously, not disturbed by any panic fear of our republican neighbours, and most unconscious of having done anything to warrant the sudden outbreak of feeling that occurred in this country last summer, and with which we were deeply pained, and perhaps not a little disgusted.

The causes of complaint urged against Canada, in England, are twofold :

1. Her high import duties are objected to, and
2. She is blamed for defeating a ministry on a Militia Bill.

As respects the tariff of Canada, let me observe, that when self-government was conferred upon that Province, the right to construct her own tariff was virtually conceded. By a special despatch, sent to all the Provinces when Lord Grey was Colonial Secretary, the right to impose what duties they pleased was

specifically conceded, provided they were not discriminating, and were made to attach alike to importations from all countries. No restriction of the right to protect their own industry was stated. But in none of the Provinces have protective or discriminating duties ever been imposed.

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It is true that the import duties of Canada are rather high. But it can be shown that all the duty raised is actually required to pay the interest on the debts of the Province, to carry on its public improvements, and to provide for its Civil List. It cannot be shown that there is much needless extravagance in the administration of the salary, regarded in this country as too low to secure the higher style of talent; no public officer in that Province receives a remuneration for his services that would not be regarded in England as inadequate, if not parsimonious. The highest judicial officers and heads of departments only receive £1000 sterling per annum.

The debts of Canada were incurred for the construction of canals and railroads, of the highest imperial and provincial importance. They were designed to attract through British territory a large portion of the trade of the great West. When the Intercolonial Railway is finished we shall not only control the telegraphic and postal correspondence of the Western States, but secure to the people of Great Britain at all seasons a steady supply of breadstuffs, should unhappily the Atlantic ports of the United States in war be closed against them. Who then will venture to assert that these were not elevated objects of the highest national importance, and these objects being secured, surely no man will suggest that the debts incurred ought not to be honourably redeemed.

Those persons, in this country, who desire that Canada should raise her revenue by direct taxation rather than by duties upon imports, do not reflect that there is a wide distinction to be drawn between an old and densely populated country and a new one but thinly peopled. In England the mass of the inhabitants live in cities and villages; even in the rural districts every acre of land is owned and cultivated, and has a money value. In Canada, as in all the colonies, a large portion of the population live at great distances from each other. In the remote settlements land has often but a nominal value, and money is scarce. To collect direct taxes in such a country often costs more than they come to. Hence the preference shown for the system of raising revenue by import duties. They yield more, without harassing the people, than could be got with infinite labour and vexation of spirit by any system of direct taxation. As the Provinces prosper and population increases, the import duties will come down. In the meantime, as there is not a cotton factory in any of the Provinces, as every year the consumption of British manufactures, in all their varied forms of beauty and utility, steadily increases, and as the consumers and not the producers pay the duty, why should exception be taken to our tariffs? I trust that my explanations under this head will be regarded as entirely satisfactory. The colonies of England take now £46,000,000 worth of manufactures every year, and I hold, that as the selling price in England

includes all that the manufacturer has to pay towards the National Debt, and the maintenance of the army and navy, the colonists, who honestly pay for and consume these goods, pay now, independently of their own military expenditure, a noble contribution towards the funds dedicated to national defence.

Let us now see whether the great Province of Canada has done, or has failed to do, anything to warrant the sharp parliamentary and newspaper criticisms with which she has been assailed in this country.

I have shown you that her untrained militia has twice saved the Province, and I have shown you that, on the very latest occasion when Great Britain appealed to their patriotism, every man responded to the call. Let me now show you that, although she may not have quite met the public expectations of this country (not very accurately informed as to the state of feeling in the Province), she has not been entirely neglectful of her defences, but is at this moment much better prepared to resist attack than she ever was at any former period of her history.

In 1855 the militia law of Canada was carefully revised; under that law the Government enrolled, drilled and armed, at the expense of the Province, a very respectable volunteer force. The country was divided into military districts, and the whole sedentary militia, consisting of every man capable of bearing arms, was organized.

In 1862 the law was amended to enable the Commander-in-chief to make the enrolment more reliable and perfect. The volunteer organization was rendered more general, arms and clothing were given to all persons who desired to enlist in those volunteer corps. It is assumed, on good authority, that Canada, at the close of this year, will have 15,000 volunteers,<sup>1</sup> equal, if the population of the two countries are contrasted, to 105,000 for the British Islands.

All the officers of the sedentary militia are now required to receive military training and instruction. They are removed if they do not. Hereafter no officer will be appointed or promoted who has not acquired a fair knowledge of arms. The number of officers whom it is the design of this system to qualify will amount to 20,000. Brigade-majors have been appointed in all the districts. The Governor-General is, by statute, Commander-in-chief, and is authorized, at his discretion, or on any apprehension of danger, to call out every man in the Province, or any number that may be required. Under the law, as it stands, at fifteen days' notice, 50,000 men, perfectly organized in companies and battalions, and with all their regimental officers, from a colonel to a corporal, could be placed upon any point of the frontier.

What skill or soldiership have the great armies of the Northern States exhibited, that we should be much afraid to confront them, if the Canadians have not degenerated and if this country shows, as it certainly did last winter,

<sup>1</sup> Actually 25,000, and others offered who could not be accepted.

a determination to fulfil its honourable obligations? "A little leaven leaveneth the whole mass," and 20,000 British soldiers, judiciously distributed and skillfully led, with this fine force at their back or serving in the ranks beside them, ought to be able to give a good account of any invading army which the Northern States can send against them. But I apprehend that when those States emerge from the present disastrous civil war, it will be some time before they will madly rush into a war with England. Looking to their mourning households, to the maimed and emaciated soldiers wandering through their streets, to their heavy national debt, to their disordered finances, and to the tremendous power which this empire can put forth, if we are only true to each other, the day is distant when those States will heedlessly provoke a contest with this country. This is evidently the opinion in Canada, and so far as all events it would appear that, in acting upon it, her Government has been sustained.

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I have no desire to touch the local politics of Canada. I regret that the late Government elected to fall on the Militia Bill, and that their opponents were good-natured or unskilful enough to let them. I think the Opposition should have recited, by resolution, the reasons for which they turned the ministers out. Had they done so, a good deal of the misapprehension which has prevailed in this country, which has evidently inspired the debates in Parliament and the criticisms of the press, might have been avoided.

The right of the Parliament of Canada to turn out a ministry, even upon a Militia Bill, cannot be questioned. Had Lord Palmerston's Government been overthrown last winter upon the question of the fortifications, nobody would have denied the right of the majority to aim a hostile vote, and certainly no British American, even if it had prevailed, would have fancied that there was one loyal Englishman the less.

I have shown that 15,000 volunteers in Canada are equal to a force of 105,000, if raised in this country. To complete the contrast, it should be remembered what boundless resources are in an old kingdom like this, compared with all the visible means of taxation to be found in a new country like British America. You have the accumulated results of the labours of countless generations of men, running over a period of some two thousand years. You have all that your fathers and ours toiled for and made from the Roman conquest to the departure of the *Mayflower*—all that your fathers have created since, and all that in your own day and generation, having this enormous capital to work with, you have been enabled to earn for yourselves. To say nothing of the labour of your people, it is asserted that the machinery of this island performs the work every year of 800,000,000 men.

With untold treasures upon the surface and beneath it, with an annually accumulating capital that an actuary can hardly estimate, and this tremendous mechanical power in your hands, you can bear an amount of taxation which would sink any new country, with a limited population and a history of a hundred years, if she attempted to impose upon her people proportional

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burthens. I grant that we have less poverty, and that the property we have is more equally distributed, but we have not a tithe of your accumulated capital and productive power, and the contrast which the two countries exhibit in this respect should ever be borne in mind by candid reasoners whenever this class of questions is discussed.

Let me now direct your attention to the state of your defences, at a period of your history when England and British America may be more fairly contrasted than they can now.

In 1588 the population of England was 5,000,000. She was in as much peril as we are now, or ever were, from the armies of the United States. The subtle policy of Parma and Philip was closing around her: the Armada was in the Channel, and two of the best appointed armies of veteran troops that Europe ever saw were preparing to land upon her shores.

That they did not land was owing to the protection of an over-ruling Providence, to the liberality of her merchants, and to the heroic achievements of those glorious seamen who left the land forces little to do. But had England been invaded, how was she prepared? Motley, in his "History of the Netherlands," tells us the story of her defences, the condition of which ought certainly to have overthrown the ministers, had England possessed responsible government in those days.

The Spanish armies were estimated at 116,000 men. "In England," says Motley, "an army had been enrolled, a force of 86,016 foot and 13,831 cavalry, but it was an army on paper merely." Even of the 86,000 men (not one-fifth of the militia of Canada) only 48,000 were set down as trained, and it is certain that the training had been of the most meagre description. "Of enthusiasm and courage there was enough, but of powder and shot there was a deficiency."

Sir Edward Stanley thus describes the militia he was sent to inspect in Cheshire and Lancashire: "They were appointed two years past to have been trained six days by the year, or more, at the discretion of the muster-master, but as yet they have not been trained one day, so that they have benefited nothing, nor yet know their leaders." "There was a general indisposition" (in England then as in Canada now) "in the rural districts to expend money and time in military business until the necessity should become imperative."

Even in August, when the Armada was on the wing, "the camp was not formed, nor anything more than a mere handful of troops mustered about Tilbury to defend the road from Dover to London. The army at Tilbury never exceeded sixteen or seventeen thousand men."

About as many as Nova Scotia could, with her two railroads, have drawn around the citadel of Halifax from her eastern and western counties in a week, had their services been required last winter; not half as many as Canada, in twenty days, can now plant upon any point of her frontier. The aggregate tonnage of the whole royal navy was 11,280 tons—less than the tonnage of



the vessels built in our port of Yarmouth in a single year.<sup>1</sup> Of the land forces Motley states that “a drilled and disciplined army, whether of regulars or militiamen, had no existence whatever.”

The commissariat arrangements were in keeping with the discipline and organization. Leicester, writing to Walsingham, says of his raw levies: “Some want the captains showed, for these men arrived without one meal of victuals, so that on their arrival they had not one barrel of beer or loaf of bread; enough, after twenty miles’ march, to have discouraged them and brought them to mutiny.” On the 6th August the Armada was in Calais Roads, and up to the 5th no army had been assembled, not even the bodyguard of the Queen; and Leicester, with 4000 men, unprovided with a barrel of beer or a loaf of bread, was about commencing his entrenched camp at Tilbury.

These are the facts of history, and it sometimes strikes me that British legislators and politicians would act more wisely if they were gravely pondered, before they undertook to criticise too severely nascent but vigorous offshoots of that sound old stock that, when passing through the stages of advancement which we have just reached, when the population of England was about the same as ours is now, thought themselves able to face a disciplined army with the limited amount of preparation that Motley so quaintly described. They should not compare small things with great, but things which bear some proportion to each other, and they ought not to expect us to be less averse to expensive standing armies than our ancestors were when their necessities were quite as great.

But let me turn your attention to another period of English history. Let us come down the stream of time from 1588 to 1685, and inquire in what condition the army and militia of England were when her population was nearly double that of Canada. First, read what Macaulay says on the subject of direct taxation: “The discontent excited by direct imposts is, indeed, almost always out of proportion to the quantity of money which they bring into the Exchequer, and the tax on chimneys was, even among direct imposts, peculiarly odious, for it could be levied only by means of domiciliary visits, and of such visits the English have always been impatient to a degree which the people of other countries can but faintly conceive.”

<sup>1</sup> A forcible and vivid idea of the rapidity with which the shipping of Yarmouth is increasing will be derived from the perusal of the subjoined figures, showing the amount of tonnage entered in this port at the various decennial periods since 1822:

In the year 1822 . . . . .	3,000 tons.
„ „ 1832 . . . . .	4,318 „
„ „ 1842 . . . . .	13,765 „
„ „ 1852 . . . . .	18,880 „
„ „ 1862 . . . . .	45,198 „

We very much question if there is another port on the face of the globe, with the same extent of territory and population, that can boast of equal increase in the same period.

—*Yarmouth Tribune*, Nova Scotia.

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It is hoped that some allowance will be hereafter made for our hereditary impatience of direct taxation.

After describing the powerful, well appointed and finely disciplined armies kept up by the leading powers of Europe in the reign of Charles the Second, Macaulay says: "In our island, on the contrary, it was possible to live long and to travel far, without being reminded by any martial sight or sound that the defence of nations had become a science and a calling. The majority of Englishmen who were under twenty-five years of age had probably never seen a company of regular soldiers. The only army which the law recognized was the militia. The whole number of cavalry and infantry thus maintained was popularly estimated at 130,000 men." (Not half the militia of Canada.)

These militiamen received no pay, except when called into actual service. Macaulay describes them as "ploughmen officered by justices of the peace."

By degrees Charles got together a few regiments of troops; but the regular army, as late as 1685, did not consist, all ranks included, of above 17,000 foot, and about 1700 cavalry and dragoons—not a great many more, it would appear, than the militia officers of Canada. The discipline was lax, and could not be otherwise. "The common law of England knew nothing of courts-martial, and made no distinction in time of peace between a soldier and any other subject; nor could the Government then venture to ask the most loyal Parliament for a Mutiny Bill. A soldier, therefore, by knocking down his colonel incurred only the ordinary penalties of assault and battery, and by refusing to obey orders, by sleeping on guard, or by deserting his colours, incurred no legal penalty at all."

Let us trust that the discipline of our despised militia in the Provinces is not worse.

Macaulay's description of the navy is almost as ludicrous: "The naval administration was a prodigy of wastefulness, corruption, ignorance and indolence: no estimate could be trusted, no contract was performed, no check was enforced."

But to return to the army. There was "no regiment of artillery, no sappers and miners."

Surely we are not much worse than this in the Provinces? Hear Dryden's description of the militia of England in the reign of James the Second:

"The country rings around with war's alarms,  
And now in fields the rude militia swarms.  
Mouths, without hands, maintained at vast expense,  
In peace a charge, in war a weak defence;  
Stout once a month they march, a blust'ring band,  
And ever, but in time of need, at hand.  
This was the morn, when hast'ning to the guard,  
Drawn up in rank and file they stood prepared  
Of seeming arms to make a short essay,  
Then hast'ning to be drunk, the business of the day."

Here, then, are the militia of England described by her poets and historians at a time when England had nearly double the population of Canada. With these pictures before us, and remembering what our Provincial militia have done, and knowing what they are, I do not think we need blush for their history or organization.

At this moment Queen Victoria rules over fifty-one colonies and dependencies, which, with the British Islands, form the empire that you and I desire to consolidate and improve. How this is to be done is a question of stupendous interest, demanding the highest qualities of statesmanship for its consideration and adjustment. There are those who seem to contemplate the dismemberment of this great empire with evident delight, and who appear to regard the spread of British institutions and civilization as a misfortune to the world at large, and an injury to the parent state.

But let us see what there is within this charmed circle of imperial duties and relations that is worth preserving. It is true that every outlying Province, as I have already shown, may be attacked whenever the mother country is at war, yet war can only come when the plastic powers of astute diplomacy have been exhausted, and when the dread alternative has been deliberately accepted by enlightened public opinion. But into how many wars might not these fifty-one Provinces be dragged if this empire were dismembered, and if they were left to be overrun by neighbouring states, or drawn into entangling alliances with populations often ruthless or unenlightened?

In the interests of peace, then, we are bound, if we can, to see that this empire is kept together. We are equally bound, if we regard the interests of religion. Wherever British power is acknowledged and the British bayonet gleams, the missionary of every Christian Church can tread the land in safety, and teach and pray without personal apprehension. That dismemberment is sometimes advocated by persons who call themselves free-traders, is to me amazing. Where on the earth's surface, since barter was first essayed, have so many populous countries been bound together by common interests, and by the mutual interchange of productions, on a basis of such perfect freedom? Strike down the power that binds these communities together, and into how many antagonistic systems and economic absurdities would they not drift? This empire possesses the noblest schools of law, the purest judicial tribunals, from which our colonial courts draw forensic animation and guiding light without stint and without shame. What British or colonial judge or lawyer would disturb this equable flow of precedents and decisions? Then, again, if we look to literature and the arts, how charming it is to know that while every gifted youth in the most remote Province of the empire may win the admiration of the community in which he lives, there are fifty other Provinces to rejoice in his success and to feel the exhilaration of his genius. How charming is it also for the emigrant, pioneering in a new country, too young to have produced a picture or a book, to read Tennyson or Burns by his camp-fire at night, or to look at Landseer's dogs over his mantelpiece in the morning, conscious that he

can claim kindred with the artist and the author, and that the ballad and the engraving link him with treasures of literature that are inexhaustible and of art that can never die. Whatever improvements time may suggest for its better organization and further development, this empire, as it stands, has its uses, and should be kept together.

In this opinion I am quite sure that you and I agree. We differ as to the mode. If I understand your argument, you would have half a hundred little standing armies, scattered all over the globe, paid out of fifty treasuries, and with uniforms as various as were the colours in Joseph's coat—with no centre of union, no common discipline, no provision for mutual succour and support. I would have one army that could be massed within a few days or weeks on any point of the frontier, moved by one head, animated by one spirit, paid from one treasury. Into this army I would incorporate as many of the colonial militia as were required to take the field in any Province that might be attacked, and, from the moment they were so incorporated, they should be moved, paid and treated as an imperial force. There would still be work enough for the sedentary militia to do, in defending the districts in which they lived; and if this were done, and if the Provinces, as they would, bore a large part, if not the whole, of the burthen of local defence, they would do all that could reasonably be expected. If the county of Annapolis were attacked, I would not pay a militiaman out of the imperial treasury for defending his own county, but if a regiment were drawn from Annapolis to defend the citadel at Halifax, or the coal-mines of Pictou—if it were marched into New Brunswick, or volunteered to defend these islands, then it should take its number, draw its pay, and be treated in all respects like any other regiment of the line. So long as this is done we shall have an empire and an army. We shall soon cease to have either when the other system is tried. And why should we try it? Why should we reverse Menenius Agrippa's fable, and teach the belly of the empire—the common treasury and storehouse of all its wealth—to complain? The British soldier is no longer viewed with distrust or apprehension in any part of the empire; he is everywhere recognized as a citizen with a red coat on, prouder of his citizenship than of the highest grade in the finest regiment in the service. Nor is he viewed with any jealousy or dislike by the Provincial militia. Our young men know that they can study the use of arms from no more gallant exemplars, and they know also that when summoned to the field, they can rely upon the steadiness, the endurance, the discipline and the humanity of the British soldier. The late illustrious Prince Consort, on presenting the colours to the 13th Light Infantry, in February 1859, expressed our opinions with great accuracy and force, when he said: "The British soldier has to follow his colours to every part of the globe, and everywhere he is the representative of his country's power, freedom, loyalty and civilization." So long as these civilized soldiers circulate around the empire, drawing into their ranks, as occasion may require, the youth of the Province it is their mission to defend, so long will it be strong and its civilization secure. When they are withdrawn,

and the outlying regions are left to drift into new experiments, "shadows, clouds and darkness" will rest upon the scene, and of the glories of this empire we shall chance to see the beginning of the end.

A great deal might be said upon some passages of your letter in which you limit the growth of aristocracies and democracies by geographical lines, but I desire to confine my observations to the question of national defence. Aristocracies will grow in every country, with the increase of wealth, the development of mental power, and the grateful recollection of heroic achievement. They are growing now in every State and Province on this continent, in most of which you will find families as proud and circles as exclusive as any to be found in Europe; but old trees cannot be transplanted, and any premature attempt at aristocratic transplantations would decidedly fail.

You seem to apprehend that the slightest "impact of any fragment from the ruins of the Union" would terminate the connection of these Provinces with the parent state. I do not think so. Surely if we have resisted the impact of the whole Union, pretty seriously delivered on several occasions, we ought to be able to withstand concussion from a part. Let us look at this matter thoughtfully, and without allowing our nerves to be shaken by the eccentric movements across the line. The Southern States, even if their independence were established to-morrow, are too far off to ever think of invading these Provinces. Their labouring population, being slaves, can never be soldiers or sailors, and though the white men who own them are splendid material for defensive warfare, trust me, it will be a long time before they will march into Canada and leave their slaves behind them.

The Northern States are our immediate neighbours, and, next to the mother country, ought to be our fast friends and firm allies. We claim a common origin, our populations are almost homogeneous, bridges and ferries, stage, steamboat and railway lines connect our frontier towns or sea-board cities. Our commerce is enormous, and is annually increasing in value. Every third vessel that enters the port of Boston goes from Nova Scotia. Our people intermarry, and socially intermix, all along the frontier. For one man that I know in the Southern Confederacy, I know twenty in the Northern States. All these mutual ties and intimate relations are securities for the preservation of peace. I admit that a good deal of irritation has arisen out of the civil war, but I rely on the frank admission of the Northern people, when the war is over, that for this they were themselves to blame. The Provinces, at its commencement, deeply deplored the outbreak of that war, and for weeks their sympathies were with the North. The storm of abuse that followed the Queen's proclamation of neutrality, and the demand for the rendition of the commissioners naturally changed the current of feeling, and the skill and gallantry of the Southern combatants have won, in the Provinces as everywhere else, as heroic achievements always will, whatever may be the cause of quarrel, involuntary admiration. Still, our material interests, and everyday thoughts and feelings, are in accord with those of the Northern States; and

CHAP. XXVIII when they come out of this war, there is no reason why, having shaken themselves clear of elements of internal irritation and disturbance, they should desire to disturb us, merely because we choose to live in amity with our common parent under British institutions. We are bound to hope, at all events, for the restoration of kindly thoughts, and the continuance of peaceful relations. If war comes, I have already shown that we are not so ill prepared as you assume, and that, if we do not waste our strength in idle controversy and insane divisions, we can still maintain the power of the Crown and the integrity of the empire.

In the confident belief that fair and courteous discussion of these momentous questions will have a tendency to steady the public mind, I have been induced to throw off these pages, and have now only to assure you that I have the honour to be your very obedient servant,

JOSEPH HOWE.

## CHAPTER XXIX

1863

The Provincial finances—Tupper's retrenchment scheme—Effects of universal suffrage—Remedial bill—Mr. Howe's speech thereon—Speech on Redistribution Bill—The elections—The Government defeated—Mr. Howe defeated in Lunenburg.

QUESTIONS relating to the finances and to the franchise occupied the attention of the Legislature in the session of 1863. Dr. Tupper vigorously assailed the financial record of the Government, and unfolded a scheme of retrenchment which helped to influence public opinion in the Province against the Government. With respect to the franchise, manhood suffrage had been in operation for several years, and its results were not satisfactory. It was complained that the balance of power, in some of the constituencies at least, was in the hands of the purchasable element. To remedy that state of affairs, the Attorney-General introduced a bill for a more restricted franchise. Speaking on the bill on March 17th, in his place in the House, Mr. Howe said :

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The immortal William Shakspeare never gave utterance to a more profound and truthful sentiment than when he said that "Conscience makes cowards of us all." The honourable gentlemen opposite well know the measures of retribution they deserve, and are therefore fidgety and cautious in allowing us to touch the franchise. The honourable member for Halifax, good-humoured and manly as he is on most occasions, seemed to forget himself when, with an assumption of power and authority—with a sternness and determination of voice and manner—seemingly revelling in the power he possessed, he declared himself for "the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill!" The member for Halifax reminds me of certain old feudal barons, who amused themselves by infusing warmth into their feet by placing them in the body of a newly-slain ox, whose entrails had been removed. The member for Halifax seemed to say, "I have got my feet in and they are warm; no matter what agony you may suffer, there shall they remain:" the demon of party spirit swept away every feeling of fair play—every manly desire to do equal justice to all, and carried the member for Halifax far beyond the boundary which in less

excitable moments he would have been loath to overstep. Therefore it is the honourable gentleman fears that retributive justice will overtake him ; he knows what he and his party deserve, and is fearful “the measure they meted out to others will be measured to them again.” But, sir, the best proof that the administration do not act in an arbitrary and unfair manner is given by the bill whose provisions the honourable and learned Attorney-General has just explained to the House. Under that bill it is almost impossible that injustice can be done ; the party with whom the honourable member for Halifax usually acts generally claim themselves to be representatives of all the property interest in the colony ; if so, under the proposed bill they will come back with a majority ; if they do not, they won't ; and, sir, I think the honourable gentlemen will find, much as they vaunt and brag of their positions, that there is some property, both real and personal, owned and occupied by those who support this side of the House. Every man reasonably entitled to vote will be found in the rate-bills, and the measure cannot effect the integrity of the coming elections, because these bills were made up long before the provisions of the present bill had been decided on. So much for that branch ; let me now offer a few remarks on the class it will disfranchise. What takes place at elections under the present system ? Take Cumberland ; and let us suppose that there are in that county 5000 voters ; 4800 of these come up to the polls and record their votes according to their party predilections, honestly and independently ; these are the men who represent the property and intelligence of the county, but they are not the persons who turn the election. The remaining 200 who make a trade of their franchise, who can be and are bought up, who have their debts forgiven—these are the men who carry the election. The sterling men of the country will continue to exercise their franchise ; but the refuse of society—the men who live by elections—who would be glad if a contest occurred every month provided they had the power of basely trading away their independence for lucre, will be as they should be, disfranchised.

I was always opposed to disturbing the 40s. freehold qualification, conceiving as I did that it was the soundest basis on which our electoral system could rest ; it was disturbed in 1851. During my absence in England a rate-paying qualification was established, and under it one election was run, when the vices of the system manifested themselves to such a degree that an immediate alteration became necessary, and the dilemma in which we were placed first forced itself on the minds of honourable gentlemen. It was then seen that a retrograde movement towards the 40s. freehold, or the adoption of universal suffrage was essential, and accordingly, at the instigation of the member for Annapolis, universal suffrage was adopted. The evils of that system having manifested themselves, another change becomes necessary, and I believe we have fairly met the difficulties of our present position. I do not deem this a proper stage to go at large into the discussion of the provisions of the bill. The honourable member for Annapolis does not seem much afraid of the bill. I know he is not—it is based on principles too reasonable, too com-



prehesive, to enable the honourable gentleman or his friends to make it out the bugbear some affect to consider it. That honourable gentleman reminds me of the sailor who when dying was told that Providence was good. "Ah!" said he, "'tis not Providence I am afraid of, it's t'other fellow." So with the honourable gentleman; it is not this but t'other bill the member for Annapolis is scared at; and when the honourable member for Sydney (Mr. Henry) rises to address the House immediately after the honourable member for Annapolis, I cannot help feeling that the honourable member has that other BILL, nor am I disposed to wonder that he complains of it. But the necessity for that other bill arises from the fact that the honourable gentleman and his friends cut up this country previous to the last election in such a zigzag and extraordinary manner, that some measure rectifying the inequalities they produced has become absolutely necessary. I feel with respect to the honourable and learned member much as did the old Presbyterian parson, who, praying for a recreant of his church, hoped the Lord would shake him over the bad place; but his charitable feelings getting the better of his wrath, concluded with, "But, ah! dear Lord, dinna let him fa' in."

It appears recently that the Opposition are oppressed with a desire to run on the Attorney-General. The Provincial Secretary once had his share — ~~anon~~ Mr. McCully was assailed; his period of probation seems to have passed by—he has gone through the fiery ordeal, and escaped unscathed; and it appears that the Opposition have determined to harass and annoy the Attorney-General to the best of their ability. The reason for this I am at no loss to conceive: is it not apparent that the Attorney-General, day by day, is steadily winning his way in this deliberative Assembly—is commending himself to the good sense of honourable gentlemen on both sides for the open, manly and rational style in which he conducts the public business? This brings upon him every now and then the ire of certain persons here, and attempts are made to conclude the legal and political career of my honourable friend. I need not say that these attempts have heretofore, as now, failed; in the present case, it would require nothing more than the candid, graceful expositions of his views on this topic to disarm his opponents and sustain him in the position he has assumed.

On March 23rd Mr. Howe introduced a bill for the readjustment of the constituencies, and in presenting it he said:

I rise, Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of asking leave to introduce a bill, the object of which is to adjust the franchise of the country. In the year 1851, during the session of which this House first departed from the 40s. freehold, I was absent in England; therefore, sir, I do not share in any of the blame attaching to those who introduced the rate-paying system. That measure proved an utter failure; both the honourable members opposite and those occupying seats on this side of the House felt that it was ill-judged and unjust in its

CHAP. XXIX operation, and that under its provisions their seats were at the mercy of any  
 — scamps in any county who chose to manufacture rate-bills.

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An amendment of the law became absolutely necessary, and we then felt, what must be admitted, that after a step in advance it was hard to go back. Universal suffrage was adopted; had we at that period evinced a proper degree of moral courage, the evils ensuing from the introduction of that system would have been avoided: after it has been in operation for some eight years, and two elections have been held under universal suffrage, a general, widespread—I might almost say universal—spirit of dissatisfaction has sprung up antagonistic to that principle. A feeling of dissatisfaction prevails among leading men of both parties in Nova Scotia, that to a portion of the population, possessed of the least intelligence, an undue amount of political power has been given—a power largely abused at the last two elections. Take a single illustration: I am acquainted with a district in a certain county, comprising within its limits about forty-two persons entitled to vote, not one of whom ever pay a rate.

I am not quite sure that it is wise to point to particular localities. It is enough, sir, that these forty-two votes have turned an election in that county, and that every man of them has been bought, and can be bought at any time. If not purchased by one side, they are by the other. Take the contest in which the honourable member for Cumberland and the present Chief-Justice were engaged at the last election: do we not all know that each party was charged by the other with having bribed that constituency; and that it was almost admitted all round that immense sums had been expended among a portion of that people at that election in purchasing that refuse of the population—that class devoid of intelligence, education, public spirit or independence, which it is the design of this House to preclude from exercising the franchise. At one time, sir, I went into Cumberland and managed to create a pretty strong feeling in my favour, and won that county by a handsome majority; afterwards I lost my seat, but not before my impressions were strengthened as to the pliability of a portion of that constituency; and I would say to the honourable member for Cumberland, that if he represents that county for twenty years, I shall not be surprised to find him a grey-headed man with but little money in his pocket. For, sir, admitting his unquestioned ability and electioneering tact—he knows, and I know right well, that a rich man can go into that county and beat him out of his seat at any time.

The bill proposed by my honourable and learned friend, the Attorney-General, will go far to diminish the evils under which we now labour, and to strike away those excrescences which now disfigure our electoral system. So much for the Franchise Bill. Now, sir, with respect to the measure I hold in my hand. It has been the desire of the Government to submit their views on this important measure at as early a day as possible. I now bring down this bill, comprising all the information of which we are at present in possession, and would state that, so soon as prepared, coloured maps of the proposed division lines will be laid on the table. In submitting this bill, let me say, sir, that it is substantially

the same as the one which I laid on the table some two years since. Here-  
after Queens, Shelburne, Yarmouth, Digby, Cumberland, Cape Breton and  
Inverness will be represented by one county and two district members.

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Lunenburg has been omitted from the bill at the special request of the honourable members for the county, under the instruction of their constituents. Not desiring to drive the honourable member for Annapolis off his county nest, that county remains as at present, like Lunenburg, untouched. So that one county, represented by gentlemen sustaining the Government, and one by supporters of the Opposition, have been omitted from the operation of the bill.

Kings, Hants, Colchester and Pictou are each to be divided into two ridings, each riding to be represented by two members. The county of Halifax stands in a peculiar position. It is nearly 100 miles long, and contains upwards of 24,000 inhabitants, outside the limits of the metropolis. It is therefore proposed to divide that county into three ridings, creating an eastern, central and western division, each of which will be represented by two members. I am aware that it may be objected to this proposal that it increases the representation of Halifax by one member, but, Mr. Speaker, this could scarcely be avoided; and even under the bill, while Halifax county may have proportionately a larger representation than some counties, it will also possess considerably less than others. The city will have two members, and the eastern and western divisions of the county will return two each, independently of the city.

The counties of Sydney, Guysborough, Richmond and Victoria will remain as at present, returning two members each, running over the whole county.

It will be seen that, under this bill, it is but just that the large and influential county of Cape Breton should receive an additional member. This measure has been framed on the principle, if you can't do all the good you wish, do all you can. In reference to the county of Digby, I may say that I always regretted when the township of Clare was broken in upon; that township was settled by and contains a French population, whose feelings and interests should have been respected. They are a body of men who never unwarrantably pressed on the Government for anything, whose requirements were always reasonable, and therefore I felt that when Clare was hitched on to the rest of Digby it was an unwise proceeding. What I propose doing, then, is to restore to Clare its independent representation.

The Franchise Bill passed the Assembly, and was sent to the Upper House for concurrence. There, at the last moment, a rider was attached suspending the operation of the bill until after the general elections then approaching. The Government, owing to the lateness of the session, were obliged to accept the bill as so amended; and this gave an opportunity to those who were about to be disfranchised by the bill, to cast their votes in the elections of 1863. It

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is believed that that section of the electors voted against the candidates supporting the administration.

The House prorogued on April 29th, and on May 1st it was dissolved. The elections were fixed for May 28th. Mr. Howe was induced to run in Lunenburg. After a keen campaign the contest resulted in the defeat of the Government by a large majority. In Lunenburg, Messrs. Howe, Desbrisay and Wheelock, the Government candidates, were defeated by Messrs. Jost, Kaulbach and Slocumb. This marked the final withdrawal of Mr. Howe from the Provincial Legislature. He then actively took up his duties as Fisheries Commissioner, the post to which he had been appointed by the British Government.

## CHAPTER XXX

1864-1865

Tercentenary of Shakspeare's birth—Mr. Howe's oration—Confederation : Dinner to colonial visitors—Mr. Howe's speech—The Charlottetown conference—Dr. Tupper's letter and Mr. Howe's reply—Quebec conference—Mr. Howe's opinion of the Charlottetown conference—Letters on "the Botheration Scheme"—Letter to Lord John Russell—The Detroit convention—Mr. Howe's great speech.

IN 1864 the tercentenary of the birth of Shakspeare was celebrated in Halifax. It was fitting that the preparation of the oration on the great dramatist should be assigned to the first of Nova Scotian orators ; the theme was one that appealed to Mr. Howe, and the following oration, delivered on April 23—the anniversary of Shakspeare's birth—before St. George's Society, was not inferior to the best that the event evoked :

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Not quite two thousand years ago, in a small village of Judea, a poor carpenter's wife was blessed with a son, who grew to manhood beneath his reputed father's roof, who wrote nothing which has been preserved, who died young, and who but for four or five years appeared conspicuously on the stage of public life.

This divine man so lived, for that short space of time, that by the dignity of his person—the grace and fascination of his manner—the purity and simplicity of his life—the splendour of his eloquence—the novelty of his doctrines—the miraculous power which he displayed, he so alarmed the hierarchs and bigots of his day, that they put him to death, to extirpate what they conceived to be a pestilent heresy dangerous to existing institutions.

A few short discourses—one new commandment—some exquisite parables—a few noble bursts of righteous indignation—a fervent prayer here and there—two or three touching lamentations—some simple reproofs—and a few beautiful illustrations of his courtesy to women and children, and of his sympathetic consideration for the wants and weaknesses of his fellow-men, are all that remain to us of the biography and recorded speech of this poor youth.

Yet every Sabbath, all over the Christian world, millions of people assemble to do honour to this person, to repeat his words, to ponder upon his life, and to endeavour to mould the growing generations by his example. We, in view

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of the miracles he wrought and of the wisdom of his teaching, acknowledge his divine origin and attributes ; but millions, who regard him only as a man, are yet won to daily and weekly recognition of the holiness of his life, the wisdom of his words, and of the self-sacrificing spirit in which he died for the redemption and security of his fellow-men.

How many emperors, kings, conquerors, tyrants, have lived and died within these two thousand years, for whom no festivals are kept, whose example no man quotes, whose wisdom no man ponders. Their mailed figures, as they appear in history, seem to shake the earth, their pride to flout the skies, their policy to cover the globe. Yet there they lie, the best of them with their marble or bronze hands folded on their stone sarcophagi, looking up to the heaven they outraged, and challenging from the earth which they devastated but scanty notice or recognition. From all which we gather, shutting divinity out of the question, that the world knows and will ever know its benefactors from its oppressors—that the beauty of holiness outlasts mere earthly splendour—that the still small voice of wisdom will go echoing through the hearts of successive generations, whom the hoarse command of authority cannot stir.

A little more than a century ago, a child was born in the cottage of a poor Scotch peasant in Ayrshire, and but a few years have passed since the centennial anniversary of that boy's birth was kept throughout the civilized world. You kept it here. I was not present, but I read the account of your celebration with interest and pride. Throughout the British Empire—all over this continent, wherever the British races mingle and British literature is read, bonfires blazed and cities were illuminated—balls were given, and dinners and suppers were enlivened by the songs of Burns, or by sentiments uttered in his praise. I happened to be in Boston, the city that, next to Halifax and London, for many reasons, I like the best, and where I feel the most at home. Two festivals were held, one at the Revere House by the North British Society, the other at the Parker House, by the leading literati of New England. I was honoured by invitations to both, and at both witnessed the enthusiasm of the hour and the intellectual affluence of the community. The governor of the State, the mayor of the city, the leading merchants and bankers, the professors of Cambridge, Whittier and Emerson, Holmes and Hilliard, Fields and Whipple, and a score more of men who give animation to the social and fire to the public life of the old Bay State were there ; and we all lifted our voices to honour the memory of that poor Scotch peasant, and bowed our heads in reverential thankfulness above his literary remains. What we were doing in Boston you were doing here, and the intellectual and appreciative all over the world were doing in the same spirit on the same occasion.

Now, how did it happen that the noble and the high-born, the scholar, the novelist, the historian, the statesman, the poet, all mingling with the joyous acclamations of those wider classes that come more nearly down to his own worldly station, gave point and significance to festivals got up to honour the

memory of a poor ploughman a century after he had passed away? The man was no saint—sharp of speech and loose of life, at times he had tried the patience of many friends and made many enemies. He had lived and died in poverty; his errors, whatever they were, being veiled by no drapery of convention, nor refined away by the ordinary accessories of elegant self-indulgence. He left behind him no relatives who could defend his memory, no sect to battle for his opinions, no wealth to purchase venal advocacy, no station or organized influence to disarm independent criticism. How was it then that all the world, by a simultaneous impulse, moved as one man to do honour, on the same day, to the memory of this poor Scotch ploughman?

It was because, long after he was dead, and his faults and follies were forgotten, it was discovered (as it had been before by a few keen-sighted and appreciative friends who knew and loved him) that in this man's soul there had been genuine inspiration—that he was a patriot—an artist—that by his genius and independent spirit he had given dignity to the pursuits by which the mass of mankind live, and quickened our love of nature by exquisite delineation. It was found that hypocrisy stood rebuked in presence of his broad humour—that he had put one lyric invocation into the mouth of a dead warrior that would be worth to his country, in any emergency, an army of 10,000 men—that he had painted one picture of his country's rural life so touching and so true, that it challenged for her the respect of millions who knew her not, and gave character and refinement to the thoughts of those who knew her best.

What has become of the wrangling race of bloody chieftains, whose mutual slaughter and mutual perfidy Tytler so well describes? With the exception of Wallace and Bruce, we would not give the Ayrshire ploughman for a legion of them. What has become of the drowsy Holy Willies, whose interminable homilies made the Sabbath wearisome in Burns's time, and the gospel past finding out? They are dozing in the churchyards, as their congregations dozed in the churches, and no one asks to have them waked up by a festival; yet the man whom they denounced, and would have burnt if they could, shows his "Cottar's Saturday Night" to the admiring world and puts them all to shame.

Three hundred years ago (1564) William Shakspeare, whose birthday we have met to celebrate, was born of comparatively obscure parentage, at Stratford-upon-Avon, a small English village. His father, John Shakspeare, dealt in wool, and, though at one period of his life he had been better off, was, before the poet's death, so poor as to be exempted from the payment of local assessments. His mother, Mary Arden, was descended from a family some members of which had served the office of sheriff, and brought to her husband, as dower, sixty-five acres of land and £6, 13s. 4d. in money. Our poet was the eldest of ten children. Before he was three months old the plague ravaged his native village, carrying off a seventh part of its population, but seems to have spared his family. He was educated at the Free School of Stratford, till withdrawn to assist his father, whose circumstances were becoming straitened. At eighteen he married Anne Hathaway, and commenced business for himself, but, being

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arrested with some other youngsters for deer-stalking in Sir Thomas Lucy's park, to escape the law he fled to London, and joined a company of players. He became an actor, a dramatist, a poet, a theatrical manager; won the favour of the Earl of Southampton and of Queen Elizabeth. He earned a competence, and after the death of the Virgin Queen retired to his native village, where he purchased a handsome house and enjoyed an income of £300 a year. He had three children. He died on his birthday, the 23rd of April, at the early age of fifty-three.

This is nearly all that is known, with certainty, of the marvellous man whose tri-centenary we have met to celebrate. The very acute editor of one of the latest and finest collections of his works, thus mourns over the paucity of material for any authentic and enlarged biography: "That William Shakspeare was born at Stratford-upon-Avon; that he married, and had three children; that he wrote a certain number of dramas; that he died before he had attained to old age, and was buried in his native town, are positively the only facts in the personal history of this extraordinary man, of which we are certainly possessed; and if we should be solicitous to fill up this bare and most unsatisfactory outline, we must have recourse to the vague reports of unsubstantial tradition, or to the still more shadowy inferences of lawless and unsatisfactory conjecture."

Whether Shakspeare actually held gentlemen's horses at the door of the theatre before he became an actor—how much or how little he knew of Latin or Greek, or of any foreign language; to what books he was indebted for his plots, his conceits, or his imagery, are questions which we linger not to-day to ask or to answer. Have not these, and other kindred themes of speculation and conjecture, for more than a century furnished employment for ingenious critics and commentators? We must brush them aside. If we stood by the grave of Richard Cœur de Lion, we should not pause to inquire who taught him tricks of fence, or of what nutriment his muscle had been formed; and, standing beside the grave of this great Englishman, it is enough for us to know that he lived, and died, and made the universe his heirs.

This man founded no sect, sat on no throne, conducted no government, led no army, upheaved no ancient dominion. How is it, then, that three hundred years after he has been dead and buried, in a Province of which he never heard—which was a wilderness for two hundred years after he was born—how happens it, that in a city not founded for a century and a half after he was in his grave, we are assembled to hold high festival on this man's natal day? How does it occur that the highest in military rank and civic station comes here at the head of all that is distinguished by culture and refinement, to do honour to the memory of Shakspeare? That the Parliament adjourns—that the courts are closed—that business is suspended—that the place where "merchants most do congregate" is deserted, and that all ranks and classes, by a common impulse, have gathered here to do honour to this man's memory? As your procession moved through the streets, the scene was most imposing,



and now I can scarcely see your heads for banners consecrated to every branch of our nationality, and to every form of Christian benevolence. Faces as fresh as Rosalind's, and eyes as bright as Juliet's, smile approbation or rain influence on this scene, until the heart dances at the sight of an intellectual community doing homage to genius by methods the most graceful and with a unanimity that is marvellous.

On Saturday evening this hall resounded with the music interspersed through Shakspeare's plays. Mr. Passow will presently delight us with some readings. We shall plant an oak on the sunny side of our Provincial Building, in commemoration of this tri-centenary celebration, and close the day with the "feast of reason and the flow of soul." To-night we re-assemble here to enjoy a second time the delightful entertainment which the officers and soldiers of the garrison have kindly consented to repeat.

But, after all, what is our poor festival, rich in sincerity and enthusiasm though it be, compared with what we know will elsewhere make this day memorable? All over the British Islands, all over the British Empire, it will be kept as a holiday, and enlivened with all that intellect of the highest order can contribute, or art the most chastened, yet elaborate, combine.

In the great metropolis of the world, whose financial pulsations are marked by millions—where war or peace, for half the universe, trembles in the hourly vibrations of human thought—where men battle for wealth and distinctions and worldly power with an intensity proportioned to the value of the prizes to be won; even there, on this day, the great heart of the empire will be stilled for a time, that all the world may witness how profound is the impression which the genius of Shakspeare has made in that imperial city, where for centuries his dramas have nightly contributed to the intellectual life of the population.

At Stratford, the birthplace of the poet, a pavilion has been erected which will hold 5000 people—550 musicians have been engaged; and concerts, oratorios, balls and theatrical performances will gather together for a week's unmixed enjoyment an assemblage not more distinguished by wealth and station than remarkable for intellectual culture and shrewd knowledge of books and men.

But not only in England will this day be kept. In Ireland, where the memories of her poets and dramatists and orators are treasured as the richest elements of national life, the great Englishman, who was loved and honoured by them all, will be this day crowned with the deepest verdure and hailed by universal acclamation. Scotland will put aside her theology and metaphysics, and the fiery cross, with Shakspeare's name upon it, will be sped from city to city, and from mountain to mountain, rousing the clans to rivalry with all the world. Bonfires will blaze upon Ben Nevis and Ben Venue; and the bones of her great poets will stir beneath the marble monuments that national gratitude has reared above them, in recognition of the merits of this great master of our tongue.

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All over the empire—in the great provinces of the East—in the Australian colonies—at the Cape—in the West Indies—in the neighbouring Provinces of Canada and New Brunswick, no less than in the Summer Isles, where, if Prospero's wand no longer waves, we have Moore's warrant and our own experience to assure us that Miranda's fascinations may yet be found, wherever British communities have been formed, and British civilization has been fostered, will this day be honoured, and the memory of this great man be "in their flowing cups freshly remembered."

If our American cousins, North and South, do not keep this festival as they kept that in honour of Burns, it will not be from want of inclination, or from ignorance of the merits of the great dramatist whose works they read, appreciate, act, and quote with an admiration as intense and with a familiarity as ready as our own. Engaged in these "great wars," which, from their magnitude of proportion, ought "to make ambition virtue," and which another Shakspeare, half a century hence, will be required to illustrate, they may not have leisure for any but military celebrations; but of this we may be assured, that Shakspeare has gone with the camp furniture of every regiment into the field, whether north or south of the Potomac; and that his glorious pages have cheered the bivouac and the hospital, whenever the tedious hours of inaction were to be wiled away, or the "ills that flesh is heir to," and which combats surely bring, have had to be endured.

Nor will these manifestations be confined to the lands which the British races inhabit. All over the Continent, where Shakspeare is known as we know Goethe or Voltaire—where his works have been translated and illustrated by men the most discriminating and profound, this day will be honoured, and his name, making the circuit of "the great globe itself," will not only awake the "drum beat" which indicates the waving lines of British power and dominion, but the echoes of warm hearts and sympathetic natures in every quarter of the earth.

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Shakspeare left behind him, when he died, thirty-seven dramas and a few poems. Upon these his reputation rests; but it is curious to reflect how tardy the world, now so unanimous in its verdict, was in recognizing its benefactor. That Queen Elizabeth and the brilliant men by whom she was always surrounded, applauded his plays in the old Globe Theatre which he managed, and enjoyed his poems in their studious hours, we have authentic record. That the sturdy middle-class of English society, for whom his plays were written, wept and laughed three centuries ago exactly as we weep and laugh, no man can doubt. That the critics in the pit wondered then, as now, at the fertility of his invention, while the gods in the gallery roared at his inexhaustible humour, are facts which we may assume to lie upon the surface of all safe speculation. But how did it happen, that for more than a century his works appear to have passed from the minds of men, and that his reputation, like the aloe, took a hundred years to bloom? Who can safely answer this question? For more than two centuries the European races trod the soil of Nova Scotia without perceiving

the gold that lay beneath their feet ; the Temple Church was buried in rubbish for more than a century, till its beautiful proportions and elegant ornamentation were redeemed and restored by a tender and loving process akin to that by which the dramatic works of Shakspeare have been redeemed and illustrated.

The poet appears to have taken but little pains to ingratiate himself with posterity. Though he published his poems, which went through several editions during his lifetime, but few of his dramatic works were printed while he lived. The whole were collected and published by his fellow-comedians seven years after his death.

But in 1623, the year in which they were published, the world was beginning to be busy about other things than stage plays and dead poets. That great historical drama, in many acts, of which England was to become the theatre, was in course of preparation. James the First, with his pedantic learning, haughty favourites, and high prerogative notions, was passing away amidst a storm of parliamentary eloquence more intensely exciting even than dramatic literature. Eliot and Pym, Hampden and Vane were unfolding the grievances of England as Mark Antony bared the wounds of Cæsar in the forum. The first act closed with the death of James two years after the publication of Shakspeare's plays, and Charles the First ascended the throne in 1625.

By-and-by money was wanted for foolish Continental wars, and the Commons of England were determined that the redress of grievances and supplies should go together. The Star Chamber was busy with arrests and thumbcrews, and Laud was busy dictating to all earnest-minded Englishmen how they should worship God, and what they should believe. The "times are out of joint," and sweet Will Shakspeare must wait awhile for recognition :

"Till the hurly-burly's done,  
And the battle's lost and won."

Then ship-money is demanded and resisted, and Charles comes down to seize the members in the Commons House of Parliament. Then Prynne's ears are cut off in the pillory, and the leaders of the people are fined and imprisoned ; and now the action of the great drama becomes intensely exciting—the counties begin to arm, and Hampden lives in the saddle. The King's standard is set up, and a rough-looking soldierly man, with broad shoulders, a huge head, and some pimples on his face, begins to attract attention, as Washington did long after when a man of action was required. By 1642, nineteen years after Shakspeare's plays were printed, the Cavaliers and Roundheads are fairly at it. Then come Edgehill, Marston Moor and Naseby. Hampden and Falkland are dead, Laud and Wentworth executed. People are too busy making history to care much about representations of it, and Shakspeare must sleep on.

The slovenly-looking soldier with the broad chest has come to the front, and, at the head of a marvellous regiment of cavalry, has trampled down on every battle-field everything opposed to him. People may be excused for not

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thinking of Shakspeare, with such a phenomenon as Cromwell, in living flesh and blood, treading the stage before their eyes.

Then came the capture of the King and his execution—Irish and Scotch wars, Drogheda and Dunbar, more materials for history rapidly accumulating. Then there are pestilent Dutchmen—Von Tromp, De Witt and De Ruyter, in the Channel with 120 ships, prepared to land and burn all the theatres and other property of the nation; and Shakspeare must be quiet while Monk and Deane and other gallant Englishmen sweep this nuisance out of the narrow seas. And swept it was by the besom of destruction, and no brooms have been hoisted in the Channel since.

And by-and-by there is peace at home and abroad, and the Lord Protector, with John Milton for his secretary, and John Howe for his chaplain, is standing on the place where the throne of England stood, known of all men as a redoubtable soldier and a most wary politician. But Oliver, though he loved a grim joke at times, and could snatch off his son Richard's wig at a wedding, or smear Dick Martin's face with ink after signing the death warrant, was no favourer of stage plays, and it behoved Will Shakspeare to be quiet until he had made his exit.

England was parcelled out into districts, and a stern major-general of the true Cromwellian stamp ruled over each, with orders to pull down the maypoles, close up the theatres, and set amusing vagabonds in the stocks. "There were no more cakes and ale," and if "ginger" was "hot" in anybody's "mouth," the less he said about it the better.

But England is nothing if she be not "merrie." She had prayed and fought her way to freedom, as she thought, but here were new forms of restraint, and a tyranny more irksome than that from which she had escaped. Better pay ship-money, and lose an ear once in a while, than have no more village sports and city recreations. The Queen has been in mourning but for two short years, yet John Bull grumbles at the gloom. All places of public amusement have been open, and everybody outside of the royal circle has done just as he pleased; yet something was wanting while the Queen was sad, and a cheerful sovereign is as necessary to England as a free press and a free Parliament. Cromwell, with all his sagacity, and bewildered in the theological fogs of the period, did not understand this. He died, and "*après moi le déluge.*" The reaction of cheerfulness came with the Restoration—the theatres were re-opened and the maypoles went up again. And now, one might fairly assume that Shakspeare's hour had come. But it had not.

Charles, who had been twelve years an exile, if he had not lost his English cheerfulness, had become a foreigner in all his tastes. The men who had shared his expatriation had learned to speak and write and think in French and other foreign languages; and foreign literature—dramatic literature especially, which day by day beguiled the tedious hours of banishment, had become a necessary of life. Foreign tastes came back with the court, and were of course cultivated by the higher classes.

How was it with the great body of the people? The Wars of the Roses had ceased to interest them. They had had a civil war of their own, brought home to their very doors with stern reality. What were the fictitious sorrows of dethroned monarchs, compared with the real tragedy behind Whitehall? The ravings of Margaret and the lamentations of Constance were forgotten in presence of Henrietta Maria, with her children in her hand, taking leave of the royal husband she was to behold no more. The men who had seen a charge of the Ironsides were not easily stirred by a flourish of trumpets on the stage; and those who had seen Hampden, Rupert, Essex, Ireton and Desborough in the saddle required no poet to show them what the men and horses were like that broke the French at Agincourt and Poitiers. And so sweet Will Shakspeare slept on through the Restoration as he had done through the Protectorate, until the court of England was composed of men and women who had been bred at home—who could relish English humour and English sentiment; and a sturdy middle-class had grown up who had wondered at Milton and laughed at Hudibras till they were weary of both, and had begun to long for something less exaggerated and more germane to the realities of everyday human life. The Puritan warriors and Cavaliers had passed off the scene; and, to the new generation who knew them not, both civil wars were alike historical; while the feudal chivalry of York and Lancaster, as drawn by Shakspeare, seemed, of the two battalia, the more picturesque.

Another king had been driven out—the people had seized the purse-strings—responsible government was established—“the liberty of unlicensed printing” had been secured, and glorious John Dryden, Prior and Ben Jonson had taught the people of England the flexibility and music of our mother tongue; and Bunyan, Locke, Defoe and Addison had shown how all-sufficient it was for the expression of arguments the most subtle and for the highest flights of the most luxuriant imagination.

Then the discovery was made that a dead Englishman, who had been buried a hundred years, had left to his countrymen a literary treasure of inestimable value. What was Cæsar’s legacy of seventy-five drachmas to each of the citizens of Rome?—here was a treasure inexhaustible, and capable of subdivision among the British races to the end of time. What were Cæsar’s

“walks,  
His private arbours, and new planted orchards,  
On this side Tiber”?

Here were the gardens of the Hesperides, richer in enchantment than the bowers of Calypso and Armida—orchards, where “apples of gold in pictures of silver” were hung within the reach of all—arbours that a Mussulman warrior would die to inherit—with Imogen and Thasia, Cressida and Titania, Portia and Jessica, Helena, Cordelia, Olivia and Beatrice, fitting through the foliage with fascinations ever varying and smiles that could never fade.

With a spirit of deep reverence and unselfish love did the great poets and

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critics of modern England address themselves to the task of exhuming this treasure, and making known to their countrymen its extent and value. Foremost in this good work were Rowe and Theobald, Pope, Warburton and Johnson; and after them have come critics and commentators by the score, till every obsolete phrase has been explained, every old work translated into current English, every blemish detected, every beauty brought to the surface. In this labour of love, Goethe, and Schlegel, and Voltaire, and the finer minds of continental Europe have laboured with diligence and often with keen discrimination, until the subject has been exhausted, and now no wise man looks for a new fact or for a plausible suggestion.

A brilliant series of great actors and actresses have devoted their lives to the study of Shakspeare's plays, and have won fortune and high distinction by their illustration. Garrick, Mrs. Siddons, the Keans and Kembles, Macready, and many other brilliant artists have, for a hundred and fifty years, presented to succeeding generations the masterpieces of this great dramatist. Yet "custom cannot stale his infinite variety," and still "excess of appetite grows by what it feeds on."

During these hundred and fifty years the genius of Shakspeare has kept possession of the public mind, appealed to by rivals in every walk of literature, and it may be safely said that no book, except the Bible, has taken a hold of it so universal and so firm. Tried by every test, read in the light of ancient and modern literature, Shakspeare has not only held his own, but has steadily risen in general estimation.

Within the period which has passed since he lived and wrote, the classics, redeemed from the wrecks of ancient civilization, have been edited with care and elegantly translated into every modern language. Æschylus and Euripides, Plautus and Terence can now be read with as much facility as Shakspeare. The great dramatists of France, appealing to a population to whom theatricals and bread are the necessaries of life, have constructed tragedies of stately severity, and lighter pieces in every vein of humour. Alfieri in Italy, and Calderon and Lope de Vega in Spain have presented their masterpieces to the admiring world. Schiller's great dramas, beautifully rendered into English by Joanna Baillie, have enriched the literature of Germany; while in our own country Addison, Congreve, Young, Home and Otway; Byron, Shelley, Talfourd and Knowles, with all the phases of modern civilization expanding before them, with free access to all the treasures of ancient and modern literature, and with the "moving accidents by flood and field" which history and biography have accumulated in those three hundred years, have done their best; and each has won a place in the loving hearts touched by their genius and refined and elevated by the exquisite harmony of their verse. But which of all these men would we venture to put beside Shakspeare? If they were all assembled to-day, they would confess their several obligations to the great poet, who "exhausted worlds and then imagined new," and join with us in crowning him as the great master of their art.

Now what is the secret of this great success—of this universal homage? CHAP. XXX  
 Who shall give the answer? The ocean with its majestic waves, fathomless  
 depths, and ever receding outlines, who can measure or define? The starry // 1864-65  
 heavens are incomprehensible to the astronomer who can weigh the planets, as  
 to the peasant who, in simple love and reverence, sees them shine above his  
 head. The incendiary who destroyed the Temple of Diana could not compre-  
 hend the secret of that universal admiration which made his act a sacrilege and  
 a crime. We stand beside Niagara, or beneath the dome of St. Peter's or St.  
 Paul's, and are overpowered by a sense of sublimity and beauty, for which we  
 thank God, but which it is extremely difficult to analyze. We hang over a  
 beautiful statue, or gaze at a fine picture, but are lost and bewildered when  
 we come to describe why it touches our feelings, or excites our involuntary  
 admiration.

If the phenomena of nature, the sublimities of architecture and the  
 miracles of high art thus impress and confound us, we can readily understand  
 how it is that we stand awe-struck and bewildered in presence of a writer who  
 is at once a creator and an artist; at whose command "cloud-capp'd towers  
 and gorgeous palaces" spring out of the earth—who sets the sublime "artillery  
 of heaven" to music—who presents to our admiring gaze forms that would  
 defy the chisel of Canová or the pencil of Sir Peter Lely; who sketches scenery  
 with the warmth of Claude and the dripping softness of Gainsborough; who  
 reasons like a philosopher, speaks like a statesman, and jests like a king's fool;  
 who infuses life into the dead bones of history; clothes warriors and kings and  
 prelates with living flesh and blood; and makes them unfold their policy as  
 though he had been familiar with their counsels, and act and speak as though  
 a photographer and reporter had been present all the time. We accept this  
 man as a gift from the all-bountiful Creator, but we cannot comprehend him,  
 or fathom the secret springs of his ascendancy and power.

The reason why Englishmen should love him, as the Scotch do Burns, and  
 the Irish Moore, may not be far to seek. He has won the first place in universal  
 literature for his country, and he has won it, so far as anybody can discover,  
 without ever having been out of England. He seems to have been beloved by  
 his contemporaries, and those who knew him best. Though honoured with the  
 favour of his Sovereign and the patronage and friendship of Southampton, he  
 was not spoiled. "I loved the man," said old Ben Jonson, who knew him well,  
 "and did honour his memory on this side of idolatry as much as any. He was  
 indeed honest, of an open and free nature, had an excellent fancy, brave  
 notions and gentle expressions." "Gentle Shakspeare," the "Swan of Avon,"  
 "Sweet Will"—these were the endearing names given to him by his con-  
 temporaries, and they have come down to us as the best evidence that can be  
 furnished of the personal qualities he displayed.

That he was a dear lover of his country who can doubt? With what pride  
 and exultation and entire confidence he speaks of her fortunes and her future,

CHAP. XXX at a time when her great career of conquest and of empire had hardly begun :

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“This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,  
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,  
This other Eden, demi-Paradise ;  
This fortress, built by Nature for herself  
Against infection and the hand of war ;  
This happy breed of men, this little world ;  
This precious stone set in the silver sea,  
Which serves it in the office of a wall,  
Or as a moat defensive to a house,  
Against the envy of less happy lands ;  
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,  
This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,  
Feared by their breed and famous by their birth,  
Renowned for their deeds as far from home  
(For Christian service and true chivalry),  
As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry  
Of the world’s Ransom, blessed Mary’s son,  
This land of such dear souls, this dear dear land,  
Dear for her reputation through the world.”

Again, he calls her “our sea-walled garden,” which she has remained, thank God, to this hour. And again :

“That water-walled bulwark, still secure  
And confident from foreign purposes.  
This England never did (nor never shall)  
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror.”

Shakspeare had seen the proud Spanish Armada, with its 130 ships of war, its 2650 “great guns,” and 30,000 men, scattered by the hand of Providence and by the valour of Drake and Howard ; and he might well exult in the valour of his countrymen and in the impregnability of the “little island” that he loved. Could he see her now, with her 670 war ships, her well-disciplined army, and her 150,000 volunteers, he would not be less confident in her destiny.

How like the blast of a trumpet has the magnificent speech which Shakspeare puts into the mouth of our fifth Harry on the eve of the battle of Agincourt, rung through the hearts of Englishmen in all parts of the world ! At Torres Vedras, at Waterloo, at Inkerman, at Lucknow and Delhi, wherever our countrymen have been far from home and hard bestead, Shakspeare’s glorious thoughts have been uppermost in their minds.

The time may come, in these British Provinces, when we may be called upon to test the purity of our lineage and “the metal of our pastures” ; and when it comes, let us hope that Shakspeare’s invocation may not be lost upon



us. Our volunteers and militiamen show well upon parade, in their "gayness" and their "gilt," but when the "working-day" comes, and they

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"are all besmirch'd  
With rainy marching in the painful field,"

let us hope that they will emulate the valour of the mother isles without a Westmoreland wish to have "more men from England."

Shakspeare's national dramas are a valuable addition to the history of our country. An admiral of some celebrity declared that he read nothing else. I have read nearly all the works of our popular historians, but how few of them paint the scenes they describe with the vividness of Shakspeare; and where is there one that presents the men of bygone periods with the same dramatic power? Hundreds of illustrations could be given. Take Hume's account of Buckingham's intrigues to secure the throne for Richard, with that which the Duke himself gives of the scene at the Guildhall; or contrast his description of the murder of the young princes with that in which Shakspeare shows us how the murderers—

"Albeit they were flesh'd villains, bloody dogs,  
Melting with tenderness and mild compassion  
Wept like two children, in their death's sad story.  
'O thus,' quoth Dighton, 'lay the gentle babes,'—  
'Thus, thus,' quoth Forrest, 'girdling one another  
Within their alabaster innocent arms:  
Their lips were four red roses on a stalk  
Which in their summer beauty kissed each other.  
A book of prayers on their pillow lay,  
Which once,' quoth Forrest, 'almost changed my mind.  
But, O the devil'—there the villain stopped;  
When Dighton thus told on—'we smothered  
The most replenished, sweet work of nature,—  
That, from the prime creation, e'er she framed.'—  
Hence both are gone, with conscience and remorse  
They could not speak; and so I left them both,  
To bear these tidings to the bloody king."

Here we have the whole scene. This is the picture that all painters copy, and when we visit the chamber in the Tower, or recall this touching event in English history, it is with Shakspeare's and not Hume's language in our thoughts.

The same may be said of the ten national dramas, including seven reigns, and spreading over a period of three hundred years. The portions of history which Shakspeare has illustrated are invariably those into which we have the clearest insight, and to which we return again and again with interest deepening as we read.

Of Queen Elizabeth we have only the christening benediction and a fine

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foreshadowing at the close of "Henry VIII.," but what would we not give for a drama by Shakspeare, in which the two rival queens, with Cecil and Walsingham, Raleigh and Essex, Bothwell and Rizzio, were sketched with the distinctness of the Yorkists and Lancastrians of an earlier period? And coming down to the later civil wars, how hard we find it, without Shakspeare's guidance and portraiture, to gather from all the historians and biographers (and they are numerous enough) the same vivid realistic notions of Cromwell and Monk, of Rupert, Ireton, Waller, Fleetwood, and other Cavaliers and Parliamentarians, that he has given us of Hotspur, Falconbridge, Warwick or John of Gaunt.

But we are not only indebted to Shakspeare for clearer views of English history, but for some marvellous delineations of stirring events and portraitures of remarkable men in times more remote. Plutarch and Livy are highly dramatic and picturesque, and yet we rise from the perusal of their charming volumes with a dreamy and indistinct impression of the scenes they describe, and of the characters they portray. There is a haze of remote antiquity which we cannot completely penetrate, and the stately language they employ, while it fascinates, often elevates us above the range of practical business, and the point of view from which a clear insight can be had into the affairs of common life.

Shakspeare, in "Julius Cæsar" and "Coriolanus," takes us to Rome, and gives us the very spirit of the scenes that he animates with real bustling human beings. We hear the mob roaring in the streets, the orators speaking in the forum, we almost touch their robes and feel their warm breath upon our faces. The topics are different, but the men are perfectly present to our senses, as an English mob would be shouting in Charing Cross, or Lord Derby or John Bright speaking in Parliament. His Greeks are just as lifelike. When an Englishman reads Homer, though he is charmed by the rapidity and variety of movement, and by the exquisite skill of the versification, the celestial machinery is a sad drawback. We should take but little interest in a charge of cavalry at Balaclava, or in a fight between King and Heenan, if Juno were to interpose a cloud or catch up a pugilist, when the Russians or the American were getting the worst of it. In "Troilus and Cressida" there are no gods and goddesses, but Greeks and Trojans, so lifelike and natural, that we hear them rail and jest, mourn and make love, as though our own blood relations or familiar friends were conducting the dialogues; and when the combats begin, whether single or general, it is stern, English hand-to-hand fighting, by the heady currents of which we are swept along, till we almost bet the odds, and clap our hands with excitement, as the blows are struck or the charges are delivered and sustained. By the aid of Shakspeare I can see the burly form of Ajax in action or repose as distinctly as I can see Shaw the Life-Guardsman. Hector's plume is as much a reality to me as General Doyle's, and Astyanax, introduced by the Bard of Avon, is a genuine English baby.

But wherever he wafts us it is the same. We revel in the warm air of Cyprus, and drink the Greek wine with Cassio; we float down the Nile with Cleopatra, or stand upon the blasted heath with Macbeth; and our difficulty is not so much to realise the scene as to get back to full possession of our identity, and to be sure that we are not a part of it.

Of the dramas which are not simply historical, but "of imagination all compact," I have left myself no time to speak. But what could I say if I had the whole afternoon? Volumes have been written about them, and the subject is still fresh and new. "To gild refined gold, to paint the lily or add a perfume to the violet," we have warrant for believing "is wasteful and ridiculous excess." All I will say is, that from boyhood upwards these great masterpieces have been a study and a delight. They have won me from the distraction of state cares when these were most perplexing, they have charmed the evil spirit out of me often when I would have hurled a javelin or launched a sarcasm. Their harmonies have interlaced the wildest discords, and lent a silver edging to the darkest clouds of a somewhat stormy life.

Shakspeare's minor poems would form a charming subject for a separate paper. They are less known than his dramas, but are not less deserving of constant study by all who desire to comprehend the whole scope of the great artist's power, or who desire to enjoy the mellifluous sweetness and flexibility of "our land's language."

But it may be asked, of what use are these celebrations? They have many uses. Wherever God, for His own wise purposes, has endowed a human being with great powers, and these have been wisely used, it behoves us reverently to discern and to acknowledge the divine afflatus. It is becoming and proper also that we should offer up the tribute of grateful hearts for the mighty dead whose works live after them. More people have seen Shakspeare's dramas acted than now inhabit the British Islands, and millions, who have perhaps never entered a theatre, have yet read his works with infinite instruction and delight. Is it too much, then, to dedicate one day in three centuries to mutual felicitations for this special gift? The bird that hangs by our casement charms us twenty times a week by his sweet notes to involuntary gratitude to the Creator, who smoothed his plumage and made his voice so clear, and shall we not be thankful for that sweet songster whose music has been throughout life a solace and an inspiration? Oh! yes, ingratitude was the sin by which the angels fell, and if, as a people, we would prosper or aspire, let us not be ungrateful.

If it be permitted to the Bard of Avon to look down upon the earth this day, he will see his "sea-walled garden" not only secure from intrusion, but every foot of it embellished with all that wealth can accumulate or art display. But he will see more—he will see her "happy breed of men" covering the seas and planting the universe; rearing free communities in every quarter of the globe; creating a literature which every year enriches; and moulding her institutions to the easy government of countless millions by the light of large

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experience. He will see more. He will see the three kingdoms, hostile or disjointed at his death, united by mutual interests, and forming together a great centre of power and dominion; bound in mutual harmony and dependence by networks of iron roads and telegraphic communications, and by lines of floating palaces connecting them with every part of the world.

He will behold, wielding the sceptre of this wide dominion, a lady to whom his own panegyric on his great patroness may, without flattery, be applied—

“She shall be  
A pattern to all princes living with her,  
And all that shall succeed. Sheba was never  
More covetous of wisdom and fair virtue  
Than this pure soul shall be. All princely graces  
That mould up such a mighty piece as this is,  
With all the virtues that attend the good,  
Shall still be doubled on her. Truth shall nurse her,  
Holy and heavenly thoughts still counsel her:  
She shall be loved and feared; her own shall bless her;  
Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn,  
And hang their heads with sorrow. Good grows with her;  
In her days every man shall eat in safety,  
Under his own vine, what he plants, and sing  
The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours.  
God shall be truly known; and those about her  
From her shall read the perfect ways of honour,  
And by those claim their greatness, not by blood.”

He will see no barren virgin on the throne, but a Queen whose children are to embellish the courts of Europe, and to whose bright succession there is a princely heir in whom all his mother's graces and his father's virtues are combined.

Seeing all this, and knowing that the races, by whom this throne is upheld, have lived upon his thoughts, and more than realised his patriotic prophecies, it is fitting also that Shakspeare should know that his intellectual supremacy is acknowledged—that, as civilization widens his fame extends; and that, committed to the keeping of an enterprising and energetic people, his memory will follow the course of empire till time shall be no more.

The question of the confederation of the British American Provinces was again in the air. Some of the public men of the Upper Provinces visited Halifax during the summer, and on the evening of August 13th they were entertained at a public dinner, at which Mr. Howe is reported to have spoken as follows:<sup>1</sup>

A race against time is generally a hard race, but a race against Sunday morning at this hour is harder still. Twelve o'clock is fast approaching.

<sup>1</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, August 16th, 1864.

There are a thousand things I might say, but there are only ten minutes to say them in. But I feel there is no man who ought to care less about having his voice now heard than I, for this reason, that in all the leading cities of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and in all the leading cities of Canada from Quebec to Niagara, wherever the interests of British America required vindication, I have been heard. I am not one of those who thank God that I am a Nova Scotian merely, for I am a Canadian as well. I have never thought I was a Nova Scotian, but I have looked across the broad continent as the great territory which the Almighty has given us for an inheritance, and studied the mode by which it could be consolidated, the mode by which it could be united, the mode by which it could be made strong and vigorous, while the old flag still floats over the soil. I am delighted to see such a scene as this, which gives promise that that which was the dream of my boyhood will be realised before I die. The French gentleman<sup>1</sup> who has spoken to-night in his mother tongue—that tongue which every accomplished gentleman is pleased to know—called to my mind the time when I was nearly shot in the streets of Halifax for offering a bottle of wine to a French-Canadian who came down here on public business. Those days happily have passed away. Thank God, the time has come when Her Majesty's subjects, whether English, French, Scotch or Irish, may meet together under the old flag and maintain common sentiments of love and unity, and look forward to the time when we shall make a new England here; not a new England with republican institutions, but a new England with monarchical institutions. I have always been in favour of the Intercolonial Railway. I wish every now and again to see the seething falls of Montmorenci, to see the Indians of Loretto dancing about the silvery stream; I want to visit Canada not once in a lifetime, not once in five or six years, but once a year, twice a year. And I want the western men to come down here to see the ocean, to come down when they have got the fever and ague, and bathe themselves here. The pool of Bethesda is nothing to the ocean, and when they are bilious, and fever and ague racks their bones, let them leave Canada behind them and plunge into the cooling flood. Let them never forget that wealth and civilization and power dwell beside the sea, and he who attempts to found an empire without a junction in the ocean, endeavours to work out a problem with history proved to be impossible. With the territory of Canada, with the rivers of Nova Scotia, with the inexhaustible fisheries, what a country to live in! And why should union not be brought about? Is it because we wish to live and die in our insignificance, that we would sooner make money, rather than that our country should grow? God forbid! I feel it is too late to say much, though there is much to say. I know that the Canadian gentlemen will take in good part what I am going to say. I have always been in favour of uniting any two, three, four, or the whole five of the Provinces. Well, we know the history of the past in Canada; know what division had produced there, and how, under the Divine dispensation, they at last became united into

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Perreault.

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the magnificent colony. There now come rumours across the land that they are going to split Canada into two parts again ; that they are going to reduce that magnificent country to its low status of two Provinces instead of one. Oh, my friends, go back to your homes and say that there is at least one Nova Scotian honest enough to say to you this,—that if you do that, you will commit an act of political suicide, and, although I ought not perhaps to give you the advice, I would rather see every public man upon both sides of politics crucified, than I would divide Canada now that Canada is united. Join the Maritime Provinces if you can ; but, at any rate, stick together—hold your own. Let the dog return to his vomit rather than Canada to division. In conclusion, 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.

When Mr. Howe was subsequently taunted with his advocacy of confederation in the above speech, his reply was that the sentiments expressed on a convivial occasion ought not always to be taken as the expression of mature and well-considered opinion. On September 1st, a conference of delegates from the three Maritime Provinces opened at Charlottetown, P.E.I., to consider the subject of a union of these Provinces. Mr. Howe was at the time an officer of the Imperial Government. He had been urged by persons high in authority to join the conference, and seemingly he was at one time not averse to doing so, if he could get permission from the Home Government. Communication was had with the Foreign Office, and it was intimated that Mr. Howe could not be spared from his work as fishery commissioner. On the day on which he sailed for Newfoundland on H.M.S. *Lily*, the following letter was written to him by Dr. Tupper :

HALIFAX, August 16th, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure of informing you that your name has been this morning submitted by the Executive Council to his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor as one of the delegates to the conference upon the union of the Maritime Provinces, and I am instructed by his Excellency to inquire if you will accept that office and attend the meeting of delegates at Charlottetown on September 1st.—I remain, yours faithfully,

C. TUPPER.

Mr. Howe made the following reply :

H.M.S. *Lily*, August 16th, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am sorry for many reasons to be compelled to decline participation in the conference at Charlottetown. The season is so far advanced that I find my summer's work would be so seriously deranged by the

visit to Prince Edward Island that, without permission from the Foreign Office, I would scarcely be justified in consulting my own feelings at the expense of the public service. I shall be home in October, and will be very happy to co-operate in carrying out any measure upon which the conference shall agree.

—Very truly yours,

JOSEPH HOWE.

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Mr. Howe's promise was to co-operate in carrying out a scheme of maritime union. Delegates from the Upper Provinces attended the conference and made proposals for a union of all the Provinces, and the conference adjourned to meet at Quebec on October 10th. Writing from St. Johns, Newfoundland, September 20th, Mr. Howe observed in a private letter :

I have read the proceedings of the delegates, and I am glad to be out of the mess. My whole summer's work would have been broken up had I gone to P.E.I.

Mr. Howe returned to Halifax on November 2nd, and attended two or three public meetings in Temperance Hall, at which the Quebec scheme of union was discussed *pro* and *con.*; but he took no part in the discussion. He expressed neither approval nor disapproval. Early in January 1865, however, his ideas took definite form, and a series of twelve articles, entitled “The Botheration Scheme,” began in *The Morning Chronicle* newspaper. These were from the facile pen of Mr. Howe. In the first article,<sup>1</sup> after dealing with the distracted condition of affairs in the Upper Provinces, he proceeds :

Now, is this the country for Nova Scotians to unite with, and to whose entire control we should hand over the management of our affairs? Here we have peace and order, everybody worships God as he pleases, and everybody obeys the law. There are no armed midnight processions—no villains chalking our doors at night—no arms secreted—no Fenians drilling—and everybody sleeps in his bed securely, with no man to make him afraid. In the name of common sense, then, are we to peril all these blessings, and mix ourselves up with distractions, the end of which no living man can foresee?

If civil war breaks out in Canada, from the apparently irrepressible conflicts of her secret societies, let the Canadians settle it among themselves. If border wars break out, arising out of raids upon a people with whom we ought to be at peace, or the stupidity or ignorance of magistrates, let those who provoke these controversies fight them out. We have no secret societies to disturb us—no frontier to tempt raiders to commit outrages on our neighbours. We are

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<sup>1</sup> *The Morning Chronicle*, January 11.

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surrounded by the sea, and can only be involved in a national war when proclaimed by our Sovereign, and then we are within ten days' sail of the fleets and armies of England, which, aided by our own volunteers and militia, would soon give a good account of any expedition sent by sea to disturb us. We do not go into financial calculations just now, though we may touch these before we are done.

Admitting all Mr. Archibald's calculations to be accurate (which we are far from doing), we place this argument on much higher grounds than that of mere figures and finance; and we say that even if the bargain were financially a good one, we would not accept it at the cost of internal and external peace—of institutions hallowed by a possession of a hundred years, improved and consolidated by twenty years' labour of our ablest statesmen. Of all the characters of ancient story, the poorest-spirited creature that we know is Esau; but if Nova Scotians surrendered their powers of self-government and provincial independence for the precious mess of pottage brought hither from Quebec, we would for ever after be held in deserved contempt even by those by whom our birthright was enjoyed.

In a private letter to Lord John Russell, now published for the first time, Mr. Howe further developed his objections to the scheme:

HALIFAX, N.S., *January 19th, 1865.*

MY LORD,—Your Lordship will, I trust, pardon me for calling your attention to a subject which is just now convulsing society in all the North American Provinces.

You are aware that the conference at Quebec reported in the autumn a scheme of confederation, which was at first received with some favour, and was sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government, under the impression that it was generally approved by the people whose interests the delegates assumed to represent.

This project has been discussed at public meetings and in the newspapers for the last six weeks, and there is now no doubt that there is a large majority in most, if not all, the Provinces against it. The feeling of opposition has been intensely aggravated by the declaration of the delegates that they intended to attempt to press the measure through the existing Legislatures elected for no such purpose, without submitting it fairly to the constituencies.

If any attempt of this kind is made, I think, in this Province it will fail even in the present House; if the measure is sent to the country it would, in my opinion, be rejected by an overwhelming majority; indeed I doubt if one county out of the eighteen can be got to sustain it.

In England no important change in the machinery of government is made without an appeal to the country. In the United States no amendment can be made to the constitution which is not sanctioned by two-thirds of the members of both Houses, and ratified by a majority of the electors.



Your Lordship will readily understand how our people would feel if their institutions, enjoyed for a century, were swept away by a surprise, without the constituencies, who have worked them peacefully and successfully, being consulted. I hope this will not be attempted, and if it is, that Her Majesty's Government will shake themselves clear of the odium of having committed or commended any such *coup de main*.

I have selected from a number of similar articles, three or four which will give your Lordship, if you have leisure to read them, an idea of the objections taken, in the Maritime Provinces, to the whole scheme. These are :

1. That by adopting the principle of representation by population, the Maritime Provinces will be for ever swamped by the Canadians.

2. That if the Canadas, always in trouble of some sort, and two or three times in open rebellion, should repeat such eccentricities, we should be compromised, and our connection with the mother country endangered.

3. Because the plan of double legislatures, tried in Scotland and Ireland and swept away, is cumbrous and expensive, and cannot be carried out without raising our *ad valorem* duty, which is now only 10 per cent., to 20.

4. That when the tariff is thus raised, but £250,000 currency will be left for defence, a sum utterly inadequate for any such purpose, while nothing is gained by weakening the unity of command and control now possessed by Her Majesty's Government.

We are all willing to contribute our fair quota of any amount which may be required for defence, and I would respectfully call your Lordship's attention to a suggestion at the end of the fourth article enclosed in which Her Majesty's Government are invited to raise the £28,000,000 required to maintain the army and navy by an imperial statute, operating all over the empire, the tax to take precedence of all other taxes, and to be levied on polls or property or on imports. A measure of this kind would settle the vexed question of defence, and could not be fairly objected to by any of Her Majesty's subjects.

I trust your Lordship will pardon this intrusion on your time. I do not personally know Mr. Cardwell, but your Lordship can, if you think it worth while, show him this letter.—Believe me, my Lord, with great respect, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

JOSEPH HOWE.

The Right Hon. EARL RUSSELL.

This is not the place, and it is not the purpose of these volumes, to discuss the charge of inconsistency, so persistently preferred against Mr. Howe with respect to the project of the union of the British North American Provinces. It is fair to assume that he favoured a union of the Maritime Provinces; he had expressed himself on festive and other occasions as favouring some kind of union of all the Provinces; but he never regarded the Quebec scheme with favour. And the adoption of a resolution for con-

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federation by members who had no mandate from their constituents was particularly odious to the seasoned champion of popular rights. Moreover, the imagination of Mr. Howe was early fired with the splendour of a grander union—that of the mother country and all her self-governing colonies—with one Parliament in which representatives of Britons at home and Britons in the over-seas dominions might meet on common ground; and he feared that the smaller union, now taking shape, might delay indefinitely the consummation of his fondly cherished imperial scheme.

In July 1865 a convention of representatives of the commercial interests of the principal cities of the Northern and Western States and of British North America took place at Detroit. By arrangement, Mr. Howe spoke for the Provinces on August 14th. The subject of commercial relations between the two countries was discussed. The existing Reciprocity Treaty was about expiring, and in an assembly, at first hostile to a renewal of the treaty, Mr. Howe, by the speech which we now give, succeeded in having a resolution recommending the renewal of the treaty unanimously adopted:

✓ I never prayed for the gift of eloquence till now. Although I have passed through a long public life, I never was called upon to discuss a question so important in the presence of a body of representative men so large. I see before me merchants who think in millions, and whose daily transactions would sweep the harvest of a Greek island or a Russian principality. I see before me the men who whiten the ocean and the great lakes with the sails of commerce—who own the railroads, canals and telegraphs which spread life and civilization through this great country, making the waste plains fertile and the wilderness to blossom as the rose. I see before me the men whose capital and financial skill bulwark and sustain the Government in every crisis of public affairs. On either hand I see the gentlemen who control and animate the press, whose laborious vigils mould public sentiment—whose honourable ambition I can estimate from my early connection with the profession. On these benches, sir, or I mistake the intelligence to be read in their faces, sit those who will yet be governors and ministers of State. I may well feel awed in presence of such an audience as this; but the great question which brings us together is worthy of the audience and challenges their grave consideration.

What is that question? Sir, we are here to determine how best we can draw together in the bonds of peace, friendship and commercial prosperity the great branches of the British family. In the presence of this great theme all petty interests should stand rebuked—we are not dealing with the

concerns of a city, a province, or a state, but with the future of our race in all time to come. Some reference has been made to "elevators" in your discussions. What we want is an elevator to lift our souls to the height of this great argument. Why should not these three great branches of the family flourish, under different systems of government, it may be, but forming one grand whole, proud of a common origin and of their advanced civilization? We are taught to reverence the mystery of the Trinity, and our salvation depends on our belief. The clover lifts its trefoil leaves to the evening dew, yet they draw their nourishment from a single stem. Thus distinct, and yet united, let us live and flourish. Why should we not? For nearly two thousand years we were one family. Our fathers fought side by side at Hastings, and heard the curfew toll. They fought in the same ranks for the sepulchre of our Saviour—in the earlier and later civil wars. We can wear our white and red roses without a blush, and glory in the principles those conflicts established. Our common ancestors won the Great Charter and the Bill of Rights—established free Parliaments, the Habeas Corpus and trial by jury. Our jurisprudence comes down from Coke and Mansfield to Marshall and Story, rich in knowledge and experience which no man can divide. From Chaucer to Shakspeare our literature is a common inheritance, Tennyson and Longfellow write in one language which is enriched by the genius developed on either side of the Atlantic. In the great navigators, from Cotterel to Hudson, and in all their "moving accidents by flood and field," we have a common interest. On this side of the sea we have been largely reinforced by the Germans and French, but there is strength in both elements. The Germans gave to us the sovereigns who established our freedom, and they give to you industry, intelligence and thrift; and the French, who have distinguished themselves in arts and arms for centuries, now strengthen the Provinces which the fortune of war decided they could not control. But it may be said we have been divided by two wars. What then? The noble St. Lawrence is split in two places—by Goat Island and by Anticosti—but it comes to us from the same springs in the same mountain sides; its waters sweep together past the pictured rocks of Lake Superior, and encircle in their loving embrace the shores of Huron and Michigan. They are divided at Niagara Falls as we were at the revolutionary war, but they come together again on the peaceful bosom of Ontario. Again they are divided on their passage to the sea; but who thinks of divisions when they lift the keels of commerce, or when drawn up to heaven they form the rainbow or the cloud? It is true that in eighty-five years we have had two wars—but what then? Since the last we have had fifty years of peace, and there have been more people killed in a single campaign in the late civil war, than there were in the two national wars between this country and Great Britain. You hope to draw together the two conflicting elements and make them one people. And in that task I wish you God speed! And in the same way I feel that we ought to rule out everything disagreeable in the recollection of our old

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wars, and unite together as one people for all time to come. I see around the door the flags of the two countries. United as they are there, I would ever have them draped together, fold within fold—and let

“ Their varying tints unite,  
And form in heaven’s light  
One arch of peace.”

The most important question to be considered at this great meeting of the commercial men of North America involves the relations which are to subsist between the inhabitants of the British Empire and the citizens of the United States. Before we can deliver a rational judgment upon this question, it becomes us to consider what those relations are now. The British Government controls the destinies and regulates the trade of 250,000,000 of people, distributed over the four quarters of the globe, and in the British Islands alone the machinery in constant running order does the work of 800,000,000 more. Now, in what spirit has the British Government, controlling this great empire, dealt in commercial matters with the United States? It has extended to them all the privileges of the most favoured nation, and has opened up to them, on the most easy terms, the consumption for everything that they can produce, of all those people. Millions of emigrants and hundreds of millions of money have flowed in here, without any attempt, by unwise laws, to dam up the streams of industry and capital. Leaving those of her Provinces that have Legislatures free to regulate their own tariffs, Great Britain restrains them from discriminating, as against the productions of this country, even in favour of her own. Though burdened with enormous debt, and always compelled to confront the military monarchies of Europe with a powerful force by land and sea, the people of England prefer to pay direct taxes to burthening commerce with heavy import duties. Year by year the highest financial skill of the nation has been employed to discover how the tariff could be simplified—port charges reduced—obsolete regulations removed, and year by year, as trade extends and revenue increases, taxes are reduced or abolished upon articles of prime necessity consumed by the great body of the people. I notice that some writers in the west complain that wheat is sent into this country from Canada duty free; but it should be remembered that the surplus of all the cereals, ground or unground, is not only admitted to the British Islands duty free from the United States, but to almost, if not to all, the ports in our widely extended empire. It is sometimes said that because this country admits breadstuffs from Canada, manufactures free of duty should be taken in return. But Great Britain and the Provinces take annually an enormous quantity of breadstuffs and meat from this country, but do not ask from you the privilege that some persons would claim from us.

In three departments of economic science Great Britain has made advances far outstripping in liberality the policy of this or any foreign country. France and the United States continue to foster and extend their fisheries by high

bounties, but she leaves her people without any special encouragement to meet on the sea, and in foreign markets, the unfair competition to which they are subjected by this system. CHAP. XXX  
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Great Britain throws open to the people of this country the coasting trade of the entire empire. A ship from Maine, or Massachusetts, or from any State in the Union, may not only visit and unlade at the port to which she has been cleared, but she may go from port to port and from Province to Province, until she has circumnavigated the globe, the discretion of her owners being the only limit to the extent of her transactions. The Government of the United States gives to British subjects no participation in their coasting trade. Whether they find a market or not, they must break bulk and sell at any port they enter. With her fifty colonies spread over the face of the globe, your shipowners participate in the same privileges as our own. And when I speak of the shipping interest, it must be admitted to include many interests—the lumber interest (and an important interest it is), the industry of the blacksmith, of the caulker, the rigger, the ropemaker, and of the men who work in copper. All those branches of industry are represented and fostered by this policy of Great Britain.

Mr. YOUNGLOVE, of Philadelphia: I would ask the gentleman if the rights he speaks of on the part of the shipping interest are dependent on the Reciprocity Treaty?

Mr. HOWE: Yesterday, our worthy friend, Mr. Hamlin, talked about reciprocity in "slices," and I am now simply showing you how many slices we gave you before the Reciprocity Treaty was negotiated. I assert that Great Britain, with a liberality which would do honour to any Government, has thrown open this whole trade without any restriction. She says to us, if not in so many words, "You are all children of mine, and are dear to me. You are all on the other side of the Atlantic, possessing a common heritage; make the best of it." Your vessels are permitted to run to Halifax, from Halifax to St. John, from St. John to British Columbia, and from British Columbia to England, Scotland or Ireland. They are allowed to go coasting around the British Empire until they rot. But you do not give us the privilege of coasting anywhere from one end of your Atlantic coast to the other. And now I hope that our friend from Maine will acknowledge that in granting this privilege, with nothing in return, Great Britain gave you a pretty large slice. //

The citizens of this country may build in any of its ports steamers or sailing vessels, and clothe them with the character and invest them with the privilege of British ships by registering them in any part of the empire. In peace this is a great privilege, and gives to the shipbuilders of Maine and Massachusetts a very decided advantage over those on the opposite side of the Bay of Fundy. In war, assuming Great Britain to be a neutral, it is a protection. I trust I have shown (1), That the British Empire is sufficiently extended, populous and powerful to be independent of the hostility or fiscal errors of any foreign state; (2) That her commercial code is characterized

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by principles of liberality so broad, as to invite exchanges with all the world; and that, altogether independent of the Reciprocity Treaty, she has granted privileges to this country for which no equivalents have been asked or given.

The Reciprocity Treaty has a special arrangement, forced upon both countries by a long frontier, by the proximity of rich fishing grounds, and by the difficulty of drawing accurate and recognized boundaries upon the sea. I need not enter upon the history of this question, which has been most accurately given by Lorenzo Sabine, Esq., in his very able reports to the Boston Board of Trade. It is sufficient for us to know that for forty years the use by American citizens of the inshore fisheries upon the coasts of British America was in controversy between the two Governments—that every year American fishing vessels were seized or driven off, it being impossible to define accurately a sea line of five thousand miles—that disputes were endless, tending ultimately to the employment of naval forces, with evident danger of hostile collisions and of war.

On the other hand, the Canadians, seeing the great staples of the United States freely admitted into every part of the British Empire, naturally claimed that their breadstuffs should pass with equal freedom into the United States, the greater portion being only in transit to the mother country. The Maritime Provinces, admitting breadstuffs from the United States duty free, and all their manufactures under low import duties, not exceeding 10 to 12½ per cent., naturally claimed that their own unmanufactured staples should be admitted free into this country. They as fairly claimed that their tonnage should be entitled to the right of registry in the United States, and to participate in its coasting trade.

The Reciprocity Treaty was a compromise of all these claims and interests. For the Provinces it was an unfair compromise. The right of registry and to trade coastwise was not conceded. The free interchange of the produce of the soil, the forest and the mine was satisfactory. The right to navigate Lake Michigan was perfectly fair to both countries.

But the retention of the bounties gave to the fishermen of the United States an unfair advantage, and for the free navigation of the rivers and canals of British America no equivalents were given. To the Maritime Provinces the concession of the inshore fisheries, with the right to dry and cure fish upon their coasts, was particularly distasteful. So long as American fishermen were kept outside of a line drawn three marine miles from the headlands, as fixed by the Convention of 1818, the mackerel, herring and alewife fisheries were secure from intrusion within those limits, and the cod fishery within the great bays of Newfoundland was a close preserve, while the protection of the revenue in all the Provinces gave the Government but little concern. But the moment that American fishermen obtained the right to fish in all the bays, harbours and estuaries of British America, the in-line of operations was doubled in length, and the privilege, if they chose to use it, of carrying on illicit trade with the inhabitants of the sea-coast, and of sending goods into the interior free of duty,

gave them facilities extremely difficult to control. A very large amount of spirits and manufactures have in this way been introduced into the Maritime Provinces free of duty, within the past ten years, that it would not be easy to trace in the regular trade returns. So distasteful was this great concession, without equivalent, to the people of the Lower Provinces, that it was denounced by some of their ablest public men as an unrequited sacrifice of their interests.

In this connection it is but right to show that, whether the treaty was fair or unfair, in the working of it the citizens of this country have had advantages not contemplated when it was signed. The arrangement was completed on the 5th of June 1854, but was not to come into effect till ratified by the colonial legislatures. Mr. Marcy requested that, pending the decisions of the Provinces, the American fishermen should be permitted to enter upon the inshore fisheries in as full and ample a manner as they would be when the treaty came into force. The concession was yielded and the British and colonial cruisers were withdrawn. When the colonies claimed the free entry of their products, pending the ratification of the treaty, in return for this concession, existing revenue laws were pleaded, and this very reasonable claim was denied, so that at the outset the citizens of the republic enjoyed the chief advantages of the treaty for nearly a year before the colonists were practically brought within its scope and operations.

Again, when the civil war broke out, one-half the sea-board of the United States was blockaded, and all the advantages of the Reciprocity Treaty, so far as the consumption of the ten millions of people in the Southern States was a benefit to the Provinces, were withdrawn. Assuming that the treaty runs over ten years, it will be seen that for the whole of that period the people of this country have enjoyed all the benefits for which they stipulated, while the British Americans, for one year of the ten, have derived no benefit at all, and for four entire years have lost the consumption of one-third of the people with whom, by the treaty, they were entitled to trade. Recognizing the political necessities of the period, British subjects have made no complaints of this exclusion, but it ought to be borne in mind now that the whole subject is about to be revised.

Let us now look at the working of the treaty, and estimate, if we can, in a judicial spirit, its fair and legitimate fruits. We must confess that, as a measure of peace and national fraternity, it has been most successful. It has extended to the Gulf of St. Lawrence and to the North Atlantic, the freedom and security enjoyed by the great lakes under a kindred arrangement. There have been no more intrusions, warnings, captures—no rival squadrons guarding boundaries not possible to define. This treaty settled amicably the last boundary question about which the Governments of Great Britain and the United States could by any possibility dispute. This was a great matter, had no other good been accomplished, and he is no friend to either country who would desire to throw open this wide field of controversy again. Looking at

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the industrial results of the treaty, any fair-minded and dispassionate man must admit that they have far surpassed, in utility and value, all that could have been hoped by the most sanguine advocates of the measure in 1854. The trade of the United States and of the Provinces, feeble, restricted, slow of growth, and vexatious before, has been annually swelled by mutual exchanges and honourable competition, till it is represented by a grand total of \$456,350,391, in nine years. This amount seems almost incredible, but who can hazard an estimate of the figures by which this trade will be expressed ten or twenty years hence, if this wise adjustment of our mutual interests be not disturbed? If there be any advantage in a balance of trade, the returns show that the citizens of the United States have had it to the extent of \$55,951,145. But in presence of the great benefits conferred upon both countries by the measure, it would be a waste of time to chaffer over their distribution. In the interests of peace and honest industry, we should thank Providence for the blessing, and confidently rely upon the wisdom of our statesmen to see that it is preserved.

Mr. Chairman, let me now turn your attention to some of the topics touched by other gentlemen in the course of this three days' debate. Some gentlemen seem to be apprehensive that if this treaty is renewed it will lead to illicit trade along the frontier. For a long time your duties were lower than ours. Mr. Sabine said he was once a smuggler. At that time he could not carry on trade or business at Eastport and be anything else. The traders on the whole coast of Maine were engaged in the same business, and so were those of Massachusetts; and small blame to them. The smuggler is a check upon the extravagance of governments and the increase of taxation. Any country that raises its tariffs too high, or increases its taxation too far, will be kept in check by smugglers. The boot was formerly on your leg; it is now perhaps on the other. You have been driven into a war which has created a large expenditure and increased your taxation. It would perhaps pay at this moment to smuggle some articles from the Provinces into this country. You are entitled to defend yourselves against it. But at the same time bear this in mind, that one of the main objections in the Maritime Provinces to this treaty was that it gave to your people the power of smuggling. And that power you possess, and may use to any extent you please. Over thousands of miles of coast we cannot afford to keep revenue officers. Down come cutters from Maine with flour, pork, salt, &c., but who can tell what they have in the salt? Why, sir, we sometimes laugh at Yankee notions. One of these is what is called "white eye" in the Provinces,— a life-destroying spirit, with which those coasters deluge our coast; and it comes in the salt. So in like manner with tea, tobacco and manufactures. Why, a fisherman can land on any part of our five thousand miles of coast, and when challenged by our custom-house officers, he can answer that he has a right to land there. The officer withdraws, and the "white eye" is landed. And I tell you what we do to adapt ourselves to the circumstances. We are free-traders, and we maintain our government, have an overflowing treasury and carry on



our public works, with a tariff of 10 per cent. The only way we can keep out smuggling is to keep our tariff so low as to make it not worth while for any one to smuggle.

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Let me now draw your attention for a moment to the value of these North American fisheries. You have behind and around you here boundless prairies which an all-bountiful Creator annually covers with rich harvests of wheat and corn. The ocean is our prairie, and it stretches away before and around us, and Almighty God, for the sustenance of man, annually replenishes it with fish in myriads that can't be counted, having a commercial value that no man can estimate. The fecundity of the ocean may be estimated by the fact that the roes of thirty codfish annually replace all the fish that are taken by the British, French, and American fishermen on the banks of Newfoundland. In like manner the schools of mackerel, herring, and of all other fish that swarm in the bays and trim around the shores, are replaced year by year. These great storehouses of food can never be exhausted. But it may be said, does not the free competition which now exists lower the prices? No. Cod-fish have never been higher in the markets of the world than they were last summer. Herrings are now selling in Baltimore for \$13 a barrel. Thirty years ago I used to buy No. 1 mackerel in Halifax for \$4 a barrel. They now cost \$18, and I have seen them selling since the Reciprocity Treaty was signed for \$22. The reason for this is that, relative to all other employments, fishing is a perilous and poor business; and that, with the progress of settlement and growth of population in all these great States and Provinces, to say nothing of the increased consumption in Spain, the Mediterranean, the Brazils, and the West Indies,—all that your fishermen and ours can catch will scarcely supply the demand. I placed before the committee a paper, signed by two American merchants, carrying on trade in Prince Edward Island, which proves that under the treaty your mackerel fishery has flourished and expanded to an extent unexampled in its former history. Taking two years prior to the existence of the treaty and contrasting them with the last two years, they show that your mackerel fishery has grown from 250 vessels measuring 18,150 tons, valued at \$750,000, and manned by 2750 men, and securing a catch worth \$850,000, to 600 vessels, measuring 54,000 tons, employing 9000 men and securing 315,000 barrels, worth \$4,567,500. So with the herring fishery, it is equally prosperous. I have seen two American seine boats take 500 barrels of herrings, at Baltimore prices worth \$6500, on the coast of Labrador, in a summer afternoon. The net fishing is also profitable. The bank earns and the mill grinds while the banker and the miller sleep. The fisherman sets his net at night; and finds in the morning that a kind Providence, without a miracle, except the "wealth of seas," that standing miracle, has loaded his nets at night with a liberal hand. These fisheries, sir, are sufficient for us all. The French, who are anxious to build up a powerful navy, maintain 10,000 men by their bounties in these North American waters, and it is most creditable to our fishermen that in the face of these bounties and of yours they have been able, by strict economy and hardy

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endurance, to wrestle for a share of these ocean treasures, to maintain their families and increase their numbers.

A gentleman asked: But had we not the right to fish on the banks of Newfoundland before the treaty?

Mr. HOWE: Yes, but not in the great bays of Newfoundland, and along the coast lines, where the people of Newfoundland, who frequent the banks but little, catch all their cod-fish. Some of these bays are twenty or thirty miles in width, and deeply indent the island, being broken into numerous fiords or smaller bays, where fish are plenty. By the treaty American fishermen can now use all these bays as well as those upon the coasts of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. The command of the inshore fisheries gives to your people the opportunity to supply themselves with bait, whether they resort to the banks or fish around the coast.

I trust I have thus shown you, Mr. Chairman, that the fisheries are inexhaustible and of inestimable value; that free competition does not lower the prices, and that your fishermen and the French have special aids to stimulate their industry. But my great objection to the abrogation of this treaty is that it throws open again a wide field of controversy. Who can measure by the eye a mile even upon the land? And how are your fishermen to measure accurately three marine miles at sea even in fair weather? In a fog it is impossible to do so; and the naval officers, who may be sent down to guard our mutual rights, will be as much mystified and puzzled as they were before.

But it may be said you gave us your inshore fisheries when we gave you ours. You did, but they were of comparatively little value. This was the objection that we took to the treaty in Nova Scotia in 1854. Let me illustrate. Suppose a farmer, living on a poor farm exhausted by successive cropping, were to say to a neighbour having a rich soil in high cultivation, Let us save fencing and throw our farms into one. That was your proposition, and it was accepted. Now mark the result—that while your vessels have swarmed in our waters for the last nine years, carrying off enormous values every year, we have never sent a vessel south during all that time, or caught a single cargo of fish on the coasts or in the bays of the United States.

Let me ask your attention to another matter which requires to be explained. Mr. Seymour, of New York, who made an excellent speech in favour of the resolution, took exception to the high tariff of Canada. Now, in the Provinces, our people are naturally anxious to improve their internal communications, and bring them up to a level with other portions of the continent. Yielding to this pressure, the Government of Canada has expended large sums in the construction of railroads and canals; and let me say that for every pound expended this western country has, either directly or indirectly, derived some benefit. But the money being expended, of course, the interest has to be paid, and that this might be done changes have been made in the tariff from time to time. But you have been compelled to raise your tariff, and although I have not the two

to compare, I assume that yours is much higher than that of Canada. Of this we do not complain. Why should you? Both countries must maintain their credit and pay their obligations. I was very much amused by a speech made by Mr. Morrill in your Congress, who assumes that "the magnificent railway improvements of Canada have been made with the profits derived from the Reciprocity Treaty." But Mr. Morrill ought to know that out of about £13,000,000 expended upon the Grand Trunk Railway and the Victoria Bridge, £10,000,000 were subscribed by a body of British capitalists who have never got a shilling in return for their outlay. I was even more amused at the gentleman from Maine who took exception to the construction of the Intercolonial Road. He ought to remember that a very large amount, for which Canada pays interest, has gone to improve and restock the road running through Maine to Portland, and to pay interest to the American proprietors from whom it was leased. As respects the road from Halifax to Bangor, I am happy to be able to inform him that the Governments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have made 160 miles of that road since the treaty was signed, while the State of Maine has not yet made a single mile to meet us. It ought to be remembered that Canada is spending, at this moment, a million of dollars on her frontier. For what? To keep her own people from coming to injure you? Why, not a man would ever come. It is to keep the people from your side, who abuse the rights of hospitality, from injuring or compromising us.

The necessities of Canada from these large expenditures compelled her to raise her import duty. And after all Canada cannot levy a tax upon your manufactures that she does not also lay on those of Britain, so that you may be easy on that point. We are no more fond of taxation than you are, and there is no more popular cry for a man to get up in our legislatures than that of reducing taxation.

Passing from the subject of railroads, let us speak of canals: I candidly confess, that when I came to this convention, I was ignorant on the subject of western extension, but I listened with great pleasure to the speeches made here, and especially to that of Mr. Littlejohn, and I began to feel the importance of the question. But this has been felt in Canada for many years. Has not Canada always been in advance of her means in trying to improve the course of navigation?

I know that a large portion of her debt has been expended in these canal improvements to accommodate the great West, and I know that there is no question at this time which engrosses the attention of Canadians more than how they can best extend these highways of commerce. And let me say, that from what I have heard here, when New York and Pennsylvania and Canada have done their best, and made their canals as efficient as they can, there will be business enough to occupy them all, and the produce of the great West will still crowd all these avenues. The complaint that Canada has given drawbacks and discriminated has been fairly met by my friend Mr. Ryan. There is no

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complaint against the Maritime Provinces, as the Boards of Trade of Boston and New York acknowledge with great candour. Newfoundland takes nearly all her breadstuffs and pork from this country free, and all your manufactures, under a very low tariff. As Spain, the Mediterranean and the West Indies take all her cod-fish, she has very little to send in return. Prince Edward Island sends you barley, oats and eggs, and takes from you by far the largest portion of her whole import from other countries.

My friend Mr. Hamlin seemed reluctant that any expression of opinion should go from this body. When any expression goes, it must go from American citizens. All we can do is to express our individual opinions. It is for Americans citizens to judge of what their rights are. That is for you, and not for us, to determine. But I do not believe that any expression of opinion from any body of men in this country will be looked upon as an interference with the authority of this Government, if I know the men at the head of your affairs and understand your system. I may say that I believe this whole matter may be safely left in the hands of the very able man who presides over your State Department. I have no hesitation in saying, as a British subject, that the manner in which he has dealt with the variety of vexed questions between the two countries, for the last four years, gives me a fair assurance that upon this question, as upon all others, he will deal with these important interests as an intelligent, able and experienced statesman. But I quite agree with Mr. Hamlin and other gentlemen, that in making this treaty you must have regard to the revenue you have to raise. I know that to be perfectly true. You have had a large expenditure, and I entirely approve of the spirit in which this assembly recognizes the duty of the Government to sustain the credit of the country and maintain its obligations. We know you must do that. Why, if you did not, we should share in the disgrace; we should feel, as a part of the British family, that when you had issued your bonds and sent them largely into foreign countries, we should be disgraced as well as you, if you did not sustain them. But I believe that the resources of this country are so vast and varied, and the development of its industry is so rapid and extensive, that you will be able to master the debt, maintain your credit, and deal with your neighbours in a kindly spirit beside. Why, sir, if it was said by your minister that this treaty could not be renewed in consequence of your financial wants, there is not a man in the colonies but who would take that answer. But if it were refused in any other way we would say: "It is not done from necessity, it is not done for revenue, it is done in temper, and is an indication of the feeling which we must endeavour to eradicate." If Mr. Seward tells us that he cannot retain this treaty and have a revenue, we shall be satisfied, and shall live beside you and be good neighbours, and wait until your finances are in a better condition. Now I quite admit the general principle laid down by Mr. Hamlin, that it is not wise to enter into treaties that shall draw large portions of produce from the operation of general revenue laws. But there may be circumstances that will render it expedient to make exceptions to that rule. We

have a large debt in England; but, nevertheless, one of the most signal illustrations of this principle was that great achievement by that noble man whose loss is deplored by all parties, and who was, in all respects, a representative Englishman—I mean Richard Cobden. The treaty that he concluded with France was justified by the public necessities and the importance of that trade. And the exception to the rule in the case of the Reciprocity Treaty is justified in the same way. The French treaty was essentially a Reciprocity Treaty, and has rapidly developed the commerce of the two nations, and has bound with ties of amity and peace the people of two great countries who for centuries thought they ought to be natural enemies.

Among the interests represented here is the lumber interest. Now, I know something of the lumber trade, although the Province I come from is not very largely interested in it; but the Provinces of Canada and New Brunswick are. The gentleman from Maine seems to be afraid of the competition of colonial lumber. I wish I had all these gentlemen on the river St. Croix. On the one side of that river is built the town of Calais, and on the other the town of St. Stephen. They are connected by a bridge, and they have a railway for the transportation of lumber. It is about twenty miles long, and it accommodates the lumber of the two countries. The merchant from Calais is loading a vessel at his wharf, and he has not got lumber enough to make up his cargo. Down goes from the other side a few loads of lumber to make up the cargo, and the next day down goes American lumber to load a British ship. These two countries are thus made one by that reciprocity, and I do not believe, in the case of a war, that there is a single man in St. Stephen who would shoot a man in Calais. They are kept together by this treaty, and why should it not be so with reference to these Western States? If there is more lumber in Michigan than in Canada, why should it not go there? and if there is more in Canada than on your prairies, why should not our lumber go out upon the prairies? Why would any one refuse to the poor settler the privilege of buying the cheapest lumber he can get?

But it is said that there is danger of the price of your lumber being affected by the introduction of ours. There is no evidence of this. The price of lumber last year was very high, and I know that since this treaty has been in operation the people of Bangor have all got rich. But let us reassure them. There are causes at work over the face of this continent that must always keep up the price of lumber. Nobody plants a tree except for shade, and everybody is cutting them down. Many of these States are almost cleared of pine from the sea-board back to the lakes. There are a million of axes cutting down trees, and millions of firesides burning them up, to say nothing of railroads in every section of the country in want of fuel. These are our securities that the price of lumber will never get too low. It has passed away or is passing before the pioneer. Every poor German or Irishman who goes into the backwoods and destroys the timber tends to keep up the price of lumber, and no man in the State of Maine believes that the price of lumber can come

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largely down. But even if it should, is it not better that it should be so? When a hundred logs are thrown into a river, the Almighty furnishes the trees and the means to bring them down free. Why then should we divide the river and the forest by restrictive regulations? But we do not own all the timber in our possession. In all the Provinces we have abolished our alien laws. The American citizen can come and buy mines and timber and land wherever he likes. And I know of men in Maine and Massachusetts who own as much as 20,000 acres in one block in Nova Scotia. A large portion of the lumber of our Provinces is owned by citizens of this republic. Take the case of the river St. John, and you will find that American lumber comes down there paying no taxes, and the whole of that river is alive in the summer with your lumber, taken off our land, and worked by enterprising Americans. If there is an American vessel there, she loads it and carries it to your own ports, or to England; and so the lumber trade, twisted and intertwined as it is, is a trade owned in fact by the two countries.

A word with regard to coal. I was amused at the exception taken to the action of a gentleman from Philadelphia, and at the statement made by some other speaker that he could see nothing but coal and iron. Well, they are very good things to see, and I am happy to say that in Nova Scotia we have them both in large quantities; and we have them near the sea; therefore I have great sympathy with a Pennsylvanian who does not undervalue coal and iron. But let me say this, that I have just done what I never had an opportunity to do before—I have seen the front and rear and centre of this State of Pennsylvania. I have seen there what reconciles me to all the misfortunes that may happen to her if this treaty should go into effect. Pennsylvania is so rich in a fertile soil, so rich in honest industry, so rich in iron and coal, so rich in fruits, and in all that can embellish or give animation to industrial life, that she need care nothing for this treaty. God has been good to her, and her thrifty sons have made the best use of the blessings that have been bestowed upon them. As I passed over that State, and saw her fertile fields, I should have fancied I was in one of the richest districts in England, but for the wooden fences. I visited her great workshop, and I saw a city that has no rival on this continent—a city only matched by three or four in Europe. There Pennsylvania stands in her beauty and power, and she need not fear competition from any of our Provinces. But as with timber, so with coal. Do you think we own all the coal in Nova Scotia? I think not. There is hardly a steamer comes down from New York or Boston that does not bring American capitalists to invest money in our coal.

Now a few words in explanation for the gentleman from Buffalo, who asked me if the Provinces had not received some compensation, by blockade-running, for the loss of the Southern trade, and I answer, certainly not. We have fifty seaports where we maintain officers, and from whence we carry on foreign trade. But one out of the fifty has had anything to do with blockade-running. Now, then, if fifty citizens of this country had the option to do a thing, and

but one had done it, it would be rather hard to bring a charge against the whole lot for the wrong done by one. But who has carried on this blockade-running? Not our Nova Scotia merchants. Has anybody put Nova Scotia capital into this business? I do not believe £5. Then where did the capital come from? It came from your own country, either in the shape of gold brought there, or it came in the shape of bills drawn on the cotton loan in England, by your own people. A gentleman from New York, or Portland, or Boston, or anywhere else, comes down to Halifax and says to one of our merchants, I want you to buy 100 barrels of pork. He buys it, and ships it to whatever place he is directed. Our merchant receives his commission, and that is all he has to do with it. Even in this way I know of very few merchants who have touched it at all. There are a few—a very few—but whether they have made a profit by it I do not know. It has not amounted to anything as a business, compared with the general volume of our colonial trade. I have not been at home lately, but I should not be very much surprised when I get there, if I find that the rebellion caved in so rapidly that some of these bills have not been paid in England.

Mr. ALLEN: I did not inquire from any captious motives. I have no doubt that American traitors are as deeply concerned in it as Canadian speculators.

Mr. HOWE: I believe you did not; and let me say also, Mr. Chairman, that no gentleman from the Provinces has taken offence at anything said or done in this Assembly. We are accustomed to free debates at home, and let me assure Mr. Hamlin that none of us felt aggrieved at his banter yesterday, which we accepted as a compliment to our shrewdness.

Mr. Chairman, I must now touch upon a subject of some delicacy and importance. It has been urged by Mr. Morrill in Congress, and by some people in the United States, that the treaty ought not to be renewed, because it had bred no friendship towards them across the lakes—that in their struggles the sympathies of the Provinces were with the South. Well, if that were true in its fullest extent, which it is not—if you had not had one sympathiser among the native people and British residents of the Provinces, it could fairly be said in response that when Great Britain was at war with Russia the sympathies of the American people were very generally with the latter country. I was in the United States at the time, and was perfectly astonished at the feeling. Russia was at that time a country full of slaves, for the serfs had not been emancipated, and England was at war with her to prevent her making slaves of the weak neighbouring countries. How the American people could sympathise with Russia was a perfect puzzle at first sight, and can only be explained in the same manner that much of the sympathy for the South on the part of the British subjects may be explained. And when the Canadians once had a rebellion within their borders, where were the sympathies of the American people then? Were they with the Canadian Government or with the rebels? You not only sympathised with them, but—I am sorry to have to say it—you gave them aid along the frontier in many ways, and to a very large extent. I

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am happy to be able to say, that during the whole four years of the rebellion in the United States there has not been developed a particle of evidence to show that a single citizen of any British North American Province put a hostile foot upon your soil. Everything of which complaint can be made has been the act of your own people, in violation of the hospitality and right of asylum everywhere extended to them on the soil of Great Britain and her dependencies.

I make those remarks in no spirit of anger or of excitement, but to show how unfair it is to hold any government or people responsible for the actions of a few evil-disposed individuals, as well as how natural it is for sympathy to be aroused in the minds of people on one side or another. In our rebellion, when its attention was called to the acts of its citizens, the United States Government exerted itself to keep them within bounds, and all that could have been asked of the Provincial authorities has been freely done to prevent any cause of complaint against them. It is something to be able to say that during the four long, disastrous years of war just ended, not a single act of which complaint can be made has been committed by a Canadian. Notwithstanding the false reports that were circulated, I do not believe there was a single intelligent citizen of my Province, at least, who did not believe that the capture of the *Chesapeake* off the coast of Maine, by rebellious citizens of the United States, was nothing less or more than an act of piracy. And so of the St. Albans raid. The Government of Canada acted most promptly and nobly in connection with that affair, and has repaid the money which rebellious citizens of the United States had carried into their territory from the States banks. As to our harbouring the rebels and extending to them the right of asylum, is there a single American here who would have his government surrender that right? There is not an Englishman, an Irishman, a Scotchman, nor an American who would not fight three wars rather than give up that sacred right. How many excellent citizens of the United States are in your country at this moment, and how many are there who have helped you to fight your battles, who dare not go back to their own native lands across the ocean on account of political offences? You would not give these people up to their respective governments, and thus surrender your right of asylum; every man of you would fight first. It is very proper that criminals should be given up, and a treaty for that purpose has been made between England and the United States. We may sympathise with political offenders, but not with criminals. When Abraham Lincoln fell by the hand of an assassin, the act was reprobated throughout the Provinces as well as throughout the British Empire. But admitting that a large number of the people in the Provinces sympathised with the rebels, what of that? Did not a very large number in the Northern States sympathise with them? Nobody ever saw two dogs fighting in the street, or two cocks fighting in a back yard, without having his sympathies aroused, he scarcely knows why, in favour of one or other of the combatants, and generally the weaker. Suppose a good deal of feeling was



excited in some portions of the British Provinces, is that good reason for refusing to allow us to trade with our brethren south of the lakes? The sympathy expressed for the South ought to be well balanced by the young men whom you have drawn from the colonies into this conflict. For one ton of goods sent to the Southerners, and for one young man sent to aid their cause, we have sent fifty tons of goods and fifty able-bodied soldiers to the North. The people of the Provinces might lay the charge against you of having seduced their young men away from their homes, and left their bodies bleaching on Southern plains or rotting in Southern prisons. Only a short time ago I met no less than thirty British Americans going home in a single vessel, after having served three years in the war, and having left scores of their companions behind to enrich the soil. At Washington I met with a brave nephew of one of my late colleagues in the Legislature of Nova Scotia, who held the rank of lieutenant in a Massachusetts regiment, with only one leg to take him back to his home instead of two. I met another veteran from my Province, who had fought in twenty battles and was on his way home. In my own family and person I have suffered not a little by this unhappy rebellion. I have five boys, and one of them took it into his head to enter your army. He has now been for nearly two years in the 23rd Ohio Regiment, and has fought in all the battles in which that regiment has been engaged during that period. He was in both the great battles under Sheridan, in which Early's forces were scattered and the Shenandoah Valley cleared. All the personal benefit that I have derived from the Reciprocity Treaty, or hope to derive from its renewal, will never compensate me or that boy's mother for the anxiety we have had with regard to him; but when he produced the certificates of his commanding officers, showing that he had conducted himself like a gentleman, and had been faithful and brave, it was some consolation for all our anguish to know that he had performed his duty. [Enthusiastic applause, during which the speaker's feelings nearly overcame him; as this subsided, a gentleman proposed "Three cheers for the boy," which were given with great vivacity.]

I know that it has been asserted by some, and I have heard it uttered since I came to the convention, that if the Reciprocity Treaty is annulled the British Provinces will be so cramped that they will be compelled to seek annexation to the United States. I beg to be allowed to say on that point that no man knows better the feeling in the Lower Provinces, and I believe I am well enough acquainted with the Canadians to speak for them also, and I speak for them all, with such exceptions as must be made when speaking for any entire population, when I make the assertion that no consideration of finance, no question of balance for or against them, upon interchange of commodities, can have any influence upon the loyalty of the inhabitants of the British Provinces, or tend in the slightest degree to alienate the affections of the people from their country, their institutions, their Government and their Queen. There is not a loyal man in the British American Provinces, not a man worthy of the name, who, whatever may happen to the treaty,—will

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become any the less loyal, any the less true to his country on that account. There is not a man who dare, on the abrogation of the treaty, if such should be its fate, take the hustings and appeal to any constituency on annexation principles throughout the entire domain. The man who avows such a sentiment, will be scouted from society by his best friends. What other treatment would a man deserve who, for pecuniary considerations, should turn traitor to his Sovereign and his Government, and violate all obligations to the country which gave him birth! You know what you call Copperheads, and a nice life they have of it. Just such a life will the man have who talks treason on the other side of the lines. The very boy to whom I have alluded as having fought manfully for the "Stars and Stripes," would rather blow his own father's brains out than haul down the honoured flag under which he was born—the flag of his nation and of his fatherland. I do not believe there is a young Canadian in the American army who does not honour his own flag as you honour yours, and they ought to be despised if they did not. If any member of this convention harbours the idea that by refusing reciprocity to British America you will undermine the loyal feelings of the people of these colonies, he is labouring under a delusion and fostering an imputation upon the character and integrity of an honourable people of the most dastardly kind that can, by any possibility, receive a lodgment in his breast.

Some gentlemen from Maine asked me if we were not building fortifications in the Provinces. Well, after so many threats from Northern newspapers, that so soon as the rebellion has been put down and Mexico attended to, the face of the army would be turned towards Canada, it was not to be wondered at that the mother country should become a little anxious about her children, so far from home, and send out an experienced officer to report upon the situation. The officer did not report any armed force in sight, but reported that if they did come, Canada was in a very poor condition to receive them; and it was resolved to build some further fortifications at Quebec, and there has been some talk about places further westward, but no action has been taken. But what do we see on the other hand? I passed down the Penobscot River a few days ago, and what did I see there? A great frowning fort, of the most approved pattern, looking as new and pretty as if it had just come from the mint. At Portland, also, I observed some extensive fortifications in progress, and have been informed that you are at work in the same line at other points, so that nothing need be said if Canada does invest some money in costly fortifications. But I have no faith in fortifications. I do not rely on military defences:

"We need no bulwarks,  
No towers along the steep:  
Our march is o'er the mountain wave,"

and our homes are in the mart, on the mountain and the prairie, wherever there is good work to be done, and God's gifts to be appropriated. I have faith in our common brotherhood—in such meetings as this—in such social

gatherings as that magnificent demonstration which we all enjoyed so much last night. I sincerely hope that all thought of forcing annexation upon the people of Canada will be abandoned, and that if not, you will seek a more pleasant sort of annexation for your children and children's children. It was a novel mode of attaching them that the people of Detroit adopted in lashing a fleet of their steamers together, and getting up such a grand entertainment, and there was no question that it had a strong tendency to promote one kind of annexation, especially among the young people. Old as I am, I felt the fascination, and as a measure of self-protection I put myself under the wing of a pretty little New Brunswick woman, and charged her to take good care of me until we got safe ashore. I fear I am detaining you too long.

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In conclusion let me say, that in dealing with this great subject, I have spoken in an open, plain manner, and kept back nothing that ought to be said upon it, considering the limited time at my disposal. My friend Mr. Hamlin wished us to "show our hands"; we have done so, and shown our hearts also in all sincerity. The subject is of vast importance to us all. Though living away down east, I take a deep interest in the great west, and I trust God will spare my life long enough to permit me to explore its vastness more thoroughly than I have been able to do, that I may the better discuss the great interests created by its commerce. British America has a great west, as yet almost entirely undeveloped, out of which four or five States or Provinces may yet be formed, to pour their wealth down the great Lake Huron into Canada, and through the Straits, past the city of Detroit, to the ocean, while the manufactures of the United States, of England and of the Provinces go back to supply their wants.

The moment Providence gives me opportunity, I will return to the West and examine its resources, and understand its position, in order that I may lay before my own people, and the people of the Provinces generally, and the capitalists of the mother country, an adequate idea of its importance, with a view of promoting a more active settlement and development of the territory on both sides of the boundary line, for the trade would be as valuable to the world on one side as on the other.

Thanking the convention for the courtesy of so extended a hearing as had been granted him, the honourable gentleman left the platform, amidst deafening and long-continued applause.

## CHAPTER XXXI

1866

Mr. Bancroft's attack on British statesmen and policy—Mr. Howe's reply—Letter to the People of Nova Scotia—Mr. Howe makes a political tour—Letter to Isaac Buchanan—"An Evening with O'Connell"—Pamphlet on Confederation—"The Organization of the Empire."

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MR. HOWE was in the United States in the early part of 1866. He happened to be in Washington on February 12th, when he heard Mr. George Bancroft, the well-known historian, deliver at the request of both Houses of Congress his "Memorial Address on the Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bancroft saw fit in this address to make some unworthy reflections on Lord Palmerston and other members of the British Government, and Mr. Howe immediately wrote an indignant reply to Mr. Bancroft, which he signed "Sydney," a favourite *nom de plume* of his. His purpose was to publish the letter in a Washington newspaper, but he was dissuaded from so doing by an eminent British diplomat, who feared that it might intensify the bitterness then existing between the two Governments. Mr. Howe's letter was substantially as follows :

WASHINGTON, February 13th, 1866.

SIR,—When Abraham Lincoln died the whole British people mourned in sadness and sincerity. The Queen upon the throne, the Lords Palmerston and Russell as leaders of the Lords and Commons, threw into official forms of graceful condolence the universal sentiment of a great people sympathising with the widow and the fatherless in their distress, and with their kindred across the sea smitten by a national calamity. Nor was the sentiment of sorrow or its outward expression confined to the British Islands. In every Colony and Province of the British Empire, wherever the flag of England floated or her drum-beat was heard, the press gave utterance to a common feeling of respect for the dead, and abhorrence of the crime by which the United States had been suddenly deprived of its chief magistrate.

<sup>1</sup> Abraham Lincoln. By George Bancroft. New York, 1908: reprinted by A. Wessels Co.

Sharing in the feelings so universally expressed, it was natural that, being in Washington yesterday, I should desire to pay respect to the memory of the man whose loss you were selected, in presence of the Government and Legislature, to deplore, and whose virtues it was fair to presume that, in some appropriate form of classic eulogy, you would commemorate. I had seen in October the burial of Lord Palmerston, who, without offence to foreign nations, or insults to old opponents foreign or domestic, was laid to sleep in that venerable pile where rest the men who have made our language undying and the history of our race illustrious. It was natural therefore, that, as I had not seen Lincoln buried, I should desire to see a whole nation bending over his grave and hallowing his birthday by lamentation for his loss. I did not suspect that handfuls of fresh mould were to be snatched up and flung in the face of any portion of the audience; I did not suppose that in the presence of the representatives of foreign powers invited to participate in the sorrowful ceremonial, questions of foreign policy were to be treated with offensive partizanship; and least of all should I have imagined that the graves of our illustrious dead were to be rifled of the wreaths which, in all sincerity, we hung there, to decorate the tomb of the man over whom our dead and living statesmen had sincerely mourned. Some trinkets were flung into the grave of Lord Palmerston by a relative who, in his hour of intense sorrow, felt that diamonds were but dust; and I would as soon have believed that an American gentleman could have been found to break the cement and purloin those jewels as that another would attempt to dim the lustre of a great name, on an occasion where comparisons were odious and out of place, and would abuse the privilege of his position in a hall where all criticism and defence were denied, that he might disparage the living and the dead.

I confess that I was disappointed—every way disappointed. I had heard the graceful elocution of Everett, the vigorous and classic declamation of Phillips, the rich tones and blended piety and humour of Beecher; I remember the oratory of Clay and the massive arguments of Webster, and was certainly not much edified when Mr. George Bancroft read for three mortal hours, from a printed paper, an essay which the newsboys had been selling through the streets all the afternoon.

But passing over the mere composition and the manner of delivery, I wish to enter my protest against the bad taste and utter want of candour and manliness of Mr. Bancroft. The occasion was one on which public discussion could not intrude. The hall, dedicated to legislation and to national ceremonials, was closed against every gentleman there, however deeply his nationality or personal feelings had been wounded. In an open public meeting any stranger might have risen, and, claiming fair play from the audience, have, on the spot, brought the speaker to book. Mr. Bancroft knew he was safe from any such intrusion. The men he assailed were not there, the classes he disparaged could not be brought into personal comparison with him; and if there were Englishmen present who knew the difference, or Frenchmen who

could distinguish the covert menace from the fulsome flattery, they were restrained by the genius of the place and by respect for the worthy man whose obsequies were being disturbed by this literary resurrectionist. We held our tongues. It was enough for us to observe that the reader at the desk read for more than an hour in his dreamy manner before there was the slightest applause; that though the political passages and personal attacks were applauded by a portion of the audience, at least three-fourths of those present did not participate in these manifestations, and were evidently offended at a want of tact and taste which they had never anticipated, and yet had no power to control.

There is "a time for everything," saith the Preacher—a time to embody national complaints in official despatches—to reason, to illustrate, to reclaim. All this had been done for the American people with great industry and ability, by diplomatists enjoying their confidence; and behind all this there is the final arbitrament of the sword whenever the President and Congress choose to draw it, and every man and woman in the audience knew that, when drawn, every gallant officer in either service who sat before them would spring to his feet to defend his country's interests and honour. But everybody felt that the last place where grievances should be hunted up, or where unkind words should be spoken, was on Abraham Lincoln's birthday or beside Abraham Lincoln's grave. It is very satisfactory to know that thousands in this city should share and express that feeling, notwithstanding the artful manner in which, towards the close, the speaker sought to dodge and avoid the frank expression of his opinions on the questions of the hour.

I will not follow your bad example; and, while doing justice to the statesmen I respect, seek to disparage the worthy man with whom they have been most unfairly compared. If Abraham Lincoln had his faults and weaknesses, like other people, let them be forgotten in presence of his great services and of his great loss.

You tried to make your audience believe that the English aristocracy despised him because he was a working man. Did you know no better? Did you not know that a large portion of the aristocracy of England are sprung from working men—that Peel's father was a cotton-spinner, that Gladstone's father was a merchant, that Brougham commenced his public life in a Scottish attic—that George Stephenson and Shaw the Life Guardsman had hands and feet as large as Lincoln, and yet were not despised in aristocratic England? Burns was a peasant's son, yet his truest friend and patron was Lord Glencairn. There is not a year that the House of Commons is not recruited, or the peerage adorned, by new men, springing by force of talent and energy to the highest grades of public life from the humbler classes of society. The difference between your system and ours is that, when a man has risen in England he may found a family and leave them for generations above the ordinary casualties of life. This privilege is open to the whole body of the people. Lord Clyde, the hero of the Alma, the pacificator of India, sprang from as humble

an origin (with all respect to your truly modest and great soldier be it said) as General Grant. The Queen gave Clyde a peerage and a pension, and every poor lad in Scotland knows that his sword may win for him the same honourable distinction and permanent provision. I hope your distinguished leader may fare as well, but if he does, he will fare better than all your soldiers who achieved your independence, for whom no permanent provision was made, and whose descendants collectively hardly own as much visible property as a single successful trader in New York. CHAP. XXXI  
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Lord Lyndhurst died recently, full of years and of forensic and parliamentary renown. He was the son of a poor American artist. He leaves behind him his peerage and an estate which may be transmitted for generations. A century hence an American traveller may find all that can illustrate his life—the trees he planted, the books he read, the manuscripts he valued, treasured with religious care on the property he bequeathed; and find, side by side with the works of art painted by his father, the portraits of his sons, eminent in arms or in statesmanship, hanging upon the walls, graceful memorials of the past, open to the people on holidays, and calculated to in-✓  
spire in all classes a generous emulation. A few years ago Daniel Webster stood at the head of the Boston bar, and in the very first rank of American public life. As a great lawyer, a great orator and administrator, he had few equals and perhaps no superior. I remember him well—the space he occupied in the public eye, the part he acted in public affairs. Daniel Webster, in England, would have risen as Copley rose; he would have entered the charmed circle by sheer force of talent, farmer's boy though he was; he would have embellished the peerage with his name, and left a permanent provision for his family. He died, and I leave to those who know the facts to say how sad a contrast may be drawn between what is and what might have been.

✓ You have your system and we have ours. We prefer our own. We delight to see England studded with the palatial edifices which embellish every county, and in which all that is curious and venerable in the bygone life of our country is carefully preserved and blended with all that is fresh and new in our modern civilization; and we know that almost every one of these is a centre of intellectual life and of social refinement. The youths reared in these “stately homes” go into our public schools and colleges, and wrestle for their distinctions with the sons of commoners and citizens. They go into the army and navy, ✓ where a severe discipline equalizes all ranks. They go upon the hustings, where any poor man's son may beat them; or, if successful, they study in the noblest school of eloquence and laborious public life in Europe, to fit themselves for the high duties of senators when called up to the House of Lords.

Of this class were the two statesmen that you have thought fit to scold and to disparage. Both were born to rank and affluence. They might, had they chosen, like thousands of the youth of this country, have given themselves up to coarse pleasures, to idleness and dissipation. It is true that neither of ✓  
them ever split rails, drank hard cider, or lived in a log hut, privileges which

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seem to be highly valued by a certain class of orators in this country. But they were bred to all the manly exercises of England, and a month before he died I would have backed Lord Palmerston to beat Mr. George Bancroft in a canter round the park. From his youth upwards Lord Russell was a student of literature and politics, associating with all who were eminent for freedom of thought and advanced public exertion. At a very early age he gave us a valuable contribution to history; and at a later period a charming biography of Moore, who was his personal friend. For nearly half a century that he has been in public life, he has been the friend and fellow-worker of Grey and Brougham and Lansdowne, of Molesworth and Buller and Sydenham, of Cobden and Huskisson and Bright; and it is safe to say that to every great measure of practical reform, in Church or State, in law, politics or finance, Lord Russell has given not to "his order," but to the people of England, his able and manly support. You affect to desire an extension of the franchise, and, if sincere, why did you not tell your audience that to Lord Russell and his friends the people owe the Reform Bill of 1832, and that his administration would announce on the meeting of Parliament another wide extension of the franchise? But I would shut out of view everything that Lord Russell has done for the improvement of the British Islands, and take the simple measure by which he gave self-government to the outlying Provinces of the empire, and I am free to state that, in conferring upon all our great colonies a more perfect system of administration, and a more thorough control over their own affairs than any State in this Union enjoys, he did a greater service to the world at large than Mr. George Bancroft could confer if he lived for five hundred years. And yet this is the man to whom you would deny the free expression of his opinion on a question of doubtful policy, and whom you would lecture upon the manner in which he should perform his duty to the great country that for half a century he has served with all fidelity and honour!

To compare Lord Palmerston with Mr. Lincoln is to compare people totally unlike in training and culture, in mind and manners, in pursuits and qualifications. You might as well have compared a dray-horse and a hunter, or a smart frigate and a monitor. . . . Lord Palmerston never split rails or floated down a river on a raft, but he was a man, every inch of him, and had he been born to poverty and privation would have met the hardships of life with his characteristic cheerfulness and resolution. But he was born a gentleman, an "aristocrat," if you will, and received from society and the public schools of his country the personal and mental culture they are so well calculated to impart. He had no turn for writing dull books, but he had a turn for making history, for parliamentary discussion and administration of affairs. I have no desire to write his life or to record his services. They are to be found in the parliamentary and diplomatic history of his country for the last fifty years. Called to the highest place in the councils of his Sovereign, Palmerston placed a vast amount of practical talent, of varied information, of ready eloquence, combined



with a plastic power to conciliate and bind men together, without which all statesmanship is often unavailing. I have heard this great man often—in Parliament, where the most appreciative audience in Europe listened with intense interest to his wisdom or enjoyed the classic flavour of his wit—

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“While his eloquence played round each topic in turn,  
Shedding lustre and life where it fell.”

But I have heard him elsewhere—at great gatherings of the working classes—of fellows with as big feet and as horny hands as any that are to be found on this continent; and I have seen them time and again clustered round the orator in whose statesmanship and true human sympathy they had boundless confidence.

Recalling some of those scenes of yesterday, “Oh for an hour of Old Mondego!” rose involuntarily to my lips, and I wished from my soul that “Pam,” in the flesh, could have descended beside the orator of the day, and, hostile and prejudiced as a portion of the audience might have been, ten minutes would have sufficed to mark in everybody’s mind the difference between the statesman who could defend his foreign policy in a speech of seven hours, spoken without a note, and a person who had tasked his perverted ingenuity to defame him.

But you thought proper to discuss in a most disingenuous spirit the *Alabama* claims and slavery question. With reference to the first, permit me to say that it had already been elaborately and ably treated by the Secretary of State, and by your minister to England, and let me add, your ill-natured reference to this question, like all your other references to foreign affairs, was inappropriate and ill-timed. An Englishman is ever ready in all courtesy to pay his debts or to give a reason why he declines, but he does not like to be asked for money in a church or at a funeral. Nobody more sincerely regrets than I do the irritation which has grown out of these maritime depredations, and perhaps few persons more ardently desire that some means may be hit upon, by the very able men charged with the adjustment of this vexed question, to save the honour of two great nations and preserve the peace between them. Wise men, hoping for an adjustment, should desire to calm, and not increase, the irritation. I have been in England seven times, and have often, for months together, mingled with all classes of the population, from the highest in rank to the lowest orders of its various industries, and I deny that there is in that country any desire to treat this country unfairly, to prey upon its commerce or to dismember its organizations. Had there been any such disposition, England and France would have been combined, the blockade would have been broken, the southern rivers cleared, and the Confederate States at this moment would be an independent nation. This was not done because Lords Palmerston and Russell, and those who governed England, exercised a forbearance, under strong temptation, worthy of all praise. Englishmen preferred to mind their own business. They paid during the war fifty times the amount of the

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*Alabama* claims, in the enhanced price of cotton, rather than go and take it; they maintained the inhabitants of their great manufacturing principality by subscriptions, rather than do wrong; and they gave up the trade of the Southern States, to which they were entitled under the Reciprocity Treaty, because they knew that the blockade was forced upon the Government of this country by the exigencies growing out of the civil war. Having done all this, without going into the question of the *Alabama* claim, I can quite understand why those claims have been rejected.

But the English Government should have sympathised with this country, because the slavery question was one of the issues to be tried out by the war. Why? Did the people of the United States ever sympathise with us in dealing with that most difficult question, or show the slightest desire or design to follow our example? Lord Mansfield decided in 1772 that a slave touching the soil of England should, from that moment, be emancipated and disenthralled. Did your free states follow our example? No; they accepted fugitive slave laws, and not many years ago coloured men were arrested, even in Boston, and dragged back to the plantation. In (1833) Parliament voted £20,000,000 sterling to purchase and emancipate our slaves in the West Indies. Did you follow our example? No; but for over thirty years thereafter you continued to import, to breed, to sell, and to whip your slaves, and while you grew rich upon their labours, rarely failed to point to the declining trade of our tropical colonies and laugh at the misplaced humanity of John Bull. In England respectable coloured persons may be seen in society. I never met one at a gentleman's table in the United States, although I have been tolerably familiar with its society for the last five-and-thirty years; and I could not but remark that, in an audience of several thousands, admitted by ticket, or by invitation, there were not five black faces to be seen.

During the war of 1812–15, some hundreds of negro families were carried off by our naval commander-in-chief from the southern plantations, and were flung into the Maritime Provinces. For three years they were maintained out of the military chest and then settled on Crown lands. We afterwards paid to your Government a heavy indemnity for the offence of making these people free. In 1837 they were enfranchised. A few years afterwards they were allowed to sit on juries. Their testimony was never rejected by any court in British America. We have, in fact, practically solved long since, within the Queen's dominions, all the questions about which this country is convulsed day by day, and yet you undertake to lecture our public men for a want of sympathy with the negro!

“But slavery was planted by the English.” Why, all North America was planted by the English; but surely the present generation, who have had nothing to do with slavery for thirty-three years, are not to blame for what people did before they were born! A king ninety-four years old might have upheld the slave trade, and no living Englishman be to blame. Witches were burned by your ancestors, I presume, about the same time; but it would be

## CONFEDERATION SCHEME CONDEMNED

very unfair for me to upbraid you or the New Englanders of the present day with the fanaticism and inhumanity of a bygone age. CHA.

Trusting that you will pardon the freedom with which I have repelled a most unfair attack on the policy, institutions and public men of my country, I remain your obedient servant,  
"SYDNEY."

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The Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT.

On his return from the United States, Mr. Howe published a letter dealing with confederation, dated April 10th, addressed to the people of Nova Scotia, an extract from which is here given :

Now my proposition is very simple. It is to let well enough alone. I am reminded of the inscription on the tombstone of a person given to trying medical rather than political experiments: "I was well—wished to be better—took physic, got sick and died." Let us borrow wisdom from the stone, and not destroy our sound constitution by eccentric innovations. We have work enough to do just now for every man in the Province, in organizing our militia, training naval brigades, building batteries and studying the art of war. If enemies come, they should meet a band of brothers, standing together in unity of thought and design. If we are found tinkering our constitution, and engaged in such acrimonious discussions as this new proposition has stirred up within a few days, we shall certainly present an unseemly spectacle to gods and men. . . .

I would gladly have devoted the remainder of my life to the literature I love and to such employment as Her Majesty's Government might find for me at home or abroad. But I have breathed the air of Nova Scotia from childhood; for a quarter of a century I was honoured with a large amount of public confidence; I hope to rest beneath her soil; and while I deprecate agitation of this vexed question at this time, if it comes I am prepared to meet it, and will cast in my lot with those who stand by the institutions of our country.

More letters followed, and a tour was made of the western part of the Province. Mr. Howe delivered stirring political speeches in Windsor, Kentville, Annapolis, Yarmouth, Weymouth, Digby and Chester, and wherever he spoke he aroused the greatest enthusiasm. On the completion of his tour, he wrote the following letter to Mr. Isaac Buchanan on the Confederation scheme :

HALIFAX, N.S., *June 20th, 1866.*

MY DEAR SIR,—I have just returned from a six weeks' ramble through our western counties, eight in number, and could not find five hundred

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 — the conduct of the members who sustained the delegates was condemned and  
 1866 addresses to the Queen adopted.

The eccentric conduct of New Brunswick is a great blow. But a few years ago she went for a Maine Liquor Law and Tilley. The Governor wedged Tilley out, and the electors threw Tilley and his law overboard at the bidding of the Governor, by nearly as large a majority as Gordon has obtained for confederation. We shall fight our own battle in our own way. If time is given, we will test our eastern counties as we have done the west. If delegates are hurried to England we shall send our own and demand justice and fair play from the Government, the Parliament and the people of England.

You seem to mistake altogether the grounds on which I have taken the field. Though I have never proposed any scheme of union, I have no invincible objection to become a unionist provided anybody will show me a scheme which does not sacrifice the interests of the Maritime Provinces. The Quebec scheme does sacrifice them completely, and the reference to a committee in England is not only an unconstitutional waiver of the rights and responsibilities of the Legislature but a leap in the dark besides. The people of Nova Scotia for 108 years had their own Parliament, and responsible government for twenty-five. (I hold that to deprive them of these rights by an arbitrary Act of Parliament, passed at the instigation of the Canadians, who have never invested a pound of capital in our country, would be an atrocious proceeding, out of which would grow undying hatreds and ultimate annexation. If an honest, practicable scheme of union can be arranged, let it be printed, perfect in all its parts (which the Quebec scheme is not), and, when it has been aired in all the Provinces, let the people accept or reject it. If they voluntarily abandon their institutions, they will sincerely support the union. If tricked and bullied out of what they highly value, they will never be content. When our 400,000 tons of shipping go sweeping the sea with their flags half-mast high, carrying into all the British and foreign ports a protest against the outrage done to them by the Canadians, you may judge how much stronger they will be for the support of such allies.

My course is clear. Old opinions have nothing to do with this matter. I resist the Quebec scheme of government because I do not like it, and the plan for sweeping away the institutions of my country, without the consent of the people, because it is an atrocious violation of legal rights never abused or abandoned.—I am your obedient servant,  
 JOSEPH HOWE.

To the Hon. ISAAC BUCHANAN.

In July Mr. Howe, with Messrs. Hugh McDonald and William Annand, left for England as delegates of the popular party to oppose the passing of the legislation giving effect to the resolutions of the Quebec conference. Before dealing with his work in London, it

may not be out of place to insert here an article<sup>1</sup> entitled “An Evening with O’Connell,” which Mr. Howe contributed to the *New York Albion*: CHAP. XXXI  
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In April, 1838, Sam Slick and I left Nova Scotia for a six months’ ramble through England, Ireland and Scotland, France, Belgium and Rhenish Prussia. Just before leaving Halifax, a friend put into my hand a letter of introduction to an Irish banker named Kiernan, living at South Lambeth, on the Surrey side of the Thames. It was acknowledged, as letters of introduction usually are in the British Islands, by an invitation to dinner. We rode over to Manby Place on Sunday the 17th of June, and were warmly received by our host, a tall gentlemanly Irishman of the old school, on whose venerable, finely shaped head the frosts of eighty winters had descended. His figure was still erect, his manner impressive but kindly. The drawing-room looked out through bay windows and glass doors, on one of those soft, green, closely-shaven lawns (so rare in America, but so common in the old country) enclosed with hedges, backed by evergreens, the myrtle, the laurel and the arbutus, with fine fruit trees spread on every foot of wall, and tree roses and other beautiful flowers in the centre.

We found about a dozen persons of both sexes assembled, whose names I cannot now remember. There were a Dr. Nugent, a young Irish lawyer, a Roman Catholic clergyman, two rather elderly maiden ladies just from the Continent, and two blooming and beautiful girls, Mr. Kiernan’s nieces, verging to that age when, moulded by just restraint and refined by careful cultivation, young ladies tremble upon the threshold of society, which they are presently to animate and adorn.

We had hardly made the acquaintance of our new friends, and taken a stroll round the garden, when we were conscious that other guests were still expected. Our old friend took out his watch once or twice, and at last we heard him wonder what could have kept somebody, for whom it was evident that dinner was delayed. We did not ask, and of course could not know who was to come, and certainly had no idea that we were to meet Daniel O’Connell—then in the zenith of his fame and influence—the foremost figure in the active politics of that day. By-and-by the door was thrown open and the Liberator entered. The first impression he gave me was of the marvellous resemblance of his physique to that of one of my elder brothers. The face was more deeply lined, more jovial and less stern, but there was the same jaunty step, the same broad chest, the same tall and powerful frame. I knew in a moment that it was O’Connell, for I had seen so many prints and pictures of him, and had heard him two or three times in the House of Commons. “Well, old friend,” he exclaimed, as he walked up to our host and took him by both his hands, “I suppose you will say I am the greatest fool in Chris-

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<sup>1</sup> See *Morning Chronicle*, May 17th, 1866.

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tendom." "What foolish thing have you been doing now?" was the natural question that followed; and the Liberator, drawing himself proudly to his full height, startled us all by the response: "I have just refused the Chief Baronship and Mastership of the Rolls, and I had to keep your dinner waiting till I had finished my letter." The two friends then retired to a corner, and chatted confidentially till dinner was announced.

I sat opposite O'Connell, and the two pretty girls sat beside him. It is impossible to exaggerate the interest with which I looked at and listened to this remarkable man on that evening. It is safe to say that no man in the present day fills the space in the public eye, and wields the personal influence that O'Connell did at that hour, and no Irishman has ever wielded it since. Fighting his way up step by step, at the bar, in social life, on the platform and on the hustings, till he had distanced or overawed all rivals—combining in an eminent degree the support of the priesthood, the middle classes, the peasantry, and the mob, and having power to influence, to move, and yet to restrain the Irish people within the limits of law and order, he not only dominated over his own country, but became a power in the state. If Warwick made and unmade kings, O'Connell made and unmade cabinets. At times in conflict with all parties, all parties tried to ignore and to denounce him, but in the end all came to recognize his position and to acknowledge his influence; and step by step he won some right for his own country, or redressed some wrong, putting aside, as he had done on this very day, the temptations of office, spending freely what the people gave him, and dying comparatively poor. He understood, better than any living Irishman has since, what was practical in old country politics. He had slain one fellow-creature in early life, and, in seeking to elevate his country, would consent to no bloodshed or violation of the law. Crowded and poor as Ireland was in 1838, before the famine, the fever, and emigration had come painfully to relieve her—before railways had given increased activity to her industry, it was marvellous to see, as we rambled round the island in the autumn of that year, how hopeful and cheerful the people were. Too many, I fear, lived upon potatoes and politics, but Dan's triumphs were celebrated at every wake—his promises were believed in every cabin, and his jokes made the peasantry laugh around every turf-fire from one end of the country to the other. Even the boys were politicians. "Who lives there?" said I to a bare-legged urchin, as I rode round Killarney on my way to the Upper Lake, and who was to bring back the horse. "Is it him?" said the lad, pointing at a gentleman's mansion a little off the road, which had attracted my attention; "he's nobody. He was a member of Parliament, but he turned tail, and we turned him out."

But to return to the dinner. Here was a head-centre worth looking at and listening to, and I did look and listen, for that evening certainly, with great interest. He led the conversation, of course, but we were content that he should lead it, for his conversational powers were of a high order. He interchanged the gay and the grave so adroitly that while at one moment we

were convulsed with laughter, in the next the tears were standing in our eyes. The orator was thrown off, and, for the two hours that we sat at table, even “Christopher in his shooting jacket” could not have been more free and easy, more impulsive or more convivial. I do not remember what was said, but I do remember the kindly and parental manner in which he smoothed the raven tresses of his young friends, or chaffed them about the sweethearts that I hoped they had. I have never seen them since, but I trust they are blooming and happy mothers, transmitting their gentle blood to a numerous progeny.

When we returned to the drawing-room Mr. Kiernan brought O’Connell across, and Haliburton and I were introduced. When he heard we were from Nova Scotia, he shook us cordially by the hand and surprised us by his exclamation, “I am always proud to meet anybody from your Province. The Nova Scotians admitted Catholics to their Legislature in spite of the penal laws, years before they were admitted to the House of Commons.” This was literally true, although, till thus reminded of the fact, it had escaped my memory. I have never forgotten it since, nor the gracious reception it ensured for us from a person so remarkable. Haliburton drifted over to the ladies, but the Liberator and I chatted for half-an-hour, standing all the time. He introduced me to his son Morgan, took up a number of the *Dublin Review*, and read me, with parental pride, a passage from an article written by his daughter, Mrs. Fitzsimmons, upon Irish novels, and made me promise at parting to come for a day or two to Derrynane, and hunt in Kerry in the autumn—a promise which I could not fulfil, as I had to hasten over from Killarney to Falmouth to catch the old monthly ten-gun brig which in those days used to carry mails and passengers to the Provinces.

Nova Scotia, thus honourably distinguished for her liberality of sentiment at this early period, soon after swept from her statute-book every vestige of exclusiveness, placed all Churches on the same footing, and then opened every department of civil life to men of all creeds and origins. We have, in fact, endowed our country with every attribute and common right which Irishmen profess to desire for their own. There is no portion of the earth’s wide surface on which Catholic Irishmen have more to be proud of and to enjoy, nor is there anywhere they are more prosperous and contented. In all the Provinces of British America Irishmen are welcomed with the same cordiality, finding neither social nor political distinctions. And yet we are told that certain persons in this country intend, on their way to the Emerald Isle, to break into those Provinces, and, professing to love freedom and fair play, to cover them with carnage and devastation. For their own sakes, I trust they will think twice of such an atrocity, and be governed by the sober second thought. They will find in them all a united and gallant people, determined to defend their “happy homes and altars free,” and in their ranks no more brave and determined soldiers than the Irishmen who share their social life and prosper with the development of their industry.

In London the delegates were exceedingly busy, interviewing ministers and writing letters to them and to the press on the subject of confederation. Mr. Howe prepared a paper on the question, which he published in pamphlet form in September. In a private letter he said of this work, which we subjoin, that "I have put my best thoughts into it, and have, I trust, expressed them with the independence and dignity becoming a great subject, and warranted by the relations in which I stand to the Province that I was sent here to defend":

When Prussia overran Schleswig-Holstein all Europe cried shame, and the moral sense of England was deeply wounded. When the Emperor of the French took Nice, in return for the service rendered to Italy, the press of England indignantly protested against that appropriation of territory. However anxious the Emperor may be at the present moment to extend his dominion and rectify his frontiers, he wisely spares Belgium, and does not advance his boundaries to the Rhine. If he did, a bloody war would convulse the Continent, and we all breathe more freely when he yields to the dictates of prudence and moderation.

The public sentiment of England ought as religiously to respect the boundaries and rights of large communities on the other side of the Atlantic as on this; and yet, strange to say, a measure of spoliation and appropriation, on a more gigantic scale than any that has startled Europe, and which for two years has convulsed society in British America, seems to have advocates and defenders here.

The Province of Canada is as large as Great Britain, France, and Prussia put together, and will, if ever peopled, sustain a population of 50,000,000. If her territories were compact, and her frontiers defensible, she might develop into an empire large enough to tax the administrative talents of a Bismarck or a Louis Napoleon. On such a territory one would naturally suppose that there was work enough to exhaust the energies of statesmen for the next two centuries, without their coveting more land, or desiring to interfere with neighbouring communities developing their industry in a peaceful and legal manner on either side.

But Canada is not compact. She has yet only 3,000,000 inhabitants, or about 8 to every square mile of territory. She has an exposed frontier of 1000 miles, with no natural defences for 800 miles above Quebec. Along the whole of this frontier line she is menaced or overlapped by the great republic, with 34,000,000 inhabitants and 1,000,000 trained soldiers who have been under fire. These troops, accustomed to obey officers of great ability, familiar with the art of war, could, by means of twenty railroads, pointing to the Canadian frontier, be massed in a week, and thrown into the Province. Whether, when they got there, the Canadians could drive them out, with their comparatively small force of volunteers and militia, even when assisted by the



troops this country could spare, is a military question which I will not undertake to decide. Distinguished members of Parliament declare they could not; and that if Canada, thus overrun, is ever recovered to the British Crown, it must be after campaigns in other directions, and a successful naval war, in which it is evident that that Province, being frozen up for five months of the year, and having no ships or sailors to spare, can render no assistance.

One would suppose that the public men of a country so placed—so entirely at the mercy of the chapter of accidents, so unimproved and sparsely populated—would not be over anxious to enlarge their territory or increase their responsibilities, even if they had displayed, in the past, a fair average acquaintance with the science of government. Let us see if they can claim credit for much more. From the conquest by Wolfe in 1759 to the fight of Papineau and McKenzie in 1837–38, with the exception of the two periods when the fear of invasion stilled the voice of faction, the history of Canada is but the history of internal strife between parties more or less acrimonious and uncompromising. In the Lower Province the French and English parties divided the Legislature and society, and in the Upper, to the ordinary rivalries between Liberals and Conservatives, common to the mother country and to all the colonies, interminable strife between the Orange and the Irish factions has been added. So bitterly have these feuds been maintained that Toronto has sometimes been disturbed by armed organizations, while at Kingston the Prince of Wales was prevented from landing by an uncompromising assertion of Protestant ascendancy. In 1837 and 1838 both Provinces were convulsed by open insurrections, which were only put down by the shedding of blood, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and of the local constitutions, and by the expenditure, at the cost of the British Government, of more than a million sterling.

In 1841 the two Provinces were united, and it was hoped that the severe lessons of the past would not be lost upon the public men of Canada; but, eight years afterwards, their national antipathies and personal rivalries culminated again in acts of open violence. The Parliament House at Montreal was burnt down, the library containing the archives of the Province and a choice collection of colonial literature consumed—the Governor-General and his lady were pelted through the streets—a society was formed to promote annexation to the United States, and American flags were ostentatiously displayed from the windows.

The Maritime Provinces of British America are chargeable with no such excesses. For a hundred years some of them have worked representative institutions in peaceful subordination and devoted loyalty to the Crown and Parliament of England; and, for a quarter of a century, since responsible government was wisely conceded to them by the mother country, they have developed that system with skill and ability worthy of all praise. Had those Provinces been under the control of Canada in 1837, or had they been imbued with the spirit of disaffection, they would have cut off the troops marching through them in mid-winter; and, in a month, 50,000 sympathisers would have

*Verbeke  
Faction  
in Can*

crossed the American frontier, and British America, in all human probability, would have been wrested from the Crown. Had they sympathised with those who, with the settled purpose of throwing off their allegiance in 1849, got up the *émeute* at Montreal, the complications would have been serious, and the ultimate results extremely doubtful.

Those Provinces stood firm to their allegiance on both occasions. They counselled and laughed at the Canadians, till the spirit of violence was laid and a more loyal disposition gained the ascendancy. But, as burnt children dread the fire, it is not to be wondered at that their inhabitants, sincerely attached to the mother country, and desiring, above all things, the unity of the empire of which she forms the centre, should not be very anxious to place themselves under the domination and control of a people whose conduct for the last quarter of a century, not to put too fine a point upon it, has been a little eccentric at all times, and occasionally perilous in the extreme. ✓\*

The history of Canada, since the passage of the Union Act, has developed a strange antagonism between the Upper and Lower Province, with which the population beside the sea may be pardoned if they desire to have nothing whatever to do. There is warning in the antagonism of races arbitrarily bound together, shaken by incompatibility of temper, till the moment of separation, as in the case of Belgium and Holland; and history is full of examples to prove how indelible are the lines which divide large masses of men speaking different languages, and springing from sources whose original watershed (to borrow a figure from the geographers) has been marked by impassable barriers. The history of Canada for the last twenty years is but the history of one long struggle between the two nationalities of which the Province is composed. At the start the French section had the larger population, but the other had the most influence in this country; and succeeded in securing an equal number of representatives, which, if representation should be regulated by population, was manifestly unfair. But no sooner had immigration reinforced the western section, and given it the preponderance, than the cry of "representation by population" was raised by the Upper Canadians, who insisted, in violation of their own stipulation at the time of the Union, upon having a share of representation proportioned to their numbers, to be readjusted and increased after each decennial census. It was apparent to the French that, if this demand were once conceded, they would be swamped by the votes of the Upper Province, that the ascendancy which they had ever maintained by unity of action would be swept away, and that thenceforward their language, their institutions, their educational establishments, would be completely at the mercy of the majority. For ten or fifteen years this question has convulsed the entire country; and while in the Maritime Provinces representation has been quietly adjusted to meet the wants of growing communities without regard to religion or origin, in Canada neither party would give way, and the battle has been fought with a bitterness and tenacity peculiarly characteristic of the country. ✓

The conflict has been aggravated by another anomalous contrivance which is a pure Canadian invention. In England, and in all the other colonies where her institutions have been copied, a cabinet is formed by a gentleman who leads the Government and directs the policy of the country for the time being, but this simple mode rarely satisfies the conflicting races and rival sectionalism of Canada. For many years they have had two leaders, resting on double majorities, each side of the cabinet responsible to its own division of the Province; and, as might readily be supposed, the consequences have been interminable deadlocks, a great obstruction of business, and an exasperation of the ordinary conflicts incident to a representative system of government often ludicrous and vexatious in the extreme.

From all these complications and difficulties the Maritime Provinces are now free, and surely they may be pardoned if they have no desire to be mixed up with them. Their system is very simple. They govern themselves as completely as any other British Provinces, or any States of the American Union, in perfect subordination to the Government and Parliament of the Empire. They owe no allegiance to Canada, are free from her antagonism of races—from her sectional rivalries—from her dual leaderships and double majorities—from her ever-recurring political crises and deadlocks; and, being free from them, they naturally desire to preserve the great privileges they enjoy, and to develop their resources without being involved in entanglements difficult to unravel, and from which, when once enthralled, there may be no easy means of escape.

There is no reason why Canada should not, whenever she desires more territory, extend herself to the north. She may want breadth, but is too long already. It is thought that she is indefensible—to extend her line of frontier is to multiply her difficulties; and surely it is not wise, looking at her past history—turbid and unquiet as it has been—to extend the area of her distractions, or to allow her to disturb the peaceful progress of neighbours with whom she has no natural connection, and over whom she should be permitted to exercise no control. Her proper mission would seem to be to cultivate amicable relations with her neighbours—to fill up her sparsely populated territory—to eliminate from her political system the anachronisms of dual leaderships and double majorities, to control her Irish and Orange factions, and to fuse into one race, by patient tact and mutual forbearance, her Saxon, Celtic and Norman elements. If she can do all this, and if, controlled by the moral strength and physical resources of the empire, the United States can be induced to let her alone for another half-century, she may grow into a nation of some respectability, although, in presence of her powerful neighbour, and with her long defenceless frontier, she can never be anything more. That she can ever protect or successfully govern the other great Provinces, already organized, or that may be formed out of the boundless territory still subject to the authority of the Crown on the American continent, is an idea too preposterous to require serious discussion.

Let us examine it for a moment by the light of history. The builders of

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Babel were only a little more ambitious than these Canadian politicians, but the Almighty scattered their confederacy, and set His seal upon the policy which bounds human ambition by lines of natural defence and homogeneous populations. Charlemagne and Napoleon aspired to universal dominion, but their experiments are not worth repeating. The British Empire has grown out of the energies of a superior race, asserted by slow degrees on all fields of human exertion with marvellous persistence and success; but the English did not aspire to govern subject communities when they were without a navy, and while their own frontiers were so insecure that they had not a regiment to spare for foreign service. Many people believe that the British Empire is too large. This may or may not be true, but there seems only too much reason to fear that it must collapse whenever the dominion of the sea is lost, and how to retain it would seem to be the question for us all to consider at the present time.

The example of the United States is often quoted in these discussions, and misleads a good many people on both sides of the Atlantic. But how long would the American Confederacy have been kept together had one State been large enough to dominate over all the others—to appoint their governors and senators, as these gentlemen at Ottawa propose to do for us, or had the constitution not grown naturally out of mutual sympathies and sacrifices, but had been forced upon the population by the unfair exercise of the prerogative or by an arbitrary Act of Parliament?

The common perils and gallant achievements of an eight years' war had welded the old thirteen States together—had created for them a new ancestry—had detached them from the mother country, and given them a body of administrators, trained into respect for each other's rights and reputations. They had a boundless continent to occupy. They had no formidable neighbours to disturb them, and they went about the task of organizing the great republic with an earnestness and a deliberation worthy of all praise. The work was a great success. So long as the fathers lived, and while the second generation who had known and loved them were inspired by their spirit and animated by their example, the constitution bore the strain of annually expanding numbers and new organizations. Railroads, canals, steamers and telegraphs then came in and assisted to bind the country together; but in eighty years, with all these aids and appliances, the game was played out; and the same causes, which in every quarter of the old world, and in almost every age, have asserted themselves, came distinctly into view, marking the subjection even of the great republic to the laws which the Creator, for some wise purpose, has established for the government of the universe. It is true that, by the expenditure of a million of lives and of nearly four thousand millions of dollars, the country is still nominally kept together; but when hearts are estranged and interests are adverse, when communities, baptized in blood and tears, find in a great calamity ever-recurring elements of discord and reproach, the time is rapidly drawing on when separation is inevitable, and when new combinations will grow out of the play of the passionate ambitions which the

wit of man has hitherto been found powerless to control. Anybody who spends an hour on Pennsylvania Avenue will see as many varieties of human beings as in Constantinople. A Kentuckian is no more like a Bostonian than a Virginian is like a man from Maine; and every year the distinctions are becoming more marked, and interests are growing up which, while possessed of political power, one section or another is ever tempted to override. Providence may calm the tempest of angry passions which the late civil war threw up, and the republic may stagger on for some years; but the signs of the times do not encourage us to break down a system of government which is working well, that we may try another experiment on a grand scale, without being driven by the necessity that coerced, or encouraged by the accessories that aided, the founders of the great republic.

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Let us see what these Canadians desire to do. They are not, as we have shown, a very harmonious or homogeneous community. Two-fifths of the population are French and three-fifths English. They are therefore perplexed with an internal antagonism which was fatal to the unity of Belgium and Holland, and which, unless the fusion of races becomes rapid and complete, must ever be a source of weakness. They are shut in by frost from the outer world for five months of the year. They are at the mercy of a powerful neighbour whose population already outnumbers them by more than eight to one, and who a quarter of a century hence will probably present sixty-eight millions to six millions on the opposite side of a naturally defenceless frontier. Surely such conditions as these ought to repress inordinate ambition or lust of territory on the part of the public men of Canada. The wisdom of Solomon and the energy and strategy of Frederick the Great would seem to be required to preserve and strengthen such a people, if formed, as it appears they desire to form themselves, into "a new nationality." While they discharge their duties as unobtrusive good neighbours to the surrounding populations, and of loyal subjects of the empire, Great Britain will protect them by her energy in other fields should the Province become untenable; but it is evident that a more unpromising nucleus of a new nation can hardly be found on the face of the earth, and that any organized communities, having a reasonable chance to do anything better, would be politically insane to give up their distinct formations and subject themselves to the domination of Canada.

Thus situated, and borne down by a public debt of \$75,000,000, or about \$25 in gold per head of their population, the public men of Canada propose to purchase the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, larger than half of Europe. They propose to assume the government of British Oregon and Vancouver's Island, provinces divided from them by an interminable wilderness, and by the natural barrier of the Rocky Mountains; and they propose to govern Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland—countries severally as large as Switzerland, Sardinia, Greece, and Great Britain, appointing their governors, senators and judges, and exercising over them unlimited powers of internal and external taxation.

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Truly the public men of Canada are ambitious. Bismarck and Louis Napoleon are pigmies in comparison. Presenting to the world their quarter of a century of internal turbulence and strife—their double majorities and interminable deadlocks—their unpeopled territory—their conflicting races—their high tariffs and heavy debt, and their long defenceless frontier, they have the hardihood, in the presence of the civilized world, to put forward these pretensions—to ask their fellow-subjects in America to quietly submit to their domination, and expect the British Government to become responsible for this hopeful policy by embodying it in an Act of Parliament. Some of them even go further, and desire to see a prince of the blood come out and preside over this new nation.

Let us examine the last proposition first, as it involves not only the peace of the empire, but the happiness and dignity of the royal circle which all are bound to preserve. From the Peace of Paris to the present time the boundaries of the British possessions on the American continent, when once defined, have been respected by the Government and people of the United States; and although, when war arose upon other issues, the conquest of the Provinces was attempted, with peace came the *status quo*, and every year the growing commerce of the two countries offers additional securities for its preservation. In thus respecting our rights, the American Government have had to withstand pressure at all times from those who adhere to the Monroe doctrine. Of late this party has been reinforced in two directions, by the financiers who see in a long line of frontier a certain loss of revenue while high duties prevail, and by the Fenians who affect to have discovered in the Provinces the shortest road to Ireland. Hitherto the Government of the United States has loyally resisted this pressure. If matters remain as they are, I think they will loyally resist it still, and will not, in the face of the world, assume the responsibility of provoking a great war by any attempt to rectify boundaries, or interfere with political arrangements which they have for eighty years solemnly recognized.

But if we begin in a spirit of menace (which has been too prevalent through these confederation discussions) to build up new nationalities, and to plant crown princes beside them, who can tell what may happen? How long will the American people, thus challenged, be indifferent, and how long will their government be able to withstand the pressure? No sooner is the Quebec scheme launched, than we are met by another, far more comprehensive and seductive, to incorporate the Provinces into the republic, and by a proposition sustained by a unanimous vote of the House of Representatives for a repeal of the neutrality laws. These propositions are naturally born of the other, and those who desire to see the two countries united in the bonds of peace should pray that all may be thrown into the fire.

Before we seriously entertain the policy of making one of our royal princes Viceroy or King of Canada, let us ponder upon what is passing in Mexico at the present time. Louis Napoleon, in America's hour of sore distress, thought to build up a "new nationality," and Maximilian accepted the throne.

He has worn what one of the newspapers aptly described as a "crown of thorns" for a few brief years—his Empress is now in France—and the Emperor can only sustain him on his tottering throne by risking an expensive and bloody war with a very doubtful issue. Will he do this? We shall see. But come what will, enough is already known to warn us from repeating the imperial blunder at the instance of certain purblind Canadian politicians, who certainly have an original way of manifesting their attachment to the Sovereign by overwhelming her family with humiliation and disgrace.

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Turning to the equally absurd proposition, that Canada should be aided by a British guarantee to enable her to purchase and govern the Hudson's Bay Company's territory, and that she should be permitted to extend her authority over the organized Provinces on the Pacific, with power to assume their revenues, appoint their governors, judges and senators, and tax them internally and externally, the idea is simply preposterous and absurd. Suppose that France, with her thirty-seven millions of people, were to propose to extend her frontier line and her responsibilities over two thousand additional miles. Suppose the people at the Cape were to propose to govern half of Africa, or that New Zealand, having enough to do with her Maoris, were to develop the not very laudable ambition to control the revenues, appointments and public affairs of Mauritius and Ceylon. Either of these suggestions would be received by an universal burst of ridicule in Europe, and yet, strange to say, the Canadian proposition, in gross ignorance of its monstrosity or in utter indifference to the subject, was received with general favour.

Anybody who looks at the map of British America, and intelligently searches its geographical features in connection with its past record and present political condition, will perceive that it naturally divides itself into four great centres of political power and radiating intelligence. The Maritime Provinces, surrounded by the sea: three of them insular, with unchangeable boundaries, with open harbours, rich fisheries, abundance of coal, a homogeneous population, and within a week's sail of the British Islands, form the first division; and the Ashburton Treaty, which nearly severed them from Canada, defines its outlines and proportions. These Provinces now govern themselves, and do it well, and Canada has no more right to control or interfere with them than she has to control the Windward Islands or Jamaica. These Provinces have developed commercial enterprise and maritime capabilities with marvellous rapidity. Three of them can be held while Great Britain keeps the sea. Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island are surrounded by it, and the narrow isthmus of fourteen miles which connects Nova Scotia with the mainland can be easily fortified and can be enfiladed by gunboats on either side. But what is more, these Provinces can help Great Britain to preserve her ascendancy on the ocean. While far-seeing members of the House of Commons are inquiring into the causes which diminish the number of her sailors and increase the difficulty of manning her fleet, is it not strange that the great nursery for seamen which our Maritime Provinces present should be entirely overlooked,

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and that flippant writers should desire to teach 60,000 hardy seafaring people to turn their backs upon England and fix their thoughts upon Ottawa ; and should deliberately propose to disgust them by breaking down their institutions and subjecting them to the arbitrary control of an inland population, frozen up nearly half the year, and who are incapable of protecting them by land or sea.

Referring to the statistics of trade and commerce, it will be found that Nova Scotia employs 19,637 mariners and fishermen ; Newfoundland, 38,578 ; and Prince Edward Island, 2113. Nova Scotia alone owns 400,000 tons of shipping.

Here are colonies within seven days' steaming of these shores, floating the flag of England over a noble mercantile marine, and training 60,000 seamen and fishermen to defend it, and yet the House of Commons is to be asked to allow some gentlemen in Ottawa to draw these people away from the ocean, which for their own and the general security of the empire they are required to protect, that their hearts may be broken and their lives wasted on interminable frontiers incapable of defence. Parliament, it is hoped, will think twice about this proposition, and of the scheme for launching a prince of the blood into a sea of troubles for the glorification of the Canadians.

Canada forms the second division of British America, in order of sequence as we ascend from the Atlantic. It is a fine country, with great natural resources, and may develop into some such nation as Poland or Hungary. Hemmed in by icy barriers at the north, and by a powerful nation on the south, shut out from deep-sea navigation for nearly half the year, with two nationalities to reconcile, and no coal, who will predict for her a very brilliant destiny, at least for many years to come? The best she can do is to be quiet, unobtrusive, thrifty, provoking no enmities, and not making herself disagreeable to her neighbours, or increasing the hazards which her defence involves, by any premature aspirations to become a nation, for which status at present she is totally unprepared.

Between Canada and the Rocky Mountains, and divided from her by a belt of comparatively sterile country, lies a magnificent region, which is a standing reproach to the British Government and a blot upon our civilization. The republicans have shown their appreciation of the value of this territory by providing, in General Banks' bill, that it shall be organized at once into two territories, and presently into two States of the Union. What has England ever done with it? While the Government of the United States has, within the past half-century, formed out of their great west one noble State after another, which have become the granaries of Europe, the Government of England, having a west of great extent and fertility, have done nothing national or statesmanlike with it ; but have allowed it to be locked up as a hunting-ground, for the exclusive benefit of a fur company, who, monopolizing the consumption of Indian tribes reduced to a state of subjection akin to slavery, have maintained to this hour, in the face of the free ideas and advancing



civilization of Europe and America, a job so gigantic that men stand aghast when they contrast the unpeopled wilderness which these persons have got to show with the noble States, populous cities and waving cornfields on the other side of the line.

Two or three years ago, when attention was sternly called to the condition of this country, there was a movement among the dry bones about Fenchurch Street, and we heard of roads to be opened, telegraphs to be built, and colonization to be promoted. But what was done? The stock was watered, and some £1,500,000 added to the nominal capital of the company, by which some persons made, and others probably lost, a large sum of money; some telegraph wire was sent out, which rusts in the wilderness, and there the matter ended,—the few active spirits within the company, who already see the advancing wave of indignation which is to sweep away their monopoly, and desire to people the land, being controlled by those who are determined to do nothing but kill wild animals and make enormous profits out of poor Indians.

The Canadian remedy for all this is characteristic of the country. Some of her public men say this territory belongs to us because our fathers hunted in it long since, but this plea would but confirm the Indian's title who hunted in it long before, or the Hudson's Bay Company's title, who have been hunting in it ever since. This plea is untenable, and though often challenged by the company the Canadians have shrunk from attempting to make it good in any court of justice or before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Failing to establish a title, the Canadians at one time proposed to buy the company out, with the consent and under the guarantee of the British Government, and to annex the country to Canada. Fortunately this policy also failed, for two good reasons—that the Canadians had no money, and that the parties could not agree about the price. So far the country has been saved for wiser and better purposes than to be transferred from one description of thralldom to another. If it is to be ruled and governed by a distant authority, it does not much matter whether the seat of government is in London or in Ottawa. If the territory is not to be treated as national property and the people it contains as British subjects, then let it remain as a hunting-ground, till the people of Minnesota and Montana break in and take it from us, which they will do if it is not speedily organized. Above all things, do not let it be annexed to Canada, to weaken that Province by another thousand miles of frontier, and to multiply her perplexities an hundred-fold. Fancy a country in Europe as large as England, France and Prussia, with only eight people to the square mile, and a debt of \$25 per head, wanting to purchase another country as large as Russia, and then gauge if you can the measure of scorn and ridicule with which the proposition would be received.

Now, what ought to be done with this noble country? What, if we remember right, Lord Lytton proposed to do with it long since—it should be organized and opened for occupation without delay. There are 10,000 people in the settlements around Selkirk, many of them intelligent, public-spirited

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and experienced. A Governor and Council, responsible to the Colonial Office, and not to the company, should be appointed, and the Queen's authority should be established as a protection to the spirit of development which would be at once evolved. Let ample boundaries be assigned to the new Province, and freedom of trade and of settlement be at once established, the Governor being empowered whenever it contains 100,000 inhabitants to call a representative assembly, and allow the people to govern themselves. If these measures are adopted, there will be more life, improvement and activity infused into the country in a single year than the Hudson's Company have infused into it in a century. In less than ten years Selkirk will probably be a Province as populous as New Brunswick, with its own Legislature, and its own revenues amply sufficient to maintain it ; and by that time we may organize another, as population passes westward, attracted by a virgin soil, fine timber, and mines, the value of which, at the present moment, no man can estimate. But it may be asked who is to protect these new Provinces ? They will protect themselves if their people are wise and prudent. A just and generous policy will make the Indian tribes their friends and customers ; and if they make no raids across the frontier, harbour no enemies, and give no offence, the neighbouring States of Minnesota and Montana, secure of a large participation in their growing trade, will rejoice in their prosperity, and gladly establish with them the same sound commercial intercourse which now makes Massachusetts and Nova Scotia, Maine and New Brunswick almost one ; though nowhere, perhaps, are love of country, and loyalty to the institutions the populations prefer, more distinctly marked.

The Provinces on the Pacific side of the Rocky Mountains form the fourth great natural division of British America. They are full of resources, and with a healthy climate, coal in abundance, gold mines, rich fisheries, fine timber and a fertile soil, they must prosper with any kind of good management. They will remain British so long as England can keep the sea. They have no natural connection with Canada, or the Rocky Mountains were a mistake ; but the " vaulting ambition " of certain people about Ottawa easily overlaps a couple of thousand miles of wilderness or a range of mountains, and would disregard the natural outlines of creation with an audacity which in Europe would be denounced as a wilful temptation of Providence. Fortunately their power is not equal to their ambition ; and the Pacific Provinces, like all the others, will be left to govern themselves within the orbits assigned to them by British interests and imperial regulations, until the period arrives for a general break-up, when the British Provinces and the American States on the Pacific will perhaps unite and form one great English community, preserving friendly relations, it is hoped, with the nations from which they sprung.

Turning again to the Maritime Provinces on the Atlantic sea-board, we discern the nearest and most available allies that these islands have, whenever (and may the time be very remote) they are forced into a great naval war. France knows the value of the North Atlantic as a training school for seamen,

and for 300 years she has cultivated it with a persistent and enlightened national policy. Even after her hold upon the continent was severed by the fall of Louisburg and Quebec, she stipulated for the occupancy of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and for certain rights of fishery upon the west coast of Newfoundland. By a liberal expenditure in bounties and a rigid system of enrolment, she has now built up on two barren islands a prosperous mercantile community. Without raising the legal question of exclusive occupancy, she maintains, by the frequent visits of her men-of-war, and by the passive resistance of numbers, something like an ascendancy on what is called "the French shore," while the banks swarm with her fishing craft, whose bulwarks stretch for many hundreds of miles. By these means France employs every summer 10,000 men on the banks and shores of Newfoundland: this is the naval reserve which makes her formidable upon the ocean. Looking to the apparent decline in the number and efficiency of seamen in these islands, which some members of Parliament have recently pointed out, she would indeed be formidable had not our noble Provinces in the North Atlantic, without bounties or encouragement of any kind, developed maritime capabilities that excite "our special wonder," and out of all proportion to any interest, strange to say, which the subject has ever excited in the mother country. In the event of a war with France, either Nova Scotia with her 40,000, or Newfoundland with her 38,000, hardy seamen, would, if furnished with gunboats, sweep these 10,000 Frenchmen off the ocean in a single summer, and then come home to guard the coasts of England till the war was over. And yet we are asked to break down the institutions which have fostered this naval reserve, and animated it with a spirit of loyalty and devotion not to be surpassed on the coasts of Hampshire or of Sussex. Whatever the colonists feel, this is a question of vital imperial policy; and when Her Majesty's ministers are asked to transfer the government of these 60,000 mariners from England to Canada—from the sea-board where it may be guarded, to Ottawa where it cannot—from the open harbours that our ironclads can enter at all seasons of the year, to an icy region hundreds of miles above tide water, inaccessible by our navy in summer, and in winter sealed by frost, the question should be answered by the cabinet with a firmness commensurate with its magnitude and importance. +

But is there any necessity for a hasty and unwise decision of this question? None whatever. If judiciously treated in this country, it would have settled itself long since. What are the facts? In 1862 a conference was held at Quebec to discuss various topics of intercolonial interest, and at that conference, representatives from the Governments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick being present with the whole Canadian cabinet, it was decided unanimously, in presence of the great difficulties which beset the question of colonial union, that any discussion of the subject was premature and could be followed by no good result. ✓ ⊗

In 1864 a conference was held at Charlottetown to consider the smaller and much less complicated question of a legislative union of the Maritime Provinces ✓ ⊗

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only. If permitted to continue and close their deliberations without intrusion, that conference would probably have simplified the commercial and financial arrangements of those Provinces, though it is not at all probable that they would have consented to give up the independent governments and legislatures under which they had so long lived and prospered in harmony and good neighbourhood. In an evil hour certain Canadian gentlemen appeared upon the scene, and, from that time to the present, all British America has been thrown into admired disorder.

It appears that the antagonism of races, of dual leaderships, and double majorities, already described, had about this time produced a deadlock of unexampled tenacity. Dissolutions and reconstructions had been tried, and still the House was nearly divided, and the rival politicians were at their wits' end. Neither would give way or yield anything for the good of the country, but at last they bethought them that the Maritime Provinces might be used as make-weights to relieve their embarrassments. When Herod and Pilate coalesced there was a sacrifice, and when Mr. Galt and Mr. Brown after years of personal bitterness and malignant vituperation consented to clasp hands, it was with the understanding that the Lower Provinces, which had had nothing to do with their disputes, were to be sacrificed to illustrate their reconciliation.

But we are avenged. Swift retribution has overtaken those who formed that coalition. Mr. Brown was wedged out of the cabinet last winter, and now it appears that Mr. Galt has been compelled to resign by a new manifestation of the religious rivalry and national antagonisms which are the peculiar elements of discord in that unquiet region.

The coalition once formed, no time was lost in carrying out the policy upon which it was based. Delegates were sent to Charlottetown, and the quiet conference going on there was broken up. A new one, on a larger scale, was initiated under the auspices of the Governor-General at Quebec. After three weeks of light labour and "exhaustive festivities," what is called "the Quebec scheme" of confederation was produced. So far, the Imperial Government had had nothing to do with the matter, but in accepting this new scheme of confederation, growing out of nothing but the political necessities of a single Province, and before it had been ratified by the legislatures or people of any of the others, they committed a grave indiscretion, with the best intentions, no doubt, and naturally misled by the apparent unanimity of the conference. The press and Parliament, and public men of England, knowing little of the question, and perhaps caring less, were also for a time misled by the action of the Government, and by the plausible statements of some of the Canadian ministers, who rushed over here to forestall public opinion. It is time that all parties were undeceived. The case of the Maritime Provinces has never been presented to the Parliament and people of England, nor has this question ever been discussed except from the Canadian standpoint, and never in relation to the great interests which should largely influence its decision, the good faith of the Crown and the dignity and security of the empire.

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There were in this country two or three classes of persons prepared to receive this proposition with special favour. There were first the anti-colonial school of politicians, who desire to pollard the British oak—who believe that England would be richer, stronger, happier, if all her outlying provinces were given away; if Australia belonged to France—India to Russia; if the West Indies were black republics; if the other half of the American continent were quietly handed over to the United States; and if the millions of people who now feed their commerce were permitted to drift about into new political alliances and hostile commercial combinations. These people thought that confederation meant separation, and were disposed, like Moore's French Cupid, "to plot us off and then bid us good-bye."

Then certain persons in the manufacturing towns had been disgusted with the high duties which Canada had imposed on British productions. They were angry, and did not stay to reflect that if Canada were in error the Maritime Provinces ought not to be punished for her fault, seeing that they had never followed her example. British manufactures are admitted into them all under light revenue duties. They all have an interest in fostering equitable commercial relations with the whole empire, and with foreign countries, far transcending any interest they may have in the consumption of three millions of people in a more inland country, which their vessels cannot approach for nearly half the year.

But the English manufacturers did not stay to reflect that by handing over nearly a million of good customers to the Canadians they were doing a palpable injustice to themselves, and to the colonists besides. Up to this hour it is doubtful whether a Canadian can be found who has invested a pound in Nova Scotia, cleared a farm, built a ship, opened a mine, or expended sixpence in the defence of the country. The expenses of its early colonization and of its protection have been paid by England; and from this country, and not from Canada, came the emigrants, the capital and the credit which from time to time have stimulated its enterprise and quickened its industry. Why then should Nova Scotia take blankets, broadcloth, crockery-ware or cutlery from Canada duty free, but tax the manufactures of Lancashire, Staffordshire, and Yorkshire? And yet this is just what these cunning Canadians are at; and, strange to say, the free traders of England, who abhor discriminating duties, and will not permit any of the colonies to impose them, even for their own advantage, are quietly permitting one British colony to swing four others out of the fiscal system and common obligations of the empire, that they may monopolize their consumption, and discriminate against the manufacturing industry of England and in favour of their own.

Again, after a struggle of unexampled energy and duration, the Corn Laws of England were abolished. In the wisdom of that policy, at the present moment, perhaps all parties in this country concur; and the American commissioners, appointed by the Secretary of the United States, acknowledge its soundness when they say, that to give the producer his food free of duty is to

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give him the benefit of the most subtle form of protection which can be devised. He would be a bold man who would stand up in the English Parliament and move to impose a duty on the importation of flour. Yet the Parliament of Canada, at the suggestion of Mr. Galt, has just imposed a duty of half-a-dollar per barrel upon flour, nominally to punish the Americans for impositions equally absurd, but in reality to quietly establish a Corn Law for the benefit of Canada at the expense of the Maritime Provinces. Those Provinces, having a large portion of their population employed in lumbering, mining, shipbuilding, and navigation, annually import 800,000 barrels of flour more than they produce. They pay for this with fish, lumber, coal, gypsum, grindstones, new ships, and other exports, for which they find a market abroad, a very small proportion of the whole being purchased by the Canadians; and yet, if the people of England do not stamp the policy with indignant reprobation, and protect the Maritime Provinces from these retrograde politicians in the rear, they will probably be taxed to the extent of \$400,000 a year, which tax must fall upon our shipwrights and our freights before we can send a vessel to England, and increase the cost of living to our fishermen, gallantly making their way, by hardihood and thrift, against the unfair competition produced by the bounties of the United States and France. These questions have never been understood over here, but they shall be; and when they are, there is not a manufacturer, a free trader, or a sound-thinking lover of fair play, in either of the three kingdoms, who will not interfere to protect the Maritime Provinces from this Canadian Corn Law.

Unfortunately there is a third class of persons in England, not numerous perhaps, but highly respectable and sufficiently influential, who, painfully interested in the throes and eccentricities of Canada, are too much inclined to favour anything which may be calculated to restore her to financial soundness and give buoyancy to stocks fearfully depreciated. Meetings are annually held in London, at which a body of very worthy persons, who have invested £10,000,000 or £15,000,000 in certain enterprises connected with Canada, debate for a whole afternoon the very interesting question of how they can get their money back again. Judging by the share-list, this is still an interesting question; and it is to be feared that, despairing of relief from other quarters, it is sometimes assumed that if the productive revenues of the Maritime Provinces could be flung into the empty treasury of Canada, in which, for ten years, there has been but one surplus, and that if the British Government would throw three or four millions into the country, for any object and at anybody's expense, their prospect of dividends might be improved. There are high-minded men connected with those organizations, too discriminating and too just to be swayed by such considerations; but there are probably others suffering from that sickness of heart which hope deferred produces, who would gladly make the Maritime Provinces, that have had nothing to do with their disappointments and their sufferings, pay the penalty of their own want of foresight. But this would be most unfair. Those Provinces have honestly borrowed, on the credit of their

public works. They pay the interest promptly every half-year, and just as fast as capital accumulates, seeking permanent investment, their bonds are purchased by their own people, and will speedily disappear from the English market, unless there be some financial blundering, from which it is hoped they may be guarded by ordinary sagacity and circumspection.

The noblemen and gentlemen who were members of the last administration are, of course, committed to this scheme. But let us hope that they are not too old to unlearn errors, or so unpatriotic as to persist in a line of policy that can no longer be defended; and that they will not lightly value the pledged faith of England to loyal and devoted communities, who have done no wrong; nor, in the face of such petitions as have been sent here from Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, attempt to sacrifice those Provinces at the shrine of Canadian ambition, without regard to the forms which in all free countries protect from rash innovations institutions which the people value.

But it may be asked, do not the Maritime Provinces desire this union? and, if the question includes the Quebec scheme of confederation, it is soon answered. Every one of them rejected it with a unanimity and decision not to be misunderstood. In Prince Edward Island, both branches of the Legislature being elective, but five members could be got to vote for it. In Newfoundland it was condemned by the people at the polls. In Nova Scotia the leader of the Government was compelled to come down to the House and declare it "impracticable"; and in New Brunswick the electors, animated by the instinct of self-preservation, rushed to the polls, swept the delegates aside, and trampled it under their feet. Here the matter would have rested had all the Provinces been treated with the justice and impartiality to which they were entitled. It is the pride and boast of Englishmen that in their pure courts the humblest persons and the most exalted stand on an equal footing. A judge would be disgraced and a juror perjured, if the number of acres or the rank or position of individuals were to influence the verdict. Between corporate bodies in this country the rigid rule of strict and impartial justice is invariably preserved. London cannot oppress York, or Manchester Oldham; and hence it is that while every man's personal rights are secure, every man's corporate privileges, till laches, corruption or abuse works forfeiture, are respected. If asked to-morrow what it is that binds this empire together stronger than ironclads, the prompt answer would be, the all-pervading reliance of the people everywhere upon the pledged faith of the Crown, and on the justice and impartiality of the imperial Parliament. When franchises were conferred upon the people of the Maritime Provinces, and legislatures given to them, these could only be yielded up by voluntary consent, or be forfeited by misconduct. When self-government was conceded, it could never afterwards be withdrawn, unless upon ample proof, elicited by legal forms or deliberate parliamentary inquiry, that it has been grossly abused. Even the colonial legislators themselves, entrusted for a definite time with limited powers and sacred trusts, could not strip the people of their rights without their own consent, or transfer to others the power of

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legislation, any more than the aldermen of London could annihilate the constitution which limits their sphere of action, or than the common councillors of Bath could transfer the government of that city to Bristol.

If these rules guard securely every petty corporation in the kingdom, surely they should be applied with equal stringency to the protection of great Provinces, exercising, in due subordination to imperial authority, and with all loyalty and affection to their mother country, the high powers of legislation and internal self-government. Until the people of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland forfeit, by corruption or abuse, the privileges conferred, or voluntarily relinquish them, they cannot be reclaimed by the Crown or swept away by Parliament without a breach of faith; nor can they be transferred by the local legislatures, any more than an estate can be transferred by trustees whose powers are limited in the deed by which the trust has been created.

Unfortunately these plain principles of legal construction and constitutional law have, in dealing with the Maritime Provinces, been strangely overlooked. When all the parties to the Quebec scheme of confederation found that they had made an egregious blunder, they should have abandoned the project and left the Provinces in peace; and, above all, the Government of England should have withdrawn from a controversy into which, for no imperial objects, as has been clearly proved, they had been artfully drawn. They should have held the scales even, and treated all Her Majesty's subjects in British America alike. This was not done. The policy, long after it had been condemned by public opinion, was not, as it should have been, abandoned; but, inspired by Canadian influences, a system of imperial pressure was brought to bear upon the Maritime Provinces for the first time in their history, which has roused a very indignant feeling.

Thus countenanced in this country, all boundaries were overstepped by certain parties on the other side. In one Province, while the Fenians were upon the frontier, the cabinet were wedged out of office, the House dissolved, and the whole population precipitated into the turmoil of a general election, just when every man should have been standing shoulder to shoulder; and, what was worse, one half of an entirely loyal population were taught to brand the other half as disloyal, and permitted to threaten them with the loss of the Queen's favour and protection, if they did not accept confederation and forswear the opinions which only a year before, left to their unbiassed judgment, they had expressed. The same arts were practised with ludicrous exaggeration in another Province, and the result is that two out of the four were induced to pass a resolution authorizing a new convention to be held in England, to be composed of an equal number of delegates from all the Provinces (Upper and Lower Canada to count as two), who are to frame a new scheme of union, which it is fondly hoped the cabinet will sanction and the Imperial Parliament adopt before it has been submitted to the Legislatures whose powers it is to transfer, or to the electors whose rights and revenues it is proposed thus



summarily to sweep away. Two "bodies of delegates," as the papers inform us, came over here from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia a month ago. They were twelve in number, and it is presumed that they have been puzzled to know what to do with themselves, and Lord Carnarvon quite as much puzzled to know what to do with them, seeing that Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island have refused to take part in the conference; and that the Canadians, busy with sectional, national and religious disputes, as usual, have as yet had nobody to spare, and do not, it is said, propose to send over their contingent till October. If the colonies were to be represented by equal numbers there would be just thirty-six of these delegates here, costing a pretty round sum of money, and doing what might more becomingly be done at home. It is impossible to tell what the Colonial Secretary may say to these gentlemen when they all assemble, but if he were to say this, he would probably be sustained by enlightened public opinion: "Gentlemen, it is unfair for you to come here and attempt to mix the Government and Parliament of England up in your disputes. You possess ample powers to mature a scheme of government. Go home and hold your conference in some public hall, where the people to be affected by your decision can hear your debates and be influenced by your arguments. If you can agree upon a plan of union, publish it for three months, and then dissolve your Legislatures. If the people accept it, the Parliament of England, unless controlled by imperial policy and interests, will probably ratify their decision; but, as the people may not, it would be unfair to compromise me, as you did Mr. Cardwell, by getting me to pledge myself to a measure which, until it is ratified by the suffrages of those it is to affect, must obviously be too crude and immature to require serious attention."

All this might be said, with great truth and propriety, and nobody ought to complain if the Secretary of State were to add, that it was very inconvenient to have both the Crown officers of Nova Scotia on pleasure trips in England at the same time, that there was barely a quorum in either colony to surround the Governor of Nova Scotia or New Brunswick at the present moment—that, as the Fenians threatened a second visit to the Provinces this autumn, rather more serious than the last, it might be as well for them all to hurry home and look to their defences.

This subject might be discussed more at large, and might be placed in many ludicrous points of view. It is a serious one, however, and it has been treated seriously. What the people of Nova Scotia think of the mission to this country may be gathered from the addresses to the Queen passed in eight of the most populous and wealthy counties, and by their petitions to the House of Commons. What the people of Newfoundland think of it may be gathered from their petitions to both Houses, while the opinions of the people of Prince Edward Island are expressed in their resolutions adopted last April.

But it is said, in the case of Nova Scotia, petitions cannot contravene a resolution of the Legislature. No, provided it be such a resolution as, uninstructed by the electors, the Legislature had a right to pass. In this case it

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strikes at the constitution of the country which the representatives were chosen to guard and not to violate; and besides, the present House are sitting upon a franchise which expired a year ago, and had not, according to British usage, the right to pass any resolution at all. Parliament in this country is invariably dissolved when a new franchise is adopted. That of Nova Scotia should and would have been, had the prerogative been exercised with firmness and impartiality. However, the law dissolves our Parliament next May, and we shall not have long to wait for an unmistakable expression of the opinions of the people.

By the last mail, Lord Monck's speech on closing the session of the Canadian Parliament reached England. 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 fresh place amongst the powers of the world." If I remember right, this is the second or third time that this phrase has been used by Lord Monck, acting, of course, under the advice of his Canadian ministers.

The "dimensions" of the "new nationality" will certainly be formidable enough, seeing that it is to comprise a territory of 4,000,000 square miles. The United States have not so much. All Europe, with its family of nations, is smaller by 92,000 square miles. When all the absorptions and reconstructions arising out of Prussia's great success are made, there will still remain at least sixteen sovereign states in Europe, on a territory smaller than that which these aspiring political speculators at Ottawa seek to control. The "dimensions" of the new nation will certainly be sufficiently imposing, very nearly realising Sam Slick's comprehensive phrase of "all out doors." When we survey it, with one human being standing on every square mile, its strength in proportion to its dimensions can be rightly estimated.

The Northern States, with 24,000,000 people, by great exertions and at enormous cost, were at last able to put into the field a million of soldiers. With 4,000,000 people, this "fresh power," by exertions of the same character, after expending money in the like proportion, may be able to equip and pay an army of 166,000, and should the troops be extended along the land frontier facing the United States, they will be only 37 yards apart, and may occasionally catch a glimpse of each other where the country is not thickly wooded. If massed on several points, they would certainly not be much more than a match for the 200,000 men who marched past the White House at Washington in May 1865, and who numbered about one-fifth of the disciplined soldiers of the republic. ✓

Let us now look at the new nation from the naval point of view. It has to defend a coast-line on the North Atlantic of about 5000 miles, with a long sea-board on the Pacific side. It has to guard the shores of the Great Lakes, and it has no navy. But it may be said that Great Britain is to defend the coasts and the lakes, and to throw in an odd half-million of troops to make the land defences perfect. Is she indeed? Where the ships and the men are

to come from would perhaps be puzzling questions at the Admiralty and the Horse Guards just now, but let us suppose that they could be furnished, who is to pay for them? If the people of England, then let there be an end of this buncombe about a new nationality, and of pretensions utterly irreconcilable with the resistless logic that must decide this question. If the people of England are to defend those Provinces with the whole force of the empire, then let them think well of what they are about, for by disturbing old currents of thought, and multiplying the difficulties of the conservative element in the United States, sorely pressed at all times by the turbulent and aggressive, they are increasing the hazards of a war tenfold. The attitude of the British Provinces on the American continent is at this moment one eminently peaceful and sedative. But let this guy of a "new nationality" be set up, which other people are to pay for and are expected to protect, and every young fellow who has had a taste of the license of camp life in the United States will be sorely tempted to have a fling at it. Let the Provinces resume their accustomed rôle of peaceful development as outlying portions of a great empire, with which the United States cannot afford to quarrel. She cannot then disturb them without a violation of the diplomatic recognitions of three parts of a century, and without a war, causelessly provoked, and on which neither the civilized world nor the great God of battles can be expected to smile. Let us then fling into the fire the paper constitution manufactured at Quebec, and Governor Banks' bill will probably be consigned to the flames immediately after, and then we shall begin to breathe freely again, and can set about adjusting the one or two questions that remain as causes of national irritation, and may look forward to peace for a century, with industrial development, on a scale so vast as to make war between the two great branches of the family impossible thenceforward and for ever.

It is strange that in the Quebec resolutions Lord Monck can find no warrant for using the term "new nationality." It is strange also that in the Maritime Provinces not one of the delegates will ever admit that any such thing is to be created. The prevailing idea with these people is a large country, defended by Great Britain. That she is to furnish £4,000,000 for the Intercolonial Railroad; £2,000,000 to buy up the Hudson's Bay Company's territory; £3,000,000 for fortifications along the line of the St. Lawrence; to provide gunboats for the lakes; and that by-and-by, when money is plentiful and John Bull in a marvellous good humour, an advance of £5,000,000 to deepen and enlarge canals may be reasonably expected. To the unsophisticated confederate mind, in all the Provinces, this is pretty nearly what confederation means; but as to assuming the duties of a nation, selecting a king, electing a president, maintaining a standing army, building and keeping a navy afloat, and managing foreign affairs, there is not one man in five hundred who has the slightest idea of assuming any such responsibilities, or of committing himself to any such expenditure.

The people of England have been made to believe that these confederates

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mean the very reverse of what they intend, but the time for mystification and self-delusion has gone by. Before a single step is taken to disturb the existing order of things, let us know what we are to have instead. If we are to be colonies, and Great Britain is to protect and defend us, then let us put on no airs, and create no divided allegiance or authority. If we are to be a nation, then let us set about the serious work we are assuming with a full sense of its perilous obligations. We cannot begin to make a nation without a king or a president residing within our territory, armed with executive powers, narrowed and restrained by no external force, and responsible for the conduct of our foreign affairs. These are the first simple but indispensable elements of national life. We could not stagger on two years without them; nay, the first session of the confederate legislature would not have closed before the logical results of the false step we are asked to take would be apparent, and the Colonial Secretary would be informed that he might withdraw his viceroy, and the Foreign Secretary that we had sent our own minister to Washington.

If when all this were done "twere well done," then those who are for dismembering the empire might exclaim, "twere well it were done quickly," and those who are not might still accept the new responsibilities in consideration of the somewhat questionable increase of dignity arising from the fact that thenceforward they would be called citizens and not subjects. If British America, organized into a nation, could stand alone, free to cherish and to act upon her hereditary attachment to these islands, and if the Parliament of Great Britain, with the consent of the Crown, after full review of the interests of the empire, were to absolve us from our allegiance, we might with cheerful spirits set about the task, however unwisely and prematurely imposed. We might have attempted this with a chance or two of success in our favour ten years ago, when the United States presented the aspect of a great industrial community, indisposed to war, with whom we had diplomatically adjusted every irritating question, and whose standing army numbered about 10,000 men. But now the whole chequer-board has changed. The United States have suddenly become a great military and naval power. When the Union is reconstructed and the Southern States are brought again within the fold, there will be a million and a half of disciplined soldiers and a powerful navy for Lord Monck's new nationality to confront, and what is more, the Reciprocity Treaty has expired, the *Alabama* claims are unsettled, and a million of Fenians have sprung up to give an aggressive turn to American diplomacy, and to hang like a war-cloud over the frontier. By organizing the whole empire, by standing upon long recognized rights, by firmness, tact and moderation, peace may be preserved, and friendly commercial arrangements may be revived and strengthened; but any attempt to prematurely construct a rival confederacy, too large for a colony and too weak for a nation, will but increase our difficulties an hundred-fold. When once organized, even if every man in the Provinces was a consenting party, it must be obvious that the new nation could not stand alone, and it is equally certain that the people of England

would expect to be relieved from the responsibility and burthen of its defence. Inevitably it must succumb to the growing power of the republic. A treaty offensive and defensive with the United States, involving ultimate participation in a war with England, would be the hard terms of its recognition as a separate but not independent state; and if this were refused, one of two things would happen, either the new nationality would be overrun and annexed, or, harassed by Fenian raids and menaced by superior numbers till their revenues were wasted and their industry was paralyzed, the Provinces would voluntarily consent to rub out the long frontier that they could not defend, and seek admission to the republic on the best terms they could obtain. CHAP. XXXI  
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When this was done, the parties in this country who take un-English views of everything might be satisfied and consoled. But how would it stand with these islands? When their only formidable commercial rival ruled the whole continent of America, from the Gulf of Mexico to Hudson Bay, when her mercantile marine was increased by a million tons of shipping, when England was left without a harbour of refuge, a spar, or a ton of coal on the whole continent of America, when 4,000,000 British subjects had been drawn behind the Morrill Tariff, and every loyal Irishman in British America had been converted into a Fenian, when the outposts of the enemy had been advanced 800 miles nearer to England by the possession of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, does anybody believe that American diplomacy would be any the less aggressive, or that the coasts of this great centre of our civilization would be any more secure? No! England that now fights for empire would be compelled to fight for existence, and Ireland, now tolerably steady, impressed by the odds against England, might become a doubtful ally; and what would be worse, millions of loyal subjects trained in love and devotion to the mother country would be coerced into a contest in which victory would be even more heartrending and degrading than defeat. ✓ †

In view of these consequences, certain to flow from this or from any scheme dismembering the British Empire, with all respect I would implore the cabinet to put them all aside, and set seriously about the much more hopeful and rational task of so combining its intellectual and physical resources, as to make defence easy and the burthen light.

Having shown, with sufficient clearness, that any attempt prematurely to set up a "fresh power" on the American continent, even if our people were united upon the policy, and anxious to sustain it, would be a blunder worse than a crime, it is scarcely worth while to show that all the difficulties and chances of failure would be multiplied tenfold if the people of the Maritime Provinces were carried into such a confederacy by an arbitrary Act of Parliament. The people of Scotland were only reconciled to the Union by the lapse of time; and the people of Ireland can hardly be said to be reconciled yet. But in both these cases the measures matured, however questionable the means employed, were adopted after full discussion by the Parliaments to be swept away; and in neither case, let it be borne in mind, was there a

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powerful neighbour close at hand to sympathise with those whose independence had been purchased, or to foment the bitter feelings which in both countries disturbed society for long periods, and often broke into open rebellion.

Beside the Provinces there is a powerful neighbour, armed to the teeth, wary and watchful, bold and enterprising, ready to profit by divisions and perturbations, which now fortunately do not exist. That neighbour now respects the union of sentiment which pervades our territory, and which has been fostered by the institutions we are asked to overturn, that leave to the Maritime Provinces nothing to envy in the privileges enjoyed by the smaller States of the Union. But let those Provinces be arbitrarily annexed to Canada by an Act of Parliament which had never been laid before their Legislatures or sanctioned by their people, how long then will he be indifferent or inactive? When our people go into mourning, as I believe they will, and wear their flags at half-mast on every sea as an expression of their sorrow and indignation, our neighbour will not be slow to perceive that this forced union has brought strength as a forced marriage brings happiness; and when Canada is blessed with hundreds of thousands of unquiet subjects, who hate her rule and will not be too prompt to fight for a domination which they repudiate and for a nationality they despise, the republicans will promptly avail themselves of errors in policy which every loyal subject of the Queen should pray Her Majesty's ministers to avoid.

When the American republic was formed, the smaller States which entered it had many guarantees for protection and fair play which this Quebec scheme of government does not give to us. In the first place, no one large State could dominate over all the others. There were, even at that time, Virginia, the Carolinas, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York to balance and control each other; and as some of these grew in wealth and population, there came Ohio, Kentucky, Louisiana, Illinois and many others, which precluded the possibility of any permanent and invidious centralization of power, and so the smaller States grew and prospered, and were protected. In our case we are to have a confederacy in name, but in reality the centre of power and of influence will always be in Canada. It can be nowhere else. When divided, the eastern and western sections may quarrel as they have always done upon sectional questions, but they may be trusted to combine against us whenever our interests clash, and, having no other large state to lean upon, we will be about as powerless as Hanover or Brunswick in the grasp of Bismarck. Had the Maritime Provinces been permitted to organize themselves first, and then to unite with Canada, they might have acted together and had a chance to guard their interests; but, disunited, it is plain that they must be a prey to the spoiler; and having but forty-seven representatives, all told, it is apparent that the Government of the confederacy will always rest upon the overwhelming majority of 147, and that, even when close divisions and ministerial crises occur, the minority can easily be split up and played off against each other for purely Canadian purposes.

Again, the smaller States of the Union secured an equal representation in the Senate, and without this protection they could not be induced to enter the confederacy at all. We are asked to accept a proportional representation in the upper chamber, and can always be outvoted by the Canadians, even when, which is very unlikely, we all act together. Then the American Senate, in which these small States are equally represented, share with the President executive duties, and have a veto on all treaties and on important appointments. The Senate is therefore, in the American system, the body in which largely resides not merely the dignity but the real substantial power of the Government; and thus to the smaller States is secured a fair share of influence over the administration, that we, by no provision which the Quebec scheme includes, can ever hope to obtain. The people of the United States elect their own senators. Ours are to be selected by the Canadian minister, resting upon a permanent parliamentary majority which we may occasionally hope to influence but can never control.

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The Colonial Minister in former times selected colonial judges, and the Canadians liked that system so little that they broke into open insurrection in order to get rid of it. When they appoint ours, they must not be surprised if we follow their example, and even sigh for the American system of electing them which is now universally condemned. Then the Canadians are to select our governors. The single "golden link," as it is sometimes called, which binds us to the mother country, is to be rudely severed, and the only piece of patronage reserved to the Crown in return for the protection which the "new nationality" cannot do without, is to be wrenched from the Sovereign and dispensed from some bureau at Ottawa. The pretension is modest. Looking down the long line of governors who have been sent to us from England, there may have been one or two not otherwise or who were indiscreet, but at all events they were gentlemen, and many brought with them ladies trained in the accomplishments and pure domestic life of this country. I can remember Lord Dalhousie, Sir James Kempt, Sir Peregrine Maitland, Sir John Harvey, Sir Gaspard Le Marchant, Lord Normanby, and others, who had acquired experience or won distinction in the service of the Crown. The example set by such people and their families is to be traced in the social cultivation and gentle manners diffused from our capital to the shire towns, and all over the country. But all this is to be changed. Of course no such people will be eligible under confederation. No nobleman or gentleman, who has served his Sovereign by land or sea, need apply. Even the Victoria Cross would be no recommendation. No patriotic lover of his country—no defender of the rights and interests of the Maritime Provinces need hope for this promotion; but if there is any pliant and subservient tool of the Canadian minister, who has never won distinction anywhere, and is heartily despised by his own countrymen, anybody may safely bet the odds in his favour: But how long will the system last? Just till the men beside the sea trample it under their feet; and, driven by the instinct of self-preservation to protect

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Instead of wasting precious time with schemes to dismember the empire, I wish the Government and people of England would seriously consider how it can be organized so as to draw around the throne its vast intellectual and physical resources, and lift us above the atmosphere of doubt and apprehension in which, in these latter days, it appears we live. The people of these islands surveyed with wonder, a few years ago, the wealth of their Provinces combined in the Crystal Palace. A happy thought, developed by some organization, enabled the people of each to become better acquainted with the others, and the people of England to become familiar with them all. But how little is known here of the undeveloped strength which lies in those great British communities, whose thoughts ever turn to the mother country—whose stout arms would willingly defend her; and whose resources, pecuniary, physical and intellectual, might, by simple arrangements, be drawn into the service of the state. But this subject is too important to be treated at the close of a paper which I fear those who do me the honour to read it may consider already too long.

In a private letter dated September 13th, Mr. Howe wrote :

By last night's mail I have a note from Earl Russell requesting me to prepare another paper containing my views on the Organization of the Empire. . . . It will cost me some thought and pains, but I hope to do it well.

A fortnight later he wrote stating that the paper had been completed,—that it had been a formidable affair, but that he had done it to his own satisfaction. This paper was issued in the form of a pamphlet in October, and it has since been reprinted. It is here given in full :

Under the Providence of God, after centuries of laborious cultivation, the sacrifice of much heroic blood, and the expenditure of a vast amount of treasure, the British Empire, as it stands, has been got together, and the question which is presented to us, in some form of parliamentary or newspaper disputation almost every week, is, what is now to be done with it?

Two opinions appear to prevail. A great many persons are content to drift on without forethought or statesmanlike provision for the future, but others hold that it is the duty of the parent state to prepare the outlying provinces for independence—to so group and organize as to inspire them, at the earliest possible period, with the ambition and the desire to dissolve the national connection and set up for themselves. They think that Great Britain, regardless of her own interests, should be content with the glory of founding, peopling and setting great provinces adrift; that they will prosper by the separation, and that she will share their prosperity and be secure of a moral

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and political influence, without care or cost, in proportion to the liberality of her conduct and to the sacrifices she has made. This party is reinforced from time to time by those who take a lower and more sordid view of the question—who think that Great Britain would hardly want an army or a navy, arsenals or dockyards, if she had no colonies; who charge them with sums borne on the estimates, but never credit them with their consumption, or with the sacrifices they make to defend the interests and to uphold the dignity of the empire. The parental relation is assumed to sanction this policy. Young men grow, and, when they are of age, marry and set up for themselves, and why should not the colonies do the same? But the analogy is not perfect. One house would not hold all the married members of a large family, nor one estate maintain them. They scatter that they may live. They are kept in friendship by the domestic affections and personal ties which, in respect of distant communities, do not exist, and at the death of the founder of the family there is an estate to divide.

Not so with colonies. Their life begins at a distance from the homestead. There are few personal attachments. There is no estate to divide and no security that when they separate they may not drift into antagonism to each other and to the parent country. The policy then of rearing them with the thought of separation ever in their minds, of prematurely preparing them for separation, or of rudely casting them off, appears to me an unsound policy. The idea to be cultivated, instead of that of the parental relation, with its inevitable termination at the close of a very limited period, should rather be that of a partnership, which may last for centuries, and need not terminate at all, so long as it is mutually advantageous.

That colonies have the right to break away and set up for themselves, if they are oppressed, will not at the present day be denied. That they will do this, if kindly and fairly dealt by, I hold to be at least "not proven." I would act as though it could not be proved. I would discountenance the idea of separation. I would have faith in the future—in our common brotherhood (which ought to count for something) even less than in the conviction, founded on our daily experience, that it is our interest to keep together.

It is sometimes thought that the empire was weakened by conceding to the colonies the system of responsible government. The very reverse is true. They would inevitably have been dispersed sooner or later, had it not been conceded. This was a great conservative measure, as well as a substantial reform. So far as the British North American Provinces are concerned, proof of the correctness of this opinion was given in a letter which I addressed to Earl Russell in 1846. Ample evidence has been accumulating ever since. Not only were the Provinces presently saved by this concession, but it makes an organization for national purposes, comparatively simple and easy for the future.

It is true that in some of the colonies this system does not yet appear to be worked very adroitly. But it must be borne in mind that it is not taught

in a handbook, but has to be wrought out with temper, tact and skill, only to be acquired from experience. When called to the task of self-government, few of the public men in any of the colonies were accustomed to the responsibilities of office: but the system is rapidly training them, and, as the circle widens, there will be less blundering, less temper, more skill and a higher appreciation of precedent and authority.

Though, with the power of the purse, the right to have a cabinet responsible to the House of Commons is popularly assumed to have been won by the people of England in 1688, the right was hardly secure or the system very intelligibly worked, down to the close of the reign of George the Third. The undue pressure of the prerogative was the difficulty, just as the blundering of governors, or the undue pressure of the democratic element in some of the colonies, may be the difficulty now; but the system which ultimately controlled the prerogative will control governors and democracies. A man is laughed at in the Maritime Provinces now, who puts forward pretensions which he cannot justify by parliamentary record; and so it will be, presently, in all the colonies, as experience and good sense, fortified by authority, are more largely drawn into the public service.

England has not been weakened by those municipal and parochial organizations which assume and exercise authority within certain well-defined limits, and do a vast amount of valuable work which the general government could never overtake, or do so well if it could; nor will the empire be weakened by throwing upon the provincial legislatures and colonial municipalities all the responsibilities and labour of government that do not conflict with the general laws and regulations which can only be wisely framed and administered by some central authority. This division of labour is now universally recognized and appreciated, and if all the outlying possessions of the Crown were peopled with English-speaking inhabitants, capable of self-government, the system might be extended to every part of the empire. The presence of a foreign population, as in India and elsewhere, will for a long time make it doubtful to what extent political franchises can be conferred, but I can hardly imagine any state of society in which the people might not be gradually trained to the exercise of municipal privileges with great advantage. Assuming then that the powers conferred upon the English-speaking colonies leave them, as respects domestic administration, nothing to desire; and that, as regards Crown colonies and foreign possessions and dependencies, our present system, subject to modifications from time to time, is the best that can be devised, it is apparent that but for external pressure, and danger from without, we might go on as we are without any material change. The Maori question in New Zealand, the land question in Prince Edward Island, and the "tacking" question in Melbourne, are but ripples on the surface of the general tranquillity, and may soon be set right by a little firmness and discretion. As a general rule we may rest upon the assurance that the outlying portions of the empire are prosperous and contented; and if peace could be maintained, the people of England, annually

enlarging their trade and reducing their taxation, might be content to keep up, as they have hitherto done, the ordinary armaments necessary for national police, and the security of the seas, without calling upon the colonies to aid them.

But we have no security for peace, or if there be any, it is only to be sought in such an organization and armament of the whole empire as will make the certainty of defeat a foregone conclusion to any foreign power that may attempt to break it.

This conviction was forced upon my mind, while endeavouring, under instructions from Her Majesty's Government in 1855, to draw a few thousand soldiers from the United States, while not a man was moved of the millions that we had to spare, in every quarter of the globe, to reinforce, it might have been to save, the gallant little army fighting and perishing before Sebastopol. This subject has occupied many a leisure hour since, and I have never dwelt upon it without feeling that the question of questions for us all, far transcending in importance any other within the range of domestic or foreign politics, is, not how the empire can be most easily dismembered, not how a province or two can be strengthened by a fort, or by the expenditure of a million of dollars, but how the whole empire can be so organized and strengthened as to command peace or be impregnable in war.

Many people have, since 1855, been driven to think of this question. Passing over all the second- and third-rate powers, which possess no navies and whose armies may always be neutralized by being balanced or broken against each other by skilful diplomacy, France, Russia and the United States grow with our growth, and loom up before the mind of every thoughtful British subject, as standing menaces, warning him to prepare for any eventuality.

Prussia is now coming forward as a fourth great power, and will presently control an extensive sea-board, behind which there will be a warlike population of twenty or thirty millions. In estimating her influence as well as her strength, it may be wise to remember that the German emigration to the United States has been as extensive as the Irish, that Germans swarm in the sea-board cities and in the western States, that Frankfort was the chief mart for national securities during the civil war, and that the sympathy between the great republic and the fatherland is an element too apparent to be overlooked by diplomatists in any prudent calculation of forces.

A very distinguished person said, at the outbreak of the Crimean war, that our free institutions were about to be put upon their trial. Our free institutions were really in no danger; what was upon its trial was the mode in which we organize the physical force of the empire, and that, as we have all been compelled to acknowledge, was found to be sadly defective.

Combined with France, we could only bring Russia to terms with half the fortresses in the Crimea frowning defiance at us; but the question naturally arises, what would we do were France and Russia combined against us? or should that combination so familiar to the American mind be formed

between the fleets and armies of Russia and the United States for the humiliation of England. With France as an ally we might still have nothing to fear, but we ought to have something more secure to rely upon than the eccentricities of French politics or the life of a single man.

Russia, controlling so large a portion of the earth's surface, inhabited by seventy-four millions of people obeying one mind with reverential awe, and in close neighbourhood to our eastern provinces, is a formidable power; and the development of her great natural resources, under the inspiration of personal freedom recently acquired, may make her yet more formidable.

France, with a martial population of thirty-seven millions, a vast but compact territory, resting on two sea-boards, with a powerful navy, and a naval reserve fostered with politic liberality on the banks and coasts of Newfoundland, would be a dangerous neighbour now that steam has bridged the Channel, even if we had in that country the ordinary securities of constitutional government for the preservation of peace. But we have them not. The will of one man controls all these vast resources, with a secrecy and directness which, in diplomacy and war, give great advantages over our system of checks, accountability and free discussion; and although, at this moment, our relations with France are most amicable and friendly, a death or a revolution are events not so improbable as to justify the assurance that they may not at any moment occur.

Turning to the United States, we find our most formidable commercial rival, and, as matters stand, perhaps our least reliable friend and ally. I am not without some hope that by prudence, firmness and good-humour, and by systematically setting public opinion right, through American channels of circulation, as to the power, the public sentiment and the designs of this country, we may yet be able to so inform the masses who control the Government as to make war with Great Britain nearly impossible; but, in the present temper of the republic, we have no security for peace, and we may as well then survey with discriminating forecast the strength and resources of the nation with which we may have to contend.

Assuming that under our present organization, or as matters would stand were the colonies thrown off, a war were to break out between these islands and the United States, the republic would have the advantage in numbers now, of thirty-four millions to thirty; but this disproportion must annually increase, because they have a boundless territory to fill up, while the British Islands are occupied from shore to shore. The increase of the population in Ireland goes to the United States, and every twenty years they draw from the mother country as many people as there are in all Scotland. Visitors come here to see the wonders of the old world, but very few remain. Besides, those who go out, mingling at once with an unfriendly population, soon take a hostile tone, and as they keep up correspondence with friends at home, the mother country is weakened, in Ireland at all events, by the disaffection that these emigrants can propagate and encourage.

Perhaps there is no living Englishman who estimates more highly than I do the accumulated wealth, the large experience, and the perfect discipline which Great Britain can bring to bear upon any contest; or who better knows with what heroism and self-devotion these islands would be defended against any foreign attack. But yet I would be sorry to see them, even now, without any support from the outlying Provinces, engaged in a war with the United States; and I cannot disguise from myself that twenty years hence their position will be much more perilous, and the odds against them vastly more disproportionate. But if the United States were combined with either of the great military and naval Powers of Europe, the most sanguine lover of his country would scarcely desire to see our strength so tried.

Now I would lift this question above the range of doubt or apprehension, and prepare for all eventualities, by such an organization of the empire as would enable the Sovereign to command its entire physical force. If Russia, France or the United States is involved in war to-morrow, the revenue and the manhood of the whole territory are at the disposal of the Executive; while, if we go to war, the whole burthen of sustaining it falls upon the people of these two small islands. This is not fair, and, what is worse, our unprepared condition makes war at all times possible, sometimes imminent.

But, it may be asked, suppose this thing to be desirable, how is it to be done? And I answer, as all other good things are done in this free country, by propounding the policy, by discussion and argument, to be followed, when the public sentiment is prepared for it, by wise legislation.

I foresee the difficulties: in this as in all other cases there is a certain amount of indifference, of ignorance and of selfishness, to be overcome, but I rely upon the general intelligence of the empire to perceive the want, and upon its patriotism and public spirit to supply it. Surely if a Russian serf can be got to march from Siberia to the Crimea to defend his empire, the Queen's subjects can be educated to know and feel that it is alike their duty and their interest to march anywhere to defend their own.

The young men of Maine and Massachusetts rushed to protect their capital from rebellious fellow-citizens, and I am sure, when once the possibility of a requisition is made familiar to the colonial mind, that the youths in our outlying provinces would rush as eagerly to defend London from a foreign foe. But it may be said the Russian obeys a central authority that it would be vain to dispute, and that the American fights for his perfect citizenship, which includes the control of his foreign policy and representation in the national council. This is the weak point in our case, but let us see if it cannot be met by such reasonable concessions and appeals to the good sense of our people as suit their practical turn of thought, and would give to the colonies prepared for it a direct influence in the national councils, without disorganizing the political machinery already working so well.

The House of Commons, whatever may be its defects, enjoys the respect of the empire, and I assume that, whatever may come hereafter, nobody wishes to

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see its composition and character very materially changed. How far representation in Parliament can be safely conceded to the outlying portions of the empire, by what modes these members should be selected and distributed, to what extent they should be permitted to interfere, are questions beset with difficulties which I need not linger to state, but which have been pondered with some anxiety during the last ten years. I can see no solution of them all more simple and easy than this :

To treat all the colonies which have legislatures, and where the system of responsible government is in operation, as having achieved a higher political status than Crown colonies or foreign dependencies, and to permit them to send to the House of Commons one, two, or three members of their cabinets, according to their size, population, and relative importance.

The advantages gained by this mode of selection, assuming the principle of any sort of representation to be sanctioned, are various :

1. We get rid of all questions about franchise and the modes of election, which might or might not correspond to those which obtain in England.
2. We are secure of men truly representing the majority in each colony, because they would speak in the name and bring with them the authority of the cabinets and constituencies they represented.
3. We have no trouble about changing them, as they would sit till their successors, duly accredited, announced the fact of a change of administration.
4. We have no contested elections or questions about bribery and corruption to waste the time of Parliament.
5. We are secure by this mode of obtaining the best men, because only the best can win their way into these colonial cabinets, of whom the flower would be selected by their colleagues to represent the intellect and character of each Province on the floor of Parliament.
6. We do nothing more in fact than permit colonial ministers to defend their policy, and explain their conduct before Parliament, as British ministers do now, thus training them in the highest school of politics for the better discharge of their duties at home.

Technical difficulties of all sorts may be urged against the adoption of this proposition, but, for the present, I will assume that these may be overcome, if it is seriously entertained. To one or two objections, involving principle, I would for a moment invite attention.

It may be said that the introduction of these men by this mode would destroy the symmetry and violate the general principles upon which imperial legislation is based ; but I would respectfully submit that all our legislation springs out of a series of compromises. That this would only be another, and one quite in accordance with the general spirit of all the rest.

In the House of Lords the three kingdoms are variously represented, and the dissenting interests are without any spiritual representation at all. The House of Commons presents but little simplicity of outline, but is the result of

a series of compromises, between those already in possession of the seats and the growing wealth, population and intelligence outside. To distribute a certain number of seats among great Provinces, peopled by Englishmen, prepared to discharge all the duties of loyal subjects, would seem to be only a move in the same direction as all the others, by which a working legislature, representing all interests but the colonial, has been secured; and surely the millions who are now claiming an extension of the franchise will hardly think it right that the millions beyond the seas, who are bound by British legislation, should have, in the Parliament which can at any moment plunge them into a war, no representation at all. ✓

But it may be asked, would you allow these men to speak and vote on English, Scottish and Irish questions? This is a matter of detail of easy adjustment. If I were a resident of these islands I would say yes, let us hear what such men as Mr. Verdon of Victoria, Mr. Galt from Canada, or Mr. Tilley from New Brunswick have to say even on domestic topics, because their testimony would be all the more valuable, as they would have no interest in the matter. But if permitted to express their opinions, good taste would probably restrain colonial gentlemen from mingling but upon rare occasions in purely local controversies. They would probably confine themselves to the exposition and defence of those measures for which they were at once responsible to the Provinces they represented, and to the august assembly which must then form, as it does now, the high court of review for all colonial questions.

Matters of foreign policy, they should not only be permitted, but invited to debate, because upon the wise adjustment of these depends the preservation of peace, in any breach of which the Provinces would be directly compromised. ✓  
 What more appropriate theme for British Americans to discuss than the relations between Great Britain and the United States? And I am quite sure that an earnest-minded man, speaking good sense upon any of the varied questions that these relations involve, would be listened to with respect by the House of Commons, and would not be without influence in the great country which it might be sound policy to conciliate.

But take a purely provincial question, and I select one at random because it often attracts a good deal of public attention. There are 60,000 Englishmen in the colony of New Zealand, who hold a portion of the islands by what has often appeared to be a most precarious tenure. The Maoris hold all the rest, under some agreement with the British Government, and are said to have the patronage and protection of certain worthy people in England, whose philanthropy seriously embarrasses the local government. When war breaks out, nobody in this country can get at the merits of the controversy. The colonists are accused of provoking it, that they may despoil the Maoris of their land or profit by military expenditure; and the policy is seriously entertained of leaving these 60,000 Englishmen, thousands of miles from home, to fight and slay these savages at their own cost and charges. Then matters become complicated by disputes between the Executive and the Commander-in-chief, and

nobody knows who is to blame. We rarely get out of these entanglements without a good deal of bloodshed and a large expenditure. And scarcely anybody in England can tell, even when the war is over, why it was begun. Now I would simplify all this by saying to the New Zealanders, send over here the best man you have got, clothed with the authority of office and sustained by the public confidence, and let him explain your case before the Parliament of the empire. If you are right you shall be sustained, if wrong, you must give way or change your policy. A single night's discussion in the House of Commons, with the New Zealand minister there, would do more for the peace and order of the colony than a year's debate without him. No man would come here with a bad case, and if he did, and if it broke down, no wise man would persist in a line of policy which had been patiently reviewed and condemned by the House of Commons, in his own presence, after a fair discussion in which he had been heard at large.

But it may be asked, would the colonists value this privilege? Would they send these members? I think they would, but if they did not, their mouths would be closed; and the offer of free consultation, not only on such local concerns as from their pressure on the imperial treasury challenged the investigation of Parliament, but on the great questions of peace or war, having been freely tendered to them, they could not complain if the British Government took such measures for the preservation of domestic tranquillity and the general defence of the empire as in its wisdom seemed politic and discreet. It is not probable that all the colonies would send these members, to waste their time in the House of Commons, when they had no special grievances to discuss, or policy to represent, because their leading men, in the absence of these, would be better employed at home; but when they had, the privilege would be much esteemed, and the conviction that they had the right to send them at all times would add a new element of strength and cohesion to the empire.

H.B. | But it may be asked, might not these colonial representatives combine and form a brigade, embarrassing governments and obstructing public business in pursuit of anti-British or other unworthy objects? There is no danger of this. These men would represent communities wide as the poles asunder, with climates, soils, productions, interests, as varied as the skies under which they were bred. They would know less of each other and of each other's interests than the body of Englishmen, among whom they were thrown, would perhaps know of them all. These men would bring with them stores of accurate information, often invaluable in parliamentary inquiries, and they might sometimes throw into debates the fruits of long experience and the subtle vivacity of very accomplished minds; but I cannot conceive with what designs, or under what leadership, they could possibly combine for objects that were not legitimate. The effect of this concession would not only be to supply the House of Commons, at first hand, with much valuable information, but to raise the standard of qualification, and to elevate the tone of public instruction and debate, in all the colonies.



The Crown colonies and foreign populations are not included in this scheme. Her Majesty's ministers may devise some mode by which they can be provided for. I pass them by, because I do not see the way clear to admit them until they have achieved the status of self-governing Provinces with responsible ministers to send; but if they were made to feel that, by qualifying themselves for rational self-government, they might ultimately enjoy the full privileges of British citizenship, the effect even upon those portions of the empire, still treated as territories are treated in the United States, might not be without its value in exciting to emulation and improvement.

Having made this step in advance, I would proceed to treat the whole empire as the British Islands are treated, holding every man liable to serve the Queen in war, and making every pound's worth of property responsible for the national defence.

Great care should be taken that, in every Province, a decennial census should be prepared under every possible guarantee for fulness and accuracy, and the information furnished by these returns should be digested and condensed so as to present at a glance a picture of the empire.

The census would of course give, as the basis of legislation :

The number of people.

The value of real and personal property.

The amount of exports and imports.

The tonnage owned.

New ships built.

The number of fishermen and mariners employed.

The information gathered by the last census may, for present use, be sufficient, and if so :

A bill, making provision for the defence of the empire, may be prepared to operate uniformly over the whole, and should be submitted simultaneously to all the Provinces. It should provide :

1. For the enrolment of all the men from sixteen to sixty liable to be called out in the case of war.

2. For the effective organization and training, as militia, of men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, year by year in time of peace.

3. For fixing the quota which, in case of hostilities anywhere, each Province is to provide during the continuance of the war, the colonial government having the option to supply its quota by sending regiments already embodied, or by furnishing volunteers from the youth of the country who might be better spared.

4. For incorporating these men into the British army with their regimental numbers, but with some distinctive name or badge to mark their origin, as the "Welsh Fusiliers," or "Enniskillen Dragoons," are distinguished. They should be paid out of the military chest, and treated in all respects as British troops from the moment that they were handed over to the commander-in-chief.

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For the establishment of military training schools in each Province, and for instruction in military engineering and the art of war, at some seminary within reach of the youth of every group of colonies.

6 For the enrolment of all seafaring men from sixteen to sixty as a naval reserve, the effective men between eighteen and forty-five being obliged to serve on board of block ships, harbour defences, or in any of Her Majesty's ships on the station, or in forts or water batteries, for the same number of days which effective militiamen are obliged to serve on shore.

7 As labour in all the colonies is high, and in some of them the season for profitable industry is short, it would be wise in Her Majesty's Government, having secured this organization and these high powers, to press as lightly as possible in times of assured tranquillity upon the people, who, in that case, would always be the more ready, in times of impending danger, when the reason of the thing was apparent, to submit to heavier sacrifices.

M.S. ✓ By another bill, to operate uniformly over the whole empire (India being excluded as she provides for her own army), the funds should be raised for the national defence. This measure, like the other, should be submitted for the sanction of the colonial governments and legislatures. This tax should be distinguished from all other imposts, that the amount collected could be seen at a glance, and that every portion of the whole people might see what they paid and what every other portion had to pay.

This fund could either be raised as head money over the whole population, in the form of a property or income tax, or by a certain percentage upon imports; constituting, next to existing liabilities, a first charge upon the colonial revenues, and being paid into the military chest, to the credit of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.

As the great arsenals, dockyards, depot and elaborate fortifications are in these islands, as the bulk of the naval and military expenditure for arms, munitions and provisions, occurs here, where are the great fleets and camps, the people of Great Britain and Ireland ought to be prepared to pay, and I have no doubt would, a much larger proportion towards this fund than it would be fair to exact from the outlying Provinces, where, in times of peace, there is but little of naval or military expenditure. ✓

In another respect a wise discrimination should be exercised. Within the British Islands are stored up the fruits of eighteen centuries of profitable industry. All that generations of men toiled for, and have bequeathed, is now in possession of the resident population here, including all that was created and left by the forefathers of those by whom the British colonies have been founded. Besides, the machinery is here which does now, and will continue to do to a very large extent, the manufacturing business of the empire. If it be true that these machines earn the wages and do the daily work of eight hundred millions of people, here are sources of wealth and an amount of property to be defended out of all proportion to what can be found in all the Provinces; and it is of the utmost importance that this elaborate mechanism

of industry, which has cost so much and earns so much, should never be CHAP. XXXI  
perilled or stopped for a single day.

Taking into view, then, the comparison which these wealthy and densely peopled islands bear to the sparsely populated colonies beyond the sea, it would seem but fair that they should assume, in proportion to numbers, a much larger share of the burthens of national defence.

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If the general principle be admitted, we need not waste time with the details, which actuaries and accountants can adjust. Fair allowance being made, under these two heads, I can see no reason why the colonies should not contribute in peace and war their fair quotas towards the defence of the empire.

As respects the mode in which this contribution should be levied, there are many reasons why a tax on imports should be preferred. Direct taxes are easily collected in a densely peopled country like England, where everybody can be got at, and where every acre of land has a marketable value. In the Provinces direct taxes often cost more than they come to, because the scarcity of money in new settlements, the distance to be travelled by the collectors, and the difficulty of enforcing payment if there is evasion or resistance, renders this by far the least satisfactory mode of collecting revenue. But, added to their *ad valorem* duties, the tax for national defence could, if fairly adjusted, be paid by all the colonies without restricting their commerce or being burthen-some to their industry.

But the question may now be asked, and everything turns upon the answer that may be given to it, will the colonies consent to pay this tax, or to make any provision at all for the defence of the empire? It must be apparent that no individual can give an answer to this question; that the cabinet, were they to propound this policy even after the most anxious inquiry and full deliberation, could only wait in hope and confidence for the response to be given by so many communities, so widely dispersed, and affected by so many currents of thought. There is enough of doubt to perplex and almost to deter them from trying the experiment, yet it is so hopeful, there is so little to be lost by failure, and so much to be gained by success, that, with all respect, I would urge Her Majesty's Government to give the question their grave consideration.

That it is the duty, and would be for the interest, of all Her Majesty's subjects in the outlying Provinces, fairly admitted to the enjoyment of the privileges indicated, to make this contribution, I have not a shadow of doubt. Without the protection of the fleets and armies of England, they are all defenceless. Without efficient organization, they cannot lean upon and strengthen each other, or give the mother country that moral support which in peace makes diplomacy effective, and in war would make the contest short, sharp and decisive. Besides, the overflow of labour and of capital into the colonies is to some extent checked by doubts as to the security of their future. If once organized and consolidated, under a system mutually advantageous and universally known, there would be an end of all jealousies between the tax-

payers at home and abroad. We would no longer be weakened by discussions about defence or propositions for dismemberment, and the irritation which is now kept up by shallow thinkers and mischievous politicians would give place to a general feeling of brotherhood, of confidence, of mutual exertion, dependence and security. The great powers of Europe and America would at once recognize the wisdom and forethought out of which had sprung this national combination, and they would be slow to test its strength. We should secure peace on every side by the notoriety given to the fact, that on every side we were prepared for war.

Now let us see if Her Majesty's subjects, making these sacrifices and giving these aids, would be worse off or would stand on a lower level than the people of any other great empire, with whom our pride might tempt us to challenge equality. We would have, in all the Provinces, responsible governments, independent courts and legislatures, a free press, municipal institutions, the entire control of our own revenues (the defence contribution being deducted), and the regulation of our trade, foreign and domestic; and we should have the right of free discussion of international and intercolonial questions in the House of Commons. What privileges are enjoyed by Russians or Frenchmen, or by the subjects of any European sovereign, that can be compared with these? Turning to the United States, and admitting the entire success of their political experiments, it must be confessed that, from the moment that the colonies are permitted to send their accredited ministers, representing their parliamentary majorities, to the national council, we shall have attained a status that will leave us little or nothing to desire that they have achieved. In a pecuniary point of view we shall be better off. The whole of the import duties in all the States now go into the national treasury to sustain the general government. We should still retain ours (less the contribution for national defence), and have, in all the Provinces, a large fund available for local services and internal improvements.

But suppose this policy propounded and the appeal made, and that the response is a determined negative. Even in that case it would be wise to make it, because the public conscience of the mother country would then be clear, and the hands of her statesmen free, to deal with the whole question of national defence, in its broadest outlines or in its bearing on the case of any single province or group of provinces, which might then be dealt with in a more independent manner.

But I will not, for a moment, do my fellow-colonists the injustice to suspect that they will decline a fair compromise of a question which involves at once their own protection and the consolidation and security of the empire. At all events, if there are any communities of British origin anywhere who desire to enjoy all the privileges and immunities of the Queen's subjects without paying for and defending them, let us ascertain where and who they are—let us measure the proportions of political repudiation now, in a season of tranquillity, when we have leisure to gauge the extent of the evil and to apply correctives,

rather than wait till war finds us unprepared and leaning upon presumptions in which there is no reality. CHAP. XXXI

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But it may be asked, can such an empire as this, wanting the compactness of France, Russia or the United States, ever be kept together, and so brought to yield to the guidance and control of any central authority, as to be strong in war, and in peaceful times mutually interested in a common name and in a simultaneous development? We may save our pains if this question cannot be answered; but, after much reflection on the subject, I think it can, with as much certainty as any question can be answered that includes so many elements of speculation to which no positive test can be applied.

A nation of soldiers, like the Romans or the French, would hardly have known what to do with such an empire as ours had Providence bestowed it as a gift. But to a nation of merchants, manufacturers, planters, fishermen and sailors, its very extent, expansion, and diversity of production and consumption are its chief attractions. All that the sun ripens or the seas produce is ours without going beyond our own boundaries. If a zollverein, such as the Germans have, or free trade between states such as the great republic enjoys, be advantageous, we have them on the widest scale, and with a far larger population. The seas divide our possessions it is true, but out of this very division grow our valuable fisheries, our mercantile marine, our lines of ocean steamers; and out of these our navy and the supremacy upon the sea, which, if we hold together, with cheaper iron, coal, timber and labour than almost any maritime country, no other power can dispute.

Besides, though in some respects our distant possessions are a source of weakness, on the whole they give great strength and power. Through India we command the trade and almost control the policy of Asia; and even in America, which at this moment is held to be our weakest point, while we possess half the continent with the provinces of British America and the West Indies, we control the North Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico, and have a power of offence as well as the duty of defence, all along a frontier which no surveillance can possibly close against our trade; and so it is in every quarter of the globe, the risks and the costs of empire are counterbalanced by the possession of political power and of great commercial advantages. While we act in concert these are the common property of us all, and I cannot believe that there is in a single province of the empire, in which British settlers form a majority, a disposition to break away from the honourable compact under which these advantages are mutually shared, or an indisposition to contribute towards their perpetual guardianship and protection.

That this paper might be kept within readable compass, I have not encumbered it with details, nor have I touched upon a number of subsidiary measures—uniformity of police, systematic plantation, and the relief of the poor—rates, postal savings banks, public improvements, and decennial exhibitions, and generally those measures which have a tendency to foster national feelings and stamp upon the whole population of the empire a national character.

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In submitting these thoughts, I trust I may be pardoned for venturing to discuss a question of such magnitude and importance in presence of statesmen and public writers whose exalted positions and long experience render it hazardous to ask their consideration of new principles of government. But, during thirty years of active public life, I have been compelled to study closely the nature of our colonial and imperial relations, with the opportunity of mingling freely with the public men of the United States, and of examining their system and development; and I respectfully indulge a hope that some weight may be given to sincere convictions, formed after many years of anxious deliberation, and expressed with no wish to embarrass, but with a very sincere desire to aid the public men of the mother country in dealing with the great interests committed to their care.

## CHAPTER XXXII

1867

British North America Act passed—Mr. Howe publicly thanked—Correspondence between W. J. Stairs and Mr. Howe—Speech at Dartmouth—Address from people of Musquodoboit and reply—Letter “to the People of Canada”—Mr. Howe elected for Parliament in the county of Hants—Address before St. Patrick’s Society—Speeches in Parliament—Letter on reporting of speeches.

THE efforts of Mr. Howe and his fellow-delegates to prevent the passing of the British North America Act were of no avail. That Act received the Queen’s assent on March 29th, 1867, and by proclamation the Act came into force on July 1st, 1867. The failure of the mission was duly reported to the organization which sent the delegates; and at a meeting of the members of the Legislature and of other prominent citizens who were opposed to the union, held in Halifax on March 27th, 1867, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

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That the sincere and cordial thanks of this meeting be and are hereby tendered to the Hon. Joseph Howe for his very firm and patriotic vindication of the right of the people of Nova Scotia to be consulted on the question of the confederation of the colonies before the final consummation thereof by the colonial and imperial authorities; and that he be most kindly assured that the bearing and ability displayed by him in the discussion of that question, involving as it did the constitutional freedom of Nova Scotians for all time to come, will ever be held in grateful esteem in the hearts and the memories of his fellow-countrymen.

Mr. W. J. Stairs, who was president of the Anti-Confederate League, wrote Mr. Howe,<sup>1</sup> under date March 28th, 1867, that it was the wish of his friends in Nova Scotia that he should discontinue any line of public action which might be made at the sacrifice of his personal feelings and interests; that if he joined the Parliament at Ottawa his aid would be most important in moulding the

<sup>1</sup> “Joseph Howe,” by J. W. Longley, p. 194.

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constitution of the new Dominion; and that assurances had been given that he would be returned for the county of Hants. Mr. Howe's answer<sup>1</sup> (April 12th, 1867) was characteristic. He said:

. . . I had calculated all the chances before coming here, and knew that they were heavily against me. But I knew also that it was my duty to come. If I had not, my honour would have been tarnished and my conscience wounded. Having done my best, I can now sleep soundly. . . .

In leaving me perfectly free to follow my own fortunes, my friends have shown their appreciation of past labours, and recognize my right to repose. I have thought much of this matter during the past month, and I have come to these conclusions, that perplexed and comparatively defenceless as our people must be for some time, I am hardly at liberty to desert them now at the very crisis of their affairs, and when some guidance may be required—at all events, that I cannot do this, or seek or accept other employment until after the general election. If my countrymen desire my aid and wish me to go to Ottawa, they will say so and some county will elect me. . . . The matter must rest entirely with my countrymen.

. . . I have not, since I came here, asked any office or preferment, nor do I think, if any were offered, that I could honourably accept it without laying myself in some way open to the suspicion of in some way compromising the dignity of my mission.

It is apparent from Mr. Stair's letter, that if Mr. Howe had discontinued his opposition to confederation at this juncture, the anti-confederates would have been satisfied. In opposing the British North America Act, however, he always urged that it was not acceptable to the people of Nova Scotia. As an election was soon to be held, to make good his statement Mr. Howe felt that he must organize his forces, and demonstrate beyond dispute that the Province of Nova Scotia was overwhelmingly opposed to the union. He returned early in May, and on May 22nd delivered at Dartmouth the following speech,<sup>2</sup> in which he betrays no loss of his old-time warmth and vigour:

MEN OF DARTMOUTH,—Never, since the Indians came down the Shuben-acadie Lakes in 1750, burnt the houses of the early settlers, and scalped or carried them captives to the woods, have the people upon this harbour been called upon to face circumstances so serious as those which confront them now. We may truly say, in the language of Burke, that "the high roads are broken up and the waters are out," and that everything around us is in a state of

<sup>1</sup> "Joseph Howe," by J. W. Longley, pp. 195-196.

<sup>2</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, May 29th, 1867.



chaos and uncertainty. A year ago Nova Scotia presented the aspect of a self-governed community, loyal to a man, attached to their institutions, cheerful, prosperous and contented. You could look back upon the past with pride, on the present with confidence, and on the future with hope. Now all this has been changed. We have been entrapped into a revolution. You look into each other's faces and ask, What is to come next? You grasp each other's hands as though in the presence of sudden danger. You are a self-governed and independent community no longer. The institutions founded by your fathers, and strengthened and consolidated by your own exertions, have been overthrown. Your revenues are to be swept beyond your control. You are henceforward to be governed by strangers, and your hearts are wrung by the reflection that this has not been done by the strong hand of open violence, but by the treachery and connivance of those whom you trusted, and by whom you have been betrayed.

The Indians who scalped your forefathers were open enemies, and had good reason for what they did. They were fighting for their country, which they loved, as we have loved it in these latter years. It was a wilderness. There was perhaps not a square mile of cultivation, or a road or a bridge anywhere. But it was their home, and what God in His bounty had given them they defended like brave and true men. They fought the old pioneers of our civilization for a hundred and thirty years, and during all that time they were true to each other and to their country, wilderness though it was. There is no record or tradition of treachery or betrayal of trust among these savages to parallel that of which you complain. Let us, in imagination, do them the injustice they do not deserve, and assume that six of their young men went over and sold them to the Milicetes of New Brunswick or to the Penobscots of Maine. What would have happened? Would the old men, on their return, have folded them to their bosoms, or the young braves have trusted them again? No,—the tomahawk and the fire would have been their reward, and the duty of honour and good faith would have been illustrated by a terrible example. The race is mouldering away, but there is no stain of treason on its traditions. Even in its day of decadence and humiliation it challenges respect, and when the last of the Micmacs bows his head in his solitary camp and resigns his soul to his Creator, he may look back with pride upon the past, and thank the "Great Spirit" that there was not a Tupper or a Henry, an Archibald or a McCully in his tribe.

Look again at that dreary and uncertain hundred and thirty years which preceded the foundation of Halifax, which Beamish Murdoch (whose book it always gives me pleasure to recommend) so carefully delineates, and you will find that even among the earlier explorers and occupants of our western counties, fitful and uncertain as were their fortunes, there were fidelity and honour. When Halifax and Dartmouth were founded, when there were but a few thousand men upon this harbour, living within palisades and defended by block-houses—when an impenetrable wilderness lay behind them, and the

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woods were full of Indians and of French, we hear of no treachery, of no betrayal of trust. The "forefathers of our hamlets" were true to each other. They toiled in the belief that they were founding a noble Province that their posterity would govern. The loyalists, who came in great numbers during the revolutionary war, cherished the same belief, and never dreamed that the Province they were strengthening by their intelligence and industry was to be wrested from their descendants and governed by Canadians. The Scotch emigrants who flowed into our eastern counties came, attracted by a name they loved, to govern themselves, and transmit the country untrammelled to their descendants. The Irish, fleeing from a land that had been swindled out of its legislature, fondly believed that here they would find the freedom and the self-dependence they had sighed for at home. For ninety years all these industrial, intellectual and social elements, fusing into an active and high-spirited community, were led and guided by able and patriotic men, now no more. In fancy I can see them ranged around me in a noble historic gallery—Colonel Barclay and Isaac Wilkins, Sampson Salter Blowers, Foster Hutchinson, and many others. Was there one among them all who would have sold his country? Coming down to a later period, we find men of whom we are not ashamed. We are sometimes told that small countries produce small men, but John Young, Robie, Fairbanks, Bliss, Doyle, Huntington, Uniacke, Bell, in breadth of view, brilliancy and knowledge were the equals of the best that Canada ever produced. Which of these men would have sold Nova Scotia, or delivered her over, bound hand and foot, without the consent of her people to the government of strangers? There is not one whose picture would not start from the wall, whose bones would not rattle in the grave, at the very suspicion.

Sir, there is one name, that of S. G. W. Archibald, that among this fine fraternity is invested with a rare lustre in comparison with the recent achievement of one who has earned unenviable notoriety. When the rights and powers of our Parliament were menaced he defended them, and even though the immediate matter in dispute was but 4d. a gallon upon brandy, like the ship-money of old, it involved a principle, and Archibald defended the rights of the House, and the independent action in all matters of revenue and supply of the people of Nova Scotia. Gratefully is the act remembered, and now that we have seen all our revenues and the united power of taxation transferred to strangers, is it surprising that we should wish that the person who has perpetrated this outrage should have found another name?

The old men who sit around me, and the men of middle age who hear my voice, know that thirty years ago we engaged in a series of struggles which the growth of population, wealth and intelligence rendered inevitable. For what did we contend? Chiefly for the right of self-government. We won it from Downing Street after many a manly struggle, and we exercised and never abused it for a quarter of a century. Where is it now? Gone from us, and certain persons in Canada are now to exercise over us powers more arbitrary

and excessive than any the Colonial Secretaries ever claimed. Our Executive and Legislative Councillors were formerly selected in Downing Street. For more than twenty years we have appointed them ourselves. But the right has been bartered away by those who have betrayed us, and now we must be content with those our Canadian masters give. The batch already announced shows the principles which are to govern the selection.

For many years the Colonial Secretary dispensed our casual and territorial revenues. The sum rarely exceeded £12,000 sterling, but the money was ours, and yielding at last to common sense and rational argument, our claims were allowed. But what do we see now? Almost all our revenues—not twelve thousand but hundreds of thousands—are to be swept away and handed over to the custody and the administration of strangers.

The old men here remember when we had no control over our trade, and when Halifax was the only free port. By slow degrees we pressed for a better system, till, under the enlightened commercial policy of England, we were left untrammelled to levy what duties we pleased and to regulate our trade. Its marvellous development under our independent action astonishes ourselves, and is the wonder of strangers. We have fifty seaports carrying on foreign trade. Our shipyards are full of life and our flag floats on every sea. All this is changed: we can regulate our own trade no longer. We must submit to the dictation of those who live above the tide, and who will know little of and care less for our interests or our experience.

The right of self-taxation, the power of the purse, is in every country the true security for freedom. We had it. It is gone, and the Canadians have been invested by this precious batch of worthies, who are now seeking your suffrages, with the right to strip us "by any and every mode or system of taxation."

We struggled for years for the control of our Post Office. At that time rates were high, the system contracted; offices had only been established in the shire towns and in the more populous settlements. We gained the control, the rates were lowered and rendered uniform over the Provinces, newspapers were carried free, offices were established in all the thriving settlements and way offices on every road, but now all this comes to an end. Our Post Offices are to be regulated by a distant authority. Every post-master and every way office keeper is to be appointed and controlled by the Canadians.

Since the necessity for a better organization of the militia became apparent, our young men have shown a laudable spirit of emulation and have volunteered cheerfully, formed naval brigades, and shown a desire to acquire discipline and the use of arms. I have viewed these efforts with special interest. There is no period in the history of England when the great body of the people were better fed, better treated, or enjoyed more of the substantial comforts of life, than when every man was trained to the use of arms, and had his long-bow or his cross-bow in his house. The rifle is the modern weapon, and our people have not been slow to learn the use of it. Organized by their own Government,

commanded by their friends and neighbours, 50,000 men have been embodied and partially drilled for self-defence. But now strangers are to control this force—to appoint the officers and to direct its movements; and while our own shores may be undefended, the artillery company that trains upon the hills before us may be ordered away to any point of the Canadian frontier.

By the precious instrument by which we are hereafter to be bound, the Canadians are to fix the “salaries” of our principal public officers. We are to pay, but they can fix the amount, and who doubts but that our money will be squandered to reward the traitors who have betrayed us? Our “navigation and shipping” pass from our control, and the Canadians, who have not one ship to our three, are already boasting that they are the third maritime power in the world. Our “sea-coast and inland fisheries” are no longer ours. The shore fisheries have been handed over to the Yankees, and the Canadians can sell or lease to-morrow the fisheries of the Margaree, the Musquodoboit or the La Have.

Our “currency,” also, is to be regulated by the Canadians, and how they will regulate it we shrewdly suspect. Many of us remember when Nova Scotia was flooded with irresponsible paper, and have not forgotten the commercial crisis that ensued. In one summer thousands of people fled from the country, half the shops in Water Street, Halifax, were closed, and the grass almost grew in the Market Square. The paper was driven in. The banks were restricted to five-pound notes. All paper, under severe penalties, was made convertible. British coins were adopted as the standard of value, and silver has been ever since paid from hand to hand in all the smaller transactions of life. For a quarter of a century we have had free trade in banking, and the soundest currency in the world. Last spring Mr. Galt could not meet the obligations of Canada, and he could only borrow money at ruinous rates of interest. He seized upon the circulation, and partially adopted the greenback system of the United States. The country is now flooded with paper; only, if I am rightly informed, convertible in two places—Toronto and Montreal. The system will soon be extended to Nova Scotia, and the country will presently be flooded with “shin-plasters,” and the sound specie currency we now use will be driven out.

Our “savings banks” are also to be handed over. Hitherto the confidence of the people in these banks has been universal. We had the security of our own Government, watched by our own vigilance, and controlled by our own votes, for the sacred care of deposits. What are we to have now? Nobody knows, but we do know that the savings of the poor and the industrious are to be handed over to the Canadians. They also are to regulate the interest of money. The usury laws have never been repealed in Nova Scotia, and yet capital could always be commanded here at six, and often at five per cent. In Canada the rate of interest ranges from eight to ten per cent., and is often much higher. With confederation will come these higher rates of interest, grinding the faces of the poor.

But it is said, why should we complain? we are still to manage our local affairs. I have shown you that self-government, in all that gives dignity and security to a free state, is to be swept away. The Canadians are to appoint our governors, judges and senators. They are to "tax us by any and every mode" and spend the money. They are to regulate our trade, control our Post Offices, command the militia, fix the salaries, do what they like with our shipping and navigation, with our sea-coast and river fisheries, regulate the currency and the rate of interest, and seize upon our savings banks. What remains? Listen, and be comforted. You are to have the privilege of "imposing direct taxation, within the Province, in order to the raising of revenue for Provincial purposes." Why do you not go down on your knees and be thankful for this crowning mercy when fifty per cent. has been added to your *ad valorem* duties, and the money has been all swept away to dig canals or fortify Montreal. You are to be kindly permitted to keep up your spirits and internal improvements by direct taxation.

Who does not remember, some years ago, when I proposed to pledge the public revenues of the Province to build our railroads, how Tupper went screaming all over the Province that we should be ruined by the expenditure, and that "direct taxation" would be the result. He threw me out of my seat in Cumberland by this and other unprincipled war-cries. Well, the roads have been built, and not only were we never compelled to resort to direct taxation, but so great has been the prosperity resulting from those public works that, with the lowest tariff in the world, we have trebled our revenue in ten years, and with a hundred and fifty miles of railroad completed, and nearly as much more under contract, we have had an overflowing treasury, and money enough to meet all our obligations, without having been compelled, like the Canadians, to borrow money at eight per cent. and to manufacture greenbacks.

But if we had been compelled to pay direct taxes for a few years to create a railroad system that by-and-by would be self-sustaining, and that would have been a great blessing in the meantime, the object would have been worth the sacrifice. But we never paid a farthing. What then? The falsehood did its work. Tupper won the seat, and now, after giving our railroads away, and all our general revenues besides, the doctor, after being rejected by Halifax, is trying to make the people of Cumberland believe that to pay "direct taxes" for all sorts of services is a pleasant and profitable pastime. Cumberland may believe and trust him again, but if it does, the people are not so shrewd or so patriotic as I think they are.

But listen, you have another great privilege. What do you think it is? You are allowed "to borrow money." But will anybody lend it? Most people find that they can borrow money easiest when they do not want it, but where is it to be got? The general government, who can tax you "by any and every mode," and override your legislation as they please, have also power to borrow. If I know anything of the men who now rule the roost in Canada, they will screw every dollar out of you that you are able to pay, and borrow

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while there is a pound to be raised at home or abroad. Thus fleeced, and with the credit of the Dominion thus exhausted, who will lend you a sixpence should you happen to want it? Nobody who is not a fool. There is not a delegate among the lot who would lend £100 upon such security.

But you have other great privileges. Listen again. You are generously permitted to maintain "the poor," and to provide for your "hospitals, prisons and lunatic asylums." We have it on divine authority that the poor "will be always with us," and come what may we must provide for them. What I fear is that, under confederation, the number will be largely increased, and that when the country is taxed and drained of its circulation, the rich will be poorer and the industrious classes severely straitened. The lunatic asylum of course we must keep up, because Archibald may want it by-and-by to put Tupper and Henry into at the close of the elections.

Keep cool, my friends. This precious instrument confers upon you other high powers and privileges. You are permitted to establish local courts, and to "fine and imprison" each other. And this brings me to the key to this whole "mystery of iniquity." Local courts you may establish. The Supreme Court is to be transferred to the general government, which is to appoint the judges and fix the salaries. Our judges now receive £700 or £800 currency per annum. The judges in Canada get £1000 or £1250 currency. The delegation which represented Nova Scotia in Canada and England was composed of five lawyers and a doctor. What the doctor is to get we may see by-and-by, but the five lawyers expect to be judges. John A. Macdonald knew this very well, and when he opened his confederation mouse-trap he did not bait it with toasted cheese. Judgeships, with these high salaries, was the bait that he dangled before their noses. They were caught, and though they hated each other, and had spoken a good deal of severe truth of each other before they went to Quebec, the bait produced a marvellous effect upon them, and, like a happy family, they have lived in brotherly love ever since, wagging their tails just whenever Mr. Macdonald told them.

But this bait was intended to have effect outside the mere delegation—to influence judges and lawyers in all the provinces. The confederates tell us that in this Province all the judges and lawyers are in favour of this scheme. If it were so, we should perhaps not be much surprised. All the carpenters would be in favour of it if you could convince them that their wages would be doubled. Let us hope that this assertion is but a scandal.

The bar, certainly, is not all in favour of the scheme. Many high-spirited men in the profession loathe the very name of confederation. As respects the judges, whatever may be their opinions, let us hope that they have never expressed them. Among the other inestimable blessings which we have had in Nova Scotia has been a pure administration of justice—a spotless ermine, worn by men above suspicion of political bias or corruption. Let us hope that this distinction may be ours while our old constitution lasts. "Shadows, clouds and darkness" rest upon the future, and nobody can tell what we are to have next.

Hitherto we have been a self-governed and independent community, our allegiance to the Queen, who rarely vetoed a law, being the only restraint upon our action. We appointed every officer but the Governor. How were the high powers exercised? Less than a century and a quarter ago, the moose and the bear roamed unmolested where we stand. Within that time the country has been cleared—society organized. The Province has been intersected with free roads—the streams have been bridged—the coasts lighted—the people educated, and all the modern facilities afforded by cheap postage, telegraphs, and railroads were rapidly being brought to every man's door, and the growth of our mercantile marine evinced the enterprise and indomitable spirit of the people. A few years since there were eleven "captain cards" upon the Noel shore. Some time ago I went into a house in the township of Yarmouth. There was a frame hanging over the mantelpiece with seven photographs in it. "Who are these?" I asked, and the matron replied, smiling, "These are my seven sailor boys." "But these are not boys, they are stout powerful men, Mrs. Hatfield." "Yes," said the mother, with the faintest possible exhibition of maternal pride, "they all command fine ships, and have all been round Cape Horn." It is thus that our country grew and thrived while we governed it ourselves, and the spirit of adventure and of self-reliance was admirable. But now, "with bated breath and whispering humbleness," we are told to acknowledge our masters, and, if we wish to ensure their favour, we must elect the very scamps by whom we have been betrayed and sold.

But we are told that we ought to be reconciled to all this because we are to have the Intercolonial Railroad, and because, financially, the delegates have made so good a bargain. If you will bear with me a few moments I will dissipate this delusion. I am speaking from memory, and my figures may not be strictly accurate. But in the main they will be found correct, and the argument based upon them is irresistible.

When I went into the Legislature in 1837 our revenue was about £60,000. It only doubled in seventeen years, before we commenced building our railroads. In 1854 we passed our railroad laws, and in 1855 Tupper went screaming all over Cumberland, prophesying ruin and decay. In ten years since then our revenues have trebled, and last year amounted to £400,000. We have built the road to Truro, the road to Windsor, the extension to Pictou; and before this precious bargain and sale of all our resources was consummated we had the Northern road to New Brunswick, all of the Intercolonial within our borders, and the road to Annapolis under contract. We had money enough to pay for all these roads without being under any compliment to the Canadians or the British Government either; and in ten years more, without financial embarrassment, could have extended our system to Yarmouth on the one side, and to Sydney on the other. At this moment it was—with my railroad policy so successful—the country, that Tupper swore I had ruined, so prosperous—the treasury, which he declared was milked dry, overflowing year by year, under the tariff we bequeathed to him, and our debentures two or three per cent. above the

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bonds of Canada—that we were sold like sheep. This was the moment for these delegates to step in and trade us away, our rights and revenues, to Canada. God help us, and enable us “to possess our souls in patience.” No such deed as this was ever done or attempted where death was not the penalty.

I cannot help smiling when I hear Tupper crowing about the railroads he has built. He ought to be ashamed of vain boasting. We all know, and he knows, that had his warning voice been heeded, there never would have been a mile of railroad built in Nova Scotia up to this hour. The roads to Windsor and to Truro were built upon the policy inaugurated by myself, and with the money borrowed by me in England. What had he to do with it? Just this—that the Government having changed, he and his colleagues paid away about £40,000 of your money to a parcel of contractors who set up irregular claims. All the roads made since have been made on my policy of pledging the public credit to make them, which Tupper declared would be ruinous. There has been, however, an important difference in the mode of dealing with contracts and expending the money, which ought to be held up to indignant reprobation.

When I was at the head of the Railway Board I was surrounded by six business men, an accountant, and an engineer. Every mile of road was thrown open to competition by tender and contract. When tenders were sent in they were placed in custody of the accountant till the time expired, and the whole board assembled. I never looked at one of them till they were opened in presence of all the commissioners, the accountant, and engineer. The lowest tender, if the party produced good security, took the contract, without reference to politics, to country, or to creed. Look at the new system inaugurated by Dr. Tupper. Take the Pictou line as an illustration. A number of our own people tendered for the work. If kindly treated, some of them might have pulled through. If they did not, their bondsmen were liable. By a system of dealing, instead of the work being put up to tender again, the whole was handed over to the engineer by private bargain, a system most unfair to the whole people, and open to suspicion of gross favouritism and corruption. Instead of offering the northern and western lines to fair competition, the Government took powers to hand them over, by private bargain, to whomever they chose to select. I do not say, because I cannot prove, that any of the members of the Government were sleeping partners, or profited by these contracts. But I do say that the system was most perilous to the public interests, and open to grave objections. We pray to be “kept out of temptation,” but these gentlemen, with profitable contracts to dispose of, amounting to nearly a million and a half of money, exposed themselves to temptations hard to resist, and laid themselves open to suspicions widely entertained. I left the Railway Board as poor as I went into it. I bought or built no property then or since. I hope those who succeeded to the administration have left with hands as clean.

Let me turn your attention, now, to the bargain that has been made with Canada. We give them the roads already completed, which have cost nearly a



million and a half. We give them the roads under contract, which may cost another million. We give them revenue enough to cover the interest upon these roads, till they pay, when they will get them for nothing, and have the revenue besides. Our whole revenue now amounts to £400,000. It has trebled in ten years. If it only doubles in the next ten we will have £800,000. By that time our old roads will pay, and the new ones yield half the interest. Out of this sum we are to get back of our own money £133,000, a sum utterly inadequate to provide for Provincial services now, and by that time deplorably insufficient. We can only provide for those services by direct taxation. The Canadians get all the rest.

Hitherto I have reasoned upon a ten per cent. tariff, which would have provided for all our wants, and given a fund for railway extension to the extremities of the Province, east and west. But we know that under confederation our tariff will be raised to fifteen per cent. If the revenue is collected, taking our Customs duties at \$1,231,902, the additional taxation will take out of our pockets \$500,000 the very first year. The interest on the £3,000,000 required for the Intercolonial road is £120,000 sterling. The road will take four years to construct. The Canadians will only pay interest as the work goes on, yet from the start they will take out of our pockets by increased duties, to say nothing of the general revenues surrendered, £100,000 sterling, a sum nearly sufficient to pay the interest on the whole three millions. This is the profitable bargain they have made, and they have the audacity to suppose that Nova Scotians are such idiots that they can cover up the transaction with every species of falsehood and mystification. They shall not do this. It shall be presented to the people everywhere in its naked deformity and injustice, and when it is they will pronounce universal condemnation. You have been told that Mr. Annand, Mr. McDonald, and I opposed the Intercolonial Railroad. Why, if the bargain had been a good one, we would have flung the road to the winds to save the independence of the Province, but being what it is, a fraud upon the revenues and an insult to the common sense of Nova Scotia, we did our best to defeat it.

But confederation will bring with it other blessings. Stamp duties, hitherto unknown, will soon be imposed, and toll-bars will become ornaments of the scenery. We have but two toll bridges in the Province, and all our roads are free. In Canada you can hardly travel five miles without being stopped by a toll-bar, and compelled to pay for the use of the road. Our newspapers now go free, but they will soon be taxed as they are in Canada. For all these mercies should we not be thankful to the delegates? Yes, as thankful as men are for the plague or the smallpox.

But we are told when we complain of this fraudulent conveyance of our independence—of this reckless sacrifice of our dearest interests, that we are disloyal—that we are annexationists, Fenians, and dangerous persons. Are we indeed?

A year ago there was no annexationist in Nova Scotia. If there are any

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now, we have to thank those who have overthrown our institutions, and treated the population with contempt. This old cry of disloyalty does not terrify me. It has been raised by some interested faction at every crisis of our Provincial history. I met it at the outset of my public life, and trampled the accusation under my feet in the old trial with the magistrates of Halifax. I met it again at the outbreak of the Canadian rebellion, and put the enemy to shame by the publication of my letter to Chapman. The records are here, and he who runs may read. [Holding up a volume of speeches.] Surrounded by the élite of Massachusetts, all the Yankees eminent in station and distinguished by talent, I have vindicated the institutions and upheld the honour of Great Britain. You know—these wretched slanderers know—how at Detroit, before the commercial representatives of the Provinces and of the Northern States, I won the respect of our neighbours by the triumphant vindication of British interests; and won what, perhaps, I valued as much, the thanks of my Sovereign, conveyed to me by the Secretary of State. But Dr. Tupper accuses me of disloyalty, does he, and sets his newspapers, subsidized with public plunder, to asperse better men than himself?

Let me contrast his conduct with my own. During the Crimean war our army was decimated by the great battles of the Alma, Balaclava and Inkerman. Surrounded by hordes of Russians, and suffering for supplies, there was some risk that they might be driven into the sea. Reinforcements were urgently required, and a Foreign Enlistment Act was passed. To assist in carrying out that Act I risked my life for two months in the United States, surrounded by Russian agents, American sympathisers, and Fenians. Mr. Gibson, now in this room, was in New York at the time, and knew the state of feeling, and urged me to quit the service and not risk imprisonment or personal violence. I persevered, rarely sleeping twice in the same bed till recalled; and this I did for England in her hour of peril, and never received a pound for my services, or asked one.<sup>1</sup> Now, what was Dr. Tupper doing at this time? He was scouring the county of Cumberland while I was absent on the service of the Crown, meanly endeavouring to deprive me of my seat. He slandered me in every part of the county—he invented stories that I was imprisoned and would not be back. I only got back a few days before the election, too late for any canvass or efficient organization, and was defeated, of course. In this dishonourable mode he won the seat he now holds, and certainly illustrated his devotion to his Sovereign after a mode that ought to be remembered. At a later period, in 1862, when, foreseeing the dangers which have since threatened these Provinces, my Government revived the militia law and increased the annual grant for defence, did not this very loyal gentleman endeavour to reduce the Governor's salary, to deprive him of the vote for a secretary, and to strike out \$8000 of the grant for the militia upon the ground that the Province was so poor that it could not afford the expense?

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Justice Longley states on page 159 of his book that Mr. Howe received £2000 for his services; but the statement is incorrect.

I pass by this "retrenchment scheme" as utterly beneath contempt. I pass by the wretched jobs by which his administration has been distinguished from its commencement to its close. Let me waste a few words on the cry that "we ought to send the best men"—by which, of course, these precious delegates mean themselves. The best men! Of this lot, bad is the best. Now the best men to send are not scheming lawyers, who would dig up and sell their fathers' bones for money or preferment, but honest men in whom the people of this country have entire confidence.

Dr. Tupper has already chosen his twelve senators, and now he wants to be allowed to choose the people's representatives. Why should he not? You were too stupid to pass an opinion upon confederation. Are you sure that you have sense enough to choose a representative? The "best men"!—let us see how he has chosen. In the first place he has taken six senators from one county, leaving eleven counties entirely unrepresented. Then he has taken three men who were open and avowed anti-confederates; who ratted, sold themselves, and were purchased by the distinction. A friend came in and told me last spring that he was afraid Bill<sup>1</sup> was being tampered with, as he saw Tupper taking him up to Government House that morning. I discredited the story, because I did not believe that the Queen's representative would degrade his office by canvassing and tampering with members of the House. I think so still. No doubt the visit was one of mere form, but Caleb's name appears in the list of Ottawa senators, and who doubts how his sudden conversion was effected? Compare him with McHeffy, who is in gentlemanly manners, intelligence and sturdy independence, out of sight his superior. Yet the best man is left behind because he would not sell his country. Who does not remember Miller denouncing the confederation scheme on the platform in Temperance Hall, and there and everywhere declaring that it ought to be sent to the hustings. But he was a convert, and the price must be paid, even though Mather Almon, who in experience and weight of character was his superior in every quality required for a legislator, should be left behind.

Of the candidates who have presented themselves for the representation of this county on the other side, it is enough to say that they are on that side, and are not the men for Galway. I would vote against my own brother if he had a hand in these transactions, or if he attempted to justify the mode in which the people of Nova Scotia have been treated. The very life and soul of any country are honour and good faith. We can never hold up our heads till we stamp out treachery, as we would the rinderpest if it came here. We would not let a plague spread among our cattle, and we must not allow our people to be contaminated with the example of these delegates. Such treason as theirs, in other countries, would earn for them the halter or axe. We may not even elevate them to the dignity of tar and feathers, but we can at least leave them on the stools of repentance to become wiser and better men.

Of the people's candidates I need say but little. They are known to

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Senator Caleb Bill.

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you all, as industrious, honest, business men, of shrewdness and intelligence. Mr. Cochrane and Mr. Power are universally respected by the body to which they belong, and enjoy the confidence of the community. Mr. Jones and Mr. Northup are men to whom you can safely entrust your interests at home and abroad. Mr. Balcom I have known for twenty years. I have slept beneath his roof, and know that in his domestic relations and in his commercial activity he is a fitting representative of the sturdy class of men who are enlivening the sea-coast by their industry. None of these men care for public distinctions. They would retire to-morrow, if by so doing they could serve their country. They can serve her best by fighting her battles out, and I hope to see the whole five triumphantly returned.

Between May and the middle of September, Mr. Howe delivered speeches in various parts of the Province. On June 6th, he spoke at Musquodoboit, and his old friends in that district presented him with an address to which he replied as follows :

MUSQUODOBOIT, *June 6th, 1867.*

GENTLEMEN,—For twelve years you honoured me with your suffrages, for more than a quarter of a century you have given me your political support, and within that time I passed upon this river, in intimate and close communion with you, two of the happiest years of my life. You know me well, and have never failed me, and can judge how this warm welcome, after so long an absence, touches my heart, and how much it will be appreciated by Mrs. Howe and my family.

It has been said on both sides of the Atlantic that the people of Nova Scotia no longer sympathise with me or share my opinions. Yet I go into the counties misrepresented by those who make these statements, only to find myself welcomed by demonstrations of unmistakable significance, and to be greeted by the masses everywhere without reference to old party lines.

I miss from among you some of the old friends who respected and loved me, and who now sleep tranquilly on the hillsides. They have been spared the evil day through which we are passing, and the perils and uncertainties that we are called to confront. We would not wish them back, but the resolute performance of our public duties is the best tribute we can pay to their memories.

May the blessings of Heaven rest upon your homes, where the domestic virtues are happily illustrated ; and while the hand of cultivation year by year gives additional softness to the scenery, may the sturdy independence of character, so characteristic of the Musquodoboit, never pass away.—Believe me, gentlemen, very sincerely yours,

JOSEPH HOWE.

Provoked by some comments of the newspapers of the Upper Provinces, Mr. Howe published the following letter addressed "To the People of Canada" :

CANADIANS,—I do not see Canadian papers regularly, but extracts from them are occasionally copied into the Halifax journals, from which I gather some knowledge of the spirit by which they are inspired.

For many weeks after the great convention at Detroit, the editors and public writers of the United Provinces were loud and unanimous in their expressions of gratitude for the services I was supposed to have rendered to all British America. When it became known that I was opposed to the scheme of confederation, and claimed for the people of Nova Scotia the right to be heard before their revenues were swept away and their institutions were overthrown, the tone was suddenly changed; and, in a great many of the Canadian journals, particularly in those sustaining the present Government, my character, conduct and opinions were for months systematically depreciated and maligned. All this was very ungenerous and unfair, but I trust I have borne it with complacency. The expressed admiration of all Canada did not turn my head, and vituperation and abuse have not driven me from the path of duty which has been trodden, I trust, with fearless independence. I have lived long enough to prize my own self-respect far above praise or censure, even from those I esteem.

A writer in a Montreal paper, experimenting, I presume, upon my nerves, recently declared that if I ventured to come to Ottawa, he would convince me that I was "out of place in an assembly of loyal gentlemen." But I mean to come, the threat of this cowardly braggart to the contrary notwithstanding; and when, in an assembly where will sit rebels and annexationists not a few, I justify every word and act of a loyal public life of more than thirty years, he may, perhaps, find himself rather "out of place" and out of humour.

Another writer, that a Toronto paper says is Mr. McGee, felicitates himself upon the pleasure it will give him to see Mr. Brown and Mr. Howe advance to the table and take the oath of allegiance. Neither, I apprehend, will be much embarrassed. With Mr. Brown, since the passage of the Imperial Act, I have had no correspondence, nor have I, at this moment, any political connection; but that gentleman, having been a consistent advocate of union, can take the oath, I presume; and I, having expressed my determination to bow to the paramount authority of Parliament, and try the experiment, am not likely to be deterred by necessary forms from endeavouring to improve a measure which I believe to be sadly defective, and to avert the evils wherewith it is charged; and perhaps I shall do all this with quite as much sincerity as those upon whom oaths and national obligations have hitherto seemed to impose but little restraint.

My sincerity might be suspected if, born in the British Islands, and bound by natural allegiance, to which an oath is but supplementary, I had broken that allegiance, and endeavoured to dismember the empire by force of arms—if, having failed in that conspiracy, I feared to die for my opinions, and fled, leaving my poor dupes to suffer the penalties of my treasons, or if, having taken refuge in a foreign country, I had for years continued to conspire against my

own and to arouse against its Government and laws the passions of an expatriated and sensitive population ; and then, as if to complete the circle of inconsistency, had spent the decline of my life in denouncing the misguided beings whose passions I had laboured to inflame. Not having done any of these things, I hope to be able to hold up my head, even in the presence of those by whom they have been perpetrated.

But it is said in other Canadian papers, Howe has not repented of his opposition to confederation. This is true. I have not repented, and never shall, till the working of the measure falsifies my predictions. The page of my public life of which I shall ever be most justly proud is that whereon is unfolded the earnestness and sincerity with which, against fearful odds, I defended the independence of my native Province, and endeavoured to protect her people from insult and spoliation.

That task is over—that duty is done. A new page is opening before us, on which is to be written the future of British America. Nova Scotia has one solemn obligation resting upon her. It is to withdraw confidence which has been abused—to punish those by whom her settled convictions were disregarded and her franchises overridden. When this duty has been discharged, with a unanimity and decision which shall impress the rising generation with the value of honour and good faith, our public men will be prepared to face the future with a full conviction of the nature of their solemn obligations. They will probably go to Ottawa untrammelled by party ties, and prepared to listen with respect to anybody whose arguments are worth their attention, and to vote for what is right, whenever their judgments are convinced.

One thing I sincerely trust they will not do, and that is, countenance the policy of costly armaments and warlike preparations announced by Mr. McGee. If Belgium stood alone beside France, with no other power in Europe to sustain her, how absurd it would seem if she were advised to make every man a soldier, to arm at once with the best weapons, and prepare for war, and to crush her industry by the taxation required to keep up standing armies out of all proportion to her resources. Against whom? would be the natural question. Against France must be the answer, if there was no other nation on the Continent to fight. How long would France, thus threatened, be tranquil and unaggressive? But, even if contemptuously indifferent, would not all the rest of the world laugh at a Belgian politician beating his “kettle-drum” in this absurd fashion? Now, our confederacy, being not nearly so compact, relatively to the United States, is as weak as Belgium. Peace with the republic is a necessity for us. If war comes, and Great Britain helps us to the utmost extent of her power, all the regular troops in England, if sent over, cannot more than face two army corps that could be thrown upon our frontiers in a fortnight. A standing army, fit to face another, would crush our finances and industry beneath a weight of taxation that would be intolerable; and what are three army corps, or 150,000 men, to the million of soldiers that the Northern States alone can bring into the field? Do, then, stop Mr. McGee’s warlike

propensities, and keep the "kettle-drum" quiet until sensible men can get together, and see if the commercial relations of the two countries cannot be put upon some rational footing, out of which we may gather securities for a peaceful and prosperous future.

There is another subject that requires to be well considered. British Columbia, far enough off and easily defended before the cession of Russian America, is now sandwiched and completely at the mercy of the United States. The obligation to defend her at present rests upon Great Britain. From her entrance into the confederacy the obligation will rest upon us. The Nova Scotians have no very great desire to march to the Pacific on such an errand, nor will the Canadians either, or I am much mistaken, when the subject comes to be understood.

But I took up my pen to make a few personal explanations, and have no desire to anticipate discussions which will task our highest powers by-and-by. The editor of *The Quebec Gazette* attributes to me the declaration that if I were an Irishman I would be a Fenian. Let us hope that he has been deceived by some trash written here. No such thing was said, but the very reverse, as you may discover from the following extract: "I have no special love for Fenians. I have ever counselled Irishmen to seek for a redress of their grievances by loyal and peaceful means. I believe that any attempt to wrest Ireland from England by force must fail, and I believe that any attempt to disturb these Provinces, where Irishmen enjoy all the blessings of civil and religious liberty, would be wicked and ought to be resisted. Fenianism was attributed to misgovernment, and if you held your lands by Irish tenures, had to support a crowd of absentees, live in hovels, and maintain a dominant Church, you would probably think so too." On another point I know we shall not differ. A sincere believer in a religion that is unfounded is entitled to more respect than a renegade who renounces the true faith in which he was bred; and you will readily appreciate the contrast which I drew between an Irishman who had died for his country, and a Nova Scotian by whom ours had been betrayed.

An Order in Council has just been issued at Ottawa appointing the 1st of July next as a holiday, in which we are all expected to fire guns and rejoice, on the establishment of the new order of things.

The good taste and policy of this proceeding is more than questionable. A year hence, or five years hence, we may, if the advocates of this measure are not mistaken, have cause to rejoice; but just now, in Nova Scotia, we feel more like mourning. Canada may exult because she has possessed herself of two noble Provinces by intrigue, without the cost of war. But we have to mourn the loss of our independence—to fit a strange yoke upon our necks—to look at fisheries bargained away, staples without market, a Legislature shorn of all dignity and influence, and a future full of peril and uncertainty. Oh no, you can hardly expect us to rejoice. The Romans did not ask the Sabine women to dance and sing on the very day of their captivity. The Hebrew youth, sold into bondage by his brethren, was not compelled by his purchasers

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to be glad. There may come a time when the 1st of July may be a day of cheerfulness in Nova Scotia. This year, notwithstanding the zealous bluster of a few officials, it will be a day of gloom—of intense sorrow; and the fact that you have insultingly asked us to rejoice in our own degradation, will but intensify the determination to punish those by whom we have been insulted and betrayed.—Yours truly,

JOSEPH HOWE.

The elections took place on September 18th. All the counties of Nova Scotia, with the exception of Cumberland, returned avowed anti-confederates to the Parliament of Canada. Mr. Howe carried the county of Hants, the vote standing: Howe, 1530; King, 956. In the Provincial elections held at the same time, out of thirty-eight members returned, only two confederates were elected.

The first session of the first Parliament of Canada was opened on November 6th, 1867, and was closed on May 22nd, 1868. Mr. Howe, on his way to Ottawa, made some stay in Montreal, and while there delivered an address before St. Patrick's Society,<sup>1</sup> on November 4th. Mr. Howe said:

At a convivial meeting of this kind politics would be out of place. I have been talking little else for the last twelve or thirteen weeks, and I am now going to a place where there will be politics enough and speaking enough for some time to come. This, as I understand it, is a convivial meeting intended to promote charitable objects, in which you meet to see each other's faces, to hear your own old songs sung, a night set aside for amusement, and in which the man who loves truly and sincerely his own country, wherever that may be, may yet receive a hearty welcome. This meeting is, no doubt, something similar to other meetings at which I have been present in Halifax, in which city for years a similar society has existed, and where a good deal of fun has been made of which queer stories are told. [The hon. gentleman gave a number of amusing reminiscences which set the audience in roars of laughter, and continued.] I have left behind me a body of men and women of Irish origin, many of them landed not a great many years ago, with the memory of their native land still green in their souls, and lots of these, worth from \$50,000 to \$100,000 apiece, made by honest industry, and I have never seen a body of men, aye, and of women too, better fed, better clothed, and looking more respectable than are these people. I had the honour to belong to one of their societies, and had twice the honour of being chosen the president, and at their annual dinners the highest authorities were always present. I find here what I left at home, honest and industrious men—brave men and fair women. The same thing will be found all through the other Provinces, and it may be said to their credit, that while they maintain the striking characteristics of their

<sup>1</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, November 12th, 1867.



own country, they fall into the ways of the new country, behave themselves well, and show a good example to the children whom they rear. It has been my good fortune to stand on the soil of old Ireland several times. I was there in 1838 with Sam Slick, whom I daresay you have all heard of. I was there again in 1851, in 1862, in 1865, and again last year, and every time I have tried as an outsider to see what is of the greatest interest to you as belonging to a land from which you draw your blood, and to which you owe your origin. I am not going to discuss politics, but I must say I tried to understand something of the strange puzzle which that country presents. What is the matter with the country? The land is as beautiful as any to be met with; the soil, resting on a limestone foundation, is of the most fertile character; her lakes are the most beautiful in the world. In 1838, when I saw the country for the first time, I have no hesitation in saying that it was capable of maintaining in peace and abundance all the men that were there, and yet they were in poverty and destitution. I have rambled over the country, and have studied parliamentary statistics bearing on the question, but it seems to be still a problem. Turn to the actual state of it. Four or five years ago a splendid woman in the old country—Miss Burdett-Coutts—was disposed to assist in sending emigrants to Nova Scotia, and I spent a week overhauling parliamentary statistics for her information. That noble lady sent 500 poor people from England and Ireland, and landed them in Nova Scotia, where they have never since suffered distress, and in which they bless her. But while I searched these statistics to satisfy that benevolent lady, they gave me something to reflect on, and I examined the returns of the wages in seventeen counties, the lowest being Tipperary, which averaged throughout the year about 5s. 7d. a week for a strong man. The highest was Roscommon, which averaged about 10s. 3d., although for about a month or two they might make about 15s. Strong women would make about 3s. 5d. to 5s., and stout boys from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d., and this with fine fisheries and abundant resources, which should be available for raising not only the necessaries, but the luxuries of life. You ask, like me, what is the matter, and I can only say I cannot tell. It is clear there is something wrong with the management of the country. Here in Canada, in Nova Scotia, in every State of the Union, in England and Scotland, there is a measure of prosperity which Ireland has not. What would be thought of the matter if any man were called here to pay 5s. to any Church not his own?

The name of Hampden ought to be venerated for refusing to pay the ship-money. There was a great principle to be contended for, and I can only say in my case that if any man asked me to pay a pound to any Church not my own—I will not say what I would do—but I would not pay it. There is something wrong in the way the land is managed. We can surely say this much without being thought disaffected. Lord Russell says so, Mr. Gladstone says so, and that the management ought to be changed. Look at Prince Edward Island, which has laboured under difficulties from the land tenure, and does so still to some extent. When it was first taken possession of, some

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thirty or forty tickets were shaken in a hat, and the land divided among that number of people in England. They have been suffering from this cause, but they have now been engaged buying up the lands and extinguishing the tenant system, and are we to blame if we think such a plan could be applied to Ireland? In Canada there has been the seigniorial tenure, but the Government stepped in and had that modified, and in Ireland something ought to be done in the same line. After reading I don't know how many books, and hearing I do not know how many speeches, I learned more from an Irishman who was driving a fat pig, whom I congratulated on being able to get a fine rasher from it. "Devil resave the bit," said he; "the landlord lives at Florence, and it must support him, and the agent lives in Dublin, and it must support him, and by the time the dues of the priest that blesses me and the priest that curses me are paid to the back of that, the pig's all gone."

The truth is, that the money earned by the peasant goes out of the country, and leaves a vacuum, instead of being kept to fructify the land and to support enterprise. The consequence is that a large portion of the population lives on diet that would not be submitted to here, and their habitations are in many cases such as the people of Upper Canada and Lower Canada would not stable their horses in. In Nova Scotia, whatever you may do here, we discuss the state of Ireland, and try to find out the causes of its misfortunes, and yet I do not know a single disloyal man among them—not one. Yet after all they love to get together on St. Patrick's night, or at a meeting of the Benevolent Society, such as this is, and the widow struck down by misfortune, and the orphans deprived of parents, when they appeal to them, never do so in vain. And during the eighty years the old society had been in existence in Halifax, the grateful prayer of the widows and orphans has ascended to heaven for the society by whom these benefits have been dispensed. If this society is like ours, as I take it for granted it is, you are to be respected and not abused.

It is true of Irish men and women, and who can blame them for it, that they do not tear out of their inmost heart the recollections of their native land. I see around me evidence of the respectability, intelligence and wealth of the Irish of Montreal, and I congratulate you on these, which I am delighted to see, while I thank you for the opportunity you have offered me of being an eye-witness of them. When myself and my friends from the lower Province were leaving, we did not know how we would be received here; but I am glad to say that we have been shown nothing but kindness and attention from all classes and creeds since we came to the city, and I can only say that if at any future time it is in my power, I shall be glad to participate in your enjoyments and to be of any assistance that I can. As a politician I have nothing to say here, but I am going where whatever opinions I hold will be honestly and openly expressed. I only ask that they be weighed fairly, and that I may be judged without prejudice.

In the autumn of 1867, Mr. Howe made several speeches in Parliament. He spoke on the address, on the acquisition of Rupert's Land, on the Grand Trunk Railway, and on a number of other important questions. But no adequate report of these speeches was made. In those days there was no official reporting. The Ontario papers published the speeches of their members very fully; the Quebec papers did the same with respect to their members. Mr. Howe's were either condensed or altogether omitted.

In a private letter, dated November 22nd, 1867, Mr. Howe wrote :

My speeches have been wretchedly reported and not revised at all. They have no paid reporters, and the reports you read are telegraphed to sundry papers in Montreal and Toronto, which contribute to a fund for that purpose. Of course they are greatly condensed. The Upper Canada members write out their speeches for the local papers, and some of the French do the same. McGee, Tupper, Macdonald, McLelan, and a few others, have written their speeches out. I cannot do this as mine were long, and the labour, to say nothing of the cost of publishing them, would be too great.

## CHAPTER XXXIII

1868

Repeal meeting at Temperance Hall—Mr. Howe's speech—Another delegation to England—Mr. Howe one of the delegates—Conferences with Dr. Tupper—Letter to R. Robertson—Sir John Macdonald and colleagues visit Halifax—Mr. Howe's letter recommending courteous treatment to them—Convention and conference with delegates—Letter to John Livingstone—Mr. Howe's letter on political situation—Strained relations with Provincial Executive—Letter to Robert Boak—Letter to *The Eastern Chronicle*—Five letters in *The Morning Chronicle*—Speech at Agricultural Exhibition.

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THE anti-confederates, having carried the elections in Nova Scotia as they did, determined now to agitate for a repeal of the British North America Act, so far as their Province was concerned. A meeting in favour of repeal was called for January 13th, 1868, in Temperance Hall, Halifax, and Mr. Howe, who had returned from Ottawa, was invited to speak. He responded to the call, and was received with great enthusiasm. He spoke as follows :<sup>1</sup>

In quieter times I should be very apt to commence my address by wishing to you all a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. But I am rather afraid that this year is not going to be one of the happiest with us. I fear that our Christmas was somewhat disturbed by hard thoughts, and that we have a year before us of doubt, anxiety and deep solicitude. The year past, thank Providence, was a year of triumph and gratification. The elections which came off in autumn showed what the temper of the country was, and we should be pleased and happy, if for nothing else, because the manhood of Nova Scotia had vindicated itself before the whole world. I never had a doubt as to what the result would be, and when I stood here last summer and talked of the coming elections, I was confident of our success. I had had a quarter of a century of experience, and was not easily deceived. When the Union Act was enforced without the consent of our people, I felt as if I had received a blow in the face, and every man whose heart is in the right place—who has a head to think and sensibility to feel—must have felt himself politically insulted. I have read with attention ever since I was a boy the history of free countries; my evenings have been devoted to my books; whenever I have come to the

<sup>1</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, January 18th, 1868.

history of a struggle for freedom, my enthusiasm has been raised, and on no occasion, I can say, on which a political question was presented to a free people, was so sublime a spectacle of unanimity exhibited as that exhibited last year. A week before those returns came in, thousands and hundreds of thousands on this continent and in England might have believed Nova Scotians fit for slavery, but when they were published, the universal feeling as to the people who were injured was that, "however small in numbers they may be, they have the blood and the spirit of free men running in their veins." Dr. Tompkins, whom many of you have forgotten, but who was some time since a valued citizen of this country, an active thinker and worker, has asked if you have the old spirit of your forefathers;—I point him to the result of the elections as the proof that you have.

He has referred to the great struggles of the mother country,—wherever the foot of freedom trod on the old soil, we kneel down and kiss its imprint upon our history, but I would say to him that he can hardly comprehend how we feel on this question. When England won her freedom she contained millions of people, but we in Nova Scotia won it when we had hardly a quarter of a million, and for twenty-five years we exercised every right of free men, governing ourselves, dispensing patronage as we liked, raising our revenue, living at peace, with nobody to make us afraid. Dr. Tompkins will take back to England with him the full conviction that this agitation does not arise from the amount of money that has been screwed out of our pockets,—we may be poorer than we were, but we can bear some taxation yet—our objections are principally to the mode in which this thing has been done. It is that our manhood has been overridden, that the rights of our country have been filched from us by fraud and knavery, because we have been sold into bondage, because we feel to this hour that we have been made slaves without a manly fight for liberty. At this late hour I will not go over the ground that my friends have so ably trodden. Every man's mind should now be fixed on what is to be done. The first thought that occurred to me when the elections were over was to get the members-elect together, and their first act was the unanimous decision to appeal to the Imperial Parliament for repeal. If we had sent an address to the Crown the answer would have been simple and prompt: "We are all bound by the Act of Parliament, and you must appeal to the power that made the law." The question which you will naturally ask me is, "What will probably be the result—will they hear us and grant us redress?" I speak to this audience on my honour as I would upon my oath, and my answer is, two years ago I would have sworn that they would give us redress; I believed that the throne of England sat about the fountain of honour and of justice; that the House of Lords would do justice though the heavens should fall; that a man with a manly, honest case could go to the bar of the House of Commons and obtain fair play from the independent English gentlemen who sit there; but if you ask me if I feel that confidence now, I am sorry to say that I do not. There is not an English judge adminis-

tering justice in any part of the empire, nor is there any body of judges sitting in banco who, if it were proved that they had given a hasty decision, that the testimony was incomplete, false and fraudulent, would not reverse the decision as any man of honour would be bound to do. I know what Parliament might do, but as I stood at the bar of the House of Lords a winter ago and saw the sublime indifference with which they bargained away the rights of 350,000 Nova Scotians, I was appalled, not so much by the injustice of the act as by the indifference which was displayed. If there had been a railway company asking to destroy two pear trees on the estate of one of those noblemen, there would have been a committee of Parliament or a Royal Commission appointed, but here were 350,000 of Her Majesty's subjects, with all the property and rights which they had earned and owned and lived for at stake, and only thirty or forty of a House of 480 could be got down to hear the case. When our measure came before the House of Commons, I saw that there were selfish interests and political and financial combinations bearing on the decision against which the Province of Nova Scotia counted for almost nothing. But you may ask me, "With such doubts on your mind, is it worth while to carry the matter further?" Aye, is it,—if we could get no one man to vote for us, we are bound to do Nova Scotia, its honour and interests, justice before the people of England. When running the elections the Nova Scotia party were sometimes called the party of punishment. True, we executed judgment on the wicked as far as we had the power, but the party of punishment have not done their work yet. We must satisfy Lord Carnarvon in the House of Lords that he acted hastily and on false information, that the delegates deceived him, that he acted rashly and wrongly, and we must make that apparent to the House of Lords. We must also make it apparent that the statement made by Mr. Watkin was false. Mr. Watkin must be asked for the source of his information, and in that assembly of six hundred gentlemen must cleanse his skirts of that falsehood. The members of the Commons must be made to see that they acted wrongly. Did we ask them to throw the measure aside, or to do anything rash in our favour? No, we asked them to let the bill lie on their table for a month or two; the elections might have come off in May, and by the first of June they could have our answer, yes or no. If the elections went in favour of the union, there was an end of the question; and if they went against it, who would say then that the Act should be passed?

Last year it was quite proper that a league should be formed to agitate the country, because we had no representatives and no natural leaders, but we are not now in that position. The men elected to Ottawa are your natural leaders in one direction, and the local members are your natural leaders in another, and I can say as one that, having discharged with others my duties at Ottawa, I wait with all confidence the action of the local Parliament, and I have no doubt that all that lies in their power will be done. You will doubtless ask me, "Supposing the appeal made, what must be the attitude of the country in the meantime?" I have no hesitation in saying that until that appeal is answered,

Nova Scotia must maintain the attitude she has always maintained. When I look back at the summer's work I feel proud and gratified that the elections were run without a blow being struck but one, and that fell like the emphasis of a good speaker, in the right place, on the nose of a delegate, and I think no one will be very anxious as to the weight and force with which it was delivered. There was not a head broken, not a pane of glass broken, not an outrage committed, no police were required to keep the peace at the hustings and no charges of cavalry took place in our streets. It was a matter of pride for me to be able to say in Canada that that was the way in which we carried on such contests in Nova Scotia. For the next three or four months, until your appeal is answered, my advice is to maintain peace and order as of old. The flag that has floated over us for more than a century must float over us respected still,—the garrison that has formed a part of our civilization and protected us so long, must be our garrison still, and as they have in times past mixed with our society and formed a part of our community, let all respect and honour be paid to these guardians of the country. In short, I mean that the loyalty of Nova Scotia shall be maintained,—however irritating the acts of the satellites of the Dominion Government may be, bear with it all, let no resistance be offered until we get our answer from England. I know that whoever goes on that errand will go stronger a thousand times if they go with the assurance which I read in your faces that my advice will be taken. "But," you will ask me, "suppose the answer be unfavourable, what then?" Looking forward as I do at the duties and apprehensions which fill my mind, I am not prepared to say what will come then, but this I am prepared to say, that then will come a season of trial, peril, and delicacy to public men and difficulty and danger to the whole community. How we are to face that period I am not prepared to say now; if I were, would it be wise in me to take the whole community into my confidence. I am so satisfied from my forty days' experience at Ottawa that the Dominion Act will never work for the security of Nova Scotia—that we will be nothing more than bondsmen if that Act continues, that if next summer we have to face a new state of things, having got an unfavourable answer from the Imperial Parliament, then we will probably hold a council of war, and see what is next to be done. You may recollect the story of the western camp meeting, at which somebody put snuff into the horn with which the preacher called his congregation around him, and when he used the horn he of course blew the snuff all over his flock; then, preacher though he was, he pulled up his sleeves and said: "I am a man of peace and have been preaching for forty years, but show me the cuss that put the snuff in the horn." You have always formed part of my congregation, and I have always been a preacher of peace, but what I may feel it necessary to do or to advise next summer will depend upon circumstances that we need not to-night discuss. We have a duty to do just now, and we must do it faithfully and sternly,—by-and-by, when we have got other work to do, then let us pray for guidance to Him whose guidance we need, and meet the future as we met the past—shoulder to

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shoulder, making no mistake, maintaining whatever ground we win. There is one thing I know; that there is no greater peril any party can run when placed in delicate circumstances like these, than that of being misled by the hasty precipitancy of ill-judging leaders who might rush into perils that they have not measured, breaking down and perilling all that we have achieved in the past and all our hopes of the future. When the time comes that we have to face a new condition of things, I trust that Nova Scotians will face it like men—like prudent men—without any of the unpreparedness and haste which we have elsewhere seen displayed sometimes. But that Nova Scotians will submit year after year to be taxed *ad libitum* by this Dominion Parliament, and will send men up to be outvoted and laughed at, I do not imagine. No man valuing the honour and dignity of his country will submit to such a state of things longer than can be helped. Let me say that I make these utterances without the slightest personal feeling against Canada or the Canadians. All last year when I was defamed in their press I did not know what sort of a reception I was to get; but from the moment I entered the Province old friends gathered about me and new friends, some of whom I highly esteem, held out the hand of fellowship,—on the score of hospitality I had reason to be greatly gratified. All I had to do at any time was to say, “Oh well, after all I suppose we must submit and make the best of it,” and I have not a shadow of doubt that I could cut my way to the distinctions of Canada. But this is not a question of personal courtesy or kindness. I sat there day after day occupied with other thoughts, and it is only due to the gentlemen who went with me to say, that you may cut that Parliament into sections as you please,—into squares, parallelograms, right-angled triangles or otherwise, and you could not cut sixteen or seventeen men superior to those who went from Nova Scotia in everything that constitutes gentlemanly bearing, parliamentary tact, or eloquence in debate. When we went up there, some of our friends were almost afraid to trust us, thinking we would surely be seduced, but I required to exercise no great surveillance—my colleagues thought and studied and acted for themselves, meeting occasionally to talk over matters. There was not a man of all those whom the people have trusted, with one exception, who was not true to his friends and his country. Mr. McKeagney’s action at Ottawa has been much misunderstood. That gentleman and I are old political associates and friends. In running his election he used expressions which to some degree trammelled him in his action on repeal, but he came to us like a gentleman and explained his position, and we at once absolved him from a violation of his pledge, and throughout the whole session he voted with us and acted with us, so that I have for him the same personal feeling that I had before I met him at Ottawa. Mr. McDonald has been good enough to explain to you one vote of mine. The circumstances were these: when we went up there we resolved to have nothing to do with any of the Canadian parties,—there were some who wished to make us Brownites, others wished to make us Rouges, all wished to get us into their ranks for Canadian party purposes, being at the same time willing to vote against Nova



Scotia when Canadian interests were concerned. A gentleman moved a vote of want of confidence in the Government,—it was a silly waste of time, and would only serve to show the strength of the Government and the weakness of the Opposition. After some little consultation with one or two of our friends, it was agreed that I should ask the mover to withdraw the resolution; I did so, succeeded in laughing the House into a good humour, and the gentleman agreed to withdraw it. But afterwards an altercation took place, and the leader of the Government would not allow the motion to be withdrawn. The whole thing amounted to this, that we did not wish to be placed in the position of giving factious opposition to the Government,—the money had to be voted, and having made a speech against the motion, I was found on the vote ranked among its opponents. I will not detain you at this late hour by referring to the only speech made in the Parliament of Canada which I conceived to be ungentlemanly and insulting. I have not yet had an opportunity to answer it, but will do so at another time. Let me say in conclusion that I have not instigated these meetings. Every action taken in Nova Scotia will in some quarters be attributed to me, and we will be told that the feeling is the result of my organized agitation. I had scarcely got home to Dartmouth when I got an invitation to attend the meeting there. This meeting sprung from the simultaneous feeling of the community, and it would be a great mistake to suppose that that feeling, in all its depth and strength, originates in the intellectual action of any one man. If I had been drowned on my passage from England, the electoral returns would hardly have been reduced by a single seat; if I were to die to-morrow the people of Nova Scotia would go on with steady, steadfast roll of thought in this highly intellectual struggle for freedom. Some other person would be found to stand in my place, and you would not want leaders until some final result was achieved. No man can be more weary of this life of turmoil than I, and why should I not be weary of it? For eighteen months I have hardly thought my own thoughts or been able to attend to my family duties. You remember that a British admiral—Collingwood, I think—was for years afloat in the Mediterranean. He was wearied to death, and pined and longed for the hours of rest and peace in the bosom of his home,—so I pine and long, but until these dark clouds pass away none of us can do more than hold our ground; and as the cry comes up, “Watchman, what of the night?” our answer must show that we are at our posts till we can reply that “All is well.”

A delegation was appointed to proceed to England and demand a repeal of the Act of Union. Mr. Howe was at the head of the delegation, and associated with him were Messrs. William Annand, J. C. Troop and H. W. Smith. Mr. Howe sailed for England on February 14th, and the other delegates went later. Dr. Tupper was sent to England to uphold the cause of the union. In a private letter, dated April 9th, Mr. Howe wrote:

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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.

And again, on May 23rd, he wrote :

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.

It is clear that Dr. Tupper foresaw the failure of the repeal movement, and felt that Mr. Howe and his friends must soon realise that their opposition was futile. It is clear, also, that Dr. Tupper believed that Mr. Howe would sooner or later be driven by force of circumstances to accept the union, and to make the best of it.

On June 20th, Mr. Howe wrote a letter to Mr. Robert Robertson, in which, after mentioning the failure of the mission, he discusses the different lines of action that remained open to the repealers. As copies of this letter were sent to the principal repealers, and for the first time a "capitulation," as Mr. Howe termed it, to the Canadian Government was suggested, the letter is here inserted :

MY DEAR ROBERTSON,—Our official report to Vail, and 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. 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 assume, from Tupper's representations and the correspondence with Lord Monck, that the Canadians are willing and able—nay, 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 Buckingham 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 ?

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 keynote would be struck and our people 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 opposition down to the point of surrender. We may be driven to this capitulation, and if we are, I would lay down my arms without any mental reservation, 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 be driven ultimately; but they are hazardous, and if they led to collisions before our people were prepared by close organization and other preparatives, 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 people are. We may be driven out of our accustomed lines of thought and expression by-and-by, and, despairing of all other redress, may be compelled to take up arms; but this should not be done until 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 spirits up and their ranks unbroken for six months longer, appears to me, after long and anxious thought, to offer the best chance of a solution of 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, eighty-seven 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, and many of the leading Scotch and Irish members. Lord Amberley, Earl Russell's son, voted for us, and Bright's name on both continents

CHAP. XXXIII 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  
1868 of Monday last.

If our people can maintain their organization, 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 reasonable 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 delegates 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 fail, there are but six months more of life lost, and we can either submit or fight when we are that much older. \* \* \*<sup>1</sup>

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 after the next boat arrives.

I have read this letter to Annand, Troop and Smith, and am happy to report that they all concur in the advice given. \* \* \*<sup>1</sup>—Yours truly,

JOSEPH HOWE.

Dr. Tupper kept Sir John Macdonald posted with respect to his conferences with Mr. Howe; and Messrs. Tilley and A. G. Archibald urged the Canadian Premier to come to Halifax to interview Mr. Howe. Toward the end of July Sir John Macdonald and Messrs. George E. Cartier, Peter Mitchell and William McDougall arrived in Halifax. Before their arrival the editor of an evening paper hinted that the visitors might be received with violence, and the suggestion elicited from Mr. Howe the following spirited letter:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The passages marked by asterisks relate only to private matters.

<sup>2</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, July 31st, 1868.

*To the Editor of "The Morning Chronicle."*

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FAIRFIELD, July 30th, 1868.

SIR,—The papers inform us that Sir John A. Macdonald and his lady, and perhaps Mr. Cartier, are coming down to Nova Scotia on a visit, and the editor of an evening paper bespeaks for them, should they come, discourteous treatment, if not rougher handling. I regret to see this spirit manifested in any quarter. Where actual war rages flags of truce are respected, and the soldiers in the field exchange courtesies across their lines, which lend the grace of chivalry to the sternest conflicts. Roderick Dhu shared his plaid and his heather's couch with Fitz-James, though ready and anxious to cross swords with him in the morning. We have taught the public men of Canada and of England within the past two years that the people of Nova Scotia are men and not cravens. Let us show them now that we are gentlemen and not ruffians. One rude word, one act of discourtesy, would disgrace us all, and bring such discredit on our cause as to make it hopeless hereafter.

Nineteen Nova Scotians traversed the Canadas last fall and sojourned for forty days in the capital of the Dominion. Though the great majority of them were known to be hostile to the fundamental law under which the Legislature was convened, and not very friendly to the Government—though I and others denounced the Act and the policy of the majority, on all suitable occasions, with indignant freedom of speech, yet from the time we entered Canada till we came out of it we received from all classes of the people hospitable and courteous treatment. I passed through the crowded corridors of the House of Commons with my hot words ringing in the ears of the people I met, but they never offered me insult, and at three o'clock in the morning I often went to my lodgings alone, as little apprehensive of obstruction or offence as I would have been in the streets of Halifax. Let us hear no more, then, of different treatment of Canadians, high or low, in any part of the Province. If we have lost our constitution, let us preserve our manners.

The Secretary of State and the Imperial Parliament have thrown upon the Canadian Government the responsibility of action in the great controversy which, at the present moment, perplexes us all. It would appear that its leaders have promptly responded, and will come here to discuss with the Nova Scotians such remedial measures as they may have to propose. We are bound to give them a fair hearing and courteous treatment. Is our case so bad that we are afraid to discuss it on our own soil with the leading men of Canada? Are we so strong that we can afford to outrage the public sentiment of the whole world by reckless disregard of all the usages of civilized diplomacy? I think not, and hasten to say that I should deeply regret if any indiscretion were to sully a course which has hitherto been conducted with dignity and temper, which have challenged the respect even of those to whom we have stood opposed. I am quite sure that, on reflection, the writer to whose article I refer,

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and whose views it is possible I may have misapprehended, will concur in the opinions which I consider it a public duty thus frankly to express.—Yours truly,  
JOSEPH HOWE.

Within a day or two after the arrival of the Canadian delegates, a committee, which included the members of the Provincial Executive, was appointed, before whom Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues arranged to appear. Sir John, on meeting this committee, expressed his desire to redress any grievances which were discovered to be well founded, but nothing came of the conference. Mr. Howe, in a letter to Mr. John Livingstone of St. John, dated August 12th, said :

What may come of the Canadian mission nobody can tell. The air is full of rumour, but I do not believe that any policy has been or will be resolved upon till the men get home and report, when the waters may begin to move in some direction.

The more extreme opponents of confederation—those who were ready to countenance violence—were becoming impatient. They desired to know what the next step was to be—whether the members would go to Ottawa. Mr. Howe's policy was to maintain silence in the meantime, and in a letter in *The Morning Chronicle* of August 25th, he thus rebuked an anonymous writer :

*To the Editor of "The Morning Chronicle."*

SIR,—A writer in *The Recorder* of the 21st, who signs himself "One of the People," makes a sort of personal appeal to me by name, and wishes me to tell him whether I intend to "go to Ottawa." He commands me to "speak out" in something of a dictatorial tone, intended, I assume, to be offensive and insulting. He does not "speak out" himself, but writes over an anonymous signature. I will not follow his example, but write over my own.

Let me observe, in the first place, that during a public life of forty years, I am not aware that I have been very remarkable for reticence when the interests of our country required candour and plainness of speech. Where and when did I fear to speak out—in the press, in the legislature, or on the platform—as frankly at the foot of the throne as in a school-house in the back settlements?

It is true that I do not always think it necessary to explain my policy to every person I meet, or to satisfy every anonymous scribbler, who, with no responsibilities and perhaps but little experience, desires me to take the whole world into my confidence.

Having "spoken out," then, upon all proper occasions to my countrymen here, I think nobody will complain that I changed my habits in England, or

with "bated breath" concealed my thoughts from the highest and proudest in that country.

When the delegates were returning they determined, having closed up the labours of the past, to pledge themselves to no policy in the future, till all the men, officially responsible to the country, could be assembled, and until the situation could be deliberately reviewed. These gentlemen were summoned without delay, and I was content to wait their arrival before expressing my opinions. Others were not so content. I took up one paper and found annexation advocated. I took up another in which the people were being instructed that treason would not be treason if they only thought it an innocent pastime. The tendency of all this was evident enough, and as such teaching could only end in crude, premature and miserable attempts at violence and insurrection, for which the people were utterly unprepared, I certainly "spoke out" my unqualified disapprobation whenever the subject was discussed in my presence; and when discourteous and rude behaviour towards the members of the Canadian Government coming here was suggested, I "spoke out" again, and rebuked, as I believe with the approbation of all right-thinking men, a spirit which, if indulged, would have disgraced our country.

Those who have attended the convention know whether I concealed my thoughts from that assembly; but as it chose to deliberate with closed doors I shall make no reference to what passed within its walls.

I mean to "speak out" now upon another subject. When the members of the House of Commons presented themselves on the hustings at the last election not a man of them was asked to pledge himself, that, if elected, he should not go to Ottawa, and not one of them tendered his services on these terms or proposed any such policy. When the members of both Houses met at Halifax it was determined that an appeal should be made to the Imperial Parliament for a repeal of the Act, and that, pending the issue, all the gentlemen elected should discharge their legislative duties.

In November the members of the House of Commons went to Ottawa, and for forty days they conducted themselves like men of spirit and integrity. By their ability, firmness and gentlemanly manners they won the respect of the members to whom they stood opposed. The blandishments of society, the resources of patronage, the influence of the Executive, whatever they were, were exhausted upon these gentlemen, and were resisted. They performed their duties under protest; they refused to connect themselves with either of the Canadian parties; they neither asked nor accepted any favour at the hands of the Dominion Government. They returned pure and stainless to their country, and, disregarding the ill-considered opinions expressed in some sections of it in violation of the agreement come to in October, they returned to close the session, and came back in the spring to Nova Scotia with heads erect, and pure and stainless still. Are these the men upon whom doubt and suspicion are to be cast by anonymous scribblers in the newspapers, or by blind leaders of the blind, who, having no practicable or intelligible policy

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to propose themselves, are anxious to throw doubt and blame on those by whom it is least deserved.

And who are the men that it is thought politic by some persons just now to doubt and to malign? McDonald, who struck the first blow at confederation in the *Citizen* when others faltered and held back, and won a noble county to our cause by great personal exertion, and whose able speech, delivered in my hearing in the House of Commons, challenged by its style and manner the involuntary admiration of a great audience who could not share his opinions. Is McLelan to be lectured, the worthy son of a worthy sire, in whom love of country and sturdy independence are hereditary, and who is second to no man in this country for originality, skill and energy in debate, and who defeated in his stronghold the delegate from Colchester? If I know anything of that gentleman, I know that he is about the last man in Nova Scotia who would submit to be schooled by scribes who have no such record to show, and who do not even give their names as a guarantee to the public that he would suffer by comparison. Hugh McDonald is, I suppose, another of those men who are to be improved and rendered faithful by this sort of discipline. This gentleman gave many months of his time to the cause as a delegate to England, with no recognized official position, with no money compensation for his time or practice, and, coming back from England as he came back from Ottawa sternly upright and personally pure, he defeated the Attorney-General under circumstances that all of us know to have been peculiarly trying and difficult. I might complete the list, but trust I have said enough to illustrate the folly of attempting to shake confidence in such men or to dictate to them what they shall do or leave undone.

Of my own claims to some share of confidence in the trying and difficult circumstances in which this country is placed, I shall say nothing more than this, that I shall act in the future, as in the past, upon my own independent judgment, irrespective of clamour or dictation from any quarter. Having discharged my duty as a delegate and as a member of the convention, I am content for the present to let others discharge theirs, who are called to act in a different sphere. Whether I shall or shall not go to Ottawa again will depend upon circumstances of which I shall judge when the time comes. Parliament will not meet till February. We have all got six months to think about the matter, and before they are expended there will be ample time to try any experiments which others are suggesting or may suggest, and to enable the country to judge of the value of the results. In the meantime believe me,  
yours truly,

JOSEPH HOWE.

Mr. Howe remained silent. The relations between himself and the members of the Provincial Executive were becoming more strained. He declined to attend at the bar of the House to receive the vote of thanks tendered by the Legislature to the repeal delegates. The proposition to present him with the sum of \$6710.97, being



the amount voted by the Legislature to recoup the subscribers to the repeal fund, was declined. In a letter to a personal friend, Mr. Robert Boak, dated September 26th, he explained his position as follows:

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G—— was over yesterday and we talked all the afternoon. As you and others whose motives are equally friendly were not present, I have thought it due to you to put upon paper the substance of what was said to G——.

1st. As respects the rumours and slanders set afloat about the town and country, I believe they all come out of the Province Building and had their origin in the meanest and most contemptible of motives. They are without a shadow of foundation.

2nd. I had with the Imperial Government in 1867 no intercourse or communication which was not known to or read by Messrs. Annand and McDonald. In 1868, excepting during the two days that Mrs. Howe and I spent at Stowe, when confederation was never mentioned, some or all of the delegates were present at every interview with the Duke of Buckingham, and saw, I believe, every note that passed between us. I have at no time since I resigned my Fishery Commissionership asked for office, nor has any offer been made to me by Her Majesty's Government. I have had no communication with the imperial authorities since leaving England, and the story which I found floating about Hants the other day, that the British Government had said to Mr. Howe, "You quiet Nova Scotia and we will take care of you," is a base falsehood, without a shadow of foundation.

3rd. It is just as untrue that I have accepted office under the Dominion Government. The very reverse is true, and Sir John Macdonald was informed that nothing would induce me to take office until the country was satisfied and my own friends thought that I could do so with honour. Even when consenting to co-operate with him for the restoration of our American trade, it was with the distinct understanding that my services would be gratuitously rendered, that no miserable scamp should have it in his power to say that money was an inducement.

You will perceive, therefore, that at this moment I stand perfectly independent of the Imperial and of the Dominion Governments. Now, for many reasons, I desire to stand quite as independent of the local Government. In the critical and delicate circumstances in which this Province is placed, it may become my duty to act on my own judgment, and, should the necessity arise, I wish to be perfectly untrammelled by all considerations except those of public duty.

I have no faith in a further appeal to England, and I cannot lie to the people of Nova Scotia and amuse them with vain delusions and another expensive delegation.

I do not believe in Mr. Wilkins' law, and I do believe in the paramount power of the Imperial Parliament.

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I do not believe in committing a body of honourable and loyal men to treason, insurrection, and filibustering raids into our country without the smallest chance of a fair fight to be crowned by reasonable success.

I do not believe in passing revenue laws which nobody would obey without the Governor's assent, nor in imprisoning collectors who would be instantly released on a writ of Habeas Corpus.

I do not believe in making treasonable speeches one day nor in eating them the next. Nor in censuring a Governor, and then shrinking from the inevitable alternative—a dissolution.

For these, and for sundry other reasons, it is of the utmost importance that I should keep myself clear of all entanglements just now. If, as I believe he will, Sir John A. Macdonald puts into official form the substance of what he said to the committee of the convention, I want to be at perfect liberty to reconsider the whole subject as it may be then presented.

As respects our mercantile friends, I have nothing to conceal from them. My action in the future, as in the past, will be fair and open. If they wish to do my family the service delicately explained to me by Mr. G——, I am perhaps not rich enough to refuse their gift. But I want it to be made, if made at all, with a full knowledge of the facts. I have always thought, without any reference to what they might do with it, that the merchants were entitled to have the money advanced in 1867 for the public service, repaid by the Government. But if this is done, it ought to be done purely on public grounds and without reference to its further appropriation. If given to me, it should be given for past services, leaving my future action untrammelled. If given merely as a retainer to commit me to a policy which I may or may not approve, my friends would not, I am sure, feel offended if in that case the offer was respectfully declined.

In September and October letters passed between Sir John Macdonald and Mr. Howe dealing with the grievances of Nova Scotia. In order to keep his Nova Scotia supporters in Parliament informed of what passed, he sent the following circular letter to each of them on October 19th:

Sir John A. Macdonald sent me last week a semi-official letter, embodying the statements and propositions made here to the committee of the convention, to which I have replied to-day. As these papers are of some length, I cannot have copies made for all our friends, but I write to say that they and any others that may form part of our correspondence will be open to the inspection of the members of the House of Commons whenever any of them come to town.

In October and November Mr. Howe published at intervals a number of letters dealing with the political situation, which are of

great interest in the light of his subsequent acceptance of office. CHAP. XXXIII  
 The first letter is addressed to the editors of *The Eastern Chronicle*  
 of New Glasgow, and is as follows: 1868

FAIRFIELD, *October 24th*, 1868.

SIRS,—In your paper of the 21st appeared a letter dated at Washington on the 3rd, signed "Acadia," and with "The Hon. Joseph Howe—A Painful Suspense," in large capital letters over the head of it. Whoever has read this letter will, I think, admit that it demands some notice at my hands, and warrants me in relieving the writer from the painful suspense of which he complains.

About a month ago I received a letter which, when it is published, your readers will probably assume was written by the same hand. I suppress the name, as your correspondent has not given his own, and may not desire, like a good many other people, to take the responsibility of what he writes. The letter and my answer are given below :

WASHINGTON, *September 22nd*, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR,—About once a week a telegram comes from Halifax intimating, in substance, that the Hon. Joseph Howe has gone over to the support of confederation. The latest, dated Halifax, Sept. 18, is as follows :

"It is confidently believed that Mr. Howe has not only accepted the Union on trial for a few years, but has counselled some of his constituents and firm supporters to do the same. Rumours are currently circulated respecting the defection of another prominent repealer. It is said that the recent visit of Canadian ministers has been more successful than is generally supposed."

I write to inquire, most respectfully, if the above is correct? Whatever your views and purposes are, I know that they are based on a firm conviction of duty. But I am at a loss to reconcile these intimations with your previous line of action.

If agreeable, will you kindly let me have your views confidentially. I am asked frequently if these telegrams are true. I have invariably replied, "I think not." Still, their repetition leaves me in doubt.

I mail papers occasionally to your address. Forwarded the *New York Times*, containing this telegram.

Hon. JOSEPH HOWE.

HALIFAX, *October 5th*, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR,—In answer to your letter, I may say that up to this hour I have accepted nothing and done nothing inconsistent with the general tenor of my life. I am dealing with the difficulties around me with a single eye to the good of my country; but let me add that treason and filibustering expeditions, to tear the Province to pieces, are not included in my programme.—Yours, &c.,

JOSEPH HOWE.

If my note was received, it does not appear to have satisfied our friend, who seems to desire more information, which I give with the greatest readiness,

CHAP. XXXIII because his letter in *The Eastern Chronicle* is expressed in friendly and respectful language.

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Nova Scotians abroad naturally sympathise in the trials and vicissitudes of their own country; and those who have gone to the United States may be pardoned if they believe that we would find, in annexation to the Republic, relief from the grievances of which we at present complain. They write as they feel, but unfortunately, do not always stop to consider the impunity they enjoy, and the risks to be encountered by those who happen to remain at home. Your correspondent at Washington, in times of peace, may plot treason against Great Britain in perfect safety; nay, he may gain personal or political capital or advantage by the venture. If civil war breaks out he is far from the scene of danger—in either case he risks neither life, property nor reputation.

How is it with the Nova Scotian at home? Unless he can overthrow the Government, while it lasts, he must, after committing himself to treasonable correspondence or intrigues, live under suspicion and reproach. If he resists the power of the Crown, he must take his life in his hand, and be prepared, if he fails, for the ordinary penalties of treason, which men in all ages and in all countries encounter, whether the cause be good or bad. Imprisonment and banishment are the milder forms—the rope and the fusillade are the sterner alternatives. Your correspondent at Washington, who advises us to resist the law, and “cut away from the apron-strings of the good old Mother Queen,” will be secure in his study, whatever happens, even should we take his advice; but others, who are to place their lives and properties at hazard, will perhaps ponder the matter soberly before they plunge their country into insurrection.

Especially ought I to ponder, who have been largely trusted by the people of Nova Scotia—to whom at this moment they are justified in looking for counsel and advice—who cannot escape from responsibility if I would. I hope to live and die in Nova Scotia, and must be careful of her reputation and my own. In all the struggles of the past, for the elevation and advancement of our country, it has been my boast that no life was lost nor a pane of glass shattered. I owe it to the living that this policy shall not be abandoned. I owe it to the dead, who in honour and sobriety fought by my side, that in the autumnal season of my life I shall not go mad, and turn our country into shambles.

I have given two years to the battle for a repeal of the British American Act, at what personal sacrifice, perhaps, only I and my own family know. It has rarely fallen to the lot of any man to confront so formidable a combination. Arrayed against us were the Queen's name, the Houses of Lords and Commons, the Governor-General, three Lieutenant-Governors, thirty-five delegates, including many of the ablest men in British America, the Canadian press, and, until recently, nearly the entire press of England. How I have borne myself in presence of this vast combination is now a matter of history. My speeches and published letters are before the world, and the honourable men with whom I have been associated, who have shared my labours and my inmost thoughts,

know well that I exerted during those two years every faculty with which nature had endowed me to recover the independence of my native Province.

In this case the battle was to the strong; and when I returned from England, twice defeated, I would have been justified, as Lee was, in laying down my arms; and had I done so, and accepted the situation frankly, my honour would have been as untarnished as that of the unsuccessful soldier is at this day. I have not laid down my arms nor accepted the situation, but I am still labouring in the interests of my country, and utterly regardless of my own, to make the best of a bad business, and to recover what I can out of the wreck that has been made of our Provincial organization. This is all that, on this topic, I need say to your correspondent.

There are three peaceful courses open to the people of Nova Scotia:

1. An appeal to the new Government and Parliament of England;
2. An attempt to revive the old scheme of union of the Maritime Provinces; and
3. Negotiation with the Canadians for a readjustment of the terms upon which Nova Scotia was forced into confederation.

While the public men of Nova Scotia, each acting in his appropriate sphere and according to his best judgment, are labouring to make things better by one or other of these modes, your correspondent, responsible to nobody, and far out of the reach of danger, advises us to make things worse—to throw off our allegiance, and brave the authority of our "good old Mother the Queen." In fact, while Reverdy Johnston and Lord Stanley are fraternizing before the people of England, with professions of peace and amity, he would have us believe that we can set the two great nations they represent at war; and, before Nova Scotia has a gun mounted, a battalion on the field, or money, arms or ammunition provided, he would instigate us to defy the power of Great Britain, and write ourselves down the most egregious asses to be found upon this continent.

Let us suppose, for a moment, that we could set these two great nations at war, destroy a million of men and hundreds of millions of property, and double the taxation of both countries for a century to come. What Christian would do it if he could? I would not. But is it possible? No. If Nova Scotians were united to a man in such an enterprise it would fail.

The present generation in the United States have had enough of war, which has devastated vast tracts of country, carried cripples into every street, mourning into every hamlet, and heavy taxation into every house. There is not a sane man on either side of the Atlantic who does not believe that if the Government of the United States were to put out all its military strength, it could take these Provinces from England; but then every man of common sense knows also, that Great Britain, with a sea-board four or five times as extensive as that of France and the United States combined, with money, coal, iron, and labour cheaper than they are in the republic, could cover the ocean with such a fleet of ironclads and war-vessels as the world has never seen,

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and make her great rival, if disposed to be aggressive, pay more for the Provinces than they would ever be worth.

Besides, the commercial and financial relations of these two great branches of the British family have grown to such a magnitude, and are so inseparably intertwined, that they cannot, if they would, go to war. There was anger enough three years ago, but it has all subsided in presence of these great interests. The *Alabama* claims are to be settled. The Reciprocity Treaty, it is to be hoped, will be renewed, and it is not likely that a great war will arise out of our troubles, however bitterly we may complain. For these and other reasons I do not discuss the annexation question, because, until somebody can show us how we are to get it, it does not come within the domain of practical politics, and I have no leisure for any other. When Great Britain hauls down her flag on the Citadel, and leaves "the world before us where to choose," I presume we shall not have much choice. In the meantime I assume that there is no such intention, and that any attempt to wrest this Province from her, either with or without the assistance of the United States, would bring calamities upon us fearful to contemplate, and ruin our country for one generation, whatever might be the fortune of the war.

There is one thing that your correspondent has not stopped to reflect upon. Were we to take his advice, that which is our greatest glory would become our greatest danger. We have a noble fleet of ships at sea. In one week after we had defied "our old Mother the Queen," the telegraph would have flashed the news all over the world, and they would be at her mercy. Are we prepared to lose them? Are we prepared to bring them home, stow them into our harbours, and proclaim an embargo? But if we did, of fifty open harbours, but one is fortified, and that is in possession of the Crown. Every other is undefended, and might, as Pictou could, be hermetically sealed by a single gun-boat till the war was over. Let us hear no more, then, of fanciful projects and impossible remedies, whether they come from imprudent people in our midst, or good-natured friends beyond the borders. Nova Scotians have established some reputation for common sense; let us exert it, attempting only the possible. The future is in the hands of God, who has tried and may yet try us severely. Let us not forfeit His protection by follies akin to madness; but resolutely set about—each in his own way and according to his gifts—the work that remains to be done, and that we can attempt without dishonour.—Believe me, yours truly,

JOSEPH HOWE.

Then followed five letters, addressed to the editor of *The Morning Chronicle*, as follows:

*To the Editor of "The Morning Chronicle."*

FAIRFIELD, November 6th, 1868.

SIR,—Judge Marshall has done me a very acceptable service by the publication of his letter in your paper of the 4th inst. I have nothing to conceal from

the public, and accept with infinite pleasure his challenge to explain my views on the exciting topic of the day. Had the Judge, at any time since my return from England, done me the honour to ask for personal explanations, he should have had them; but perhaps it is better for all parties that they should be given in this unreserved manner to the country at large.

Nine months were spent by Mr. Annand, Mr. McDonald, and myself in England in 1866 and 1867, in a vain endeavour to resist the passage of the British America Act, and five months of this year were spent by another delegation in asking for its repeal. Few persons, who have not been engaged in this sort of service, can fairly estimate the responsibility to be assumed, and the amount of labour it involves. It is due to all the gentlemen with whom I was associated on these two missions, to acknowledge that they zealously and fearlessly discharged their duty to the Province. My leadership, though courteously acknowledged, was more nominal than real. Each set about and did, in his own way, whatever his hand found to do, according to the dictates of his independent judgment. Every day we were combined in friendly consultation, and where joint action was necessary we rarely if ever disagreed.

There are three millions of people in London alone, nearly as many as there are in all British America. They form, perhaps, the busiest population in the world. They have so much to spend, to do, to see, to read, to suffer and enjoy, that it is no light task to interest them in any question not directly bearing upon their daily pursuits or pleasures. A friend and I stood upon Epsom Downs looking at a horse-race. There were eighty thousand persons present. Again, we stood in the Crystal Palace, and saw forty thousand listening to an oratorio. And again, we stood in Hyde Park, where the élite of London society rolled past us in splendid equipages, to be numbered by thousands. On each of these occasions my friend put the question to me, "How many, of all these people, ever heard of Nova Scotia, or would waste an hour to consider the question of repeal?" My answer was generally the same sad acknowledgment—"Perhaps a dozen."

But, outside of London, there are thirty millions of people more to be reached, roused and convinced. They are equally busy and pre-occupied. The middle classes, thriving by commerce and varied industries of the utmost value, have but little time to spare for speculative questions affecting people a long way off. The poor, fighting the battle of life, under high pressure all the time, have none at all. The rich, occupying hundreds of rural palaces all over the face of the country, yachting round the coast, galloping in the hunting-field, or occupied with their books, statuary and pictures, are not easily won from pursuits and pleasures so engrossing to the consideration of a mere colonial question. This intense pre-occupation of the whole mass to whom the appeal has to be made, constitutes, so far as my experience goes, one insurmountable difficulty in our way. It is all very well for members in the Legislature and writers in the newspapers here to cry out "Repeal"; but let either of them—nay, let Judge Marshall himself plunge into London, Manchester, Birmingham, or

Liverpool, and try how many persons he will get to listen to him. Or let him go down into Norfolk or Buckinghamshire, and exercise his powers on the rural population; and then he will understand the sickness of the heart with which I have been driven to the conclusion that any such attempts, no matter who makes them, must end in failure. The only way in which we could reach the mass of the population was through the London and Provincial press, and having laboured in that line for fourteen months, I am quite content that the Judge, or anybody else, shall try his hand at a service which, having tested my powers to the utmost, I have no desire to resume.

Turning to the purely political or governing classes, as they are sometimes termed, let us see how we fared among them, and what the prospects are before us of any much more happy result. In 1867 pamphlets and public documents were circulated among these people by the ream. I have recently read over the "Case" of Nova Scotia, submitted by Messrs. Annand, McDonald and myself to Earl Carnarvon, to endeavour to discover, after months of further reflection and experience, if anything had been omitted that ought to have been said. As an argument, covering the whole ground, it appears to me unanswerable, and it certainly never has been answered. But what then? Though it was backed by petitions from thirty-one thousand of our people, and though we prayed but for a few weeks' delay, the British America Act was passed, with a celerity and unanimity that proved the strength of the combination we had to face, and that our summer's labour had been lost. To sit in the lobbies of the Lords and Commons, and hear your country's dearest interests disposed of with reckless haste or supreme indifference is not a pleasant pastime. Having endured the mortification twice, I have made up my mind never to submit to the infliction again.

When our elections were over, the results were so decisive and overwhelming that it appeared but fair to the people, who had spoken with so much unanimity, that their demand for a repeal of the statute should be conveyed to England. It was but fair also to give to the Government and Parliament at home the opportunity to redress a great wrong, if, by chance, it had been done from haste or inadvertence. It was also due to the delegates of the previous year that their veracity and honour should be vindicated in the mother country. Upon these grounds I justified the second delegation, and consented to serve upon it; but it will be recollected that, in several speeches delivered in Hants and Halifax, I cautioned the public not to be too sanguine of the result; because, from the amount of apathy and indifference, no less than from the strength of the combination to be encountered, we might be again disappointed. Some of our friends, at the time, complained that I was too outspoken on this point; but I thought then, as I think now, that the truth should be told, even if it be unpalatable; and that, in matters of so much importance, the country ought never to be deceived.

Now let us look at the results of the last delegation, and see how much encouragement we have to send another. We went instructed to demand



repeal. Our first interview satisfied me that it would not be got if Her Majesty's ministers could help it; and we naturally addressed ourselves to the ordinary means by which pressure may be brought to bear upon a reluctant Government. Reams of petitions, addresses and resolutions were struck off, arguments and explanations to suit every taste and capacity were prepared. These were addressed to every member of both Houses, and to all the leading newspapers of the three kingdoms. Correspondence was opened and personal interviews sought with members of Parliament and other influential persons. This sort of thing went on for months. With what result? Let the country judge.

When it became necessary to shape the resolution to be submitted to Parliament, Mr. Bright told us frankly that though he would go down and ask for "Repeal," pure and simple, if we insisted upon it, it was so unusual, so opposed to English habits of thought and Parliamentary practice, to repeal in such haste an important statute, without any precedent inquiry by a Parliamentary Committee or a Royal Commission, that he did not know at that moment two members who would vote with him, and should expect to be left in a minority of ten.

With this cheerless prospect before us, we had no alternative, and consented to modify the resolution. Availing ourselves of an invitation from the Duke of Buckingham to discuss the general subject again, we urged every argument we could think of to induce his Grace to yield either a committee or a commission. The issue of the two debates all the world knows. What others felt I know not, but when I walked out of the lobby of the House of Commons, it was with the full determination never to go there again, on any such errand.

I used to believe that, in a case involving vested interests, constitutional principles, and great sums of money, British statesmen and legislators would do justice though the heavens should fall. As I strolled home that night, with deep sorrow, and a sense of humiliation not easily described, I was compelled to acknowledge that I had cherished a delusion. Anybody else may try a third experiment, and they shall have all the honour and glory if they succeed; but I have too much respect for myself, and for my country, to go a third time begging for justice where it is not to be obtained.

Let us see how matters stood when the debates in the two Houses were over. Of six hundred and fifty members of the House of Commons, three hundred and fifty did not take interest enough in the question to occupy their seats. Of the three hundred who did attend, but eighty-seven could be got to vote, not for repeal, mark ye, but for inquiry only.

In the House of Lords the defeat was still more decisive. Though the tone of the debate was courteous and respectful, but fifty peers out of four hundred were present. And of these fifty, not a man raised his voice or voted for repeal, and but two spoke in favour even of inquiry.

By a careful analysis of the division lists, it will appear that every supporter of the Government in the House of Commons, with one exception, voted against us.

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That of forty members, who represent the great financial and railway interests of the three kingdoms, every man was against us.

And in both Houses almost every prominent Whig who was in the last cabinet or expects to be in the next, led by Earl Russell in the one House and by Mr. Gladstone in the other, voted against us.

Of the thirty-one great governing families, whose names are interwoven with the most striking events of history, whose vast estates are to be found in every county, who largely control elections and influence governments, whatever party is in power, every one is against us.

We cannot assume that all these people have any desire to do us wrong, or that the great majority of them have any personal interests to serve. But the causes of their unanimity lie upon the surface. The United States have flourished as a great confederacy. It is assumed that we may and ought to do the same. Then, again, the whole tendency of European thought, for many years past, has favoured consolidation. The small states of Greece have been united into a kingdom, and Great Britain gave up the Ionian Islands that the territory might be rounded. All the small states of Italy, but Rome, have been united under Victor Emmanuel. All the small states of North Germany, after the battle of Sadowa, were united to Prussia; and those lying to the south either have sought or will seek to be incorporated into the Austrian Empire. These changes English statesmen of the most elevated intellects and blameless reputation believe to be salutary and beneficial, and, overlooking the argument urged by us in 1867 that we were already part of a great confederacy, they cannot be made to believe that what is good for Greeks, Italians and Germans should not be good for Nova Scotians.

Then, again, outside the British Islands there are more than two hundred millions of people occupying sixty great colonies and dependencies. Each of these in its turn presents its grievances for redress, its complaints for investigation; so that either in the press, in Parliament, or before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, colonial questions are continually turning up, and often create less interest than an ordinary suit at law. Seriously pondering all these matters, nobody will be much surprised at my convictions, after the last decision of Parliament, that in England our case is hopeless. I at first clung to the belief, as a great many people here do yet, that a new House of Commons, elected on a wider franchise, might be approached with better prospects of success. But I put the question squarely to Mr. Bright, and his answer was decisive. Unless the circumstances materially changed, Nova Scotia could not expect Mr. Gladstone and the leading men who would form his cabinet, if they got a majority, to reverse a policy which they claimed as their own, and which the Conservatives had adopted under their pledge that it should be maintained.

There was some hope in another direction. A union of the Maritime Provinces might yet be formed. The subject was discussed with Mr. Bright, and he frankly admitted that if such a union could be accomplished, the

question would assume a new and much more hopeful aspect. Immediately I wrote to Mr. Robertson to have the subject considered here, and to send discreet friends into the other colonies. To this hope I clung till we landed in Halifax; but it was dissipated by the information brought back from Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick.

A convention was then called, early in August, to consider the state of affairs. It deliberated for four or five days, when the whole subject was discussed. I have ever since regretted that that body sat with closed doors. If the debates had been open to the public, we would perhaps have been spared the miserable tales and slanders which have been whispered about the corners and scattered broadcast over the country ever since. Partly because I could only trace those stories to a quarter from whence it seemed incredible that they could emanate, and partly because, wherever they came from, I had no desire to volunteer premature disclosures, I have for three months allowed them to circulate in silence. But when a gentleman of Judge Marshall's character and standing desires information, I give it with infinite pleasure.

Judge Marshall states the case correctly when he assumes that for two years I was the recognized leader of the Anti-Confederate and Repeal party. In the spring of 1865, finding a body of old friends, no one of whom could afford to give his entire time to the contest, fighting our country's battle, and other gentlemen, to whom I had often been politically opposed, ranged beside them, I volunteered my aid. These men honoured me with their confidence, and, working together, we contrived to invest Nova Scotia's case with a dignity and intellectual life that was acknowledged even by our opponents on both sides of the Atlantic.

I have explained the reasons why, on returning from England, I was hopeless of success in that direction; and how, on my landing here, a union of the Maritime Provinces appeared impracticable. I was still, however, willing to struggle on, if anybody could show me anything to be done or any probable termination to the contest. Nobody could. Of my own feelings and opinions I made no secret. They were explained to a private meeting of our friends the day after I landed, and they were explained to the convention with the same frankness that they are now given to Judge Marshall.

There is one thing that never has been explained, but it is time the country knew it. On the second day that the convention met, and after my explanations had been made, this question was put by a member for whom I have a very high personal respect—"But cannot Mr. Howe tell us what we can now do?" As nearly as I can remember, my answer was, "There are two things. You can declare your independence; but if that is to be done (and I do not advise it) come up to the table here, and sign a declaration, pledging your lives, your fortunes, and your sacred honour to maintain it. If the people respond, be prepared to head them, and history will record your martyrdom, if not your achievements." Nobody seemed inclined to try this experiment, and

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I then said, "There is one other thing that neither involves your lives nor your allegiance. It is clear to me that unless something is done on this side of the water besides talking and passing resolutions, you can make no change on the other. But if you wish to startle England and Canada, and play your last peaceful card before you negotiate, let the Executive Council go up to General Doyle to-morrow morning and say, 'From no disrespect to your Excellency, for we all respect you; from no desire to embarrass, for under other circumstances we would rather assist you; but in order to give the most emphatic answer to the Duke of Buckingham's despatch and speech, and to show the unanimity and strength of public feeling in favour of repeal, we come to tender our resignations, and to inform your Excellency that we will not work for or under you so long as you hold a commission from Lord Monck and not from the Queen.'" In offering this suggestion, I pledged myself that, if it were adopted, I and every member of the House of Commons that I could influence would back the Council, resign our seats if there was a dissolution, and pile up such a majority as could not be misrepresented in England.

When this proposal was made I looked along the treasury bench with some curiosity and interest. Not a man rose to second it, or to give to Nova Scotia her last chance of a peaceful and loyal repeal of the union. From that moment I have taken no part in repeal movements in which I have no faith. I have cheerfully made way for others who seemed anxious to air their projects and assume the lead; and, except when some person has attacked me in an unjust and ungenerous manner, I have amused myself in my own quiet way, smiling at blunders that I could not prevent, and attending to my own affairs. My opinions I have never disguised; and, as respects the flourishes made about repeal for the last three months, they have hardly amused me so much as did the screams of the seagulls round the grave of a dead Indian on the coast of Labrador.

But Judge Marshall has heard of some negotiations, and on this branch of the subject he desires information. He shall have it without reserve. The Duke of Buckingham, in his despatch and speech, threw upon the Canadian ministers the responsibility of opening negotiations with Nova Scotia. When those gentlemen addressed themselves to this task, I claimed for them courteous treatment and a fair hearing. They had both; but, for reasons which were explained, they were not prepared to assume the responsibility of action, as but three or four of them were here, and it was proper that Lord Monck and their colleagues should be consulted.

On the 6th of October Sir John A. Macdonald addressed to me a letter, which was answered on the 21st, and it is my intention to continue the correspondence, on my own responsibility as a gentleman and a member of the Legislature, until satisfied that it ought to close. I desire to give the Canadian ministers the most ample opportunities to make reparation if they can—to show to the Imperial Government that they have not failed from any absence of fair discussion; and to satisfy my own mind, not very hopeful, for the reasons I

have explained, of success in any other direction, whether we can recover so much of what we have lost, as to make the system less burthensome and distasteful if we are to live under it.

Others can try their experiments in the meantime. "Acadia" can try forcible annexation. "One of the People" may be able to negotiate a bargain for the sale by Great Britain of a British colony to a foreign state. The local Government can try the effect of more resolutions and minutes of Council, and, failing these, of seizing revenue offices and collecting duties without law; and Judge Marshall can keep on writing letters informing us that he will accept nothing but repeal, without being able to show anybody how he is to get it. For these pastimes I have neither inclination nor leisure, and shall therefore endeavour to employ my spare time to more advantage.

But Judge Marshall seems to be afraid to trust me to conduct this correspondence. The people of Nova Scotia, or I am mistaken, will not be much afraid. He thinks I am possessed of some "secret," but he is mistaken. The correspondence has been shown to twenty of my most valued friends, and will be shown to others, as they drop into my dwelling. There is nothing in it which restrains me from advocating or accepting repeal, if anybody can show me how to get it.

This letter is already so long that there is but one other point that I will venture to touch. Scattered all over Nova Scotia are thousands of men who know me well, have seen me variously tried, and who would feel a stain upon my honour like a blow in the face. There is no office, no distinction, in the Dominion or anywhere else, that will tempt me to forfeit the confidence and esteem of those men or to sacrifice their interests to my own. But I will not deceive them by vain hopes, or conceal the truth from fear of their displeasure.

I pass over a great deal in this and in other letters of Judge Marshall's which he will by-and-by regret. Upon some points we perhaps may never agree, but I respect his sincerity, his zeal and his services, and, while giving him the information he requires, I trust that I have said nothing to give personal offence.—Believe me, yours truly,

JOSEPH HOWE.

*To the Editor of "The Morning Chronicle."*

FAIRFIELD, November 9th, 1868.

SIR,—Having occupied so much space in your paper of Saturday last, I will condense into as few words as possible what I have to say to your correspondent "Justitia." Since the local Government was formed, in November last, I have never written a line, even of criticism, upon its acts or policy. I have no desire, as some of the members know, to quarrel now, or to assist the common enemy to triumph over them. But I cannot submit to have the system continued which has been pursued towards me for the last three months. If I am attacked in the organs of the local Government,

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they must expect me to reply. If my acts or policy are mystified or sneered at, it must be explained, and if I am to be threatened, as I have been every now and then, with the vengeance of "the people," of whom I have never been much afraid, then it is but fair that the people should know what we are all about.

"Justitia" seems to have misunderstood what was said in the convention. What I said there was what I have said elsewhere twenty times, what I said to the Colonial Secretary in England, and, if my memory serves, in my place at Ottawa. It was this, that "so deeply did I resent the manner in which the confederation had been carried, that if Great Britain would remove her ships and troops, and leave us face to face with the Canadians, I would take my boys and die on the Amherst marsh rather than submit." I say this now, because in such a contest we would have a chance for our liberties and lives, but nobody, either in the convention or out of it, ever heard me propose to fight Great Britain, which would be simply absurd.

The letter written to Mr. Robertson is now beside me, and is open to the inspection of any of my friends. It was not written for publication, but I should care very little if it were published. It was written under the belief that the Canadians would make no sincere effort to satisfy Nova Scotia, that a union of the Maritime Provinces was our next best card, and that, until that was played, a rupture with the Executive, or negotiation, should be postponed.

When the convention met two things had happened. Our friends had returned, and a union of the Provinces was impracticable. Our best card had been played, and the hope, on which my whole letter to Robertson was constructed, was swept away. A third appeal to England, without any change in the circumstances, was hopeless. Some thought otherwise, and think so yet. Others wanted to throw the whole responsibility on the Dominion members, which was most unfair, and besides, six or seven months must be wasted before they would be called upon to act as a distinct body. A general strike, which, as I felt and wrote in England, was, if possible, to be avoided, now appeared to be the only chance to produce a crisis. It was suggested, was discovered to be distasteful, and abandoned. This is the plain history of these transactions, and if "Justitia" did not hear my pledge to sustain the movement he must have been hard of hearing. The final resolution, adopted after it was ascertained that the Canadians were not then prepared to negotiate, bound us all to get repeal if we could, "by legal and constitutional means," but it did not bind anybody to discuss the whole subject with the Canadians or with any one else.

To show the unfairness of taking garbled extracts from my letter, it is only necessary to remind "Justitia" that in the first paragraph he quotes he has omitted three very important lines. Here is the paragraph as he quotes it, the lines in italics he omits :

"The Government here assume, from Tupper's representations and the

correspondence with Lord Monck, that the Canadians are willing and able—nay, most anxious—to allay discontent and give us entire satisfaction, without any interference of theirs. I do not believe in their ability or inclination to do anything of the kind. *No doubt the Duke of Buckingham 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.*"

It is quite as unfair for "Justitia" to assume that when the convention met we were in the position contemplated or hoped when my letter was written six weeks before. No "influential delegates from New Brunswick, Newfoundland, or Prince Edward Island" had "come over." We were isolated and alone, as we are yet, and I fear are likely to be, unless better news have been brought to us in November than we had in August. The matter then stands thus—those who expect to get repeal by sending resolutions across the water, can try that experiment. I, for the reasons I have given, have no faith in that policy, and decline to recommend it. While this experiment is being tried, I shall test the sincerity of the Canadians. If they are sincere we shall have something to fall back upon should the local Government fail, and if they are not, we shall be no worse off when the fact has been ascertained.—Believe me, yours truly,

JOSEPH HOWE.

*To the Editor of "The Morning Chronicle."*

FAIRFIELD, November 16th, 1868.

SIR,—Personal explanations, touching matters private and social, are not generally interesting to the public. Judge Marshall compels me to make one or two. In England, however men may differ on public questions, they mingle in society without restraint. During all the time that the delegates were in London the newspapers continually announced the fact that men differing the most widely in politics were dining together at public festivals or at mutual friends' houses. Gladstone and Disraeli fought night after night in the House of Commons, each accusing the other of trying to ruin the country by the adoption of a disastrous policy; yet morning after morning was the announcement made that they and their families had been entertained at each other's houses, or had, together, accepted the hospitality of their mutual friends.

During our old battles in this country, when party lines were drawn most strictly, Uniacke and Dodd, Huntington, Young, Annand and myself freely mingled in society and dined at mutual friends' houses. We took it for granted that each knew how to protect his own honour, and I am quite sure that either would have resented any attempt to dictate to him as to what invitations he was to accept, or with whom he was to associate.

Perfect freedom, in this respect, is the rule in all civilized countries, including all the British colonies with which I have any acquaintance. It is eminently so in the United States. Twenty years ago I met, at John Quincy

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Adams' table, Whigs and Democrats who rarely agreed about anything, and, in later years, I have seen Republicans, Democrats and Copperheads mingled and intermixed night after night at balls, receptions and dinner-parties at Washington.

Judge Marshall may think this all wrong, but the civilized world thinks it right, and so do I; for if his notions were to prevail, public life would be hateful, society would be divided into hostile camps and the platforms and the Parliaments would be turned into bear gardens. The Judge knows well that the Saviour of mankind was reproached for eating with publicans and sinners, but He did not refuse a share of His last supper even to the disciple that He knew was about to betray Him.

In one of Judge Marshall's recent letters, he found fault because the Sultan, and the Pasha of Egypt, being Turks, had been courteously and hospitably entertained in England. Where would his doctrines lead us to? To the total disruption of all foreign as well as social relations. How is commerce to be carried on, and Christianity to be diffused and made attractive, if we are to treat all men who happen to be Mohammedans or heathens as enemies?

I am glad to know that the members of the local Government do not share his sentiments. I saw, only last week, the Attorney-General and Mr. William Miller in dangerous proximity at a pleasant dinner-party, but neither appeared to refuse his wine or to apprehend that strong differences of opinion would impair digestion. On the passage out from England, Mr. Annand and Dr. Tupper sat side by side, exchanged the courtesies of the table, and walked the deck for hours, without attracting anybody's particular notice; and in the long evenings, so hard to while away at sea, Mr. Troop, Mr. Smith or myself would sometimes take a few English shillings out of the Doctor's purse, at a game of cards, without any regard to rigid maxims which all the world repudiates. The Judge knows that while there is no command not to eat with our enemies, we are commanded to love them. I find it very hard to love some of mine, but, until society has been so reconstructed as to meet the Judge's peculiar views, I shall be compelled, as I have been doing all my life, occasionally to eat with them.

With this preface, let me explain the small matter at which it seems the Judge thought proper to take offence. With the late member for Halifax, Mr. Tobin, however we may have differed and fought our party battles out, I have for many years maintained social relations. On the day I landed from England he sent me an invitation, which was accepted. At his table I met Mr. Tilley, who, inquiring after Mrs. Howe, an old acquaintance, was invited to come over and see her on the following morning. He came, got some breakfast, and I drove him to town. Judge Marshall, whom I met at the Club, having expressed a wish to come and see me, I promised to send a boat for him, and, had he come, would have given him my views of public affairs with the same freedom that they have since been given to the public. Before I had a day of leisure, or the boat could be sent, I heard that the Judge was going about the



town, throwing up his arms and exclaiming, "Mr. Howe has been breakfasting and dining with Tilley. We are all sold." I took no notice of this extraordinary behaviour, but of course, deeply resenting this indelicate interference with my personal freedom, I never sent the boat.

On the 26th of October the Judge wrote a long letter in the *Chronicle*, headed, "Political Leaders and Leading Politicians," in which he developed his peculiar philosophy, condemning all the public of the three kingdoms, as violators of his rules, but Mr. Wilberforce and Lord Shaftesbury, neither of whom have ever led a majority or conducted a Government. Though this letter contained a good many sarcasms and innuendoes aimed at me, I took no notice of them, being contented to be condemned in company with all the practical statesmen who had made the empire illustrious.

A word or two about Mr. Tilley. This gentleman and I were associated on two or three Intercolonial delegations. We went to England as delegates in reference to the Intercolonial Railroad twice, and lived together for months in the same lodgings. In the unrestrained intercourse thus enjoyed, I learned to know Mr. Tilley well, and, however we may have differed since and fought out the battle of confederation, I came to esteem him, not only for the possession of fine powers adapted to the requirements of public life, but for many amiable personal qualities which render him an agreeable companion. This gentleman may have been right or wrong in the view he took of confederation, but I believe him to have been as sincere in his convictions as Judge Marshall; and besides, when he returned from Quebec he dissolved the House and put the question squarely before the people. In Mr. Tilley's presence I criticised, at Ottawa, the intrigues which broke up Mr. Smith's Government, but, having won his position after two appeals to his country, I always thought that Mr. Tilley stood in a very different position from those who had denied us one. That I was not to sit at the same table with, or treat him like a gentleman, never entered into my head to conceive, and I would prize no leadership of any party that undertook to bind me by a code of political morality repudiated by the whole civilized world.

Judge Marshall, in utter ignorance of the subject on which he writes, refers to another personal matter which it is quite time the country should understand. Because I did not desire to get into snarls with old friends, or to weaken our organization by mere personal disclosures, I have borne for many weeks undeserved censure, on account of a transaction which the Judge now compels me to explain. My seat was vacant when the vote of thanks to the delegates was read from the chair, and Judge Marshall jumps to the charitable conclusion that this evinced "contempt of the high and honourable expression of the thanks and regards of the country."

Now what are the facts? At a meeting held of the members, after the general election, Mr Wilkins aired and argued at great length this doctrine:—That the Imperial Parliament had no power to pass the Confederation Act—that the statute was invalid, that nobody was bound by it—

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that we were not in confederation, and consequently could do whatever we pleased. I had read some constitutional law in my time, and though I had not looked into the books lately, and had no time to do it then, I felt convinced that Mr. Wilkins was in error. I had argued, all through the discussion, that it would be an arbitrary and most unwise exercise of the high powers of Parliament if the Act were passed, but that Parliament had the power to pass it I never doubted.

When the delegates were in England, it occurred to them that it was of the utmost importance to ascertain whether or not Mr. Wilkins' law could be sustained. If we were not in confederation, then there was an end of the matter. If there was no law, then we could seize revenue offices, enact tariffs, and resist the federal authorities without a breach of the peace. We owed it to the whole country to sift this matter, which might involve the lives and properties of our people. It was sifted, in the fairest spirit to Mr. Wilkins, and, as I expected, his law was not sustained.

The papers were sent out, but were not communicated to the country. To my surprise, I found that they were not to form part of the delegation report to be laid before the House, and I soon found that the Attorney-General refused to bring them down. I called and remonstrated, and at last declared my determination not to sign any report which did not include public documents of the utmost importance, which had been paid for with the money of the country, and in fact belonged to the people, who ought not to be hoodwinked and deceived. This remonstrance brought down the papers, but I fear it brought down something else—the resentment of the Attorney-General.

I rarely went into the House during the session, thinking it more delicate for many reasons to stay away, and did not hear the curious speech which brought the Attorney-General into collision with General Doyle. But I understood that in that speech he had attacked the delegates, and had used language so pointed that one of them had threatened to tender his resignation, and that the other two were much annoyed.

Of what had passed or had been said I knew nothing, except from rumour. In September I spent a few days at Noel and Maitland, where there is no telegraph. I returned to town on the 14th, and found a telegram from the Attorney-General dated the 11th, and a note dated that morning, inviting me to come to the bar of the House at three o'clock and receive a vote of thanks for my services as a delegate. As his speech had not been published, I thought it but fair, before going to the bar on such an errand, that I should know what he said. If I had been censured unfairly, explanation was due to my own reputation, to the House and to the country, before I went to the bar. I wrote this note to the Attorney-General, which, I understand, was never read to the House, or to the party who met in caucus that morning, and from that time to this the slanderous falsehood has been sent over the country that I treated, with designed disrespect, the members of the local Legislature :

" FAIRFIELD, *September 14th*, 1868.

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"DEAR SIR,—Your telegram, dated the 11th, only reached me this morning, on my return home. I would much prefer not to attend at the bar of the House until your speech, in which I understand that the conduct of the delegates was censured, has appeared in print.—Yours truly,  
JOSEPH HOWE."

Ten minutes of explanation—five minutes to inspect the notes of the speech, would have been enough to set this matter right, but no such courtesy was extended. For reasons, some of which have been given, and for others that may be explained as this controversy goes on, the House was made to believe that they had been insulted, and the country has been mystified from that day to this.

The rest of Judge Marshall's observations may pass for what they are worth. If there is anything in them it will probably be answered in another letter, which must be devoted to my old friend who finds it so difficult to understand me, and to other gentlemen who have honoured me with their notice.—Believe me, yours truly,  
JOSEPH HOWE.

*To the Editor of "The Morning Chronicle."*

FAIRFIELD, *November 23rd*, 1868.

SIR,—I have let ten days go past, since the publication of the Executive Council's minute and of Mr. Annand's letter, first, because I was reluctant to intrude too often upon the press, largely burthened with this controversy; and secondly, because I desired to give to others, fully cognizant of what took place in the convention, time to express their opinions. There were sixty gentlemen present at that meeting. I assumed that they were men of honour and men of truth. I took no pains to gather their suffrages, and never asked, either by letter or telegraph, any one of them to sustain my statements. It would appear that the Provincial Secretary telegraphed to them all. What answers he received I know not, except in two or three cases. This telegram was sent to Cape Breton :

" HALIFAX, *November 11th*, 1868.

" To JAMES MCKEAGNEY, Esq.

" Did Mr. Howe propose, at convention in August, Executive Council to resign office, and, in conjunction with Dominion members, go to the country, as stated in Mr. Howe's letter? Answer briefly by telegraph—more fully by letter.

" WM. B. VAIL."

To this inquiry the Provincial Secretary received the following answer :

" SYDNEY, *November 12th*, 1858.

" To Hon. W. B. VAIL, Provincial Secretary, Halifax.

" Yes. I heard Mr. Howe make the proposition before the convention.

" JAMES MCKEAGNEY."

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A friend writes to me from Digby :

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“Vail telegraphed to Savary yesterday to know whether he remembered your making the two propositions to ‘the Treasury bench’ at the convention, and he replied that he did most distinctly remember your doing so, and that he also remembered McDonald’s repeating it afterwards.”

My friend, one of those who, by his personal exertions, contributed largely to the defeat of Mr. Wade, and to the triumph of our cause in Digby, adds :

“I am glad to find that most of those in this section whose opinions you would value are with you, and endorse every line you have written. There are, of course, some of the rabid extremists, who continue to bark, without knowing what at or what for. The moderate and reasonable part of the Repeal party here think just as you write ; and they include those who have done all the work when work was to be done, and left all the vapouring talk to the class before mentioned.”

Another member, to whom Mr. Vail telegraphed, answered by letter “that he did not care to be drawn into this controversy, and therefore reserved his opinions for the present.”

But the most important evidence on the main point in dispute between me and the Council is furnished in the calm, manly and discriminating article published by Mr. McDonald in *The Citizen* on the 19th instant. It will be remembered that all the time the delegates were at Quebec in 1864, the progress made was daily communicated, by telegrams, published with evident satisfaction in *The Morning Chronicle*. It will not be forgotten that, for weeks after the delegates returned, *The Morning Chronicle*, that now undertakes to speak for “the people,” and to annihilate everybody who ventures to think for himself, openly advocated confederation, and, by that advocacy, carried over to the confederate side many old Liberals, whose services we lost at every subsequent stage of the controversy.

The first blows struck at the Quebec scheme were delivered with energy and effect by Edward McDonald and William Garvie in *The Citizen*. Garvie, until the day of his departure for England, to enter upon the brilliant career of imperial competition in which he won the highest distinction, gave to our cause the aid of his acute intellect, classic culture and irresistible humour. Edward McDonald, to this hour, has fought our country’s battle with energy and ability worthy of all praise. Not only has *The Citizen* never wavered from 1864 to 1868, chiefly sustained, since Mr. Garvie’s departure eighteen months ago, by Mr. McDonald’s vigorous pen ; but that gentleman has, in other fields of enterprise, won personal distinction and done our party eminent service. When no candidate could be found, either in Lunenburg or Halifax, to face the Kaulbachs, he threw himself into the contest, roused the people by his eloquence, and ensured success by skilful organization. He went to Ottawa with the rest of us last autumn, and, in my presence, illustrated the patriotism and genius of his country, by a speech unsurpassed in eloquence and argument

by any other delivered during the session. He went again in the spring, and, in my absence, moved a strong set of resolutions, and made a manly fight against overwhelming numbers. In the recent contest for Inverness he rendered yeoman service, and, judging by the bitterness of Mr. Blanchard's style, and by reports received from the county, it is more than probable that that gentleman's defeat, whatever other causes may have so equally divided the electors, was ensured by McDonald's presence on nomination day.

When the local Government was formed, Mr. McDonald became Queen's printer, with, it may fairly be presumed, the approbation of almost the entire party. Everybody was not satisfied, however, and there is reason to believe that out of the jealousies and rivalries of that period sprung, in certain quarters, feelings that have contributed not a little to the "admired disorder" which reigns at the present hour, and which few of us can contemplate without regret. Knowing well that, for months, in the city, in his county and elsewhere, great pains had been taken, ever since his appointment, to sow distrust of Mr. McDonald's fidelity, and to drive him either out of his seat or out of his office, I was determined that he should not be responsible for anything that I said or did. My letters have not been shown to him, nor did I urge him to express any opinions. His own review of the controversy I never saw till it came to me in *The Citizen*. It has been written carefully, with certainly no desire to offend the local Government, but with a very proper estimation of the yet higher obligations which he owes to truth and to the country at large.

The Executive Council would have the country believe that my proposals were made in a spirit of levity and "banter." Hear Mr. McDonald on this point:

"There certainly was nothing of badinage or levity about the proposal, for during the four or five days that the convention and its committee sat, Mr. Howe indulged in none of those light pleasantries with which he sometimes enlivens his speeches. On the contrary, his tone was serious, and at times almost sad, while discussing the many obstacles that stood in the way of his country's liberation."

McDonald is right. I am fond enough of pleantry on fitting occasions, but do not usually laugh at a funeral or crack jokes over a grave. Standing on the very spot where I had first claimed self-government for our country—oppressed by the recollection of bygone scenes, and of the noble fellows who had passed away, leaving but two or three of us to "follow the hearse," and bow to the inevitable, I was in no humour for jesting. Sad and savage enough was I on those few days that the convention sat, and all the more so because I saw in certain quarters but little determination to submit with dignity or to act with vigour.

My first proposition was made to rebuke a spirit then rife in some circles, and which I afterwards gathered, from the Attorney-General's speech, descended from an elevated region. For weeks before the convention met, there were threats of open resistance to the law, and proposals to insult the Canadians.

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Revenue offices were to be seized, and supreme power asserted, in some mode that nobody could clearly understand. In a few weeks this style of teaching would produce its natural results—riots, collisions, bloodshed. I had thought over all these modes of dealing with our difficulties time and again. My reason condemned them, and I was determined that, if lives were to be lost and property wasted, those who favoured such movements should take the lead. I cannot remember the exact language, perhaps, in which the case was put, but the substance of what was said was this—“Do not instigate what you are afraid to share; if heads are to be broken or lives lost, risk your own.” From the moment that my first proposition was suggested, those movements were postponed *sine die*. They reappeared on another memorable occasion, but for the present may be dismissed from further consideration.

That the second proposition was made in substance, if not in the very language of my letter, I re-assert, after a fortnight's reflection. Not only was the proposal made, but the reasons for it were given. “The Duke of Buckingham,” I said, “has asserted that only 22,000 out of 48,000 electors voted against confederation. We informed his Grace that in three or four counties there were no contests—that in others the majorities were so large, early in the day, that there was no object in spending time and money in making them larger; and, besides, a large body of our maritime people were at sea. These explanations his Grace did not give to Parliament or the public. His argument tells heavily against us. Now, if you want to give an answer,” &c., and then came the proposal, which the councillors say was not made at all—which two gentlemen distinctly remember, and which Mr. McDonald proves drew on a discussion in which Mr. McLelan and himself took part. He is not sure whether I meant “that the Government alone should resign, or that all the members, with the Government at their head, should walk up to General Doyle, and resign their seats and their offices.”

It is probable enough that this mode of procedure may have been recommended. Had all the members of both Houses gone up with the cabinet at their head, they would have formed a dignified and striking procession. Nothing like it would have occurred within the empire since the Disruption, and the organization of the Free Church of Scotland. I do not mean to say that we might not, after all, have been overridden by the declared policy of the empire; but I do and ever shall maintain that, when the project of a Maritime Union broke down, it was our only chance to do anything except negotiate with the Canadians.

I certainly did not propose any resolution, or make any attempt to force my views on the convention. The policy proposed must fail if we were not unanimous, and I soon discovered that unanimity could not be secured without the cordial co-operation of the Executive. They do not appear even to have heard the proposition, and I shall now leave the matter in the judgment of the country, and turn for a few moments to Mr. Annand's letter. Of the style and tone of that letter I make no complaint. But Mr. Annand must remember

that, in the two subsidized newspapers which his Government patronizes, if they do not control, I have been slandered and lectured for many weeks after a very different fashion. If those papers did not draw, as thousands believe they did, their inspiration from the local Executive which paid them, Mr. Annand, if he owed no courtesy to his "valued and much respected friend," owed something to the great party, now shaken to its centre by their vagaries, and should have cleared his skirts of this organized defamation, and entered a manly protest against a policy that anybody could see with half an eye must produce but one result.

When, during the twelve years that I was the proprietor of a newspaper, did I allow anybody to slander William Annand without defence? During the thirty years that our friendship has continued, I cannot recall the hour when I did not guard his reputation as I would my own, and when my right hand was not ready to do battle with friends or foes whenever his honour was assailed. But let that pass. He thinks "he always understood me till now." Well, there were a good many times when I did not understand him; and if disposed to widen, rather than to narrow, this controversy, some of them might be pointed out; but when I did not understand him, I always gave him the benefit of the doubt, and put the most favourable construction on his conduct.

But what is there now, or what has there been since July last, in my conduct, so difficult to understand? When the House of Commons rejected our petition, even for inquiry (repeal being out of the question), there were six Nova Scotians in London—the four delegates, Mr. Northup and Mr. Garvie. We saw each other frequently, discussed the situation with the utmost freedom, and, with the full benefit of ready access to Mr. Bright, came unanimously to this conclusion:

That any further attempt to obtain the repeal of the British America Act in England would fail, unless a Maritime Union were first formed; and that, by inspiring hopes for which there was no foundation, we should but delude the people and waste the public money.

From this opinion, deliberately formed, after consultation with our friends, and with all the facts before me, I have never varied. A dozen gentlemen, known to us all, heard me express it in the presence of the Executive Council, two days after we returned home. It was declared to the convention with the utmost frankness, and has never been disguised from anybody down to this hour. Where then is the mystery? The mystery is here—how Mr. Annand, who concurred in this opinion, suddenly changed it two days after returning home; and how, without any change in the facts of the case, his organs were set to work to humbug the country, and to write up another delegation. Perhaps I might unravel this mystery if I were to try, but that this curious conversion took place without a miracle is now patent to all the world.

On another line of action my policy has been clear as a sunbeam from first to last. From the moment that it was announced that the Canadian ministers

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were coming down here, I claimed for them courteous treatment, a fair hearing, if they had anything to say, and a thoughtful consideration of any proposals which might be made in writing. These opinions I avowed and acted on in the convention and before the committee. I have never disguised them from anybody. I hold them now, and shall act upon them until convinced that the Canadians have nothing to offer worthy of consideration by the people of Nova Scotia. Should it come to that, the correspondence will close, and we shall then be in a position to say to the Imperial Government: "See, here is the result of your policy, fairly tried and exhausted." Even then they may not relieve us, but we shall have acted like rational men, and be free from blame.

But I am not without hopes of a more favourable issue. I am in daily expectation of receiving a full report from the Finance Minister of Canada on a very interesting branch of the subject; and it is just possible that that officer may come down here before long. Of course, if Mr. Annand gets repeal in the meantime, all the papers may be flung into the fire; but if he should not, then, with the very pleasant outlook of but \$32,000 next year for roads and bridges, which are all that he promises us in his speech, it is just possible that my humble labours may be appreciated by-and-by should that very inadequate sum be largely increased.

But we are told "the great heart of the people of England is sound," and "they will make a ring" for the political bruisers that our friend is going to lead over this time to rout the foes of repeal. Well, if they only show as much pluck and bottom as they did when General Doyle made a ring for them some time ago, *Bell's Life* will scarcely be able, in the language of the Fancy, to record their achievements. I really wonder, after that memorable retreat, that my "valued and much respected friend" should venture to accuse anybody of the "cowardly abandonment of a righteous cause."

But, we are asked, did not Nova Scotia wring from the imperial authorities, Responsible Government, Free Trade, the Civil List, &c.? Of course she did; because Canada and all the neighbouring Provinces were asking for the same things, and because the old system of government had broken down in other parts of the empire. But now Nova Scotia stands alone, with the most populous of the other Provinces, and all the rest of the empire against her.

But then we are told of the great reforms won in England by persevering people, and are advised to emulate their zeal and follow their example. I can have no objections. O'Connell and his fellow-workers won Catholic emancipation; Cobden, Bright and others repealed the Corn Laws; but neither of those men ever held office under the Governments they opposed, or lived out of the taxation they denounced. Neither of these great questions were settled till generations had died and millions had been spent in their advocacy. Can we spare the money and the time?

We are comforted by the hope that Great Britain will shrink from doing us wrong "in presence of the appeal of our Legislature for the sympathy and



support of the lovers of freedom in every part of the world." Well, the appeal was made three months ago, and lies in an old pigeon-hole somewhere in Downing Street. The voice of continental Europe has not been raised. In the British Islands not a "lover of freedom" has ever mentioned our wrongs on any hustings during the general election. Stiles has raised his voice at Washington, and a few Boston editors have made fun of us, but all the rest of the civilized world seems to be too busy or too indifferent to sympathise in our sufferings.

But then somebody told my old friend that the members of the House of Commons had been deceived. He knew all this before leaving England, and if it made any impression upon him, why did he permit me to write to Robertson that all hope in that quarter was vain while Nova Scotia stood isolated and alone? We are told, in very vague terms, that there are "hopes of union with at least one or more of the other Provinces." We were told the direct contrary in August. Since then there have been some important elections in New Brunswick, that are sufficiently discouraging, and the confederates in Newfoundland have carried the important district of Harbour Grace.

I pass over many passages for the sake of brevity, for this letter is already too long. The *Chronicle* of the 19th lets the cat out of the bag, when it says, "If the people of this country were even disposed to negotiate in that quarter (with Canada) it would be impossible to do so save through the local Government or a delegate appointed by the Government." Just so, now you have hit it. From the moment that Sir John A. Macdonald, in August last, sent for the gentleman who was the acknowledged leader of the anti-confederate party, embracing all the members of the federal and local Legislatures, two gentlemen, who at best but represented one wing of the party, have had their backs up, and out of their unreasonable pretensions has sprung all the trouble with which their party has been perplexed. This is the plain truth, and it is quite time the country knew it.—Believe me, yours truly,

JOSEPH HOWE.

*To the Editor of "The Morning Chronicle."*

FAIRFIELD, November 27th, 1868.

SIR,—The Provincial Secretary seems to desire that this controversy should cease. To do that officer justice I may acknowledge that, if he could have had his own way, it would never have commenced. I have no desire to continue it. It is not my intention to answer every anonymous assailant, and, unless the necessity be urgent, this letter is the last that I shall ask you to publish for some time.

Now that the smoke of battle has rolled away, we can glance over the theatre of war, and see what has been lost or gained. These points must be pretty well settled in every rational person's mind:

1. That all the Nova Scotians in London, in June last (including the four

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delegates) were convinced that any further appeal to England would be fruitless and a waste of time and money, unless a union of the Maritime Provinces could be formed.

2. That two members of the local Government, in August, reported any such union, at that time, was hopeless and impracticable.

3. That, failing this policy, Mr. Howe made proposals to the convention, which were distinctly heard by eight or nine gentlemen, but which some others do not remember, by which the wheels of Government would have been locked and a crisis forced four months ago.

4. That, despairing, for reasons fully explained in these letters, of getting rid of the British America Act, he is now endeavouring to amend it.

5. That, from the moment he landed, he made no secret of his opinions, but explained them to a meeting of the local Executive, and to a number of his friends on the 16th of July, to the whole convention on the 4th of August, and to anybody and everybody who has sought information down to the present hour.

6. That when the Canadian ministers were coming down he claimed for them a fair hearing, and a calm consideration of any propositions that they might make in writing then or thereafter.

7. That when Sir John A. Macdonald wrote to him on the 6th of October, he answered his letter, and is now engaged in negotiations having for their object to test the sincerity of the Canadians and effect a modification of the scheme, should it be impossible to repeal the Act.

8. That the fact that this correspondence would go on was communicated to Mr. Annand on the day that Sir John's letter arrived, and that the correspondence itself is open to the inspection of members of the Legislature and of other judicious persons whom it is thought proper to consult.

9. That Mr. Howe intended no slight or offence to the local Legislature, his explanation, when his chair was left vacant, having been kept, for some reason not yet explained, in the Attorney-General's pocket.

10. That rather than weaken the party by explaining this matter, or by premature disclosures, he bore, for three months, a series of attacks in the subsidized organs of the Government, and that he only took up his pen in self-defence when openly challenged to explain his views.

11. That Mr. Annand, concurring in the opinion expressed in Mr. Howe's letter to Mr. Robertson, that further petitions and delegations were hopeless while Nova Scotia stood isolated and alone, suddenly changed that opinion, and set his organs to work to write up another delegation while the facts remained unchanged.

12. That when the organs of the Government declared, from time to time, as they did, that they and Mr. Howe were in accord, they knew that he disapproved of their policy, and had made, and was making, no secret of his opinions.

These matters "the people," misled by all sorts of delusions until a short

time ago, now clearly comprehend. There are some other things just as apparent.

13. That the organs of the local Government, while its leaders profess unbounded loyalty, have been for weeks writing up annexation, without being able to show anybody how it is to be got.

14. That it cannot be got by Nova Scotia standing alone, in any peaceful or honourable mode—that if attempted by force, parties engaging in such an enterprise would be promptly put down ; and that, if foreigners interfered, our country would be torn to pieces.

15. That Great Britain never sold a colony, and never will, and is not likely to give away one in which she has spent £201,210 sterling within the last seven years, in building fortifications and barrack accommodation : which contains her only arsenal on the North Atlantic, and whose bracing climate is indispensable for the restoration to health of the seamen and soldiers employed in the West Indies, and where she spends annually \$1,500,000 in payment and maintenance of troops and sailors.

16. That annexation, if worth having, can only be got by a combination of all the North American Provinces, and by the passage of an Act of separation by the Parliament of the Dominion.

It is true that the great party that won the last elections has been shaken to its centre by these disclosures. But who is to blame? When that party went to the country a year ago annexation was not on its banners. When the convention rose it was not endorsed. Yet it has been preached industriously, for three months, under the patronage of the Government. Holding the opinions that I do, this would be cause enough to separate me from persons pursuing a policy of which I disapproved, by means so tortuous and discreditable. Had my "old friend" and his Attorney-General joined hands with the filibusters across the border, openly proclaimed their policy, and, when the Lieutenant-Governor rebuked them, had set him at defiance, whatever I might have thought of their principles, I would have admired their courage. But when, at the first glance of the calm soldier's eye, they all backed down into their boots, I cannot say that I have felt it any great honour to lead or to fight under the two great champions, who disgraced us all by this display of strategy and courage ; and who, when the peril was over, amused the public by laying the blame on each other. Then "you and I and all of us fell down," my countrymen ; and we learnt this useful lesson, that if annexation doctrines and ideas were to take bodily shape in this country, these were not just the kind of men to "carry on the war."

But let me acknowledge that I have a great deal more respect for the annexationists than I have for the "sea-gulls." They agree with me that any further appeals to England would be a waste of time and money. They have a sincere belief, and a prospect, however remote. The other people have neither the one nor the other. There are not three men in the Executive Council, nor ten members of the local Legislature, who, if they spoke their

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real sentiments, have the slightest hope that Gladstone, who pledged himself, in presence of the House of Commons and the world, to support the British America Act, voted for it, and has since voted to sustain it, will turn round and vote for its repeal.

I am very glad to see that the annexationists, who number in their ranks some very intelligent and highly respectable people, now openly declare that they contemplate only peaceful measures. This is as it should be. Even "Acadia" and "One of the People" avow this policy now, and so long as it is adhered to I shall not complain of the free expression of any man's sentiments who is not an officer of the Government, sworn to maintain the Queen's authority.

As this will be, perhaps, my last chance, let me say a few words on a branch of the subject on which I have thought a good deal, but which has not been much discussed. Can we not, suggest some of the annexationists, establish non-intercourse with Canada, wear our own homespun, and refuse to consume her productions? We could do this if we were unanimous—if we had a Legislature free to impose discriminating or prohibitory duties, and if we could afford to protect, with hundreds of revenue officers and a fleet of cutters, a coast everywhere indented by the sea. But if we could do this, Canada and New Brunswick might refuse to employ our ships or to take our productions, and Great Britain might, by a short Act of Parliament or by a Treasury order, so discriminate against our tonnage as to shut it out of the great provinces of the empire, and leave our ships to rot in our harbours.

But we are not unanimous. In this very city the population is nearly equally divided; so are they in Cumberland and in Inverness; and in every county there is a considerable minority who would discountenance and resist any such policy. In the old colonies the minorities being small, and the people nearly all of one mind, non-intercourse was enforced by tar and feathers, and by other means of coercion, which in the divided state of our population could not be applied. Then our Legislature has no power to impose prohibitory duties or any duties at all.

I grant that, if our people could be induced to wear more of their own simple manufactures, and to import less from abroad, it would be better for us all. If our girls, instead of sweeping the streets with silks and poplins, would wear short homespun dresses, they would, I believe, look just as handsome, and get married a great deal faster; but reforms of this kind must be introduced gently, and result from moral suasion.

But I am sometimes asked, Why not propose something that we can do? So far, I have shown pretty clearly what cannot be done. If our friends are disposed, instead of amusing the country with delusions, to try something practical, I will venture to offer two or three suggestions. Mr. Annand tells us in his letter of yesterday, that Mr. Garvie has, since June last, changed his opinion as to the prospect of repeal in England. How far Mr. Garvie's change of opinion may have been influenced by the action of the local Legis-

lature I do not know, but I have for that gentleman's talents and patriotism the highest possible respect. He is on the spot, knows the ropes, and can do more and do it better than any two delegates who can be sent over sea.

Now let an official letter be sent to Mr. Garvie by the next mail, instructing him to inquire at the Colonial Office what has become of the resolutions and minute of Council sent over to England some months ago, and whether any and what answer is to be sent to those documents.

Let him be instructed to call on Mr. Bright and ask that gentleman to go with him to Mr. Gladstone and inquire whether he has changed his opinion on the British America Act, and is prepared to recommend the repeal of that statute at the meeting of Parliament. He might, at the same time, ask the Premier if he is prepared to sell Nova Scotia to the United States, or will permit the people, if so disposed, to annex the Province to that country. Answers to all these questions can be got in a few days, and would not cost the Province more than £100. If Mr. Annand will adopt these suggestions, and take this course, plain, practical and cheap, I will pledge myself to suspend all correspondence with the Canadians till the answers to those questions have been received. Controversy may cease in the meantime. If the answers are unfavourable, the line I have taken and the opinions I have expressed will have been amply justified. If the reverse, then I will confess that I have been wrong, and submit to the condemnation of the country.

Having made these propositions, I shall not waste much time with the gentlemen who have honoured me with their notice during the week. I make no complaint of the Provincial Secretary for publishing the telegrams. On the contrary, I am glad they were published. Eight gentlemen confirm my statement, in terms more or less emphatic,—two are away,—two others did not reach the convention till the third day, after I had spoken,—one declines to be drawn into the controversy, and another, Mr. W. H. Chipman, says he made the proposition himself. One gentleman thinks Mr. Howe "suggested something of the sort,"—another "remembers something being said about resigning and going to the people,"—a third says Mr. Howe "spoke twice during his absence." Several did not hear, and some others do not remember. One gentleman "will explain at the proper time," and another did explain to two members of the Government, and his testimony, for good reasons, I suppose, has not been given. Some other gentlemen have not spoken, and I have not asked anybody to speak, being content to leave the matter as it stands. I will not make the assertion broadly, but if my memory serves me, Mr. Hugh McDonald, of Antigonish, spoke in favour of the proposition, and the Provincial Secretary made a speech against it.

To bandy words with Mr. Annand gives me but little pleasure, and I shall pass over his letter of yesterday with but one or two observations. He said he "disapproves of much that has appeared in the public papers, and would have prevented it if he could." This is all very fine, but the public know that when he disapproved of what was appearing in the *Chronicle*, only a year or two ago,

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he dismissed the editor, and changed its tone, as a driver would reverse an engine. If he will publish the amount of money divided by his Government between the *Chronicle* and the *Recorder* last year, the country will then be able to judge from whence those papers draw their inspiration, even if he is not the proprietor of one of them, which we all supposed he was.

As respects the resolution passed in the convention, it pledged us all to keep within the limits of law and order, and to get repeal if we could. But if it had pledged us to send another delegation, I should have voted against it, for the reasons given, without reserve; and I doubt if it could have been sustained. Mr. Northup has been, and is yet, an anti-confederate. He heard Mr. Adderley's speech, and resented it deeply; but that he has the slightest hope that the declared policy of the Imperial Government, avowed by both parties in the state, can be reversed, I have yet to learn.

To waste time over old speeches, protests and letters can do little good now. Tupper could beat Annand and all his scribes at that work any day. The practical question that the people of Nova Scotia are asking us, and have been asking for six months, is, "What can now be done?" The answer of the local Government is, "Leave us who have accepted the situation quietly in our offices, and cry out Repeal." To all this nonsense I wish to put an end, and if the suggestions which I offer in this letter are acted upon in good faith, we shall get upon solid ground of some sort in a very short time.

I agree with Mr. Annand that private conversations should not be drawn into public discussions; but surely the deliberations of four delegates, calling their friends about them to discuss a public question, and embodying their views in a semi-official letter, can hardly be called a social gathering. If our party is divided I shall regret it, because, if kept together, it might cover all the ground left to us by the British America Act, and do a great deal of good. But no party can be strong without a clear, intelligible and practical policy, and without mutual trust and good faith among its leaders.

Judge Marshall's long letter, I fear, I must pass over with but slight notice, as I probably shall anything which he may write in future. One thing I am very glad of,—that he disavows the expressions attributed to him in July last; and I regret that anything should have occurred to disturb our relations, social or political. But, I fear, about a great many things we must agree to differ. Our natures are different, and our training has not been the same. The Judge takes exception to Dr. Tupper, while overwhelming me with declamation, calling me "his honourable friend"; but what does he say to grave judges, who often hate each other most cordially, and yet apply the term "my learned brother" with most endearing familiarity?

The Judge thinks that I ought not to have forgiven Archibald. Until he was beaten I felt no disposition to show him mercy, and while organizing and leading "the party of punishment," particularly after the publication of that foolish pamphlet of his, I certainly did not spare him, nor did I touch his hand for more than a year. But how long is this sort of thing to last? The

Judge quotes Scripture for me. Let him give law first and the gospel afterwards. He knows that a criminal who has paid the penalty for his offence is received back into society, and that the judge who tried him might take his hand without dishonour. He knows that we are taught to pray daily that we may forgive as we hope to be forgiven. I remember my father saying to me once, that he always liked to sit upon the bench with Michael Tobin (grandfather of the present Mayor), "because," said he, "Joe, he always leans to the side of mercy." Now the Judge, being a good man, may lean to the other side, but I, a sinner, cannot afford to hate anybody to the day of my death; and when I met Archibald, after he had lost his seat and his office, years of friendship and kindly intercourse seemed to revive, and I could not forget that we had sat at the same board and wept over the same grave. The Judge, being made of "sterner stuff," cannot, perhaps, understand my feelings; but I have all my life endeavoured to weave some sort of social if not Christian charity into my politics, and I fear I am too old to change.—Believe me, yours truly,

JOSEPH HOWE.

The Nova Scotia Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition was formally closed on the afternoon of October 13th, with the following address from Mr. Howe:

If it be conceded that the benefits derived from industrial exhibitions justify some expenditure of time and money, then we may assume that the one we are about to close has been well timed. The Province is passing through political changes almost revolutionary. We are not here to discuss them, but this I may be permitted to say, that whether the future is to be marked by the disastrous consequences which some predict, or by the brilliant results that are promised by others, it was our duty to take stock of the present—to survey our industries as they had been developed under our old institutions; and to put on record, in some practical and enduring method, the results of our observations. This has been done, for us and for all time, by the gentlemen who, with honourable industry and perseverance, have organized this exhibition. What Nova Scotia is like in this good year 1868 has been made patent to the eyes of a cloud of living witnesses, many of them young enough to transmit to a new generation some knowledge of what they saw; while the catalogues and prize lists of the commissioners will always be open to those who in after times may desire to look back upon the past. A very essential public service has thus been rendered by those gentlemen, whose labours, in all directions, we are happy to acknowledge, have been crowned with signal success.

Those who have been fortunate enough to see the show for themselves, would not thank me for a tedious enumeration of what they have seen, while, to the absent, the catalogues will convey more detailed and accurate information than I could crowd into this brief closing address, even if disposed, which

CHAP. XXXIII I am not, to so abuse your patience. A few observations upon the general  
— features of the scene, of which this audience forms the centre, may not be  
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Those who have inspected the great international collections by which the age has been distinguished, and came here expecting to see something of that sort, have of course been disappointed. It takes a certain amount of heat to make a bull-frog croak, and many centuries are required to develop industry in all the varied and beautiful forms by which of late the earnest gaze of millions has been attracted in London, Manchester, Dublin and Paris.

But those who came with rational ideas of proportion—expecting only what it was fair to expect, have not been disappointed. Halifax must not be judged by comparison with great centres of industry, where science, in the lapse of centuries, has become wedded to the mechanic arts, nor is it fair to contrast the rural districts of Nova Scotia, so recently won from the wilderness by hardy pioneers, with the trim pastures of Devonshire or the corn lands of the Lothians, where a stump or a stone has not been seen for centuries, and where a weed is not permitted to grow. The fair way to judge is to compare our agricultural districts with others where climatic conditions are equal, and where, by a comparison of the dates of settlement, the progress of industrial development may be fairly reviewed. I know that it is the fashion in some quarters to speak of Nova Scotia as behind the age, as wanting in skill and enterprise. But I make the assertion boldly, and what we have seen around us for the past few days partially bears out the statement, that you cannot cut, from any portion of the earth's surface, 400,000 people, who in little more than a century have, by industry, enterprise and well-directed powers of accumulation and development, done more for themselves and for their country than has been done by the people of Nova Scotia. And yet all this has been wrought out in the face of special difficulties and obstructions of a very peculiar character.

The eastern States, with which these Provinces are often most unfairly compared by those who forget that their permanent occupation by the British races dates a century earlier, had free trade with all the world from the close of the revolutionary war, while ours was cramped by all sorts of absurd restrictions down to the advent of Huskisson, and was not left to our own regulation till twenty years later. Again, the trade of the eastern States was stimulated by a national Government that wisely opened the great west. Our great west has been kept as a hunting-ground ever since Halifax was founded, and our twenty years' struggle for some means of connection with it has as yet resulted in no perceptible stimulant to our industry.

Then again, our mineral treasures were locked up by a close monopoly till 1856, and down to this hour our hardy fishermen are compelled to wrestle for the treasures of the deep in active rivalry with the French and American fishermen stimulated by national bounties, which our people have never enjoyed, and



which have made the competition most severe. All these things should be taken into account when comparisons, which are unjust and offensive, are instituted.

There are other things which should not be forgotten. We are sometimes sneered at, when Americans and Canadians come into our country and invest money in our mines, or in other branches of industry. I must confess that I do not feel the reproach. I have just returned from the formal opening of the Drummond colliery, which was to me a day of unmixed enjoyment. I saw a property, said to be worth millions, in the tranquil possession of comparative strangers. But what then? They were gentlemen of capital and enterprise, thoroughly up to their work. They had expended £100,000, three-fourths of which had been spent in the employment of labour, and in the long and prosperous future which I trust is before them, they cannot raise a ton of coal that will not employ labour and stimulate consumption both upon land and sea.

Our people may well contemplate scenes like this without mortification or self-reproach, because they know that for every pound of capital that Nova Scotia possesses, three opportunities for investment less hazardous than mining are presented every day. Our people then wisely choose the safer investments, and leave others which are unwieldy and hazardous to those who have more capital to spare. But our neighbours in the United States did this in all the earlier stages of their development, and now, whenever any enterprise is beyond the available resources of their capitalists or artisans, they invariably seek in Europe for the skill and money they require. Canada does the same, and she draws, as we do, upon the great republic, but to a much larger extent, for men and means to found her factories, sink her oil-wells, manufacture her lumber, and work her mines. And besides, it must not be forgotten in any friendly and fair comparison—and on this occasion I desire to institute no other—that Canada has had the advantage of a million and a half of pounds sterling lent to her at a low rate of interest in 1841, and she has also had the benefit of ten or fifteen millions more, poured into her lap by the capitalists of England, who built her railroads. Nova Scotia has built her own, and paid for them, and she has never asked or obtained, by way of loan, a pound from the British Government.

Thus struggling through many difficulties, and without any special aid, our people have had to develop their industry. How have they done it? They have opened free roads all over the country—bridged the streams and put no toll-bars on them—explored the wilderness and subdued it—built churches, and endowed religion with that priceless endowment, perfect freedom. They have besides lighted their coast, educated their children, and cultivated the arts of social life, with that degree of success which justifies a Nova Scotian in speaking of his country with modest pride.

Beneath this roof, and in the various departments around this building, there are many evidences and illustrations of successful industry. But how

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much is there that is not here, and that, by no effort of the imagination, can we ever hope in one view to combine.

What would we not give at this moment for one glance at that majestic fleet which would crowd Bedford Basin, anchored side by side, but which is dispersed all over the world, bearing our country's flag in every harbour and river's mouth where commerce has made a lodgment? What would we not give for a sight of that naval brigade of noble men who man them, who reef their sails amidst the tempest, and dream of home when the winds are fair. God bless and preserve the manly fellows wherever they are at this hour, and may He bring them safe to land. In this day of general rejoicing let not their bronzed faces and manly forms be forgotten, and let not those who would disparage the enterprise of our country fail to remember that the babe that was born yesterday is represented by a ton of shipping that was built before it was born. When told that Nova Scotia is behind other states in manufactures, we can point to our shipyards, every one of which is a manufactory, furnishing healthy employment in the open air. This great fleet is the combined result, and its renewal and extension, as freights increase in bulk and value, or ships wear out or are lost at sea, will furnish profitable employment for our people for a century to come.

In this connection I may observe that, only a fortnight ago, I saw, within a distance of six miles in the eastern part of the county I represent, three fine barques and a brig, finished this summer and launched within a week. A few years ago I saw a proud Yarmouth mother point to the photographs of seven sturdy men (her seven "sailor boys," she called them), every one of whom commanded a fine ship and had made at least one voyage round Cape Horn. In this connection also I may remark as creditable to the habits of our seafaring people, that in a ride of twenty-four miles round the township of Barrington last summer, where nearly the whole population live by or on the sea, I was assured that the people drank very little spirits and that there was not a tavern to be seen.

At the head of this great branch of industry stand men like Thomas Killam, Bennett Smith, Ezra Churchill, George McKenzie, James Carmichael, Nicholas Mosher, Fred Curry, and a score of others, whose names it would be tedious to mention, even if I could remember them, which I cannot. Talk of enterprise if you will, but before Nova Scotia is condemned for the want of it, I ask her defamers to point out, in any maritime country in the world, a class of men who, beginning with small means, have more rapidly risen to opulence, and who have done more to develop the resources of the country that gave them birth.

We have all inspected with natural pride the produce of our orchards, which has been spread before our wondering eyes in this building for a week. I am familiar with the great markets of Boston, Philadelphia and New York. When in London, Covent Garden, the mart for fruit and flowers in the great metropolis, is a favourite lounge; and I do not hesitate to say that I never saw,

in any of these cities, so fine a display of apples as Nova Scotia has sent to this Exhibition. In pears the Channel Islands and the south of France beat us all hollow. I have seen pears selling in Covent Garden for eighteen guineas (\$94) the dozen. In the old countries, where they have hundreds of thousands of permanent enclosures, wall fruit, protected from every blast by stone and brick, can be brought to great perfection in endless variety. By-and-by, when wood becomes scarce, and our enclosures are permanent, we may compete more successfully with the mother country than we do now; but it is satisfactory to know that in apples and vegetables we cannot be beaten, and in many varieties of pears, plums, cherries, gooseberries and currants we can supply our wants so abundantly as to leave but little to desire.

There is one description of fruit which we rarely take into account, and hardly thank Providence for any more than we do for the air we breathe. A bountiful Creator covers our country with strawberries, raspberries, blueberries, whortleberries and blackberries every season. The wild woods, barrens and pastures are full of them; and, in a country where sugar is cheap, the whole population eat them freely all summer, and preserve them for winter's use. There is no such supply in the mother country, and, if there were, the mass of the people could not get at them without committing a trespass. We have them all, without planting, pruning, or care. It can do us no harm to thank God for them once in a while, when disposed to grumble and long for something which we have not got.

The finer varieties of fruit that have been exhibited come out of the western valley. We wish that they could be shown to all the world, but if they were, how very inadequate would be the idea conveyed of the beauty, fertility and social life of the region from whence they come. I may be prejudiced and partial,—who is not in speaking of his country?—but I have rambled about the world a good deal, and, go where I will, I always come back with the conviction that there is no body of farmers on this continent living in a region of more natural beauty and fertility than those who dwell between the Ardoise Hills and Digby.

In England one man would own the whole, and those who tilled the soil would pay from thirty shillings to four pounds of annual rent per acre. Here every man owns his farm, and walks erect without anybody to make him afraid. The scenery is not bold, but the mountain ranges which enclose it give it great variety. Of the "Cottage Homes" which enliven this valley, Mrs. Hemans might fairly sing—

"They are smiling o'er the silvery brooks,  
And round the hamlet fanes,  
Through glowing orchards forth they peep,  
Each from its nook of leaves,  
And fearless there the lowly sleep,  
As the bird beneath the eaves."

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A sight of its fruit would give but a very inadequate idea of the social and industrial life of this valley. Forty years of personal intercourse with its people have made me familiar with their characteristics, and I fearlessly assert that nowhere on this continent can there be found men more rationally enterprising and industrious, or women who combine, with great personal beauty, intelligence, and good manners, more of the domestic virtues that make farms profitable and homes happy.

I have attended half-a-dozen monster picnics in this western valley, at each of which three or four thousand persons of both sexes were assembled. They drove to the grounds in their own waggons, nicely harnessed and appointed. Hay-carts rolled up, loaded with cold meats, cheese, and apple pies. The vast multitude were fed from their own stores, freely contributed to all comers, and, after a day spent in innocent pastimes and intellectual recreation, the crowds departed to their homes without a blow struck or an angry word spoken.

I recently attended a bazaar at Windsor. Tables were spread in the drill shed with everything that could tempt the appetite or the eye. The object was benevolent—a manse was to be built, and fourteen hundred people were present, and when the funds were counted, it was ascertained that every person who attended had dropped a dollar into the treasury. The people were my own constituents. The great bulk of them were farmers, and farmers' wives and daughters. They were well clad and well behaved. Their cheeks bloomed with health, and their eyes sparkled with intelligence, and when I reflected at night, that in a long summer day, in that vast crowd, I had never heard an angry word or seen a drunken person, I could not help exclaiming, in the language of Burns—

“From scenes like these our country's grandeur springs,  
That makes her loved at home and known abroad.”

Long may such scenes be witnessed in Nova Scotia; and as each successive exhibition illustrates the productive power of our rural districts, may we be able to boast, with becoming pride, that their manners, morals, and steady habits are still preserved.

The eastern counties have sent up to this exhibition contributions of much value and in great variety. Coal, iron, and pottery, the produce of the farm, the workshop, and the dairy. All these we have seen, but to duly estimate the condition and the rate of progress of the counties from which they came, we should visit them, and with thoughtful minds dwell upon the characteristics they exhibit. Let any stranger ride up the Musquodoboit and down the Stewiacke, and then, standing on a hill, overlook the vale of Truro, stretching his gaze till he surveys the fertile lands and happy homesteads to the mouth of the Shubenacadie on the one side and to the Five Islands on the other. There may be regions where the scenery is more majestic, and districts in older countries where the cultivation is more perfect; but I know of none where God, in His infinite mercy, has more bountifully combined the means

by which men may rationally live, and where His blessings have been more thoughtfully appropriated or are more thankfully enjoyed. In all this region there are but few homesteads where thrift and industry do not form the rule of life, where family prayers are not offered up daily morning and night, and where the domestic virtues are not combined with a fair degree of mental culture.

Last week a friend took me to the top of Fraser's Mountain, a few miles to the eastward of New Glasgow. The view from the spurs of the Clement's Hills, overlooking the vale and basin of Annapolis, includes a charming combination of land and water. The view from the North Mountain, overlooking Cornwallis, with the Grand Pré and Evangeline's country in the distance, is rich in cultivation and in poetic associations. The view from the Ardoise Hills, which includes the Avon and the St. Croix, and the townships of Newport, Falmouth and Windsor, is varied and beautiful; but in panoramic extent and proportions that from Fraser's Mountain surpasses them all.

The Gulf of St. Lawrence, with Pictou Island and Prince Edward's in the foreground, bounds the view to the north-eastward; the fertile frontage of the township of Maxwelton, with its wheatfields and pastures, stretches away till the bold promontory of Cape George arrests the eye in that direction. All round the south and west we are enclosed by an amphitheatre of hills, fertile to the summits, on which the sturdy emigrants from old Scotland and their descendants have made happy homes. In the centre of this great picture lies the harbour of Pictou, with the old shire town at its entrance, and its three sparkling rivers pouring their wealth into her lap. Almost at our feet nestles the thriving town of New Glasgow, which I remember when it contained but three houses and a blacksmith's shop, but which bids fair by its enterprise and industry to rival the older centre of Pictou civilization. Beyond this again, and higher up the East River, where the country in 1830 was almost a wilderness, stretches the prosperous community gathered around the Albion Mines. The General Mining Association, who sunk the first shaft and erected the first steam-engine set to work in Nova Scotia, have given to our coal trade, both here and in Cape Breton, a practical development profitable to themselves and beneficial to our country. The works of the Drummond colliery and of the Acadia Company we cannot discern, but we shall soon hear the whistle of the steam-engine conveying fuel down the West River from the former, and may now see the cars of the latter carrying their coal over the Provincial Railway to the loading ground at Fisher's Grant.

Of this cheering scene of natural beauty and material progress, how faint, after all, is the estimate what we can gather from what Pictou has sent to this Exhibition. But what she has sent will be of great value, and what I have said may not be out of place, if thousands of Nova Scotians are attracted, as they ought to be, to the top of Fraser's Mountain to see the noble outlines and industrial development of the fine county which I have so faintly endeavoured to describe.

There were two persons that I almost wished could have stood beside my

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friend and me on Fraser's Mountain. The one was my father, who, when Postmaster-General of this Province, established the first mail between Halifax and Pictou. It was carried in the pocket of a Highlander, who walked over bridle-paths and performed the service once a week. On the track where my father placed the Highlander I placed the locomotive; and I pay my tribute of praise to those who, adopting a truly Provincial policy, have enabled me to see it thundering over the eastern portion of the line.

The Duke of Sutherland, many years ago, evicted from his estates and shipped to Pictou some hundreds of his tenantry, that he might clear the land and turn it into pasture. The motive of this deportation was probably selfish, and the mode in which the policy was carried out was severely criticised at the time. But Providence sometimes brings good out of evil, and if the Duke had stood on the mountain beside me he would have seen the hills where those hardy old men sleep in peace, after well-spent lives of successful industry, and where their children live in comfort and abundance, rarely, even at this day, enjoyed by those whom their fathers left behind.

I would gladly glance at the counties farther east, including the island of Cape Breton, but I have already trespassed largely upon your time, and have a few observations to make upon the more salient features of the Exhibition.

Having dwelt upon the more obvious evidences of our material progress, let me frankly acknowledge that there is one department in which we are sadly deficient. I never go abroad, and return home, but the conclusion is forced upon me by comparison that in horses we are behind all the world, but Labrador, where there are none, and Newfoundland, where there are very few. The English dray-horse, who would weigh down or draw two of our ordinary draught-horses, we have not got at all. The English hunter, who, with a man of two hundredweight upon his back, will gallop to hounds for hours over ploughed fields and meadows, leaping fences and ditches by the way, we never see in Nova Scotia, and rarely anything approaching to him for bone and action. In racing stock we are far behind the point we had reached thirty years ago, and a well-formed Suffolk punch or Shetland pony is a rare sight in these days.

But, putting aside all comparisons with the mother country, truth compels me to acknowledge that we are not only beaten by every state of the Union with which I am acquainted, but are not on a level either with Canada, New Brunswick or Prince Edward Island. Our gentlemen should take this matter in hand, and give some thought and expend some capital to wipe out this reproach, for, next to its men and women, all countries are judged by their horses; and our farmers should look to it, for there is no more profitless stock, either for the field, the road or the market, than poor horses.

The show of cattle, sheep and pigs at this Exhibition, if not all that could have been wished, has been very creditable and satisfactory. Larger and fatter animals would be seen at the great Christmas show at the Agricultural Hall in London, but it must be remembered that it would not pay us to cram oxen

with oilcake till they were unwieldy, nor to employ boys to chip turnips and slip them into the mouths of pigs too fat to stand upon their legs. The conditions and climates of the two countries must be taken into account. Cattle in England can browse out nearly all winter, and the high prices of meat, and the prizes awarded at its great shows, which such a wealthy country can afford to give, will always encourage high feeding to a point which it would be folly for our farmers to attempt to reach. In a country where cattle must be housed and fed for four or five months in the year, starting with good breeds, our policy must be to fatten quick and kill early, because every winter that the animals live over, increases the risk or diminishes the profits. Though I have seen larger animals at former shows, I think I never saw a better average display of stock, such as appeared to me to be suitable to the condition and wants of the country, and calculated to yield fair returns.

The poultry show has been very fair, and a better display of roots and vegetables I never saw in any country. It is not, perhaps, generally known that nearly all that will come to perfection in these northern Provinces are more succulent and tasty than are those produced by the States lying farther to the south. In this connection I may observe that though the potato rot still lingers in some quarters, this valuable esculent, in all parts of the country which I have visited this autumn, appears to be rapidly recovering its ancient vitality and flavour.

One great branch of our industry has been but poorly represented at this Exhibition. A quintal or two of dried fish, a box of Digby herrings, and a few barrels of salmon, mackerel and shad, with a net or two and a few hooks, have represented our fisheries. The collection, made by an amateur, was excellent, so far as it went, but it did not seem to satisfy the eye, or to convey to the mind of a stranger unacquainted with our country an adequate idea of the proportions and value of that interest which underlies all other interests, and which, from the very nature of things, must be one of the most permanent and enduring.

Turning from this small court the other day, with a stranger on my arm, I tried to make him understand that he must not judge of our fisheries by what he had just seen. "Glance," said I, "along the map from Westport to St. Anne's, and you will see a frontage of nearly four hundred miles of sea-coast upon the Atlantic. The primitive rocks and rugged headlands along this coast form a natural breakwater, which protects the softer soils from the abrasion of the northern current and the perpetual roll of the sea. Fish love the clear waters of this southern coast, and trim around its inlets. We cannot see them, but we know the fact, that every summer day, nine thousand boats are employed, conducting the coast and inshore fisheries alone, while about a thousand vessels of a larger class are employed catching cod upon the banks, mackerel in the gulf, or herring in George's Bay or on the coast of Labrador. The exact value of the catch I do not at this moment remember, but altogether, independent of the mariners who man our ships and conduct our carrying trade, we have fifteen

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thousand hardy men who live by these fisheries alone. Of course," said I, "once in a while there is a failure in some branch of this great industry, as there was last year, but with these rich fisheries in front, annually replenished by a bountiful Providence, and with gold mines in the rear, even our southern coast, which used to be so much abused by the old geographers, is not without its value." My friend stared, but being a Scotchman, began to hum with natural enthusiasm—

"Weel may the boatie row,  
That wins the bairnies bread."

Of our mechanics what shall I say but this, that having been much abroad for the last six or seven years, and having, when at home, had but little leisure to inspect their workshops and factories, I was not at all prepared for the very creditable display which they have made at this Exhibition. But there are perhaps few persons here who can more duly estimate the advances which have been made within the last forty years. My mind goes back to a period when there was not a steam-engine or a gang saw-mill in the country, and not a skilled mechanic or a labour-saving machine in this town. I worked, during half my apprenticeship, at the old wooden hand-press with balls, rollers and power-presses being then unknown.

To change this state of things, to diffuse useful knowledge among our working people, to inspire them with pride in their pursuits, and to teach them to rely more upon the resources of science, a few men, about 1830, combined their intellectual powers. A Mechanics' Library was formed, an Institute was opened, and courses of lectures were delivered every winter for twenty years. Mr. James Forman and myself have alone been spared to represent those who originated this movement. Dr. Grigor, George R. Young, Andrew McKinlay, George O'Brien, John Naylor, and others whose names I cannot remember, have passed away. General Cathcart, who attended our first meetings, and zealously co-operated with us, fell at Inkerman, and sleeps on a hillside of the Crimea. By the mechanics of Halifax the memories of these men should be ever gratefully remembered, and let us hope that now that our mechanics have increased in numbers, wealth, skill and intelligence, the Institute will be revived, that they may have a permanent centre around which to rally, a room where they can meet each other, where they can display their handiwork and exchange their thoughts, with a view to mutual improvement and combined co-operation.

There are others, who, on such occasions as this, it would be gross ingratitude not to remember, associated as their names and labours are with our material progress. The Duke of Kent brought the first fine breeds of horses to Nova Scotia. Lord Dalhousie lent the influence of his high station and zealous personal exertions to the improvement of our agriculture, and his example, as was well said on the opening day, was followed by Sir Gaspard Le Marchant. Thomas King, of Windsor, made Retreat a model farm, and the



Hon. Charles Prescott devoted a long and useful life to the improvement of our orchards, both by precept and example. To Titus Smith we owe the first dawnings of natural science in this country, and to Dr. McCulloch we are indebted not only for some knowledge of chemistry, but for lessons of thrift conveyed to our agricultural classes in a homely style, at once quaint and attractive.

There is one name that the Chief-Justice did not mention on the opening day—one that is rarely mentioned, but that, on such occasions as this, ought never to be forgotten, the name of his father, the late John Young. I am old enough to remember when the letters of "Agricola" created almost as great a sensation amongst the farmers of Nova Scotia as did the Waverley Novels among the literati of Great Britain, and his subsequent rural and political life was passed under my observation. I knew him well, and it is no disparagement to his sons to say that he was an abler man than either. Though somewhat too portly, he was a graceful and impressive speaker, and was a writer of singular eloquence and power. His range of knowledge on economic questions and rural affairs was extensive and profound. Coming from Scotland at a time when Sir John Sinclair and other practical thinkers had vastly improved its husbandry, he soon became keenly alive to the defects in our own; and his pen, ranging over the whole field, roused our farmers to greater exertions as with the blast of a trumpet. At that time wheat was rarely cultivated—oatmills did not exist, and oatmeal, only used for gruel, was imported by the druggists. Our ploughmen were unskilled, and subsoil ploughing, the use of lime, rotation of crops, and composting, were but lightly valued or little known. Our breeds had run out, and our farmers took little pride in an occupation which, after the high prices of the American war had passed away, seemed hardly worth pursuing. It is but fair to own that all this was changed by the letters of "Agricola," and by the exertions of the Central Board and county societies which were organized after their publication. The growth and expansion of our rural life, as I have sketched it, and the improved production of our soil, as illustrated by this Exhibition, dated from this period; and I am sure you will pardon me for thus lingering for a moment beside the grave of one to whom we are so much indebted for the material prosperity we enjoy.

But you may ask me, What of the future? Of the political aspects of our country, I can here say nothing, though I may take an early opportunity, in some other place, freely to discuss them. But this I may say, that Nova Scotia, in all the vicissitudes and trials of the past, has not wanted skill and energy to guide her. Let us hope that, with the blessings of a kind Providence, the resources of her statesmanship may not fail her now. Of one thing we may be assured, that her fertile soil will not fail to be properly cultivated, that her artizans will prosper as they increase in skill and knowledge, that the sea will yield her treasures and our mines their wealth if wrought

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with enterprise and industry. However institutions may change or politicians may wrangle, our firesides will glow and our rivers run sparkling to the sea. The birds will sing and the flowers bloom, and the stars will shine out at night upon our youngsters making love in the good old fashion. There will be orange blossoms in the churches and babies in the cradles to replenish the earth, and, come what may, let us hope that every ten years Nova Scotia may have an Industrial Exhibition, and that each one may be an improvement upon the last.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

1869-1870

Correspondence with Sir John Macdonald—The "Better Terms Arrangement"—Mr. Howe joins Sir John Macdonald's administration—Letter to the electors of Hants—Letter of April 10th—Election of Mr. Howe—Address on declaration day—Visit to the North-West—Meeting of Parliament—Debate on the address—Hon. William McDougall attacks Mr. Howe—Mr. Howe's defence.

FROM September 1868 to January 1869, the correspondence between Mr. Howe and Sir John Macdonald continued.<sup>1</sup> It resulted in what is known as the "Better Terms Arrangement," whereby a sum of upwards of a million dollars was agreed to be added to the debt with which Nova Scotia was credited, and an annual payment of a considerable sum was promised for ten years. Sir John Macdonald insisted that Mr. Howe, whom he once described as "that pestilent fellow, Howe," should become one of his colleagues in the Government, and help to carry out the remedial measures agreed upon. If Mr. Howe were anxious to retain his popularity in his native Province or regardful of his own personal comfort, he would have declined the seat at the Council board. But he had other aims. He believed—he was driven by force of circumstances to believe—that the confederation was a permanent fact, and that all further agitation for repeal was useless and mischievous. No other course, consistent with the welfare of his Province, was left than to accept the situation and make the best of the union. He decided to accept office under Sir John Macdonald, well knowing what a storm of protest the step would excite in the extreme section of his recent followers in Nova Scotia. On the 30th of January, 1869, he was appointed President of the Council. By his acceptance of office, he vacated his seat as member for the county of Hants. He lost no time in publishing the following letter to the electors of Hants:

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<sup>1</sup> See "Memoirs of Sir John A. Macdonald," by Joseph Pope, pp. 301-311.

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MEN OF HANTS,—In the speeches addressed to you previous to the general election, I almost invariably defined three lines of action :

1. To defeat the delegates who had framed the British America Act.
2. To endeavour to get the Act repealed ; and
3. Should we fail in the effort to repeal the Act, that we should endeavour to modify and improve it.

To accomplish the first I strained every nerve. Besides my labours in Hants, of which you were witnesses, I visited Archibald in Colchester, fought Tupper all round Cumberland, and in Queens and Digby by timely negotiations endeavoured to establish the discipline which ensured success. Other gentlemen, who now profess to speak for the whole country, stayed at home and did nothing, outside their own counties, to secure the victory, the fruits of which they have ever since enjoyed.

You will remember that in 1867 I had laboured, in conjunction with Messrs. Annand and McDonald, for many months in England to prevent the passage of the Act. In 1868, as a member of another delegation, I laboured with equal zeal and energy to repeal it. On both occasions, every faculty of my mind was strained to its utmost tension to accomplish objects so deeply interesting to our people, and to restore to our country the constitution which, associated with patriotic men in the early portion of my public life, I had laboured to build up. Others might desire to defend or to restore what they believed to be valuable. I toiled with the zeal of an artist passionately bent on guarding or recovering the work he had designed, with the paternal feelings of a father struggling for the life of his own child.

Both these missions failed. That they did is not surprising, when the odds against us are calculated and taken into account ; and when I returned from England in July last, it was with the full conviction that further appeals would be hopeless, and a settled determination never to go on any such errand again, unless a union of the Maritime Provinces (afterwards reported to be impracticable) could be arranged. My own observations and experience were confirmed by the opinions, frankly expressed, by your tried friend and advocate, John Bright.

From the day that I returned home I never concealed my convictions from anybody, and have never changed my opinion. Others encouraged the belief that a change of Government in England would give us repeal, and for six months the people of Nova Scotia have been deluded with hopes as baseless as a vision of the night. I would not lend myself to this deception, and became involved in a controversy with those who wished to conceal the truth. Minutes of Council and resolutions were framed and sent to England, and another delegation was promised. Threats of violence were held out, never intended to be realised, and a conflict was provoked with the Lieutenant-Governor, ending in apologies and humiliations not pleasant to contemplate. With these movements I had nothing to do.

In the despatch which the Duke of Buckingham addressed to Lord Monck

in June last, while distinctly refusing to repeal the Act of Union, he threw upon the Canadian ministers the obligation to inquire into the working of that Act, with a view to such modifications and changes as would make it more acceptable to the people of Nova Scotia. On leaving England I had but slender hopes that they would make any serious attempt to discharge themselves of this obligation in good faith, but when some of those ministers came down here in August, and solemnly pledged themselves before a committee of the convention to make the attempt, I claimed for them a fair hearing and due consideration for any propositions they might make. In taking this line I acted in the spirit of my third proposition, that "if we failed to accomplish the repeal of the Act, we should endeavour to modify and improve it."

The negotiation thus opened, with the consent of that committee, was followed up by a letter addressed to me by Sir John A. Macdonald on the 6th of October. That letter demanded from me the most grave consideration. Had I refused to receive or to reply to it, I should have assumed a responsibility of which, by no after act of my life, could I have discharged myself in the face of this country. Her Majesty's Government would have been informed that Nova Scotia refused negotiation—a very large sum of money, now happily within our reach, would have been lost; and when the local Government met, they would have had no alternative but to raise that money by direct taxation, or to let the roads and bridges go down. I would not assume that responsibility, and if I had I should have been held to a sharp account by the electors of Hants, to whom I had promised, at twenty public meetings, to modify and amend the Act if it could not be repealed. I therefore replied to Sir John A. Macdonald's letter, and the correspondence only closed on the 26th January last.

All through the autumn the correspondence was denounced by certain parties as treasonable and dangerous. You may read it and judge for yourselves. Those who denounced it have wasted six months of life, and have got nothing to show but an infinite amount of boasting, and the two despatches by which they have been rebuked by both the great parties in England, and in one of which they have been sternly told by a cabinet, with John Bright in it, just what I have been telling them for half a year, that any further appeal to England will be utterly fruitless and vain.

I should be wanting in common justice if I did not acknowledge the infinite obligations which the country and myself are under to Mr. McLelan for the share he was kind enough to take in this negotiation. The results are now before you. In addition to the \$60,000 added to the Quebec scheme by the labours of the delegates sent to England in 1866, we have now obtained for ten years a sum amounting, in round numbers, to \$160,000 per annum, making, since I put my hand to this work, \$220,000, or £55,000 a year recovered for Nova Scotia.

Before the ten years expire, should it appear that, from any cause, injustice is being done in money matters, the Canadians have now shown that they can be relied upon to reconsider the whole case, and to do substantial justice.

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You will perceive by the correspondence, that in August last the Premier offered me a seat in the cabinet. That offer was renewed, and pressed upon me again in October. But I felt that it would be time enough to think of honours and emoluments for myself when I had tested the sincerity of his professions to do justice to my country, within the scope and boundary of his acknowledged powers of action. He did do justice. All that Mr. McLelan and I could fairly ask, on the basis we had laid down of perfect justice to the other Provinces, after an exhaustive sifting of the whole subject, was yielded, and then Sir John A. Macdonald, with some show of reason, pressed me again to take office. He said, "We have now done justice so far as we could in monetary matters, and are prepared to deal fairly with Nova Scotia in all other branches of the public service, as rapidly as we get the power; but I want your advice and assistance in order that this may be effectually done; and, what is more, I want some guarantee to give to Parliament that, when they have voted this money, the arrangement will not be repudiated by Nova Scotia."

I felt the fairness of this argument. Our American trade was of deep importance to our people: should I hesitate to aid the Government in its recovery? The Intercolonial Railway is to be constructed. Nova Scotians who might tender should be protected. In all departments there was influence and patronage to be exercised and dispensed, and was I not bound to see that Nova Scotia was fairly treated?

While much influenced by these considerations, I knew that a good many persons still clung to the belief that Gladstone's Government would repeal the Act, and my determination was to return home—consult my friends—and wait till the local Government got their answer. Unexpectedly, but very opportunely, the despatch came while I was at Ottawa. It was short and decisive, and gave the answer to all the nonsense written in the autumn.

I could no longer hesitate. The plain path of duty lay before me. All rational repealers had professed that the battle was to last only till the answer came from Gladstone's cabinet. The answer was here. The battle was over. Had I come home, I must have come back to Ottawa to be sworn in, and then returned to Nova Scotia to run my election. The Governor-General was to leave on Monday, and on Saturday afternoon I was sworn in as President of the Privy Council, to avoid a double journey, to and fro, of sixteen hundred miles.

This office, men of Hants, though the technical formalities make it mine, is in your gift, and to be of any value to me I must receive it at your hands. I could have accepted it with a seat in the Senate, and enjoyed it without your sanction. But you trusted me, and I am not afraid to trust you. On a calm review of all the circumstances, I believe that you will ratify by your suffrages my conduct and policy.

I cannot condescend to defend myself from the mean charges and insinuations with which those who have been for more than a year fattening on the public treasury have already defiled the press; but I shall be prepared to meet

any of those persons before the electors of Hants, to defend my own conduct, and perhaps to do what I have not hitherto done, make some inquisition into the correctness of their own.

Apart altogether from the mere personal question, you have got now to decide whether Nova Scotia shall raise £40,000 a year by direct taxation, or whether, by this negotiation, ratified by the Canadian Parliament, our roads and bridges, and other public services, shall be amply provided for without any such necessity. You have also to decide whether there shall be a just and fair administration of public affairs, by your own representative, who has seen some service, and gathered some experience, or whether Nova Scotia is to have no influence in conducting the Government of the Dominion, to the authority of which by law her people are bound to submit.

I have to get into the county soon, and will then be prepared to answer any questions you may ask, or to give any further information that this paper does not supply.—In the meantime, believe me, yours truly,

JOSEPH HOWE.

The election was fixed for April 20th. Mr. Howe was opposed by Mr. Monson H. Goudge; and it became necessary for him to enter upon a vigorous campaign. He delivered some speeches in the county before nomination day, and, unfortunately, caught a severe cold at one of his meetings, which disabled him for the rest of the campaign. On April 10th he published a further letter to the electors of Hants as follows:

MEN OF HANTS,—Mr. Annand, who for six or eight months has had two newspapers under his control abusing me, and everybody else who stood in the way of his interest and ambition, is at last beginning to realise the fact that “the way of the transgressor is hard.” The *Citizen* is itself again—Mr. McDonald’s pen is free, and other writers who represent largely the intellect and energy of the great party who opposed confederation so long as repeal was possible, are beginning to laugh at his pretensions and expose the fallacy of his arguments. Day by day he is put upon his defence, and, stung by the scathing exposure of “Bright” and the playful satire of “Laertes,” I do not wonder that my last letter to you has tried his temper severely.

I have just got back to Windsor, and, surrounded by many and pressing engagements, have not much leisure to bestow upon the savage epistle which covers half a page of Saturday’s *Chronicle*. Mr. Annand is very indignant at the liberties taken with the five or six gentlemen who have been scouring this county for weeks, taking all manner of liberties with me. What else could they expect? What else do they deserve? If Mr. Jones and Mr. Goudge rush about, charging me with a change of opinion, and trying to make the people of Hants believe that they can get the Union Act repealed, is it not legitimate for me to prove that Mr. Jones never was and is not now

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a repealer, and that Mr. Goudge, only a year or two ago, was an ardent confederate?

But since my letter was written another startling fact has come to the surface. On the morning of the meeting at Elmsdale I was informed that Mr. Goudge, while a confederate, had actually urged a gentleman, then a member of the House, to vote for the resolutions brought in by Dr. Tupper at Dr. Miller's instance, which led to the English convention and the passage of the Act of Union. I referred to this report on the platform. Mr. Goudge instantly pronounced it false, when the gentleman stepped from the crowd, confronted Goudge before the whole audience, declared the statement true, gave time and place, and offered to verify the charge by affidavit.

Are facts like these to be covered up for fear Mr. Annand shall be angry? Shall a person who used his influence to get the Union Act passed, be suffered, with impunity, to abuse the man who laboured for nearly a year to prevent its passage, and for another year to obtain its repeal? I think not.

Mr. Annand does not venture to deny that Troop, while on a public mission, obtained a railway directorship, and he almost admits that \$2000 worth of stock, to qualify him, was given out of pure regard for his public virtues and the general good. But then he tries to shelter his colleague under the gabardines of three or four other gentlemen who, he says, are directors of the company, and were probably treated with equal generosity. Surely Mr. Annand is not such an ass as not to see the wide distinction that every man of sense will draw between the independent action of gentlemen having nothing to do with the Government, and the base prostitution of his position by a member of the Executive Council sworn to protect the interests of the country and the honour of the Crown. The attempt to mystify us by drawing a distinction between the company and the contractors will not be more successful. Everybody knows that, from the first, this is what has been called a contractors' road—the men who signed the original agreement finding the money, organizing the company, selling the stock, sub-letting the work, and managing the whole affair. What did these people want of a member of the Executive Council if there were no axes to grind, no questions of delicacy and importance to be adjusted by the Government? Does Mr. Annand wish the shrewd men of Hants to believe that these sharp Englishmen crammed Troop's pockets with scrip out of sheer admiration of his virtues?

But Mr. Annand seems to have got his head into such a muddle as to be incapable of drawing any distinctions.

A gentleman, whom I had met in England, came out to establish branches of a London insurance company in the colonies. One was organized in Halifax, and I and four or five other gentlemen became directors of it. The business was carried on for two years by a paid agent, the directors serving gratuitously. It was finally wound up, all losses paid, and nobody cheated. Yet Mr. Annand cannot see the difference between an affair of this kind and the Amalgamating Gold Company, of which he was one of the original promoters



and managing directors, with a salary of £500 a year, and which he managed until certain simple people in England were cheated out of £50,000. CHAP. XXXIV

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Annand has covered a column with absurd references to what he would have you believe were mysterious and strange doings in England, the object being to show that, while there, Dr. Tupper and I were playing into each other's hands. Nobody knows better than Mr. Annand that all this is a baseless and wicked falsehood. Though Dr. Tupper and I differed widely on the subject of confederation, we fought the battle to the bitter end without any personal quarrel. We met on eight or ten platforms in Cumberland, and debated for as many long summer days, treating each other with all the courtesies of civilized warfare. We encountered each other for four nights in the Ottawa Parliament, trying every joint of each other's armour, yet illustrating the good manners of our country, while doing our best to overthrow each other's arguments. We mingled freely in society, yet nobody supposed that we were in danger of becoming converts to each other's opinions. While in England we were guests of the Duke of Buckingham for two or three days, met at other tables once or twice, and occasionally, in the corridors or lobbies of the Parliament House, saw each other when the debates upon our petition were coming on. On some of these occasions, as was most natural, we discussed, in all its bearings, the question which had brought us to England; and, on others, we chaffed and bantered each other, as public men, holding opposite opinions, are apt to do. Both of us, I assume, fenced skilfully when we happened to meet, each desiring to give as little and to get as much information as he could. I had no hope of making a convert of the Doctor, and, having for two years encountered him in fair fight at home, I was not much afraid to meet and chaff with him in England.

Our lines of action there were directly opposite, and each worked on his own line with zeal proportionate to the sincerity of his convictions. Each had the same kind of work to do. I laboured to convince the Secretary and Under-Secretary of State to influence the public mind through the press, to canvass and instruct members of Parliament. Dr. Tupper did the same, and nothing was more natural than for him to call on Mr. Bright and Lord Stratheden, who he knew were to present our petition. That he did this, and that he argued the case, from his own standpoint, with his accustomed ingenuity and skill, I have not a shadow of a doubt. That he would assume in these conversations, that if Her Majesty's Government decided against us, that we would have no other resource than to submit, or negotiate with the Canadians, is more than probable. Whatever he said or assumed, the Doctor had no warrant or authority from me, as Mr. Annand, who came to me in a state of great flusteration one day, was assured. Just as I was going out of town, he or Troop, or both of them, came to me again, and renewed the subject. I was in some haste, may have showed some temper, but sat down, and wrote to Lord Stratheden a clear and explicit disclaimer of responsibility for anything that Dr. Tupper might say or do. This note was shown to my colleagues, who declared it entirely satisfactory,

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and yet, nine months after, Mr. Annand takes up this simple transaction, which any gentleman in five minutes will understand, in order to give colour to the wretched slanders and suspicions out of which he has been trying for months to manufacture another delegation.

That Dr. Tupper knew, or could have known, what course I would pursue when I returned home was simply impossible, because I did not know myself. My letter to Robertson shows the state of my mind before leaving England, and the earnestness with which I was clinging to the hope that a union of the Maritime Provinces was possible. That hope was not dissipated till we returned home, and then, when satisfied that the local Government would not stop the machine, or risk their salaries in one determined effort more for the deliverance of our country, I knew repeal was hopeless, and turned my thoughts to the only department of practical politics that lay before me. Annand has screamed Repeal for nine months, and what has he achieved? Nothing! I and Mr. McLelan have, at all events, got something to show for our labour, having rescued our people from direct taxation and received £40,000 to keep up their roads and bridges.—Believe me, yours truly,

JOSEPH HOWE.

After a bitterly-fought contest Mr. Howe was elected. The vote stood: Howe, 1512; Goudge, 1129. April 23rd was declaration day. Mr. Howe was too ill to be present to thank his supporters; but he wrote out the following in the form of an address, and it was read at the Court House by Mr. D. B. Woodworth:

MEN OF HANTS,—You have just achieved a victory of which you may well be proud. You have asserted and vindicated the independence of your country. You have beaten back and overthrown a combination of outsiders, formidable from its numbers and audacity, and from the lavish profusion with which money was brought to bear upon the full exercise of the elective franchise.

Let me imagine for a moment, that any number of the men of Hants had united together, and spread themselves over the county of Halifax, to dictate a policy,—to displace its representative,—and to bribe its electors: that, not content with sending their emissaries for weeks through the settlements, they had gone on nomination day, by dozens, to interrupt public speakers; and on election day had swarmed over the land, with money in both pockets, to browbeat and purchase the electors. Had these things been done by you, men of Hants, would your persons have been protected? Would your lives have been safe? No—your heads would have been broken, and you would have been chased from Halifax by indignant and overwhelming numbers.

All these things were done by a combination that you could have crushed in an hour, and driven to their homes with ease. But you respected yourselves too much to break the peace, or to disgrace your country by violence. These men were allowed to come and go in peace and safety, to practise all their arts

without personal risk, and they have been sent to their homes a discomfited and baffled host, by the simple exercise of your independence and intelligence. You would not wreck the best interests of your country, or sacrifice an old friend, at the bidding of men who had no claims to your confidence, and who had never shown much skill in the management of public affairs.

We were told by these people, that on Tuesday all the world would be gazing at the county of Hants,—the British Islands, foreign countries, and all the surrounding colonies. If they were, they have seen a sight of which you may boast to the end of time. A free people, calm and self-possessed,—reading accurately the signs of the times, and knowing the value of leadership asserting their independence,—standing by their old friend, and beating back impertinent intrusion with easy self-command but most decisive condemnation.

I have given you but little aid in this contest. I was out of the country for a fortnight after it commenced,—for a month I was confined to my room, and during the fortnight that I have been abroad my voice has been almost too weak for counsel and utterly unfit for public discussion.

Inkerman was said to have been “the soldier’s battle,” and this was essentially “the people’s battle,” who vindicated the honour and sustained the policy of their old leader, while he was hardly able to render them any assistance. Providence sometimes afflicts us for our own good, and, in this case, what appeared to be an inopportune trial of my strength, has but supplied a finer test of your confidence and affection.

Perfect rest for a few days will, I have no doubt, restore my health, and then I shall enter upon the discharge of my public duties with renewed energy, ever mindful of the honourable testimony which you have borne to the wisdom of my policy, and zealously labouring in the future, as in the past, to raise the reputation and advance the material interests of our country.

Of our opponents what shall I say? What need be said? After their six months of newspaper defamation,—their six weeks of bragging and boasting, and their lavish expenditure, I feel half inclined, “more in sorrow than in anger,” to exclaim, “Erring brothers, go in peace.” For some old friends, in town and country, misled by artful tales and persistent defamation, which I had neither health nor leisure to unravel or counteract, I shall ever feel the respect which cannot be impaired by one honest difference of opinion. They thought me wrong, and acted upon that belief. I knew I was right, and, however high a value I set upon their personal regard, I could not sacrifice to friendship the highest interests of our country.

One lesson these worthy people have learnt, and it is this, that with a leader at their head who knows his way, they may count for something in the world; but with such blind guides as they have been following for the last few weeks, disappointment and disaster are inevitable.

For the small band of artful dodgers, conceited upstarts, and unscrupulous politicians who have misled these people, and of late polluted this county with

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their presence, I entertain very different feelings, feelings that on this occasion, which will be historical, one could hardly, without loss of self-respect, express. A few days ago they were rushing about like a pack of Bedlamites, blustering, threatening, lying, and bragging of the \$50,000 they were going to spend to buy my seat. Where are they now? Slinking away to their homes; flung off by Hants, like foreign and foul substances out of a healthy stomach; baffled and beaten, and, save the mark! attributing their discomfiture to bribery and corruption.

Bribery! poor innocents. From the moment I came into the county I saw that money was being used against me without stint, in all directions. We know that \$2000 were sent into one polling district, and \$1600, in one day, into another. There are fourteen polling districts, and any one with an arithmetical turn of mind can estimate the probable expenditure for himself. What our friends did in this emergency I cannot say. Western travellers, when the prairie is on fire, kindle the grass at their feet. Our friends may have borrowed the hint and acted on it, but if they did, surely the last people to complain are those who caused the conflagration.

Two things in this contest are especially noteworthy—the accuracy of our calculations, and the stupid blundering of our opponents. Our committees hardly made a mistake, in some districts far exceeding their calculations and in all but one holding their own. From the moment I had ridden round the county, I never had a doubt of the result. Yet down to the last moment the enemy went boasting to the hustings, and heavy bets were offered in Halifax even after the polls opened on Tuesday morning. Who was to blame? We need not stop to inquire, but the reasonable presumption is that cunning sharpers in Hants bled profusely the simple folk in Halifax.

Of my opponent I have but a word to say. I shall not dwell on the small arts and acts of personal discourtesy, of which I have often felt I had a right to complain. One explanation permit me to offer. It has been erroneously assumed that, in one of my letters, I sneered at Mr. Goudge's occupation. This is a mistake. I have a great respect for haberdashers and dry goods men generally. Sterne, I think it is, who tells us that he never laughed at a man with a wooden leg, unless the man attempted to dance hornpipes. I certainly never laughed at my opponent when I saw him behind his counter, but when he came out in the rôle of a great statesman, and undertook to lecture me on my public duties, I really was tempted to smile. He will now retire to his appropriate pursuits, and the only harm I wish him is, that he would forswear politics and thrive.

It is not likely that I shall see Hants for some months, but if Providence spares my life, I hope to come down in the summer, see your happy faces again, and share the hospitalities of your homesteads. In the meantime be assured that the pleasant scenery of this county will ever be present to my mind, and the conduct of its people, in this fiery trial, will stimulate me to honourable labour in the public service.

Mr. Howe after his election returned to Ottawa, and during the remainder of the session took a conspicuous part in the more important debates. His speeches, however, were not fully reported. In the latter part of the year, at the request of Sir John Macdonald, he visited Fort Garry, now Winnipeg, and reported to the Premier on the condition of North-West affairs. On November 16th, he became Secretary of State for the Provinces.

Parliament opened on February 15th, 1870, and in the course of the debate on the address, the Hon. William McDougall charged Mr. Howe with having made imprudent statements during his visit to Fort Garry, and of having done little to smooth the way for the introduction of Canadian authority. Mr. Howe, on February 21st, gave his answer :

It is due to the House and to myself that I should offer some explanations in my own defence. I beg the honourable gentlemen opposite to acquit me of any desire to withhold these explanations for a single hour after the proper time for making them. It will be in the memory of the House that during the short session of 1867 I delivered a speech on the North-West question. I believed that the duty of the opening up of that country for settlement should have been assumed by the Imperial Government, that it should have been erected into a Crown colony, and that Canada, which would benefit by its trade, should not pay a single dollar for the territory. After that session I went to England, and remained there till the close of the next session. When I returned I found that Parliament had decided upon the purchase of the territory, and when I went into the Government last spring, the policy on that question was settled for the future, and there was nothing to be done except to carry it out. I can appeal to my colleagues whether from the day I entered the Government, if they had not my sincere and hearty co-operation in carrying out the policy previously fixed upon. On the present occasion I will confine myself entirely to the personal explanations in reply to charges affecting myself, leaving everything which relates to the policy of the Government after the insurrection broke out to a subsequent debate. About mid-summer it was my intention to pay a visit to my own Province, but about that time I was requested by the Premier to accept the office of Secretary for the Provinces, including correspondence with the North-West. I at once made up my mind to postpone my visit to Nova Scotia and go to Red River, and examine for myself the nature of the country with which I would have considerable correspondence.

It has been reported that a conspiracy had been hatched against McDougall in the interests of Lower Canada, and by some of the gentlemen representing it. I believe there is not a word of truth in this report. The proposal was made to me in Mr. McDougall's presence, when no French member of the

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cabinet was in Ottawa. Before I started for Red River, I put myself in communication with Mr. McDougall. It has been reported that I myself was ambitious to become Governor of the North-West. I considered I was twenty years too old for that office, and would not have accepted it if it had been offered to me, and McDougall knew that was my deliberate opinion before he accepted office. Well, I went with McDougall to Thunder Bay, and then left him, and went on to St. Paul. I made arrangements to join a party, at St. Paul, of Canadians who were going up to Red River under Mr. Sandford. The party had not arrived at the time I did, and so I embraced the opportunity to examine the capabilities of the railroads and approaches to the North-West on that side of the State of Minnesota.

About the 10th of September I started from St. Cloud, which is 60 miles beyond St. Paul, the end of railway communication, a jumping-off station for Red River. The summer floods had so soaked the prairies that, although we had stout Canadian horses, we were twenty-two days on the journey. This is not the place to discuss the scenery, climate or resources of the country, although you will see the necessity of referring to these at the outset of the connection with the North-West, and I desire for a single moment to refer to the opportunities I have had for investigation. I had with me six Canadian gentlemen, who had been, some of them, there before; who were all keen observers, so that wherever anything of importance to notice occurred I had the benefit of their advice and counsel. My attention was called by them to anything worthy of observation on the prairies. They were all equally interested with myself in Canada. It has been said, "Oh, Howe stirred up the insurrection and raised the trouble in the North-West, and was the cause of having McDougall barred out." An explanation is very simple. When we reached Fort Abercrombie, a distance of 315 miles from Fort Garry, I heard there rumours and reports that Governor McDougall would not be allowed to enter the country. These were common in the bar-rooms and on the streets. My young Canadian friends heard these, and asked how I knew that I would be allowed to enter the country, to which I answered that we would go on till we met obstructions. I believe it to be due to every one that the fact of meeting these rumours 315 miles from Fort Garry should be known. We not only met no obstructions, but were everywhere met with the utmost courtesy and rough hospitality. At Fort Garry I received three invitations to take up my quarters—one from Governor McTavish, one from Dr. Schultz and another from the Bishop of Rupert's Land. But I preferred to go to the hotel, and be at liberty to see every one and learn what I could. Here I have been accused of uttering all sorts of treason in some mysterious way. That was simply impossible. There was but one parlour in the hotel, shared by Mr. Turner and Mr. Sandford, with myself. People were coming and going, and I could have had but little private conversation, nine out of ten times these two gentlemen being present when I was in company with any one, and hearing every word I spoke. What I said might have been said on

the street. I believed it to be my first duty to call on Governor McTavish, but I found he had been attacked with hemorrhage of the lungs. I then addressed myself to get such information as I could; went to the Seminary of St. Boniface, visited their schools, and generally put myself in communication with the leading men as far as I could ascertain them. I had been requested to make speeches to the people, but I felt that it would be neither proper to do so in consideration of the position of Governor McTavish on the one hand, or of the incoming Governor McDougall. I stated that the new Governor would be into the country in a week or two, and that when Governor McTavish laid down his authority, the new Governor would declare what the policy was to be. Mr. Alcock, who was there, invited me to drive with him, and I did so. I visited the Bishop of Rupert's Land, Dr. Mackray, Archdeacon McLean, Rev. Dr. Black, Presbyterian minister, and Judge Black, all leading and highly respectable men, and there was not much opportunity of speaking treason to them. I deny that there has been on my part either treasonable utterances or absurd chaff. That would have been simply foolish. When I visited Captain Kennedy, I and Turner and Sandford occupied the same room for nearly all the time during the visit. Kennedy and Turner went out for some business transactions, and I was in conversation with the lady of the house, a woman of intelligence and kind and hospitable manner. She generally passed in and out, getting dinner ready for us, and I occasionally exchanged some observations with her. When Kennedy and Turner returned, we all sat down to dinner, and after that we exchanged a few general observations. That was all the talk we had. Alcock and I parted good friends, and that was all I knew of the matter.

The honourable member for Lambton has taken me to task for abusing the *Globe* newspaper. I do not desire to abuse the *Globe* or any other newspaper, because I am too old a newspaper man myself to take up that course. But I will say this, that when I was in the house of Captain Kennedy, and when the subject of how the territory was to be governed, and how Canada was about to act, and what were the instructions of Mr. McDougall, and what he would do when he came into the territory, was discussed, I did there, as I did everywhere—I defended what was to be the policy of Canada in the most open and undisguised manner. And when I defended, as I was bound to do, the incoming Governor against the charges and insinuations and doubts and apprehensions thrown out against him—when I did that what was the answer? I was referred to Mr. Brown's editorial as an evidence of the fact that I had said that Canada would send men in there to ride rough-shod over the country; that the man who was sent was unfit on account of his political conduct, and was to bring with him instructions and men who would set at naught the rights and disregard the feelings of the people. When I found the state of public opinion in the districts, I ascertained that a number of Canadians had been sent out there in the public service, and had been there for some time, and certainly had not made any report regarding the state of feeling.

When I left Ottawa, there was no report that would have led the Government for a single moment to suppose that there was any dissatisfaction out there at the course the Government was taking. But when I got into the country I saw there was a good deal the Government had to learn. In the first place, the English part of the population were uneasy and dissatisfied, and were discussing the matter among themselves. I believe the difficulties originated, in the first instance, from the discussions by the English part of the population. And the ground they took was that they had never been consulted in the arrangements. They entertained fears and apprehensions with regard to the instructions given for the management of the country, that their rights would be to a great extent ignored. With regard to the French part of the population, the public grounds taken by the English people were widened by personal complaints, which up to that time I had never heard. But there was another element in the difficulty, and it was one which, even if the Government had known of it, they could not have prevented. Out in that country the Hudson's Bay Company has something like one hundred posts scattered all over, and almost every one of these stations is worked by a hard-headed Scotsman. There are chief factors, chief traders, there is a management in London and a management at Red River, and every summer at Norway House, at Lake Winnipeg, representatives of the hundred posts assemble and hold a regular Parliament of their own, and discuss matters and make arrangements for the following year. These men have large interests in the territory and in the property of the company, and there was a feeling of dissatisfaction among them. I have every reason to believe that there was a feeling of great uneasiness among the resident employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, or among a very large portion of them, and I believe that they thought the directors and managers in London, to whom the £300,000 was to be given, would divide it among themselves exclusively, which they feared would work great wrong to them, for some of the men—I am not prepared to say how many—believed that they had fair and just claims to a portion of the purchase money. It was clear, first, that the English-speaking people were uneasy respecting the basis of their representation; it was equally clear the French people were apprehensive upon the grounds which touched the personal history of the gentleman who was coming to govern them; and it was equally clear that an uneasy feeling prevailed among the Hudson's Bay Company's people themselves.

After all, the House would naturally inquire, if all this were so, why didn't I take some pains to remove these impressions? I took all the pains in my power to do so. I was all the time with leaders of society, as far as possible, and by personal explanations I endeavoured to remove these impressions; and it was only fair to say that when I left Winnipeg, there was not the slightest murmur which would lead me to believe that any armed opposition would be presented. On the contrary—and I call the attention of the leader of the Government, and the leader of the Opposition and other gentlemen on that side of the House to the statement—when I left Winnipeg Governor McTavish



was about to summon a Council, in order to prepare an address of welcome to present to Mr. McDougall, and when I left Winnipeg I was under the impression that that, in all probability, would be done. How could I be expected to convey to Mr. McDougall any other impression than the general rumours and reports and complaints which had reached me, and which I believed would be very soon dissipated by McDougall's own conduct and explanations when he once got into the territory? The honourable gentlemen opposite will allow me to say that one of my objects in going to Fort Garry was to get information for the use of the Government, and for my own use when I returned. I had no written instructions, and was not to do any particular thing, but was left to my own guidance to collect such information as would be likely to be valuable to Government. I must say that Governor McTavish met me in the most friendly way, and placed in my hand the records of the old Council of that country, and these I studied for two days. I procured and brought home for the use of the Minister of Justice a copy of the laws as they exist in that territory, that the Government might know the laws to which the people were accustomed. I also obtained a list of names of old councillors, so that the Government might know in making appointments how to select men of experience in whom confidence had been reposed already. I discharged my trust faithfully and honourably, and did all any man could to quiet the difficulties. I met McDougall in the open prairie, when a cold north-east wind was blowing. Fortunately I was travelling with the wind on my back, but the honourable member for North Lanark had the wind in his face as, with his family of children, he travelled—he had to face the storm. If the honourable gentlemen had been on the open prairie that bitter morning, I think they would not have been exceedingly anxious to hold communication with any one; and when there were women and children concerned, it would have been barbarous to have stopped the cavalcade. Therefore, we merely exchanged a few greetings and passed on. Now, looking back at all that I have done, I am not conscious that we could have made it much better if we had stopped for an hour or two and held consultation. I could merely have made a few general observations about the rumours I had heard, and the last I knew was that a Council was to be summoned to prepare an address of welcome to Mr. McDougall on his arrival. Therefore I passed on, after giving him (McDougall) a hint or two upon one or two topics which I thought it would be better for him to avoid. With these explanations I will leave the matter with the House.

I heard for the first time the letter which the member for Lanark read with reference to myself. It appears it was to be shown to my two colleagues, but not to me. If the papers were laid before the House, it would appear why the people of Red River, stung with madness, imprisoned every Canadian they could find. They would find the reason in that honourable gentleman's own handwriting. If Canadian people up there were not murdered, it was to be wondered at, in view of the documents that the honourable gentleman had the hardihood and audacity to publish in that country. That honourable gentle-

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man very kindly offered to sit down with members of the Government, and select from among the papers those which should be brought down. No doubt that gentleman would be glad to do that, but the House should be in possession of full information. The honourable gentleman said I objected to a flag hoisted with Canada on it. Yes, I did object to it. Long before I reached Red River I heard of an individual who was putting himself forward as a friend and representative of Canada. I learnt from Canadians on the way up the character of that individual; and when I got up there that individual hoisted a flag on his chimney. But I felt not the slightest desire to fraternize with him. The member for Lanark knew well that one of the people he sent into the county, not content with attending to the duty with which he was charged, had written home to Canada language grossly insulting to the women of a large majority of the population of the North-West, which had created so deep a feeling of indignation, that one of the half-breed ladies—as much a lady as one could expect in that place—had turned that individual out of her house, and slapped his face. The honourable member for Lanark wrote a public despatch calling the attention of the Government to those charges against his colleagues and friends. When the papers are brought down, I will be prepared to justify not only all I have stated, but all public documents to which I have put my hand. The member for Lanark said that I told the people of Red River to go ahead. I deny this, and say that I did not use a single expression, while in the territory, that could properly be considered an instigation to insurrection. When we come to discuss the whole question, it may be my duty to show to the House that the cause of the difficulties with which we had to contend was more or less attributed to the gentleman selected as Lieutenant-Governor. I did not know of this till I got to the territory, but the honourable gentleman would find that there were certainly as many personal objections to him as he could rake up with reference to me. The people of Red River should be governed the same as the people of Ontario and Quebec—by their minds. If we cannot do that, then I would say abandon the country, and let grass grow over the prairies and the wild animals roam in the woods. Let us not go hence to shed human blood for the purpose of showing that a great reformer from Canada—a great stalking-horse of a Grit, in the absurd spirit of a tyrant—desired to grasp the power of a dictator. Read the documents when they come down, and judge for yourselves.

Mr. Howe spoke during the session at some length on Mr. Huntington's resolutions for a Customs Union (March 21st) and on the Manitoba Bill (May 9th).

## CHAPTER XXXV

1871

The Provincial elections of 1871—Mr. Howe addresses five letters to the people of Nova Scotia—History of the Anti-Confederate and Repeal movement—The Howe festival at Framingham, Massachusetts—Mr. Howe's oration.

IN 1871, the Provincial elections took place in Nova Scotia. AS CHAP. XXXV  
might be expected, the relations of the Province to the Dominion —  
entered largely into the newspaper and platform discussions of the 1871  
campaign. This afforded an opportunity to Mr. Howe to review the  
history of the question, and he published in the Halifax newspapers  
supporting his party a series of five letters addressed "To the People  
of Nova Scotia." As these letters are the last contribution of any  
importance which came from the pen of him whose active and  
brilliant career was drawing to a close, they are now reproduced  
without any abridgment :

No. I.

*To the People of Nova Scotia.*

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—During the twelve years that I owned and edited *The Nova Scotian* you heard from me every week. During the next eight-and-twenty years that I served you as a member of the Legislature, spoke to you from the platform or addressed you through the newspapers, my pen was active and my voice familiar to your ears.

For the last two years my voice has been silent in the legislative halls of Nova Scotia ; I have addressed you from no platform, and written nothing for the newspapers. My time has been occupied in studying the new system of government which has been imposed upon us by imperial authority, in making the acquaintance of the men who are for some years to largely influence the destinies of the great country with which ours has been incorporated, and in discharging the official duties which devolved upon me as President of the Council and since as Secretary of State for the Provinces. There has been much to learn in this new sphere of thought and investigation, and much to do ; and, as is my habit, I set myself patiently to work to master the facts and study the new relations, without which no man can hope to have weight or to be of much service in the new Dominion.

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While thus engaged, far from home, sundry persons in Nova Scotia have taken liberties with me, who, had I been present, would have been compelled to measure their language or would have received deserved punishment on the spot. For two years these cowardly attacks have been made and repeated by a little knot of persons, who presumed upon my absence and silence. It suited me to be silent, as I had other work on hand; but the time has now arrived when a few of these persons may be gibbeted by the roadsides as examples to further offenders.

Often, during those two years, have I in my mind's eye ranged along on the Opposition bench all these worthies, with Wilkins at one end and Kidston at the other, and I have fancied myself in my old corner on the left of the Speaker, with half a thousand of you in the galleries overhead. Both you and I know that these relations once established, and I there present in the flesh, how respectful and well-behaved those donkeys would have been, who, in my absence, have made night hideous by their brayings; and you know right well, if they misbehaved, how your sides would have shaken over the familiar process by which I would have reduced them to discipline.

The parrot cry of all these people has been that Howe, influenced by mercenary motives, had sold his country, and this has been caught up and reiterated by the two newspapers subsidized by the local Government, controlled by Martin Wilkins and William Annand, and living on public plunder. I have not the public accounts of Nova Scotia beside me, but if I had, I suspect it could be made to appear that the proprietors of those newspapers have shared between them a very much larger amount than I have received since my occupation of office under the Dominion.

The general answer that I give to these slanders, from whatever source they emanate, is simply my life,—a life passed in your midst, in the open face of day, under the eye and observation not only of the public men of our country, but of the great body of the people. During the forty years that I served Nova Scotia in various capacities, subject day by day to the hostile criticisms of able men to whom I was often opposed—who ever made or could sustain the charge that Howe was mercenary, or could be influenced to do or not to do an act by pecuniary consideration?

There is hardly an industrious man in Nova Scotia, who began life when I did, who is not now affluent, and many of them are now rolling in wealth. Scores of them, who had less mental activity than I had, and who did not work half so hard, have long since piled up thousands for their families. When I left Nova Scotia in 1859, every pound that I could call my own had been earned before I accepted office in 1842. From that period to the day on which I came to Canada, having been, during the whole time, a leading and influential member of the Legislature, and having for years held prominent positions in successive administrations, I never bought an acre of land for myself or invested a pound for my family.

Who ever heard of my trafficking in coal mines, or gold mines, or timber

lands? Who ever heard of my profiting by the information I possessed, when duties were to be raised or tariffs reconstructed? Contracts for \$4,000,000 were let while I was chairman of the Railway Board, and half that amount was actually paid; but who ever heard that Howe made a pound out of the expenditure, or that he ever enriched himself by any abuse of the knowledge that he possessed or of the position which he occupied?

This is my answer to the miserable pack who have assailed me—an answer that you know to be accurate and indestructible. It is the answer that every honest man in Nova Scotia can give, and, on a moment's reflection, will give to the creatures who would sully the reputation of an old friend, who can point to an honest and faithful service for forty years. You know, my countrymen, that I gave honest work for every pound I ever received in the public service, and that every pound I ever earned either in or out of office was spent in becoming hospitality to my friends, was given to the indigent, or expended in helping poor fellows who often appealed to my sympathies for reasons, personal or public, which could not be resisted.

But who are those pure and disinterested patriots to whom money is no object, and who are stirred with pious horror at the thought that I might have been influenced by mercenary considerations? I run my eye over the group, and will venture to say that a more corrupt pack cannot be found within the limits of the Dominion.

The time has not arrived, nor have I all the means at hand, for sifting Mr. Annand's gold-mining, coal-mining, and public printing operations during the last half-dozen years; but I promise him that I will, by-and-by, devote some leisure to this interesting subject: and if I do not prove that he has abused his position as a public officer, and traded on the credulity of those who naturally assumed that a member of Government was a man of honour, then say my pen is naught.

Of Martin Wilkins what need I say? What is there new that anybody can say of Falstaff, whom he most intensely resembles? A poltroon, a braggart, not caring how money came if he had it to squander; a fellow of some humour but many faults, who never had any principle, or believed in the existence of virtue. Of his law I shall have something to say by-and-by, but this is the place for noting his peculiar disregard for money and holy horror of contamination from the touch of the Dominion Government. I have had the honour to serve, as a member of administration, with several distinguished lawyers—Mr. Uniacke, Mr. Young, Mr. Archibald, all of whom in succession held the office of Attorney-General. These gentlemen took the salary that Parliament assigned to them, and for that salary supplied the Government with all the law that was required to carry on the administration. These gentlemen were members of the Crown Land Committee of Council, and gave their legal opinion and advice in all cases of disputed land claims, gold claims, or coal areas. I have known each of those gentlemen to decide scores of these cases in a year without charging the petitioners one farthing. The

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only fee that I can remember having been charged by either of them was on the issue of a new register for a wrecked vessel. To determine the legal rights of parties in such cases often involved a good deal of labour, and for this labour the Crown officer was allowed to charge. All this was charged by the immaculate Martin Wilkins. Before I left Halifax it was notorious that a grace-and-favour shop had been opened in the Attorney-General's office, and everybody who had claims pending before the Government were encouraged to go there and fee the Attorney-General. Sometimes, I believe, fees were taken on both sides. Armed with these opinions, cunning fellows went away to bully the Commissioners of Mines or Crown Lands, and to influence, by the opinions they had purchased from one of its officers, the decision of the Government upon claims to which all parties were entitled without fee or reward. If Mr. Wilkins will publish a list of the fees he has taken from this class of persons, I will undertake to produce a noble army of martyrs to the rapacity of this model Attorney-General.

But Mr. Wilkins has been bragging of late that he was offered office by Sir John A. Macdonald, and not liking "the smell of Canada," nor wishing to accept favours from that wily statesman, virtuously declined. Now, what are the facts? By the British America Act it was provided that an effort should be made to make uniform the laws of the English-speaking Provinces, and it was naturally suggested that the Attorneys-General of the Provinces would be the proper persons to accomplish this work, and Mr. Wilkins was asked if he would serve. But it was soon found that the policy of assimilation required the sanction of all the local Legislatures, and that before it could be entered upon with advantage a vast amount of preliminary work must be done. Colonel Gray was selected to do this, and the project of a joint-commission was indefinitely postponed.

Upon this simple transaction Mr. Wilkins founds his boast that he would take nothing from Canada—would have nothing to do with Sir John Macdonald. But commissionerships are occasional and uncertain positions—a judgeship is permanent and enduring. Martin, therefore, calculated shrewdly. He would wait. A judgeship would come along presently, and by that time he would have so shaken the Dominion by his law and eloquence, that the Government must have him at any price.

The pear was nearly ripe. The bill was passed, the vacancies were created, and all summer long certain violent resolutions, which had been heedlessly passed, were kept back, and Martin's round face all that summer looked towards Ottawa with this benign expression upon it,—Come now, you fellows in the Privy Council, give me that judgeship, and I will ascend the bench with Queen Anne's charter in one pocket and those resolutions in the other, and leave this fool Annand and this prig Vail, who without me are mere chips in porridge, to go to sure destruction. I, who know Martin well, could read this on his imploring face all summer. Sir John was sick, the vacancies were unfilled, and although I a little enjoyed the joke of keeping this great and

good man hanging by the eyelids, I was not prepared for the depth of meanness and degradation to which he and his colleagues descended, when they all went down on their marrow-bones and asked from the Privy Council a judgeship for Martin Wilkins.

On this point there can be no mistake. The minute of Council is under my hand, signed "William B. Vail," in which General Doyle is addressed after this fashion: "The Council takes great pleasure in recommending that your Honour will be pleased to exercise your influence with the Governor-General and the Privy Council to appoint the Hon. M. I. Wilkins to a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court." But General Doyle did no such thing. He transmitted the minute, and asked that it should be considered, but as to using influence to sully the bench of Nova Scotia by the presence of Falstaff, he could not do that. Oh, no! he knew Jack too well.

But now, let us gauge the depth of degradation to which these precious councillors descended when they passed that minute. For two years these men, in their places in Parliament, and through their subsidized organs, day by day proclaimed that any Nova Scotian was a traitor who would dine with a privy councillor or hold any intercourse with him, and if he accepted an office of emolument from the Government at Ottawa he had committed the sin for which atonement could not be hoped. This was the language held when members of the House of Commons accepted invitations to dine with Macdonald and Cartier at General Doyle's own table. This was the cry when McLelan and I, not having the fear of these muffs before our eyes, began our negotiations, and when we returned from Ottawa with the better terms; and it had been raised against McLelan, Purdy, Ned McDonald, against everybody and anybody who had any fitness for or claim to public employment, steadily and industriously, for the past two years. What, touch the unclean thing!—cried these great patriots, almost every man of whom was in office of some sort; at last down they all slump on their marrow-bones, and humbly solicit Sir John Macdonald, who for two years they had boasted they would not touch with a boat-hook, to bestow a good fat office on their great legal pundit and leader, Martin I. Wilkins. I positively screamed with laughter when this minute came to hand.

Now let me invite your attention to this instructive contrast. Howe did not take office till he went to England, and there, aided by the gentlemen who accompanied him, so improved the Quebec scheme of confederation as to secure for Nova Scotia an additional subsidy of \$60,000 per annum. He and McLelan then went to Ottawa, and induced the Dominion Government to assume an additional \$1,186,751 of the debt of Nova Scotia, thus adding for ever \$61,000 to our income, and to further increase the subsidies by an additional sum of \$82,698 for ten years. All these concessions amount in round numbers to \$203,698 per annum, a sum sufficient to cover the local services required, and to keep up the roads and bridges, which must have gone down or been maintained by direct taxation. This great work, which,

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deducting the \$82,698, added \$2,000,000 to the resources of Nova Scotia for ever, was accomplished; and yet Howe did not ask for office, and would have been content to return to his home without any personal advantage obtained or reward solicited. But who will deny that for these magnificent services he well deserved reward? When these negotiations had terminated, and the fairness and liberality of the Canadian Government had been fairly tested, Parliament had still to be consulted, and Sir John Macdonald then appealed to Mr. Howe, and urged him to come into the Government and assist him to carry these concessions through the House of Commons. Had he refused, who doubts that the policy would have failed, and that these vast sums of money would have been lost to Nova Scotia? He did not refuse, but boldly assumed responsibility, as he had done fifty times before when the interests of his country were at stake—encountered the hostility of the malcontents who assailed him, won his election almost at the risk of his life, and had the satisfaction to see his labours crowned by the triumphant passage of this great measure of justice and conciliation through Parliament, and then placed his friend Mr. McLelan, the son of a worthy sire, who had aided him in the good work without the hope or promise of reward, in the place where he could best guard the interests of Nova Scotia in the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. Office came to these men as the natural reward of great public service, honestly rendered, and in their acceptance or rejection they knew the best interests of their country were involved.

Now contrast these men's positions and services with those of Martin Wilkins. He had humbugged and bewildered the Province for years by asserting that all Nova Scotia belonged to Queen Anne, and that he could break through the Act of Confederation by a simple action at law. He never brought the suit. His law was laughed at by the highest legal authorities in England, and by men of common sense everywhere. He never added a pound to the subsidy, and all he did was to pocket his salary and his fees, and once a year to pass a string of buncombe resolutions which everybody laughed at and nobody remembers.

Was this a man to put upon the bench? I think not. He has gently subsided into a prothonotary, and will now pass the rest of his days in swearing witnesses to do what he never did himself—"to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

I fear that I will have to trouble you with another letter or two. There are two or three other worthies who deserve some notice at my hands, but in the meantime believe me, truly yours,

JOSEPH HOWE.

OTTAWA, *April* 20, 1871.



*To the People of Nova Scotia.*

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—In the autumn of 1850 I went to England, and remained there until the following spring. During those six months I was in close communication with Her Majesty's Government, and while advocating the claims of the Intercolonial Railway to an imperial guarantee, devoted much time to the great question of North American development by the aid of well-organized British emigration. The letters addressed to Earl Grey and the speech delivered at Southampton show the industry with which I had studied the statistics of poverty and crime in the mother country, and the earnestness with which I advocated the distribution, over the wild lands of British America, of the starving millions who were a burthen on the poor-rates at home.

During the ten years which followed, no serious attempts were made, either by the imperial authorities or by the Governments of the Provinces, to direct immigration to this country. The Australian colonies voted large sums, and organized a system by which they attracted bodies of emigrants from the British Islands to swell their resources and reinforce their industry; but the great mass of those who quitted the mother country during those ten years were allowed to drift into the United States, to cultivate their lands instead of ours, and to enlarge the population and strengthen the resources of our rather aggressive and too powerful neighbour.

In 1861 Mr. Tilley and I went to England to revive the old project of the Intercolonial Railway, and returned to that country in 1862. During both visits we did our best to arouse anew some interest in the great question of western colonization. Public meetings were held in Birmingham, Bristol and other great manufacturing centres; a British American Association and a society for the promotion of emigration were organized in London; and the whole subject of surplus labour and the policy of directing it to profitable fields was widely ventilated.

During one of those visits we had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of Miss Burdett-Coutts, and to interest her in the question which we had so much at heart; and during the following summer that truly Christian lady, with a liberality almost princely, selected and sent to the Maritime Provinces, chiefly to Nova Scotia, 500 human beings taken from the destitute classes, who were easily distributed, and who, with rare exceptions, have never since known want. The facility with which this emigration was absorbed satisfied me that, with good management and some co-operation on the other side of the water, a few thousands of useful emigrants could be attracted into Nova Scotia, and advantageously distributed every year. At my suggestion an emigrant agent was provided for by the Legislature, with a salary of \$800 per annum. To this office Mr. Thomas Morrison was appointed, and it was presumed he would earn

CHAP. XXXV his wages. He was removed by the Government which succeeded mine, but  
 — came back to office after the first elections were run under confederation. He  
 1871 has remained in office up to the close of last session, when, for very shame sake,  
 the Government had to announce that the sinecure was to be abolished. I  
 cannot compute exactly the amount of money which this person received for  
 doing nothing, but may set it down in round numbers at about \$4000. Under  
 the new constitution he became an officer of the local Government, and, for the  
 last two years, he has earned his salary from Messrs. Annand and Wilkins by  
 abusing his old friend Howe. As a public officer he was a failure—as an  
 emigrant agent utterly inefficient. Of all the money he has received, he has  
 never given to the country fifty dollars' worth of value. Yet this is one of the  
 group of worthies who has been turning up his eyes in holy horror at my fall  
 from grace, when I accepted a public office, the duties of which I did not know  
 how to discharge. This is one of the persons sent, with lungs of leather, to  
 roar at my heels round the county of Hants, and who stood over my prostrate  
 body in the school-house at Nine Mile River, bellowing like a bull of Bashan,  
 while I lay wrapped in my cloak, hardly able to hold up my head. That night  
 I took to my bed, and could not renew the canvass for a month. This old  
 friend, whom I had appointed to office, never had the courtesy or the humanity  
 to say, "Howe, are you ill?—shall we adjourn the meeting?" but stood, with  
 his pocket stuffed with sovereigns for which he had given no value, lecturing  
 me, who had just increased your resources by \$2,000,000, on disinterestedness  
 and public virtue. I record these facts, and leave you to judge whether  
 Tommy Morrison is just the person to say to your old friend, "Stand aside, I  
 am holier than thou."

Mr. Jared C. Troop has been another of my assailants. Not content with  
 clumsy criticisms in his own pompous style, delivered on the floor of the House,  
 where I was not, he has flooded the little newspaper published in the village  
 where he happens to live with unmanly vituperation. He too undertook to  
 follow me round Hants, and got as far as Brooklyn, where he received, in  
 presence of about four or five hundred people, such a castigation as choked him  
 off for the rest of the campaign. He was told there, what I now repeat, that  
 though sent to England as a delegate at a cost to the country of £500 sterling,  
 when he got there he was so ignorant of the forms and phraseology of the law  
 that he could not put into appropriate language a few simple questions which  
 it was necessary to submit to Sir Roundell Palmer; and he was charged, and  
 he did not then deny the fact, with accepting, from a railway company having  
 axes to grind by the local Government of which he was a member, £500  
 worth of stock to qualify him as a director. I heard while in Halifax last  
 summer some curious illustrations of the honesty and accuracy with which Mr.  
 Troop conducts the business of his clients; but I think quite enough has been  
 said to show how peculiarly well qualified this person is to sit in judgment  
 upon your old friend—to question the purity of any man's motives or the  
 integrity of his public conduct.

A Mr. Kidston recently submitted a resolution to the Legislature, suggesting that Nova Scotia should be handed over to the United States in satisfaction of the *Alabama* claims. For this disloyal utterance he has been denounced by the volunteers of Victoria, and by the grand jury of the county. I might fairly leave him in their hands, but as this tiresome creature has occasionally blurted out something about Howe's infidelity to party obligations, perhaps you will pardon me for recalling the only passage of his life that I remember, and which is, perhaps, the only one worth remembering.

Some years ago Kidston and Charles Campbell ran for Victoria. Campbell was returned. Kidston came up to Halifax, and, pretending to be a Liberal, some good-natured people on that side raised funds to contest the seat. The election was set aside, and then a further sum was raised and paid to Kidston to run the county in the Liberal interest. He pocketed the money, went back to Victoria, compromised with Campbell, let the county go by default, and never repaid a shilling of cash to the parties whom he thus treacherously sold.

There are a few more of these worthies who well deserve a skinning—Dickey the smuggler, the history of whose old schooner, doubly insured, would make a horse laugh; Chambers, the financial orator, whose four years' faithful service to Annand and Wilkins met with so ungrateful a return. But why should I waste your time with pen-and-ink sketches of a pack of pretenders, who, with the exception of Chambers, whom I believe to be sincere, have not sixpence-worth of patriotism or honour to divide among them. These persons rose on the strength of a tide-wave which not a man of them had the ability to create. They fretted and strutted about in the local Legislature, from which, by the Confederation Act, nineteen of the ablest men in the Province had been withdrawn, and they will sink back into deserved contempt when their falsehoods are riddled and their real characters are exposed to public scorn.—Believe me, truly yours,

JOSEPH HOWE.

OTTAWA, 26th April, 1871.

No. III.

*To the People of Nova Scotia.*

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—Let me now deal with another invention of the enemy. When I accepted the compromise offered by the Government of the Dominion, those who thought the concessions inadequate, or the occasion inopportune, had a right to say so. I should not have complained if they had, nor quarrelled with any person who honestly differed from me in opinion. But my enemies went further. They had the meanness to accuse me of advocating but feebly the anti-confederate cause, and of a studied design to bring about the result to which circumstances compelled me to bow. Of these charges, made by those dastards, I have hitherto taken no notice. I now

CHAP. XXXV propose to give the answer, which I have no doubt you will consider complete and satisfactory.

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When the convention assembled at Quebec in 1864, I was upon the sea, discharging the duties of Imperial Fishery Commissioner. Shortly after I returned, the resolutions adopted at the conference were reported, and became the subject of general conversation. Meetings were held at Temperance Hall to consider and debate them. At one of these, which I attended, I found some merchants, most of whom were old personal friends of mine, confronted by Archibald, Tupper, and McCully, and, however zealous and well-informed, rather overmatched in fluency and tactics. Though it was quite apparent that the question was too important to be hastily disposed of, and though a reference to the people seemed but a reasonable demand, as the season advanced it became known that no such reference was to be permitted, and that the gentlemen who had charge of the measure intended to rush it through both Houses when Parliament assembled. Up to this time, though I had not disguised my opinion from my friends, I had taken no part in the controversy.

I applied to the delegates to know what their intentions were, and inferred from their answer that the current rumours were correct. I at once decided to prevent, if I could, the possibility of legislation that winter. I studied the scheme carefully, and reviewed it in a series of articles, which attracted universal attention, and were read from end to end of the country. I do not mean to claim all the credit for postponing all the parliamentary consideration of this scheme in 1865. The speeches made at Temperance Hall contained much valuable information, and a great deal of spirited writing appeared in the *Citizen* that winter, but what I claim is that the share of the work which I assumed was done with all my heart. The articles were known from the quaintness of the headings, and let any one read them now and decide whether they could have been written but by a person in thorough earnest.

When the House met, a clear majority of the members pledged themselves that the measure should not pass that session, and I left for Washington to attend to my official duties. From Washington I went to the Detroit convention, and, in the latter part of the summer, with the thanks of my Sovereign in my pocket, conveyed to me by the Secretary of State for my action at that convention, I was summoned to England by Earl Russell, then at the head of my department.

Up to this period it was assumed that the Quebec convention had grown out of the exigencies of Canadian politics, and there was no reason to believe that the Imperial Government was deeply committed to, or cared a great deal about, the success of the measure that had resulted from its deliberations. On going to England I was largely undeceived on this point. From the earnestness and animation with which both Earl Russell and Mr. Cardwell discussed the question with me, it was evident that, for some reasons, not then lying on the surface, but which, by the development of the schemes

for Australian and West Indian confederation now on the tapis, are much better understood, Her Majesty's Government were very sincerely desirous that the North American colonies should take the lead, and adopt the scheme of confederation.

It will be borne in mind that Earl Russell had given me my appointment, and could take it away at any moment. He was my official superior. Now what was I to do? Secure my office or protect my country? My foot was on the ladder of imperial promotion. I had many friends in England. All I had to do was to give in my adhesion to the policy, and, as many of the men who had proposed the measure were old acquaintances and well-wishers, I could, in that autumn of 1865, have bargained for and secured any position to which I could reasonably have aspired, either within the confederacy or in the imperial service. This is what I fancy a majority of the persons I have sketched for your amusement would have done. What did I do? In several interviews with which I was honoured, both by the Foreign and Colonial Secretaries, I defended, with all the earnestness of my nature, and with all the ability I possessed, the interests of Nova Scotia. I criticised and denounced the scheme with the utmost freedom, and, before I left England, embodied my views in a very long paper, which I left with the Colonial Secretary as my parting protest against the measure.

Events crowded each other pretty rapidly after this period. New Brunswick changed her base, and Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland were wavering in the wind. Strong pressure was brought to bear upon the Legislature of Nova Scotia. It was unequal to the strain—the measure was passed; and then came the London convention, and the preparation and passage of the British America Act.

Let us now pause to consider what was my position at this period. I had done my best on both sides of the Atlantic to postpone or defeat the measure. The Government and Parliament of my country had sanctioned and passed it, and I might then have accepted the situation, and, as many of my friends advised, might have bowed to the inevitable and taken care of myself. This was the advice given to me by some of my best friends on my return from Washington in the spring of 1866. In a long conversation which I had at Fairfield with the Hon. William Stairs and Mr. Northup, these gentlemen urged this view upon me with all the earnestness and sincerity of old personal friendship. "You have served your country," these gentlemen urged, "long enough. You have given the flower of your life to Nova Scotia, and sacrificed the interests of your family to a sense of public obligation. The scheme will probably be sanctioned in England, and you can now accept it without dishonour, and spend the rest of your days in making some provision for your family." I did not think so. There was still a chance to defeat the measure, so far as Nova Scotia was concerned. Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island were not to be coerced, and Nova Scotia had a right to demand that her people should be consulted. If the anti-confederate party thought it wise to make

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this appeal to England, I was ready to sink all personal considerations and to throw myself into the contest. The whole party decided to try the experiment. Funds were raised, and Mr. Annand, Mr. Hugh McDonald and myself were sent as delegates to England. Delegates from the four colonial Governments came over to London. Two hostile camps were formed, and for the next five months the battle of confederation or anti-confederation was carried on with commendable energy in the great metropolis. Now, the question raised by one or two mean-spirited creatures in Nova Scotia is—was Howe in earnest? Who can doubt it? On embarking on this enterprise I had to confront nearly all the leading men of British America, and to forfeit all chance of repose and of colonial employment. In throwing myself into opposition to Her Majesty's ministers, I had to abandon all hope of imperial patronage or promotion. I did both. Nova Scotia's honour and interests were at stake, and all other considerations were thrown to the winds.

I have always borne honourable testimony to the zeal and ability with which both Mr. Annand and Mr. McDonald co-operated with me in the business of this mission, and whatever the former, from personal spite or for a party advantage, may now pretend to say, they both know, and Mr. McDonald has always frankly acknowledged, that my share of the labour was not the least, and that my whole soul was thrown into the contest from the first hour to the last.

I opened the ball with a general review of the Quebec resolutions, grouping into the most attractive forms of composition of which I was capable all the arguments which could be urged against them. With a view to invite attention to a grander and more comprehensive scheme of colonial government, I published a pamphlet on "The Organization of the Empire," and before our labours closed drew up "The Case of Nova Scotia," which we submitted to Earl Carnarvon as our final protest against the bill. Let any man read those compositions now, and then ask himself if the man who wrote them was in earnest? An author is not perhaps the best judge of his own writings, but, having read "The Case" carefully a few months ago, I may be permitted to express my own opinion, that it was the most able and exhaustive state paper that I ever wrote in my life. But the question now before us is not one of ability, but of sincerity, and fortunately for me the internal evidence in the papers themselves is strong enough to put the slanderers to shame, and I am not without a hope that they may be read with satisfaction by my countrymen long after those worthies are forgotten.

But all our efforts were in vain. The manly and eloquent appeals of our disinterested advocate, John Bright, were thrown away upon a House of Commons in which the leading men of both parties were pledged to confederation. In the House of Lords we had no chance. The only man who had studied the subject was Lord Carnarvon, and he was against us, and was backed by two or three old governors, whose oracular maunderings were taken for gospel truth, without argument or investigation.

With heavy hearts, after these five months' labour and responsibility, we turned our faces towards home. Whatever Mr. Annand may have meditated or designed, I am quite sure that Mr. McDonald and I would have felt our disappointment much more poignantly had we supposed that there was a wretch in Nova Scotia mean enough to suspect or to assert that we were not sincere.

This branch of the subject has grown upon me, but I hope to exhaust it in another letter.—In the meantime, believe me, truly yours,

JOSEPH HOWE.

OTTAWA, *April 28th*, 1871.

No. IV

*To the People of Nova Scotia.*

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—On my return to Nova Scotia in the spring of 1867 I found the anti-confederate party smarting under the treatment which their delegates had received in England, somewhat dispirited and apparently without a policy. Invited to attend a committee meeting at Masons' Hall, I went and found the doors thrown open and the hall densely crowded. The people were naturally anxious to know whether anything, and what, could now be done. I was called upon to advise them. On the outward voyage I had had time enough to reflect, and I at once took the ground that we should prepare for the elections, which could not long be postponed, punish the framers of the bill, sweep the counties clear of them, and prove that the statements we had made in England were well founded, and that a great majority of the people were opposed to confederation. This policy was adopted by acclamation.

There was now much work to do: to select candidates, to tone down rivalries among our friends, to arouse the constituencies, and to win the seats. I threw myself into the work without losing an hour. My old county of Hants offered me a seat. I accepted the nomination, but found myself weighted with two inactive and unpopular colleagues, who had been selected for no other reason than because they lived plain. My own seat was secure, but I had to ride twice round the entire county and address twenty meetings in order to drag these two men in, who were not very slow to forget the obligation.

But my labours were not confined to my own county. It cost me two hard days' battle, ably seconded by McLelan, to break Archibald's naturally strong hold on Colchester. I then went to Cumberland, and for ten long summer days Tupper and I fought hand to hand all round that county, until it was roused and organized, induced to accept Annand as a candidate, who, without my aid and that of Purdy, would never have shown his nose in it, and who, although Tupper walked the course there last summer, has never ventured into it since.

There was trouble in Digby from a plurality of candidates on our side. I went there, addressed the people at Bear River, and did my best to advise our friends and strengthen their organization. There was trouble in Queens from

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the same cause. I crossed the country, induced my old friend Lewis Smith to retire, and cleared the course for the triumphant election of those gentlemen who still represent the county. I returned to Halifax, and before the elections came off found time to address meetings among my old friends at Musquodoboit and Gay's River, that I might help Mr. Jones and Mr. Power in districts where they were but little known.

This is something like a rough sketch of my labours in the anti-confederate cause in the summer of 1867, and yet we are now to be told, forsooth, by fellows who got the benefit of my labour and mental activity, who went nowhere out of their own counties, and did nothing for anybody but themselves, that Howe was not in earnest. Judge you, my fellow-countrymen, between them and me.

The result of the elections realised, if they did not exceed, our most sanguine expectations. It was clear that the Dominion members would be in a position to protest with earnestness and singular unanimity on the floor of Parliament against the Act which brought them there. This we did, and I doubt if there was a man who listened to the speeches which I delivered during the first session, in the presence of a hostile and unsympathetic majority from all the other Provinces, who believed that I was not in earnest. Nor did I alone protest. Every man from Nova Scotia, after his own fashion, but with earnestness and determination not to be misunderstood, delivered the message with which he had been charged, and gave notice of our intention to appeal to the Imperial Government to relieve our country from the operation of the Act.

In the meantime the local Government had been formed, and when the House met I was asked if I would go again to England as a delegate to show to Her Majesty's Government the singular unanimity with which Nova Scotia had condemned the British America Act, and to ask for its repeal. This was the natural end and aim of all our labours, and of course I could not refuse. That no time might be lost, I was requested to embark at once, and did so, it being understood that other gentlemen, not yet selected, would come over in the following boat.

Now, here I desire to mark the fact that Mr. Jones, having secured a seat in the House of Commons, was the only man in the party who did not believe in the possibility of repeal, and was hopeless of any result from this delegation. He had a right to his opinion. I do not quarrel with him for his belief, but I never could quite understand why he should suspect or quarrel with me for not accomplishing what he believed it impossible to achieve.

Now, there is another fact to be noted here. Mr. William Garvie had gone over to study at Lincoln's Inn the year before, and had spent the winter in London. He came to see me a day or two after I arrived, and almost the first words he uttered were the expression of his belief that our mission would fail. He had read English newspapers and periodicals all winter, and conversed with people of all shades of opinion about the Inns of Court, and his deliberate conviction was that confederation was the settled policy of the Imperial



Government, and could not be changed by anything that we could say or do. CHAP. XXXV

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Now, if success was impossible and failure inevitable—and this was Mr. Garvie's opinion on the day I landed—how could he, in common fairness, to say nothing of friendship, ally himself with persons who were propagating the belief that the mission failed because I did not labour with sufficient earnestness and sincerity? But did I not? Before the other delegates arrived, I had put myself in communication with Mr. Bright, and with nearly all the gentlemen who had sympathised with us the year before, and from whom assistance might be fairly expected. My letter-book shows the nature and extent of this correspondence. When the delegates came over it was seen that Mr. Hugh McDonald who knew the ropes and had done good service in 1866, had been left at home, and two members of the new House had been brought over by Mr. Annand who had everything to learn. With these selections I had nothing to do. We at once put ourselves in communication with the Colonial Office, presented the addresses of the Legislature, and spent an hour or two in stating our case and debating the whole question with the Secretary of State and the Under-Secretary, Mr. Elliot. We soon found that though the Duke of Buckingham had succeeded Earl Carnarvon, his Grace was as warm a friend to confederation as his predecessor had been; and it was soon evident, from the earnestness with which both secretaries combated our arguments, that the policy of the department had not been shaken by the result of the elections. It was clear to us all, from the first interview, that we had nothing to hope from the Executive Government. Dr. Tupper was in London, and, with his usual ability and adroitness, was ready to supply the Colonial Office with any information which might be required, or to counteract such efforts as we might make in other directions; but it was soon quite apparent that if the Doctor had never come to London, the result would have been the same.

Mr. Bright did not disguise from us that, in presence of the combined strength of all the leading men of both the great political parties, pledged to confederation, it would be impossible to repeal the Act; and on communicating with other members of both Houses, and with gentlemen connected with the press, we soon discovered that this was the prevalent opinion, even in quarters where sympathy was not denied.

Some weeks were expended in circulating copies of the address and other printed information. Reams were despatched to all parts of the three kingdoms, being specially enclosed to members of both Houses of Parliament and to leading newspapers, accompanied by private letters soliciting aid from those that we happened to know. The responses, where any were made, were not encouraging.

In the meantime we tested the value of Mr. Wilkins' constitutional law. A case was prepared embodying his views, and submitted to the highest legal authorities in London, who decided that his conclusions were baseless and unsound.

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The time had now arrived for the final appeal to Parliament, and it was necessary to consult Mr. Bright as to the form of the motion to be made. We pressed him, in conformity with our instructions, to ask for repeal pure and simple. He did not refuse to make the motion in that form, but he warned us that if he did he would be beaten by an overwhelming majority, and assured us that on such a motion he did not at that moment know of ten members who would go into the lobby with him.

From that moment it was apparent that the cause of repeal was hopeless. Mr. Northup, who was in London at the time, called with me upon Mr. Bright, and heard him express his opinion. Mr. Garvie, who was always welcome at our rooms, and who, it is but fair to acknowledge, both in that and the preceding summer shared our counsels and gave us his co-operation, was of course not surprised to find that we had been compelled to bow to circumstances which, he had told us on landing, would be found insurmountable.

Our only hope now was to have the Act revised, and the terms improved. We did not believe at that moment that the Canadian Government would make concessions, and the only rational thing that we could ask for was a parliamentary committee or a commission of inquiry, to overhaul the Act, and make it less oppressive. There were six of us, Nova Scotians, then in London, and after full consultation and mutual interchange of opinions, we all came to the conclusion that this was the best that could be done.

But we soon found that it was not so easy to obtain even this moderate concession. Mr. Bright made a gallant fight for us; but the rejection of his motion, from the state of parties, was a foregone conclusion before he opened his mouth. About a third of the members present voted, not for repeal, mark you, but for inquiry only; and in the House of Lords we could hardly get two peers to move and second a similar resolution.

Here are the simple facts of the case—the plain history of this mission, and because, while in London, Mr. Annand and a gentleman whose name for the present I am reluctant to mention, had schemed up another bubble company, which he desired to go back and launch, and because I would lend myself to no more fruitless missions—to no more humiliating appeals to England—because I came back and told you, my countrymen, the truth—from the moment I landed, Mr. Annand began to sow distrust in the party, and had the meanness to insinuate that if Howe had only been in earnest the result would have been different, and that if he was allowed to go again without him, he would be certain to secure repeal. All this buncombe served to distract and divide the party during the autumn of 1868, and brought on the events which rapidly followed, and to which I shall devote another letter.—Believe me, truly yours,

JOSEPH HOWE.

OTTAWA, *May 2nd*, 1871.

*To the People of Nova Scotia.*

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—Let me now dispose of another fallacy upon which my enemies have rung the changes for many months, and sweep from the field of controversy an excuse for whining and complaint which never had any solid foundation. It has been said that I had no authority to treat with the Government of the Dominion for better terms, and that I unfairly prevented the members of the local Government from assuming their appropriate places in the conduct of these negotiations.

I have shown you that, at the close of the mission to England in 1868, the six Nova Scotians then in London were driven, by the force of circumstances which they could not control, to the unanimous conviction that no further delegations or appeals to England could be successful; and that any attempt to repeal the British America Act, by constitutional agitation or discussion in that country, was hopeless. I have also shown that we entertained no belief that the Canadian Government would make any concessions, or modify the financial stringency of the Act.

Before leaving England we had written to the Provincial Secretary, to say that our only hope was that a union of the Maritime Provinces might be arranged, and advising that confidential agents should be sent to them all, to sound the leading public men and to ascertain if there was any rational prospect that such a policy would be adopted. When we came home we found that one member of the Government had visited New Brunswick and another Prince Edward Island, but their verbal reports discouraged any hope of action on the part of these Provinces.

A convention, composed of all the people's representatives, Dominion and local, was assembled at Halifax to review the situation, and, after a full discussion with closed doors, separated without adopting any practical policy. In fact there was but one of two things left to do—to treat with the Canadians if they were disposed to negotiate, or to block the wheels of government and produce a crisis, by the resignation of General Doyle's cabinet, and a refusal by the whole convention to work the constitution as it stood. After much reflection and a calm review of the position, I had come to the conclusion that this was the only constitutional and peaceful alternative. I made the suggestion, but finding it opposed by the members of the cabinet, not one of whom appeared willing to sacrifice office and salary to give the country another chance for the restoration of its old constitution, I abandoned the idea, which could only be realised by their taking the lead. Lead they would not. Risk their positions and salaries they would not, and when this chance was thrown away it was clear to my mind that nothing was left for us but to negotiate or to fight.

Feeling the responsibility of leadership during the two years that the

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controversy lasted, I will not disguise from you that the chances of armed resistance had sometimes floated through my mind ; and if we had only had to deal with the Canadians, it is possible that I might have been stretched on the Tantramar Marsh, or somewhere else, before all was over. But as the conviction deepened day by day that confederation was the settled policy of England ; when the House of Commons by overwhelming majority had twice sanctioned that policy—when, in the House of Lords twice appealed to, hardly two men could be got to disturb it, even by a motion for inquiry, what was I to do ? Shut my eyes and “go it blind” into violence and bloodshed ? Run amuck, like a Malay, with a knife in my hand, against an army ? The idea was preposterous and absurd.

We had an armed citadel looking down upon Halifax with its guns commanding every street. We had an iron flag-ship in the harbour whose guns could rake every wharf. We had two regiments of British infantry in the garrison to overpower, and eight or nine strong forts and batteries all around the harbour to take ; and besides, in ten days Great Britain could have put a gunboat, with one hundred marines and a rocket brigade on board, into every open harbour in the Province. A man must have been an idiot to rush Nova Scotia, single-handed, into a contest with such odds against her ; and even if the United States had been disposed to take a hand (and there was no assurance that she would), our country would have been destroyed before they could have effectually interfered.

Even at this distance from home, I can see your smiling fields and busy marts, where every man sows in peace and trades in security ; and, far away on the blue waves, I can see the sails of your ships whitening every sea, with the old flag at the masthead, and the prestige and power of the empire protecting them on the outward and homeward voyage. These pictures console me for the criticism of any simpleton who complains that Howe did not rush his country into a civil war. Had he done so, there were many manly fellows scattered over the Province who would perhaps have followed him, even in a forlorn hope, but where would Jones and Wilkins and their lot have been found from the moment the first shot was fired ? Behind the highest stone walls, or down in the deepest cellars in the country, and when the brief struggle was over, which could have had but one result, they would have been found in the streets shrugging their shoulders, and lamenting over the rashness and folly of their old acquaintance Howe.

You will see, by what has been written, that by the summer of 1868 Nova Scotia had no alternative but to negotiate with the Canadian Government, or to keep screaming for repeal, with about as much chance of a profitable result as dogs when they howl at the moon.

Simultaneously with the meeting of the convention, Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George E. Cartier reached Halifax. They made no secret of the object of this mission, which was, within the scope of the British America Act, peace and conciliation. They had no distinct proposals to make, but they came to

confer with the leading men of the Province, to hear all parties, and to consent to such modifications of the Act as could be shown to be just and fair, without disturbing the outlines of the scheme of confederation. They lived at Government House. Their rooms were open to everybody. They conversed freely on the subjects of their mission with any gentlemen who called to see them. Now, how did the members of the local Government treat these strangers? Several of those persons were invited to meet them at dinner at the Lieutenant-Governor's table the day they arrived. They not only refused to accept the invitations, but went about the town and among the members of the convention, boasting that they had done so. Such conduct was an open insult, and when Mr. Annand subsequently called upon Sir John Macdonald, and informed him that if he had any propositions to make, he, Mr. Annand, was prepared to receive them, he was treated as he deserved—snubbed and sent away.

At this moment I was the acknowledged leader of the anti-confederate party, and had been for two years. Mr. Annand at best represented only the local Government. I represented the whole party, including the Dominion and local members, and when subsequently a committee was appointed by the convention to confer with the delegates, I was selected as its chairman. It was natural, therefore, that Sir John should desire to discuss the object of his mission with me. When invited to meet him at dinner, I had not the bad manners to refuse; and when asked to discuss public affairs with him I did so with the utmost frankness, went down to the convention, and reported word for word, so far as I could remember, the whole scope of the conversation.

Before we left England, it will be seen that repeal had been abandoned as hopeless and impracticable. By the time the convention had sat two days it was clear that the policy of obstruction was distasteful to the members of the local Government, and could not be tried. Fighting was out of the question, and it was only natural that, under such circumstances, a majority of the gentlemen present should be anxious to hear what the Canadians had to say. A committee of thirteen was appointed to confer with them. By some manœuvre, which none of the Dominion members suspected at the time, all the members of the local Government were appointed *en bloc* on that committee. There were seven of them, and availing themselves of their majority of one, on the second morning of meeting a deliberate attempt was made to render a conference with the delegates impossible. It failed, and these gentlemen were admitted in the afternoon, and made a courteous and rational exposition of the objects of their mission to the committee. Sir John was the spokesman, and in his oral address, as subsequently in his published letter, he expressed the readiness of his Government to confer with any gentlemen that might be selected, with a view to such financial modifications of the British North America Act as would be just and fair, and leave the Province nothing to complain of. This proposition, courteously made, did not even exclude the

CHAP. XXXV gentlemen who had refused to dine with him, and who have since complained  
— so bitterly that the negotiation was taken out of their hands.

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The free expression of my opinions, not only from the moment I landed, but in the convention, gave great offence to Messrs. Annand and Wilkins. The former wanted another delegation, for purposes of his own, but to get it was not so easy, unless I could be broken down or got out of the way. The latter wanted to be left in his office, to pocket his fees, protected by a great party outside screaming for repeal, which nobody knew how to get. I would lend myself to neither of these delusions. I was offered missions to Newfoundland and to Washington, which I declined, and then commenced the war upon me in the two Government organs which split the anti-confederate party in the autumn of 1868.

While this storm was brewing, a well-meant effort was made by Dr. Murray of New Glasgow to save the party. At his request he, Mr. Annand, Mr. Robertson and myself met at Fairfield and discussed the state of affairs. Two of the gentlemen present will do me the justice to remember how deeply wounded I felt at the course pursued towards me, but how willing I was to sacrifice personal feelings to keep our friends together. On two or three points, however, I would make no concessions. I would not conceal my opinions, continue to scream out Repeal, or favour a delegation. If attacked again I would defend myself, and if Sir John Macdonald put in writing the substance of what he had said at the convention, I should certainly discuss the whole subject with him and test the sincerity of the Canadians.

I need not dwell upon the paper war subsequently provoked, and in which I took my share. Self-defence was forced upon me, and I only gave to the public the opinions which I had expressed to my personal friends for weeks. Sir John Macdonald's letter, which opened the negotiation that resulted in the better terms, is dated the 6th of October. It reached me about the middle of the month. Forgetting, as a statesman is apt to do, the bad manners exhibited in Halifax, Sir John in his letter expresses his readiness to put his Finance Minister in communication with Mr. Annand, Mr. Vail or any other gentleman selected, for the purpose of reviewing and rectifying, if wrong could be shown, the financial position of Nova Scotia. With this letter in my hand, I called upon Mr. Annand and delivered Sir John's message. He declined to be a party to the negotiation and urged me not to go on with the correspondence. I then put this question to him squarely—"Suppose I lock this letter up in my desk for six months, and give you time to try your delegation, or any other means you prefer, what line will you take, should you fail?" His answer was frank enough and prompt enough: "*I will go for annexation.*" "Then," said I, "you and I must separate, and take opposite sides after six months more of life has been wasted. We might as well part now." I walked out of the office, took my own course, and, with Mr. McLelan's brave help, accomplished something practical, leaving Mr. Annand to his own devices. He has not got either repeal or annexation, but he still labours to keep up the delusion,

though nearly three years have passed away. Of this I do not complain; but I think, after the simple narrative I have given, nobody can say that the negotiations for better terms were taken unfairly out of his hands.—Believe me, truly yours,

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JOSEPH HOWE.

OTTAWA, *May 11th*, 1871.

We shall now turn from the heat and animosities of political controversy to a more serene atmosphere. In August 1871 there was a happy reunion of the scattered members of the Howe family in Framingham, Massachusetts; and in selecting the orator for the occasion the choice naturally fell on the most eloquent bearer of the name, Joseph Howe of Nova Scotia, who on August 31st delivered the following address:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—To be invited to address such an audience as this, in the centre of intellectual New England, I regard as a great distinction. Yet the position has its drawbacks. The committee have announced an "Oration," but a simple and good-humoured introduction to the business of the day is all that I shall attempt. If disposed to be more ambitious, and try a bolder flight, I should be afraid to risk comparisons, that you would not fail to institute, and which I am not vain enough to challenge. You have not forgotten the stately and nervous arguments of Webster, or the polished elocution and silvery voice of Everett; and though those masters of the art have passed away, you can still sit at the feet of Emerson, listen to the fiery declamation of Phillips, wonder at Lowell's marvellous felicity of phrase and luxuriance of illustration, and fold to your hearts, with a love akin to worship, our good friend Oliver Wendell Holmes. Let us thank God for these great lights which have diffused or are still shedding their radiance over the industrial and intellectual life of a great nation; but this is a family party, and as a member of the family I throw myself upon your indulgence. We are here not to make a parade of our eloquence, if we have any, but to spend a day in holy brotherhood and sweet communion.

Drawn from many States and Provinces, but springing from a common stock, we meet for peaceful and legitimate purposes, to grasp each other's hands, to look into each other's faces, to study each other's forms and to mark how the fine original structure of the race has borne change of aliment, diversity of climate, and the wear and tear of sedentary or active life, amidst the rapid mental and bodily movement of the fast age in which we live.

These family gatherings were, I believe, first suggested in New England, and their success is to be traced to the natural outcrop of feelings that are very rational. A wise nation preserves its records, gathers up its muniments, decorates the tombs of its illustrious dead, repairs its great public structures, and fosters national pride and love of country, by perpetual reference to the

sacrifices and glories of the past. But divide the nation by households, and under every roof you will find, let national pride be ever so strong, that family pride, the interest in the narrower circle that bears a common name, is quite as active. Our literature is filled with types of the septs and clans and families into which the wide world is divided, and who cling to their old recollections and traditions with marvellous tenacity.

In the British Islands the family sentiment finds vent, and expands itself with great luxuriance and grace, under the shelter of the law of primogeniture. Emerson, in his delightful book on England, tells us that there are "three hundred palaces" scattered all over the face of that country. A great many of these are comparatively modern structures, reared by the merchant princes and great manufacturers of England, who, in comparatively modern times, have been enriched by the abounding commerce and restless industry of a great and prosperous empire.

But by far the larger number are the growth of centuries; "the stately homes of England," where her historic families, many of them older than the Conquest, store up and preserve all that can illustrate the brilliant and heroic qualities of the race, and prompt to the highest order of emulation. Many of these old structures, such as Warwick Castle, the stronghold of "the King-maker," and Alnwick, the seat of "the stout Earls of Northumberland," though converted into luxurious modern residences, and embellished with all that high art in these recent times can furnish, occupy the commanding sites which made them formidable centuries ago, and wear the outward semblance of strong mediæval fortresses, from which a stone has scarcely been removed. In many other cases the stern front of war has been softened and toned down by the gradual process of decay, the luxuriance of vegetation, or by improvements which have placed modern structures, of vast proportions, upon the old feudal sites, replete with every convenience for ease and comfort, which, from the thickness of the walls, and the defensive character of the design, could not always be commanded in the old feudal castles.

But whether the style of the structure be ancient or modern, it is surrounded by an estate which, from generation to generation, has belonged to one family—been known by one name—and the house, whatever the style of architecture may be, is filled with all that can illustrate the manhood and the intellectual vigour of that family, from its rise, amidst the convulsions of some shadowy bygone age, down to the hour in which, with mingled wonder and admiration, we survey the marvellous results of a system not recognized by the institutions under which we live.

That those families should desire to preserve their estates intact, and gather around them the evidence of their antiquity and achievements, is not at all surprising when we reflect that a very large proportion of them are inseparably interwoven with the great events which have made the history of their country memorable; and the valuable services rendered to the nation by many of these families not only throw around their country seats and personal relics an



indescribable charm, but give them a strong hold on the affections of the people. CHAP. XXXV

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A Stanley won the field of Flodden. One of the Talbots, who led the English forces in France, and fought against Joan of Arc, was the victor in forty-seven battles and dangerous skirmishes. The Percys have seven times driven back the tide of foreign invasion, and for eight hundred years have stood in the front of resistance to legal tyranny; and, say the writers from whom I quote, "One Russell has staked his head for the Protestant faith; a second the family estates in successful resistance to a despot; a third has died on the scaffold for the liberties of Englishmen; a fourth has aided materially in the revolution which substituted law for the will of the sovereigns; a fifth spent his life in resisting the attempt of the House of Brunswick to rebuild the power of the throne, and gave us the first example of just religious government in Ireland; and a sixth organized and carried through a bloodless but complete transfer of power from his own order to the middle classes."

These are eminent services, and we cannot wonder that the family seats, where such men were bred, are religiously preserved by their descendants, and regarded with deep interest by the nation.

There is no name more familiar to Americans than that of Lord North, who, under George III., conducted for many years the disastrous war which was only closed by the establishment of the independence of these United States. How few of all the able and distinguished men who, on your side, led in that great struggle, have left behind them homes that have been preserved, properties still undivided, or common centres where their pictures, books and family muniments have been treasured up, to keep alive for succeeding generations the memory of their martial or diplomatic achievements. By the personal exertions of Everett, Mount Vernon has been preserved, and, to their honour be it spoken, the Adams family, by a rare exhibition of hereditary qualities, have held their property and maintained their positions in the highest circle of political and social elevation. But nearly all the others, though honourably known to history, have passed away, and have left no property to embellish the scenery, no rallying-places for their descendants, no familiar evidences of their existence.

In the heart of Oxfordshire stands Wroxton Abbey, the seat of the Norths. It is an old ecclesiastical structure, turned into a modern residence of surpassing beauty, where all that is antique is preserved with religious care, and gracefully interwoven with whatever can administer to refined luxury and convenience. It is surrounded by 40,000 acres of the best land in England. The outlying farms are cultivated by a prosperous tenantry, whose families have occupied the same lands for centuries, many of whom keep hunters worth five hundred guineas, and pay a thousand sovereigns a year annual rent. Ancestral trees older than the Abbey fling their shadows down upon sinuous walks and carriage drives that appear almost endless; whilst every window in the house looks out upon verdant lawns, well-kept gardens, or clumps of tree roses, interspersed

CHAP. XXXV with masses of evergreens, the preservation of which is so much favoured by  
 — the moist climate of England.

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The Baroness North, granddaughter of Lord North of the revolutionary war, and her husband, Colonel North, reside on this beautiful estate; and, while distinguished for the largeness of heart and great hospitality which becomes their stations, are not unmindful of the hereditary obligation which devolves upon them to treasure, to enlarge, and to transmit to their descendants all that can illustrate the daily life, the personal traits, or the distinguished services of the house to which they belong, in all its branches.

You are aware that the family of the Norths was interwoven with the Guilfords and Greys. The hundred rooms and long corridors of Wroxton tell the family story, from its foundation in 1496 to the present hour. Beautiful women in the costume of the period in which they flourished—children of all ages—eminent lawyers, privy councillors, soldiers, ambassadors, and judges, line the walls of every staircase and of every room.

Many of these pictures are valuable as works of art, but their chief value is in the record they supply of forms long passed away,—of features that cannot be reproduced, and for the facilities they afford to every rising generation to study and transmit the family story, by the aid of authentic materials, which in our countries, and under our systems, we can very rarely supply.

Two or three rooms in this old house deeply interested me. One was Lord North's library, in which every book that he had ever owned or handled has been preserved. Though unsuccessful as a War Minister, he was a scholar and a wit, and many of the volumes are rare editions, or presentation copies, enriched by autographs or annotations.

A small room, opening from the library, was Lord North's study. A very remarkable likeness of him overhangs and looks down on the table at which he wrote his despatches. The inkstand, and I might almost add the pens with which they were written, have been preserved.

A bedroom in this fine old edifice interested me even more deeply. I slept one night in it without knowing to whom it had belonged. It was a stately chamber, hung with arras, greatly faded, with quaint old andirons in an open fireplace, a low bedstead with high posts; and all the furniture, though admirably preserved, bearing the unmistakable impress of antiquity. To my great surprise I was told, on coming down to breakfast the following morning, that I had occupied the apartment of Lady Jane Grey, and slept in her bed, nothing having been changed in the room since her death, but the bed linen, which had worn out. I am not quite sure that I slept so soundly in the same apartment a second night as I did the first. Visions of the beautiful martyr to misplaced ambition seemed ever flitting round me, and I sometimes fancied that the grim headsman, with his axe, was lingering in the long shadows flung out by the massive walls.

A volume might be written descriptive of the beauties of Wroxton, and of the treasures of art and of biography which it contains, and yet it is a com-

paratively modern edifice ; nor do the Norths trace back their lineage nearly so far as many of the great historic families of England. CHAP. XXXV

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But I have taken this single house to show you how strong is the family sentiment in our mother country, and to answer, in advance, those who would smile at our humble endeavours to engraft upon our democratic institutions some graceful forms of development for a yearning that is universal, and for the outcrop of feeling as old as history. Neither in the United States, nor in Canada, is any provision made for this development. By our old laws two-thirds of the real estate were given to the eldest son, but modern legislation has swept this provision away, and property is now equally divided in all our States and Provinces. The universal feeling sustains this condition of the law ; entails are discouraged, and fortunes are earned only to be distributed, often with a rapidity that far outruns the process of accumulation. A spendthrift is too apt to follow a miser, and the thriftless, bred in the luxurious homes, often seem to have come into the world for no other purpose than to scatter what the industrious have earned, and to disperse, without a thought of name or race, all that their fathers prized, and in which their descendants, if not below the ordinary scale of humanity, would be sure to take an interest.

The democratic system which prevails all over this continent cannot be changed. It has its advantages, and the evils arising from the law of primogeniture cannot be veiled, even by the graceful surroundings to which I have referred ; and the practical question which we have met here to endeavour to solve is this,—Can we, without disturbing the law or disregarding the common sentiment of the continent, keep alive our family name, trace back our family story, and while dividing our property among our children, divide with them also all that we have been able to learn, to authenticate, and to transmit, of the family from which they have sprung ? May we not do more ? May we not so pass this day as to make it a festival in the finest sense of the term, to the repetition of which the thousands who bear our name will look forward with intense delight ?

In England the Howes have lived and flourished for centuries. The Howe banner hangs as high in Henry VII.'s Chapel as any other evidence of honourable service, and the battle of the 1st of June will be remembered as long as the naval annals of England last. In the old French wars for the possession of this continent, one Howe fell at Ticonderoga, and another was killed on the Nova Scotia frontier. In the revolutionary war the Howes were not fortunate. I have heard my father describe Sir William, as he saw him leading up the British forces at the battle of Bunker's Hill, with the bullets flying like hail around him. But I am apprehensive that in that old war God was not "on the side of the strongest columns," and that the time had arrived when the peopling and development of a continent could not be postponed by the agencies of fleets and armies.

The Howes, who have been ennobled, trace their family back to the reign of Henry VIII., and seem to have held estates in Somersetshire, Gloucester,

CHAP. XXXV Wiltshire, Nottingham, and Fermanagh in Ireland. Jack Howe, as he was familiarly called, who was a member of Parliament in the reigns of William and Anne, was a fluent speaker, and, like a good many other people in those days, had a great dislike to standing armies. His son, who sat for Nottingham in the Convention Parliament, was one of those who established the liberties of England in 1688.

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But many branches of the family are scattered all about England. I found three Howes, bearing my own family Christian names, lying side by side in the churchyard at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, and I learned that in the western end of the island a family of honest farmers, who are all Howes, have been living there on the same land beyond the memory of man.

I found three others, all males, lying just inside the graveyard at Berwick-on-Tweed. I could not hear of any Howes in the neighbourhood, and I took it for granted that they must have been killed in some old Border fight, which is not at all improbable if they came from the south side of the stream.

But, passing over the nobles and the plebeians of England, I must confess that there is one Howe of whom we may all be proud. This is John Howe, who was chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, and whose fine form and noble features are preserved in some of the old engravings. He must have been an eloquent preacher, for he won his place by a sermon which the Protector happened to hear. That he was a fine scholar and learned theologian is proved by the body of divinity, written in classic English, which he has left behind him. That he was a noble man is proved, also, by a single anecdote which is preserved to us. On one occasion he was soliciting aid or patronage for some person whom he thought deserving, when Cromwell turned sharply round, and by a single question let a flood of light in upon the disinterestedness and amiability of his character, which will illuminate it in all time to come. "John," said the Protector, "you are always asking something for some poor fellow; why do you never ask anything for yourself?" My father's name was John, and I have often tried to trace him back to this good Christian, whose character, in many points, his own so much resembled. I may hazard one observation, before passing from the English Howes, and it is this: that the present possessor of the peerage had better bestir himself, and do something to add lustre to his coronet, or else we Howes in America will begin to think it has dropped on an inactive brain. He fights no battles—he writes no books—he makes no speeches; and although I believe he is a very amiable person and was a great friend of the late Queen Dowager, I beg to enter my protest against the apparent want of patriotism or mental activity which this very supine recipient of hereditary rank seems to display.

But passing over the Howes who have figured, or still dwell, on the other side of the Atlantic, I take it for granted that the whole of this vast audience are descended from those who settled in New England between 1630 and 1657. It would appear by the circular kindly sent to me by your secretary, that there were seven of these, although my father used to tell me that there were but

four. Two of them, Joseph of Boston, and Abraham of Watertown, may have been sons of some of the others, if they married early, which is probable: but I take the list as I find it, and to me it is full of interest. What was the old world about when these men came to America? why did they come?—are questions that naturally occur to us. In 1629, Charles the First dissolved his Parliament, and no other was called in England till the Long Parliament met in 1640. During the eleven years which intervened, we all know what was going on in England. Laud was Archbishop of Canterbury, Strafford was first minister, and that hopeful experiment was being tried of ruling without Parliaments, which ended in the wreck and ruin of the monarchy. Within these eleven years five of the seven Howes were settled in New England, and the reasonable presumption is that they found old England too hot for them.

They had no fancy for paying ship-money on compulsion, or having their ears cropped, or for standing in the pillory for the free expression of opinions; and perhaps, foreseeing what was coming, they accomplished what it is said Cromwell, Hampden and others at one time meditated, and reached America before the civil war began. The earlier battles of Worcester and Edgehill were fought in 1642, and before this five of the Howes had made good their lodgment in America. If the two who date from 1652 and 1657 were not born in this country, they may have taken the field; but of the fact we have no authentic record.

It is enough for us to know that these ancestors of ours were God-fearing, worthy men, sprung from the sturdy middle class of English civic and rural life, who left their native country, not because they did not love it, but because they could not stay there without mean compliance and tame submission to usurped authority. We would perhaps have been just as well pleased had they remained behind, and struck a few manful blows for the liberties of England; but we must accept the record as we find it, with this source of consolation, that no brother's blood was upon their hands when they landed in America.

That they were men of worth and intelligence, there is proof enough. They were freemen and proprietors in the townships where they settled, selectmen, representatives, officers, Indian commissioners, and seem to have brought from the old country, in fair measure, the common sense, industry and thrift so much needed by the emigrant. That they were men of fine proportions and of sound constitutions, I may infer from the audience before me, and from the fact, which your secretary has recorded, that five of these old worthies left forty-four children behind them.

That those "forefathers of our hamlets" set us a good example their simple records prove. That the Howe women have been fruitful and the men vigorous is consistent with all I know of their descendants on this continent, and this vast audience, where forms of manly beauty and female loveliness abound, shows me that in physical proportions and feminine attraction the race has been well preserved.

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But in those sound bodies are there sound minds? What of the intellectual qualities and mental development of the family? Have our women been born "to suckle fools and chronicle small beer"? Have the men displayed the energy and capacity for affairs demanded of them by the free and rapidly expanding communities in which they lived? It is only by the mutual interchange of fact and thought at such a gathering as this, that we can answer these questions to our own satisfaction. But if I were challenged by the transatlantic branches of the family to bear testimony upon these points, I think, even with my limited knowledge of your country, I could produce a group of eloquent senators, eminent soldiers, distinguished philanthropists, and successful business men to prove conclusively that, in these United States, the race has not declined.

In turning to the Provinces, it must be borne in mind that but one of all the Howes in these States took the British side in the revolutionary war. Of my father I spoke some years ago at Faneuil Hall, and my good friend Lorenzo Sabine (one of the best writers and most accomplished statesmen produced in the eastern States) has kindly embodied what was said in the second edition of his "Lives of the Loyalists," to which I must refer those who take interest in the British-American branch of the family. To-day I have leisure to say only this, that if it be permitted to the saints in Heaven to revisit the scenes they loved, and to hover over the innocent reunions of their kindred, my father's spirit will be here, gratified to see that the family, divided by the Revolution, is again united, and that his son, to use the language which Burns puts into the mouth of the peasant woman in his "Cottar's Saturday Night," is "respected like the lave."

Of the past history of the family, on both sides of the Atlantic, we may be justly proud. That the present is full of hope and promise this great festival assures us. For the future I have no fears. We meet to gather up the fragmentary biographies of the family and to encourage each other in well-doing, that the family may not decline. By honest industry and manly exercise we must see to it that the race is well preserved, and by careful cultivation that the brain is well developed. Savage, in his "Genealogical Dictionary," tells us that seven of the Howes, prior to 1834, had graduated at Harvard University, and twenty-three at other colleges in New England. Nearly all the Howes that I have ever known were dear lovers of books, and reasonably intelligent. To keep abreast with the active intellect of the age we must be students still. We inherit a rich and noble language. We are the "heirs," says Professor Greenwood, "of all the ages in the foremost files of time." "Knowledge," Disraeli tells us, "is like the mystic ladder in the patriarch's dream. Its base rests on the primeval earth—its crest is lost in the shadowy splendour of the empyrean; while the great authors who, for traditionary ages, have held the chain of science and philosophy, of poesy and erudition, are the angels ascending and descending the sacred scale, and maintaining, as it were, the communication between man and Heaven."

But we must not be mere students. This is not an age wherein people should be content to see visions and dream dreams. The work of the world is before us, and on this continent there is work enough and to spare for centuries to come. We must do our share of it, and the family will be judged by the style and manner in which it is done. The Scotch have a familiar phrase, "Put a stout heart to a stiff brae:" and Goethe tells us, "All I had to do I have done in kingly fashion. I let tongues wag. What I saw to be the right thing, that I did." May your hearts be "stout" when the "braes" are "stiff." Let the world take note of you that you are good husbands, good fathers, good citizens, and true and honourable men; that your descendants may come up here to Framingham, looking back at this festival as though not to glorify a mere name that has no significance, but to see that an honourable name which they inherit is kept untarnished, and transmitted with new lustre to their children.

But let us hope that these family meetings may be made to subserve a higher purpose than the mere renewal of broken ties of relationship in limited circles. May they not embrace a wider range, ascend to a higher elevation, and have a tendency to draw together, not only single families, but that great family that the unhappy events which led to the revolutionary war divided into three branches?

Germany had its Seven Years' War, and its Thirty Years' War, to say nothing of centuries of rivalries and divisions, and yet a common sentiment, "the Fatherland," is rapidly uniting all who speak its language, love its literature, and are proud of its martial achievements. The civil wars of France have been endless, and yet the common ties of literature and language, however rudely those of brotherhood are broken at times, draw the whole people together; and though kings and emperors, republics and communes, pass away, under them all the common sentiment is "*Vive la France!*" and this is the cry of a united people, when each system in its turn has been overthrown.

Great Britain and the United States have had eleven years of war, eight at the Revolution and three in the foolish struggle which lasted from 1812 to 1815. What are eleven years in history? Your own civil war lasted nearly four, and more men were killed in it than Great Britain and the United States could ever put into the field in those old contests which sensible men everywhere remember only to regret. You hope to be, and I trust the hope may be realised, a united people. Why should not the three great branches of the British family unite, our old wars and divisions to the contrary notwithstanding? This is "a consummation devoutly to be wished." Ocean steamers, railroads, cheap postage and telegraphs make a union possible; and gatherings such as this may hasten on the time when, living under different forms of government, and each loyal to the institutions it prefers, the three great branches of the British family may not only live in perpetual amity, but combine to develop free institutions everywhere and to keep the peace of the world.

Such a union to be permanent must be based on mutual respect, and on a just appreciation of the position and resources of each branch of the great family. The marvellous growth and vast resources of these United States are frankly acknowledged by every rational English and British-American man that I know. That your country contains nearly forty millions of people, as intelligent, industrious, inventive and martial as any other equal number on the face of the earth, we frankly admit; but I am often amused at the style of exaggeration adopted in this country, and at the mode in which we Britishers are talked of on platforms, and in circles not over well-informed. Four millions of freemen on the other side of the line, who govern themselves, and who can change their rulers, when Parliament sits, any night of the year by a simple resolution; who could declare their independence to-morrow or join the United States, if so inclined, are often spoken of as serfs and bondmen, because they do not care to rupture old relations, and go in search of political guarantees, which, by their own firmness and practical sagacity, they have already secured. That we are not laggards and idlers over the border may be gathered from the growth of our cities, and from the rapid development of our industry in all its branches. Though but a handful of people commenced to clear up our country at the close of the revolutionary war, we have already a population more numerous than Scotland, and have peacefully organized into provinces a territory more extensive than the United States, larger than the whole empire of Brazil. The volume of our trade has increased to \$120,000,000; and the mercantile marine of the northern Provinces places them in the rank of the fourth maritime country in the world. My own native Province, I am proud to say, takes the lead in this honourable form of enterprise. Nova Scotia owns more than a ton of shipping for every man, woman and child on her soil. The babe that was born yesterday is represented by a ton of shipping that was built before it was born.

But are the British Islands so decrepit and effete as we sometimes hear in this country? Is the empire which is sustained by the two other branches of the family unworthy of the friendship of these United States? Would it not bring its share of everything that constitutes national greatness into the union of which I have spoken? Republican America, impoverished by the war of independence, loaded with debt, having a great country to explore, finances to reorganize, institutions to consolidate, and a navy to create, has done her work in the face of the world in a manner that challenges its respect and admiration. Her contributions to literature, her able judges, sagacious statesmen, eloquent orators, acute diplomatists, and eminent soldiers and sailors have won for her a place in civilization and history which all British Americans and Englishmen proudly acknowledge. You are "bone of our bone," and as one of your commodores exclaimed, when lending a helping hand to Englishmen in the Chinese rivers, "blood is thicker than water"; and the laurels you win and the triumphs you achieve, even at our



expense, but illustrate the versatility and vigour of the life-currents which we share.

Now let us see what the elder branch of the family has been about for the last eighty years, and whether, as we approach the fountain-head, the stream shows less animation. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, all London was built of wood, and thirty years after the Howes settled in New England 400 streets and 13,000 houses were consumed in the great fire. In 1783, the population did not exceed 600,000, and the docks were not yet constructed. By the time I saw London first, in 1839, the population had increased to 1,500,000; but within the last third of a century the numbers have swelled to about 4,000,000, so that the metropolis of our empire is nearly as large as the cities of New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Chicago, Baltimore, Boston, Cincinnati, New Orleans, San Francisco, and Buffalo, all put together.

At the close of the revolutionary war, the British Empire was assumed to be on the decline. Thirteen noble provinces had just been lost. She had been humiliated by land and sea. Her power on the American continent had been shaken to its foundation. Her great rival had defeated and triumphed over her, and, with her capital imperilled by mobs and her treasury loaded down with debt, she had but a grim outlook for the future at that disastrous period. But the people around the old homestead were not discouraged. The brain power was not exhausted, nor the physical forces spent. They went on thinking, working and fighting, as though, like Antæus, they gathered strength from their fall; and now, at the end of four-fifths of a century, let us see what they have accomplished. On this continent, profiting by the lessons of the past, and learning the science of colonial government, they have planted and fostered great provinces as populous as those they lost. They have explored and planted Australia and New Zealand, conquered an empire in the East, taken Singapore and Mauritius, British Guiana and Hong Kong, and now, instead of the few feeble colonies left to them in 1783, when this country broke away, they have nearly seventy great provinces and dependencies scattered all over the world, to whom Webster's "drum-beat" is familiar, which contain a population of hundreds of millions, and secure to the mother islands an abounding commerce independent of all the rest of the world; but which they throw open to free competition, with a somewhat chivalrous confidence in their own resources.

Of the men produced in these modern days, why should I weary you with a bead-roll? Nelson and Wellington, Clive and Napier, stand in the front of a noble army of warriors, who have carried the Red Cross flag by land and sea; and under its ample folds great statesmen have remodelled their institutions, reformed their laws, enlarged the franchise, limited the prerogative, and laid the foundation of civil and religious liberty broad and deep. Nor have the mother islands hung their harps upon the willows: while their engineers have covered the ocean with lines of steamships and their architects

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have embellished the scenery with noble structures, their great writers have remodelled history, and the melodious strains of Scott and Byron, of Hemans and Campbell have been heard above the din of workshops that never tire, the ebb and flow of capital enlarging with each pulsation, and the gradual unfolding of that marvellous web and woof of finance, whose meshes envelop the world.

I have but little more to say. If it be wise to gather the Howes together, and renew old family ties, how much more important will it be to bring together the three great branches of the British family, and unite them in a common policy, as indestructible as their language, as enduring as the literature they cannot divide.

Out of such a union would flow the blessing of perpetual peace, for no foreign power would venture to assail us, and we would be sufficiently strong to be magnanimous when international difficulties arose. Ships enough to keep the peace of the seas would be all we should require. With a landwehr of millions in reserve, our standing armies might be reduced to the minimum of cost. Capital would ebb and flow freely over the whole confederacy: our transports, instead of carrying war material, might carry the surplus population to the regions where labour was wanting and land was cheap; ocean telegrams would come down to a penny rate; and our national debts would disappear by the gradual increase of the population and the growth of the general prosperity. May the great Father of Mercies hear our prayers, and so overrule our national councils, that we may come to be one people, living under different forms of government it may be, but knit together by a common policy, based upon an enlightened appreciation of each other's strength and on a sentiment of mutual esteem.

## CHAPTER XXXVI

1872-1873

Mr. Howe's failing health—Address to Young Men's Christian Association at Ottawa—Letter to the electors of the county of Hants—Election by acclamation—The Pacific Railway—Appointed Governor of Nova Scotia—His illness and death—Press notices—Funeral.

MR. HOWE had not recovered from the attack of illness which disabled him in the mid-winter campaign of 1869; and from year to year thereafter his strength was visibly waning. In 1872, he responded to the invitation of the Young Men's Christian Association at Ottawa and delivered the address which is given below, but he was unable to take any very active part in the debates in Parliament or in the campaign work preceding the general elections of the year. The address above mentioned was delivered at Ottawa on February 27th, and was as follows :

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MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—When a veteran, in the decline of life, undertakes to address a body of young men just entering upon its active duties, his heart is apt to be too full for utterance. The past comes rushing by, as the impetuous tides of Fundy roll round the base of Blomidon, and the mind's eye vainly endeavours to "look through the blanket of the dark," and estimate for others the nature and extent of those perils which youths are sure to encounter, and which, by the goodness of God, rather than by any skill or wisdom of his own, he may have happily escaped. But how rare the instances where experience has been gained without hazard—where the helping hand of Providence has always been stretched out—where the battle of life has been fought without a wound; and it is this conviction that makes me tremble at the task I have assumed to-night, however gladly I would make it a labour of love. To me the battle of life has been no boy's play, and I address you with a vivid impression of the work that lies before you, and of the dangers which beset the paths you have to tread, however they may be fenced by a mother's prayers or a father's watchful forethought.

But let us brush aside these depressing feelings, in which memories of the past and apprehensions for the future are strangely interwoven, and face the duties of the hour, that it may not be wasted. By you the battle of life must

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be fought. Why should I discourage you? Believe me, I would not. Nay, if permitted, I would fight it all over again. There is no strength where there is no strain: seamanship is not learned in calm weather: and born of the vicissitudes and struggles of life are the wisdom, the dignity, and the consolations which, in all your cases, I trust may distinguish its decline.

In addressing such a society as this I am relieved from many apprehensions. Your organization protects you from much evil and many dangers. I take it for granted that the Young Men's Christian Association of Ottawa is a worthy and fruitful branch of that widespread and invaluable association which is to be found in full activity, not only in all the large cities of this continent, but within the mother isles and almost all the provinces of the British Empire.

This association, if I comprehend aright its history and its objects, is neither sectarian nor political. It excludes no man on account of his creed, his origin, or his party leanings. It is neither monarchical, republican, nor aristocratic. It will live and flourish though dynasties decay and cabinets be overthrown. Its limits are not defined by geographical lines, nor its resources affected by financial convulsions. It has no secrets like Masonry. Its aims and its objects are distinct and above board. Its regalia are the ornaments of a meek and quiet spirit. It recognizes the Creator and the Saviour, and seeks to throw around young men, as they grow up, the restraints and the protection of mutual encouragement and watchfulness, that the snares of life may be avoided, and that reverence and respect for the higher principles of morality may be interwoven with its daily duties.

These societies live and flourish on the voluntary principle. Their taxes are self-imposed. There is no jobbery or corruption—no sacerdotal or ministerial distinctions to aspire to, no high salaries to enjoy, no patronage to divide, no uniform by which its members can be distinguished from the rest of the communities in whose midst they live and labour for the common good. Looking into your young faces, I am disarmed of half my fears for the future by the strength and vitality of those relations to each other which you have already formed, and by the high standards of moral obligation and Christian duty everywhere recognized by the wide-spread association to which you belong.

To make its members moral and respectable is the chief object of this organization. But pardon me if I venture to suggest that, without weakening these mainsprings of action, you should aim at even a wider range of thought, and cherish aspirations that may fit you for the noblest fields of action. I would have the young men of Ottawa not only dutiful and good, but refined, accomplished and intellectual—ambitious to make the political capital of the country the home of the arts, the literary centre of the confederacy, the fountain-head of elevated thought and laudable ambition. She can only attain this rank by the combined and persistent efforts of the men who come here to claim citizenship, or who have been bred within her limits.

Nature has been very bountiful to Ottawa. Built upon a dry limestone

formation, the site is elevated and healthy. At the head of navigation on the river from which it takes its name, the city commands free water communication with the St. Lawrence; and, by the aid of its canals, with the great lakes above and with the gulf below. The Rideau Canal, gives it easy access to the country through which that work has been constructed, with Kingston and with Lake Ontario; and the main river with its twenty tributaries, draining a country of vast extent, brings into the city's bosom not only the boundless wealth of those great plantations which God has given her as an inheritance, but the agricultural products, won from a fertile soil, to which the tide of immigration is being equally attracted as the forest recedes before the axe of the lumberman. The Canada Central Railway and the Ottawa Navigation Company give you easy access to this region for 150 miles, and the time is rapidly approaching when the whole country around Lake Nipissing will be enlivened by population, whose business must ebb and flow through this city, following the line of the great water communication which nature has already provided, or of that national highway which, before long, will connect the Atlantic with the Pacific.

Though Ottawa, in point of natural scenery, cannot compare with Quebec, which has no rival on this continent, and although I prefer my native city of Halifax, with its varied aspects, and fine sea views, still, for an inland town, it is richly endowed and not unattractive to the eye. The Laurentian range gives it a fine bold background, a little too far removed; but the two rivers, winding round and through the city, afford glimpses of water in endless variety, that relieve the eye where the land is most level and monotonous. The looks-out from Kingston, over the harbour and surrounding forts, and from the table-land behind Hamilton, over Burlington Bay, are fine, but are scarcely surpassed by those up and down the river, from the cliffs behind the Parliament House, or the view which one catches of a summer evening from the Sapper's Bridge, with the spires of the cathedral on one side and the public buildings on the other, the canal at your feet, and the river and the mountains beyond.

With waterfalls Ottawa is richly endowed. The twin falls of the Rideau give us those of the Genesee and of the Minnehaha in our very midst; and the Chaudière, where the main river tumbles over the rocks to a lower level, would perhaps impress us more if it were not so near and familiar; and if the skill and enterprise of our great manufacturers had not transformed a scene of natural beauty into one of such varied industry, that what man has supplemented to nature's handiwork appears to be the most wonderful part of the turbulent combination. Here is the centre of that great industry which maintains an army of men in the woods all winter, and in the mills and on the watercourses all summer, which has already built a city where there was but a scattered hamlet within the memory of the present generation, and which is destined, with the aid of the Government expenditure, to ensure the growth and prosperity of Ottawa for many years to come.

When I first saw this city, ten years ago, the weather was bad, the public

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buildings were in course of construction, unsightly and unfinished. The materials required for their completion were being dragged through the streets, cut up into ruts and mud-holes, or were lying about the banks in the most admired disorder. The impression left was unfavourable, and was often frankly expressed during the animated political discussions which followed that visit. Since then the public buildings have been finished, and are certainly not inferior to any to be found on this continent. The streets are improved, and the city doubled in size; and a three years' residence has enabled me to make myself familiar with its scenery, its climate and resources, and it gives me pleasure now to correct any hasty prejudices or prepossessions that I may have formed in a single afternoon.

But apart from the attractions of its scenery, or the extent of its industrial resources, Ottawa presents to young men advantages that are rarely found in any other city of its size on this continent, or anywhere else. The administration of the Government requires the presence in your midst of some three hundred persons who are, or ought to be, gentlemen. I will not venture to assert that they all are. The civil service of the Dominion, like all other services, has perhaps its black sheep, men who have found their way into it with but slight appreciation of the high spirit, gentle manners, and prudent conduct so eminently required of public officers in all the departments; but, taken as a whole, it constitutes a valuable addition to the society of a growing city like Ottawa. I speak not now of the ministers, who come and go, but of the permanent officers who reside here, who must live and die among you, be your exemplars, companions and guides; and I am gratified to know that the civil service includes men of wide experience, of varied accomplishments, of profound erudition and stern integrity—men whom it is a privilege to live with, and whose examples I advise you to imitate.

But you have other advantages. Once a year, at least for eight or ten weeks, Parliament assembles here, and the young men of Ottawa can see, hear and associate with the picked and prominent men of all the Provinces, gathered from the highest ranks of social and political life in the wide expanse of territory that lies between the islands of Cape Breton and Vancouver. The sayings and doings of these men, filtered through the newspapers, in telegraphic or condensed parliamentary reports, convey, even to their own constituents, but faint and shadowy outlines of the scenes in which they wrestle and debate. But to you, who can sit above their heads, mark every gesture, vibrate with every tone, to whom the sarcasm comes with a flash as vivid as lightning, and the bursts of eloquence are as voluble as thunder—to you the nightly debate brings reality and distinctness, intensely to be enjoyed and never to be forgotten.

Even where debates are fully and correctly reported, they are read at a distance with a calm pulse and are rarely long remembered. You or I would find "Henry VIII." played at the Princess's Theatre, with all the advantages of brilliant elocution and fine scenery, a very different affair from the same play

read in the closet. Rebecca, looking out from the casement at Torquillstone, hearing every battle-cry, and seeing every blow struck, would never forget the siege, that you or I, charmed for the moment by Scott's marvellous word-painting, throw aside when the last page of "Ivanhoe" has been read. You have the political arena before you night after night—the combatants, who are myths and shadows to people at a distance, are realities to you. Men who are moulding the future, and perhaps are to figure in history, are there, at your feet, making sport for you, as Samson did for the Philistines, often as blind perhaps, but fortunately with no power to pull the structure about your ears.

The Houses of Parliament, then, are great schools of oratory for the young men of Ottawa. They are something more. They are halls where the great interests of the country, its resources, wants and development are talked over and explained by the most capable and intelligent men that the six Provinces can produce; and if you are wise, my young friends, you will, as often as you can, without neglecting other indispensable duties, avail yourselves of the privileges which youths at a distance may envy you, but can very rarely enjoy.

To be a fluent and easy speaker is a great accomplishment. The man who can think upon his legs, and express his thoughts with energy and ease, doubles his power for good or evil in the community in which he lives, and carries with him abroad a passport to cultivated and intellectual society of the utmost value. Almost every winter night the young men of Ottawa can take lessons in oratory, in the Commons or in the Senate. Their own good sense will teach them to distinguish what is grotesque and absurd, from what is impressive and worthy of imitation; and my advice to you is, not to neglect opportunities which circumstances so favourably present, and even if politics never attract you into the national arenas, you will find that the graceful elocution which gives animation and wins deference at the festive board or at the fireside, gives power and influence at those gatherings where men must congregate to transact the business of life.

But Ottawa has, for its crowning glory and advantage, the custody of the parliamentary library which the liberality of the nation has provided, and which has been selected and arranged by Alpheus Todd, one of the most amiable and accomplished men to be found on either continent. The great libraries of London and Paris are of course more extensive and complete than our own. The City Library at Boston and the Astor Library at New York, admirably selected and most spiritedly sustained, are creditable to those great cities. I need not weary you with comparisons, but when I say that our parliamentary library includes 70,000 volumes, that it exhausts the classics and current literature of France and England—that every book worth reading ever published in America is to be found upon its shelves—that the best works of continental Europe and of the East are there, either in the original or in the most approved translations—that all the periodicals, from the first number to the last, invite us to sharpen our critical taste and store our minds

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with information;—and when I add that, so soon as the new wing of the Parliament Buildings is completed, this great collection will be housed with a magnificence and displayed with facilities for reference worthy of all praise, I shall but convey to intelligent strangers abroad a feeble idea of the intellectual aids and advantages which the youth of Ottawa enjoy, superior as they are to those within the reach of the studious within hundreds of other cities of larger population.

To the Giver of all Good the young men of Ottawa should daily offer up thanks and praise for the mercies and advantages by which they are surrounded. They have a healthy climate, and occupy the centre of a wide tract of country, drained by great rivers, and filled with natural resources. They have a body of trained and accomplished men and their families to associate with; they have the two branches of the Legislature for schools of instruction, and they have the parliamentary library in their midst, a great storehouse from whence to draw intellectual life without effort or expense.

Now, my young friends, let me say that the worst return that you could make for these blessings would be to show a callous indifference to the bounties of Providence, and not to acknowledge and illustrate them in your daily lives and conversation.

When Ottawa was selected for the seat of government, other cities of older growth and larger population, Montreal, Quebec, Kingston and Toronto, were compelled to make sacrifices for her benefit; and now that confederation has been established, Halifax, Fredericton and Victoria have been somewhat shorn of influence and advantages which they formerly enjoyed. The population of these cities may reasonably demand not only that the youth of Ottawa shall not be unmindful of those sacrifices, but that they shall rise to the level of intellectual life and varied accomplishment which ought to distinguish the federal capital of the union. They may be reasonably patient while the elements of society, thrown in here by new political combinations, fuse, assimilate, and assume new forms of development, but they will not be patient if, ten years hence, it should be discovered that their contributions have been thrown away; that Ottawa is, after all, but an outside Bœotian region, where lumber is manufactured, where books are not read or written, which produces no princely merchants, no orators or artists, no learned professors or divines, which draws pecuniary resources and intellectual life from all the other cities of the confederacy, and gives nothing in return.

Now, my young friends, you must see to it, and others like you, that Ottawa does not incur the great misfortune of losing the crown that she has won. Trust me, her glories will pass away if they are proved to be undeserved—if, when the confederacy comes to take stock, as it will every eight or ten years, it discovers that not only is Ottawa far behind in material growth and business activity, but in the culture, refinement, broad views and cosmopolitan spirit which ought to distinguish the capital of a great nation.

The Jew went up to Jerusalem, and the Mohammedan turned his face



towards Mecca, because these cities were the fountain-head of the spiritual life and soul-stirring theology upon which they relied for their salvation. It remains to be seen whether Ottawa can take rank as the foremost city of the Dominion, worthily advancing its banner and upholding its reputation where good work is to be done, a good example is to be set, or sound principles require advocacy and illustration. The beautiful piles of masonry on the cliffs above will not save her from abandonment if her sons fail to make her what she ought to be—the fountain-head of intellectual life for half a continent—the model city, to which men's eyes will turn for inspiration and guidance; where elegance of manners and simplicity of attire shall be woman's highest distinctions; and where a man, in the lowest grade of the civil service, or in the humblest walk of life, can challenge respect by the culture which marks the gentleman—the broad views which include the great interests of the whole confederacy, and by that hearty sympathy with the feelings and even the prejudices of all the Provinces, which can alone reconcile them to the sacrifices they have made, and unite them round a common centre by ties more enduring than the clauses of an Act of Parliament.

Before passing to other topics, I may be permitted to say that if Ottawa is to take the rank that it ought to hold, its ratepayers and municipality must evince more enterprise and circumspection. The debates in their city council and in their school boards should be redeemed from puerility and bad language. The city should be drained and cleansed, or cholera will scourge it; flanked as it is on both sides by square miles of piled lumber, the fate of Chicago is in store for it if an efficient supply of water is not speedily introduced; and the streets should be planted without delay that the present generation may enjoy the luxury of shade in the hot summer months, and of shelter from the biting blasts of winter when they come.

In almost all our northern cities we are far behind our republican neighbours in arboriculture. For the first fifty years in the settlement of a new country trees are regarded as man's natural enemies. They shelter the savage and cumber the land, and, as in the "forest primeval" they protect each other and grow spindling and tall, they are of little use when the groves are broken and are rarely preserved. To cut them down and burn them up seems a labour of love. The old States and Provinces passed through this iconoclastic period a century in advance of us. They commenced to replant trees about the time when we seriously began to cut them down, and now nearly all their cities and towns are planted. "A thing of beauty is a joy for ever," and what more beautiful than a fine shade-tree? An old gentleman, three parts of a century ago, planted three or four elms on the front street of Windsor, the shire town of the county I represent. They have shaded and embellished it for fifty years, and I never pass under them without blessing the old man's memory.

How prettily are all the towns and villages around Boston shaded! What debts of gratitude do the people of New Haven, Salem, Richmond, Portland,

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and Cleveland owe to the liberality and forethought of the wise old men who embellished their streets, disarmed the winter winds, and have endowed with a luxuriance of umbrageous beauty the retreats of erudition and the busy marts of trade!

Ottawa must be planted. Colonel By, who laid it out, evidently meant that it should be. The streets are straight and wide. There is room enough everywhere for trees, and for an abounding commerce and a busy population. Ottawa must be planted, drained, protected from fire; and then, when the Dominion Government has enclosed and ornamented the public grounds, as it must do without delay, the city will, in outward semblance at least, begin to wear the aspect which strangers expect to see when they come to visit the capital of a great confederacy.

In the promotion of these objects of proved utility and municipal concern, the members of this society can greatly aid as they bring their cultivated minds to bear upon the masses around them; but they must not stop short at city limits, nor allow their mental horizon to be circumscribed by the boundaries even of the capital of their country. They must think in wider circles, and rising to the height of the main arguments upon which the Confederation Act was based, they must regard British America as a whole, and demand that, equitably and honourably, its population shall be dealt with as brethren having common rights and one nationality. The miserable sneer about "parish politics," applied to the smaller Provinces by a Canadian some time ago, was inspired by a spirit the very opposite of that which the young men of Canada should cultivate if this confederacy is to be kept together. It was forgotten, let us hope, as soon as uttered, and ought never to be repeated. A Province should not be judged by size, but by the mental calibre of the men who represent her. Ontario should get credit for an idiot if she prefers to send him to Parliament instead of to a lunatic asylum; and British Columbia, if she has got an able man, should not have his value estimated by the extent of her population.

I have said, that to meet the requirements of your position you must endeavour to grasp the whole Dominion; and, let me add, that in no country that I have ever heard or read of, in ancient or modern times, was the strain on the mental and bodily powers of the whole population greater than it is in this Dominion. We cannot afford to have a laggard, an idler, or a coward. There are not 4,000,000 of us, all told, and we have undertaken to govern half a continent, with 40,000,000 of ambitious and aggressive people on the other side of a frontier 3000 miles long. If each British American could multiply himself *fivefold*, we should not have more than half the brain power and physical force necessary to keep our rivals in check and to make our position secure.

To enable us correctly to estimate our true position, it will be only necessary to inquire into the reasons why France, with a warlike population of 30,000,000, studded with fortresses, and with its capital elaborately protected

by the highest engineering skill, was, during the last summer, overrun, beaten down, and amerced in hundreds of millions of pounds by the victorious Prussians. What is the secret, the explanation, of the extraordinary military phenomena which have startled the whole world in the year 1871? Why, simply that the Prussians contrived to have one man and a half, and sometimes two to one, on almost every battle-field where they met their enemies. Whether they were better prepared, whether their combinations were more scientific, or their strategy was more perfect, may be matter of controversy; but, as far as I have been enabled to study the aspects of the war, the French were simply overpowered because they were outnumbered.

Now, in any contest with our neighbours, assuming that we are united to a man, if the enemy knows his business—and the republicans have had more experience than we have had in the art and practice of war—we must expect to have ten men to one against us—ten needle-guns, or Sniders, or Enfields, whatever the weapons may be, so that you will perceive that we must face at least five or six times the odds by which the French were overpowered. But this is not the worst of it. Ten children are born on the other side of the line for one that is born on this; and, however we may change the proportions by increased energy, five emigrants go to the United States for one that comes to Canada, so that at the end of every decade, the disproportions with which we have to wrestle now will be multiplied to our disadvantage.

We may disregard this state of things, overlook these inequalities, and live in a fool's paradise of imaginary security; but, if we are wise, we will face our dangers, and prepare for them, with a clear appreciation of their magnitude.

But, it may be said, are we not part and parcel of a great empire upon which the sun never sets, which contains 300,000,000 of people, whose wealth defies estimate, whose army is perfect in discipline, whose great navy dominates the sea. What have we to fear when this great empire protects us? This was our ancient faith and proud boast under every trial. In the full belief that they were British subjects, that the allegiance which they freely paid to the crown of England entitled them to protection, our forefathers helped to conquer, overrun, and organize these Provinces. Every settler who broketo the forest, every mariner who launched his bark upon the ocean, every fisherman who dropped his lead upon the banks, toiled with a sense of security that never wavered. For more than a century our people have sung their national anthem, and turned their faces to the sea "with that assured look faith wears," and have never doubted of their destiny or faltered in their allegiance to the British Empire.

But of late new doctrines have been propounded in the mother country. The disorganization of the empire has been openly promulgated in leading and influential organs of public sentiment and opinion. Our brethren within the narrow seas have been counselled to adopt a narrow policy,—to call home their legions, and leave the outlying Provinces without a show of sympathy or

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protection; and under the influence of panic and imaginary battles of Dorking, troops are to be massed in the British Islands, and their shores are to be surrounded by ironclads. One cabinet minister tells us that British America cannot be defended, and another that he hopes to see the day when the whole continent of America will peacefully repose and prosper under republican institutions. And a third, on the eve of negotiations which are to involve our dearest interests, strips Canada of every soldier, and gathers up every old sentry-box and gun-carriage he can find, and ships them off to England.

I do not desire to anticipate the full and ample discussion which Parliament will give to England's recent diplomatic efforts to win her own peace at the sacrifice of our interests, or of that comedy of errors into which she has blundered; but this I may say, that the time is rapidly approaching when Canadians and Englishmen must have a clear and distinct understanding as to the hopes and obligations of the future. If imperial policy is to cover the whole ground, upon the faith of which our forefathers settled and improved, then let that be understood, and we know what to do. But if "shadows, clouds and darkness" are to rest upon the future—if 30,000,000 of Britons are to hoard their "rascal counters" within two small islands, gather round them the troops and warships of the empire, and leave 4,000,000 of Britons to face 40,000,000, and to defend a frontier of 3000 miles, then let us know what they are at, and our future policy will be governed by that knowledge. No cabinet has yet dared to shape this thought and give it utterance. Leading newspapers have told us that our presence within the empire is a source of danger, and that the time for separation is approaching, if it has not already come. Noble lords and erudite commoners have sneeringly told us that we may go when we are inclined. As yet, neither the Crown, the Parliament, nor the people of England have deliberately avowed this policy of dismemberment, although the tendency of English thought and legislation daily deepens the conviction that the drift is all that way. We must wait, my young friends, for further developments, not without anxiety for the future, but with a firm reliance on the goodness of Providence, and on our own ability to so shape the policy of our country as to protect her by our wit, should Englishmen, unmindful of the past, repudiate their national obligations.

In the meantime, let us pray that our women may be fruitful, that our numbers may increase, and let every young Canadian feel that his country has not a man to spare for the follies that enervate and the vices that degrade. See to it that the hardy exercises of the country do not decline. Work is the universal strengthener of those who live by manual labour; and those whose occupations are sedentary should counteract the tendency of such pursuits by the habitual resort to those pastimes which give vivacity to the spirit and energy to the frame. To ride well, to row, to swim, to shoot are essential parts of a gentleman's education in every country; and to skate, to fence, to spar, and to handle the racket and the cricket bat with skill and dexterity are not only accomplishments which young men should cultivate for the pleasure

they yield, but for the health and vigour they infuse, when our muscles are relaxed and our minds enfeebled by the indoor employments which sap the springs of life.

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But brains are not less required for the development and elevation of this great country than physical force. Canada cannot afford to have one drone in the intellectual hive. There never was a country with so many natural resources flung broadcast before so limited a population. Forests of boundless extent—a virgin soil to be measured by millions of square miles—the richest fisheries in the world—mines the value of which no man can estimate—and water-power running to waste everywhere but in a few favoured spots where the vagrant streams have been harnessed to machinery and turned to profitable account. The inland Provinces are enlivened by great lakes and rivers, and the maritime are surrounded by the sea, where the carrying trade of the world invites to enterprise and adventure, and where, as the argosies multiply in numbers and value, a hardy population are nurtured, that, if England knew how to train and handle them, would not only defend their headlands but man her ironclads, and help her to maintain the dominion of the seas upon which her insular security depends.

That the most may be made of these great natural resources, British America requires the active intellects of all her children, aided by the highest mental culture. The idler and the vagrant are simply traitors to the country of their birth. I do not linger to indicate the directions in which any of you should think and labour. Kind parents and guardians have already placed the members of this society on the paths of duty, and on the roads to knowledge. I may be permitted to say this, however, that whatever may be the chosen pursuit, work will be found the secret of success, and that he will be most successful who takes the highest style of minds that have elevated and adorned his particular walk of life for examples to guide and cheer him on his way. Young men who devote their energies to trade should study the biographies of those merchant princes who in all ages have wedded commerce to literature and the arts, founded or embellished cities, and have become benefactors to the race.

Young men intended for the professions should, in like manner, aspire to be something more than quacks and drones and pettifoggers. The highest names in medicine, the great sages of the law, the pulpit orators who have rivalled the prophets of old by their elevation of thought and luxuriance of illustration, should be hung around their chambers and be ever present to their minds. With respect to manners and deportment but little need be said. I assume that you will conduct yourselves like gentlemen, and in conclusion have only to say, in the language which Shakspeare puts into the mouth of Wolsey,

“Let all the ends you aim at be your country’s,  
Your God’s and Truth’s,”

that the parents who dearly love you may be honoured by your behaviour, and that the rising generations who come after you may be inspired by your example.

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After Parliament closed, Mr. Howe was obliged to go south to seek rest and a restoration of health. From a watering-place in New Jersey, he issued his last appeal to his constituents—an appeal the pathos of which seemed clearly to indicate that the veteran political warrior was sounding the trumpet to rally his supporters for the last time. In this letter he promised a further short letter, but it was never written, nor was it necessary. He was not opposed, and on August 15th he was declared to be elected by acclamation. The appeal was as follows :

*To the Electors of the County of Hants.*

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—When I left Ottawa a month ago, I was suffering from severe illness, the result of laborious departmental and legislative duties acting on a somewhat impaired constitution. As the session was drawing to a close, and as all the measures of Government were safe, I decided to give myself the benefit of sunshine and sea-air in the Middle States, where I could get both some weeks in advance of the approach of summer nearer home. The change has so far been salutary and beneficial. Some dangerous symptoms have abated or disappeared, but I cannot flatter myself that I shall be able to return to Nova Scotia in time to take part in the general election now impending, without seriously risking what of health I have recovered, and weakening my chances of permanent restoration.

Under these circumstances I have determined to leave the disposal of my seat in the Dominion Parliament, as your representative, entirely in your hands. If you are willing to re-elect me, I will continue to serve you, if God spares my life, and if He does not, I am content to close it in the service of a constituency to whom I owe so many obligations.

During the thirteen years that I have been your representative, I have enjoyed a large measure of public confidence, spent many leisure hours amidst the pleasant scenery of the country, and in kindly intercourse with its people, and made myself familiar with its requirements and resources. If you think my continued presence in the Legislature and Government of the Dominion is desirable, you will re-elect me, and if you do not, I have no wish to seek a seat elsewhere, but will bow to your decision, and, without a murmur, retire from public life.

There are a few matters upon which, however you may decide the personal question, I owe you some explanations, as I have had no opportunity to address you since the last election. I shall discuss these, I trust with candour and moderation, in a short letter which I hope to be able to forward in a few days.—In the meantime, believe me very sincerely yours,

JOSEPH HOWE.

ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY,  
July 8th, 1872.

I have made no ar-  
rangements yet about pub-  
lishing the Speeches, but shall,  
before long. I was afraid  
the Plates were burnt up in the  
Boston Fire, but find they  
are safe. I want to work  
up a third volume, at my  
leisure.

FACSIMILE EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF JOSEPH HOWE TO HIS SON, SYDENHAM HOWE,  
DATED DECEMBER 5, 1872.

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Mr. Howe took very little part in public affairs after this election. The question of the building a railway across the continent came up for consideration, and the following letters which passed between Sir John Macdonald and Mr. Howe disclose the opinions of the latter :

OTTAWA, *December 6th*, 1872.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—After a night of anxious consideration of the scheme of railway policy developed by Sir Hugh Allan and his friends yesterday, and apparently acquiesced in by my colleagues, I have come to the conclusion that I cannot defend that scheme or be a party to arrangements which I believe will be a surprise to Parliament and the country, and fraught with consequences deeply injurious to the best interests of the Dominion. I shall as rapidly as possible put upon paper the views I entertain of the measure as presented, and of the policy that ought to be pursued, and hope to be able to place them in your hands in the course of the afternoon. I regret sincerely the separation from old friends which this divergence of opinion must necessarily involve, but I apprehend it cannot be avoided, and am quite prepared to make the sacrifice rather than throw over for the sake of office my conscientious convictions.—Believe me, my dear Sir John, yours sincerely,

JOSEPH HOWE.

Sir John sent at once to Mr. Howe the following reply :

(Confidential.)

*December 6th*, 1872.

MY DEAR HOWE,—I have talked matters over with our colleagues, and they desire to meet your views as much as possible. You need not prepare your paper, and I will be glad to see you in the morning.—Yours always,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Mr. Howe attended the opening of Parliament in March 1873, but it was generally understood, early in the year, that he was to be appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia on the retirement of Governor Doyle. On May 6th the appointment was made, and he was sworn into office on May 10th. Although there was some opposition to the appointment on the part of the extreme repealers, the vast majority of the people of Nova Scotia took a more reasonable view of the matter, and saw in Mr. Howe's promotion to the highest official position in his native Province an appropriate and deserving culmination of the great career which had been so long devoted to its service. But he was not destined to fill the office long. For three or four years he had suffered from ill-health, and



while it was hoped that rest and the best medical attention might prolong his lease of life, it became apparent that the end was not far off.

On the evening of May 31st he suffered much pain, and, unable to sleep, he spent the night in his study, sometimes walking the room and sometimes sitting in his chair. Toward morning, urged by his wife and son, he went to his bedroom, but before he reached the bedside he staggered and fell into his son's arms. Ten minutes later, after a few parting words with his wife and son, he passed away. His death caused general regret.

*The Morning Chronicle* newspaper, to which his writings gave so much prestige in former years, and which later became so uncompromising in its opposition to him, wrote of his death on Monday morning, June 2nd:

"To-day man puts forth  
The tender leaves of hope; to-morrow blossoms,  
And bears his blushing honours thick upon him:  
The third day comes a frost—a killing frost,  
And nips his root, and then he falls."

The death of the greatest Nova Scotian, Lieutenant-Governor Howe, has painfully affected all classes of the community. For many years he had been the foremost figure in our history, the champion of the rights of colonists, and the triumphant enemy of veteran abuses in colonial government. His vigorous pen had made Great Britain acquainted with the wrongs which the system of irresponsible government had inflicted upon us. His almost matchless oratory had awakened the people to a sense of their own dignity. There is scarcely one beneficial act in the code of laws affecting the American colonies with which Joseph Howe's efforts are not in some way associated. Many of his rivals and friends were men of brilliant talents and solid education, yet Joseph Howe contrived to lead them all, through the sheer force of genius. No British North American approached him in breadth of statesmanlike views—not one was his literary equal—not one could compare with him in favourably impressing a popular assembly. When more careful composition than that of extempore stump speeches was required of him, he was not found wanting. His oration at the tercentenary of Shakspeare was absolutely the best delivered on the occasion, although Great Britain and America had selected their ablest men to pronounce eulogiums on the poet who still holds the world enthralled. The address at Detroit, advocating the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, is still remembered in the United States, and, as it were, puts the cope-stone to Mr. Howe's fame. . . .

To trace the life of the dead statesman accurately, would be to write the

history of the Province for the half-century just elapsed. From 1827 until the day of his untimely death, "Joe Howe" has been the head and front of all great political changes in Nova Scotia.

*The Halifax Evening Express* said :

Old, broken-down, dying, as he seemed, he was yet so familiar to us, his name was so incorporated with the politics of the day and the history of the Provinces, that his death seemed a remote contingency ; it seemed as if he must never die, but must always be Joseph Howe, the man who in every household in the country was familiarly known, and in every public matter had a hand, in every dispute a part, and in every contest a species of candidature.

But the end has come for him. On Sunday morning he yielded up his spirit. The grey head that all men knew, that was carried erect to the last, is low enough now. The busy, tireless hand that performed so much labour as printer, journalist, politician, statesman, minister, is powerless. The eloquent tongue is still. The eyes that sparkled with so much of the light of humour and the fire of genius are lustreless. And the ears that for forty years or more had been so often filled with the plaudits of thousands will soon be filled with dust. Ere this is published the wires will have carried to all the continent the news of his death ; and all who are familiar with the events of the past twenty-five years in the British Provinces will know that an able if not a great man is dead. But it is in Nova Scotia that the sense of loss will be most manifest and the grief greatest. The news of his death will be known in the country towns, and will spread to the scattered villages ; and everywhere there will be regretful and kindly words spoken, mayhap manly tears shed, in memory of Joseph Howe.

The farmers driving along the country roads will stop to talk over his life and tell anecdotes of his conflicts. The tiller of the soil, driving afield, will have his mind full of the strangeness that comes over one on hearing of the death of a great familiar man. Those whose threshold he has crossed, and by whose fireside he has made himself at home, will recall his humour, his kindness, his sympathy, his winning ways, his many stories that he told them as the night deepened, and the logs in the chimney grew dim towards the hour of retiring. We need hardly speak of the regrets of those who during so many years have been aided by him, who never aided him very much, who have lived in positions in which he placed them, and had a quietude in the public service which he never had, till it came to him at last—a premonition of the quietude of the grave.

The funeral took place on the afternoon of June 4th. After a short service at Government House, the procession formed, and minute-guns boomed from the citadel. The various bodies and citizens were formed four abreast, as follows :

Division of City Police under a Sergeant.  
Officiating Ministers.

*Pall Bearers—*

Sir W. Young.  
Sir Edward Kenny.  
Dr. Almon, M.P.

*Pall Bearers—*

Colonel Luard.  
Captain Courtenay.  
Colonel Bremner.

THE BODY,  
Drawn in a Hearse.

Members of Family.  
Relatives.

Invited Mourners.

Members Executive Government of Nova Scotia.

Admiral and Staff.

General and Staff.

Senators.

Judges of the Supreme Court.

Members of the House of Commons.

Legislative Councillors.

Members of the House of Assembly.

Mayor and Recorder.

Aldermen of the City.

Civic Officials.

Custos and County Stipendiary Magistrate.

Justices of the Peace.

Warden and Councillors of Dartmouth.

Officers of H.M. Navy.

Officers of H.M. Army.

Officers of Militia.

Private Friends of Deceased.

North British Society.

Charitable Irish Society.

St. George's Society.

Germania Society.

Citizens.

Officers and Members of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons.

Carriages.

After the cortège reached Camp Hill Cemetery, a brief service was conducted at the grave, and the mortal remains of Joseph Howe were laid in their last resting-place.

## CHRONOLOGY

[ALL speeches down to 1863 inclusive, unless otherwise stated, were made in the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, and all later speeches, unless otherwise stated, were made in the House of Commons of Canada.]

1804

Dec. 13 . . . Joseph Howe born at the North-West Arm, Halifax, N.S.

1821-2

“Melville Island,” a poem, published.

1827

Jan. 5 . . . Becomes one of the purchasers of *The Weekly Chronicle*, and changes its name to *The Acadian*—James Spike his associate.

Jan. to Dec. . . Publishes various poems and articles in *The Acadian*.

Dec. 27 . . . Purchases *The Nova Scotian* from George R. Young for £1050.

„ 28 . . . Disposes of *The Acadian* to James Spike.

1828

Jan. 3 . . . Publishes prospectus of *The Nova Scotian*.

Feb. 2 . . . Married by Ven. Archdeacon Willis: Joseph Howe to Catherine Susan Ann McNab, only daughter of Captain John McNab.

May 8 . . . “The Club” commenced in *The Nova Scotian*.

July 24 . . . “Western Rambles” commenced in *The Nova Scotian*, and continued until Oct. 9th.

1829

July 8 . . . “Legislative Reviews” commenced in *The Nova Scotian*.

Dec. 16 . . . “Eastern Rambles” commenced in *The Nova Scotian*. These papers concluded on Aug. 4th, 1831.

„ 30 . . . Advocates formation of a Mechanics' Institute in Halifax.

1832

- Jan. 11 . . . Inaugural Address at Halifax Mechanics' Institute.  
 July 5 . . . "Letters from the Interior." Continued until Aug. 16th.  
 Oct. 18 . . . Article on "New Brunswick." Continued until Nov. 22nd.

1834

- Nov. 5 . . . Address before Halifax Mechanics' Institute.

1835

- Mar. 2 . . . Trial at bar of *The King v. Joseph Howe* begun.  
 „ 2 . . . Makes speech to the jury.  
 „ 3 . . . Joseph Howe acquitted.  
 May 30 . . . Presentation to Mr. Howe by New York friends.  
 Aug. 13 . . . Publishes poem, "My Country's Pleasant Streams."  
 Oct. 2 . . . Letter to H. S. Chapman on Canadian Affairs.  
 Dec. 27 . . . John Howe, sen., father of Joseph Howe, dies.

1836

- May 4 . . . Lectures before Halifax Mechanics' Institute on "The Moral Influence of Woman."  
 June 16 . . . Joseph Howe and William Annand proposed as candidates for the Assembly at a meeting at Middle Musquodoboit. Mr. Howe speaks for an hour, accepting the nomination.  
 Nov. 9 . . . Public nomination of H. A. Gladwin, Wm. Lawson, sen., Joseph Howe and Wm. Annand.  
 „ 9 . . . Speech at public nomination.  
 „ 24 . . . Publishes card "to the Freeholders of the County of Halifax" in *The Nova Scotian*.  
 Dec. 5 . . . Speaks at Halifax at opening of poll.  
 „ 13 . . . Poll closes; Howe and Annand elected.

1837

- Feb. 4 . . . Speech on Quadrennial Bill in reply to Mr. Alexander Stewart.  
 „ 11 . . . „ on the Twelve Resolutions.  
 „ 24 . . . „ in reply to Mr. L. M. Wilkins.  
 Mar. 1 . . . „ on Constitution of Council.  
 „ 3 . . . „ on Elective Councils.  
 „ 8 . . . „ on Council's Message.  
 „ 23 . . . „ on Address to the King.  
 „ 29 . . . „ on Address to the King.

- Apr. 7 . . . Speech on Address to the King.  
 „ 8 . . . „ on Address to the King.  
 „ 13 . . . „ on Address to the King.

## 1838

- Feb. 9 . . . Speech on the Judiciary.  
 „ 10 . . . „ on the Judiciary.  
 „ 23 . . . „ on Incorporation of Halifax.  
 „ 24 . . . „ on Incorporation of Halifax.  
 Mar. 3 . . . „ on the Judiciary.  
 „ 9 . . . „ on the Despatches.  
 Apr. 16 . . . „ on Canadian Affairs.  
 „ 26 . . . Leaves for England.  
 July 5 . . . “The Nova Scotian Afloat” in *The Nova Scotian*. These papers were concluded on August 9.  
 Aug. 16 . . . “The Nova Scotian in England” in *The Nova Scotian*. These papers concluded on August 15th, 1839.  
 Nov. 4 . . . Returns to Nova Scotia.  
 Dec. 29 . . . Speech at public meeting in Halifax.

## 1839

- Jan. 18 . . . Speech on the Despatches.  
 „ 25 . . . „ on the Despatches.  
 „ 26 . . . „ on the Despatches.  
 „ 29 . . . „ on the Despatches.  
 „ 30 . . . „ on the Despatches.  
 Feb. 2 . . . „ on School Lands Bill.  
 „ 19 . . . „ on Incorporation of Queen’s College.  
 „ 26 . . . „ on New Brunswick Invasion.  
 Mar. 20 . . . Challenged to fight duel by Dr. Wm. J. Almon.  
 Apr. 11 . . . Article in *The Nova Scotian* on Lord Durham’s Report.  
 June 4 . . . Speech on “The Press” at the dinner to “Sam Slick.”  
 „ 8 . . . Writes “Song for the Nova Scotia Festival.”  
 Sept. — . . . Four Letters to Lord John Russell on Responsible Government.  
 Dec. 23 . . . Speech at Truro on Responsible Government.  
 „ 24 . . . „ at Stewiacke on same subject.

## 1840

- Feb. 3, 12, 13 . Speeches on Responsible Government.  
 „ 14 . . . Speech on Queen’s College Bill.  
 Mar. 14 . . . Duel with John C. Halliburton.  
 „ 30 . . . Speech at joint-meeting at Masons’ Hall, Halifax.

- Apr. — . . . Publishes "Information for the People ; a Review of Solicitor-General Johnston's Speech."  
 „ 24 . . . Letter to John Spry Morris *re* Duel with Sir Rupert D. George.  
 June 16 . . . Speech at Bridgetown.  
 „ 19 . . . „ at Kentville.  
 Oct. 6 . . . Becomes member of Executive Council.  
 „ 22 . . . Letter "to the Freeholders of the County of Halifax."  
 „ 28 . . . Speech at public meeting at Halifax.  
 „ 30 . . . „ at Dartmouth.  
 Nov. 3 . . . „ in Halifax at opening of polls.  
 „ 7 . . . „ in Halifax at close of polls.  
 „ 7 . . . Elected member for County of Halifax : Howe, 1085 ; Annand, 923 ; Murdoch, 506.  
 „ 23 . . . Speech at complimentary dinner at Masons' Hall, Halifax.

1841

- Jan. 14 . . . Editorial announcement of "The Nova Scotia Library," to be edited by Mr. Howe.  
 Feb. 3 . . . Elected Speaker of the House of Assembly.  
 „ 11 . . . Speech on Policy of Administration.  
 „ 26 . . . „ on State of the Province.  
 Mar. 22 . . . „ on Education.  
 „ 30 . . . „ on Casual Revenues and the Civil List.  
 June — . . . Visits the Upper Provinces and the United States.  
 July — . . . Returns to Nova Scotia.  
 Dec. 30 . . . Announcement of sale of *The Nova Scotian* to Richard Nugent, John Sparrow Thompson becoming editor.

1842

- April 2 . . . Appointed Indian Commissioner.  
 June 23 to } "Letters of a Constitutionalist," nine in number, appear in  
 Aug. 18 } *The Nova Scotian*.  
 Sep. 7 . . . Appointed Collector of Colonial Revenue at Halifax.  
 Oct. 4 . . . Letter to the Members of the Baptist Churches in Nova Scotia. Two other letters followed.  
 Nov. 30 . . . Lectures before Halifax Mechanics' Institute on "The Towns of the Province."  
 Dec. 7 and 14 . Further lectures on same subject.  
 „ 8 . . . Letter to the Members of the Baptist Churches of Nova Scotia.  
 „ 22 . . . Letter to the Members of the Baptist Churches of Nova Scotia.

## 1843

- Jan. 25 . . . Report on Indian Affairs.  
 „ 26 . . . Resigns Speakership.  
 Feb. 8 . . . Speech on Qualification Bill.  
 „ 11 . . . „ on Qualification Bill.  
 Mar. 20 . . . „ on Colleges.  
 Oct. 9 . . . Speeches at Onslow and Stewiacke.  
 „ 20 . . . Speech at New Glasgow.  
 „ 26 . . . House dissolved.  
 Nov. 6 . . . Speech at nomination meeting in Halifax.  
 „ 13 . . . Letter to Thomas Kenny, Esq., *re* Nominations.  
 „ 27 . . . Elected by acclamation with L. O'C. Doyle.  
 „ 27 . . . Speech after election.  
 Dec. — . . . Tenders resignation as member of Executive.  
 „ 21 . . . Letter to Lord Falkland on Resignations.  
 „ 26 . . . „ to Lord Falkland on Resignations.

## 1844

- Feb. 15 . . . Speech on the Address in defence of Resignations.  
 Mar. 15 . . . „ on Civil List.  
 Apr. 29 . . . Letter to Francis Hincks on Colonial affairs.  
 May 2 . . . Lectures before Halifax Mechanics' Institute on "London."  
 „ 6 . . . Resumes editorship of *The Morning Chronicle*.  
 „ 20 . . . Publishes "The Lord of the Bed-chamber."  
 July 23 . . . Speech on the General State of the Province.  
 „ 27 . . . „ in Committee of Supply.

## 1845

- Feb. 5 . . . Speech on the Despatches.  
 „ 13 . . . „ on motion of want of confidence.  
 „ 24 . . . General reply.  
 May — . . . Removes to Musquodoboit.  
 Sep. 11 . . . Lectures before Halifax Mechanics' Institute on "Eloquence."  
 Oct. 1 . . . Speech at Windsor.  
 „ 28 . . . „ at Lunenburg.  
 Nov. 28 . . . Speech at mass meeting at Halifax.

## 1846.

- Feb. 5 . . . Speech on Disqualification Bill.  
 „ 14 . . . „ on the Excise.  
 „ 20 . . . „ *re* "horsewhipping a governor."



- Feb. 23 . . . Letter "to the Freeholders of the County of Halifax."  
 Mar. 16 . . . " to Lord Falkland.  
 Apr. 13 . . . " to Lord Falkland.  
 June 15 . . . Speech at Lunenburg.  
 Oct. 1 . . . " at Guysborough.  
 " — . . . Two Letters to Lord John Russell.

1847

- Feb. 10 . . . Speech on Crown Lands.  
 " 25 . . . " on Crown Lands.  
 Mar. 26 . . . " on Fraudulent Conveyancing Bill.  
 May 4 . . . Letter "to the Freeholders of Nova Scotia."  
 June 17 . . . Speech at joint-meeting at Bridgetown.  
 " 23 . . . House dissolved.  
 " 25 . . . Letter "to the Freeholders of Musquodoboit" in answer to  
 John Macgregor.  
 July 29 . . . Speech in Halifax at nomination.  
 Aug. 2 . . . Second letter in reply to John Macgregor  
 " 5 . . . Mr. Howe elected for County of Halifax—Howe, 1470; Mott,  
 1453; Lawson, 1000; Gray, 1000.

1848

- Jan. 25 . . . Speech on the Address.  
 Feb. 9 . . . Appointed Provincial Secretary.  
 " 9 . . . Letter "to the Freeholders of the County of Halifax."  
 Mar. 2 . . . Returned at bye-election—Howe, 1547; Logan, 715.

1849

- Feb. 1 . . . Speech on the Address.  
 " 19 . . . " on Education.  
 May 8 . . . Letter to George Moffatt, Montreal, on disaffection in Lower  
 Canada.  
 June 8 . . . Writes "Song for the Centenary."  
 Nov. 14 . . . Lectures before Halifax Mechanics' Institute on "Nova Scotia  
 at the Beginning and End of the Century."

1850

- Jan. 18 . . . Speech on the Address.  
 " 30 . . . " on Education.  
 Feb. 26 . . . " on Reciprocity with the United States.  
 Mar. 4 . . . " on Free Trade in Law.

- Mar. 5 . . . Speech on Free Trade in Law.  
 „ 6 . . . „ on Free Trade in Law.  
 „ 20 . . . „ in defence of the Constitution.  
 Aug. 24 . . . „ at Railway meeting in Halifax.  
 Oct. 21 . . . Letter to Sir John Harvey.  
 „ 30 . . . „ “to the Freeholders of the County of Halifax.”  
 Nov. 1 . . . Leaves for England.  
 „ 25 . . . Letter to Earl Grey on Colonial affairs.  
 Dec. 19 . . . „ to W. K. Keating on Railway matters.

## 1851

- Jan. 14 . . . Speech at Southampton on the Importance of the Colonies.  
 „ 16 . . . Letter to Earl Grey on Colonization.  
 Mar. 10 . . . „ to W. H. Keating on Railways.  
 Apr. 4 . . . Report to W. H. Keating on Railways.  
 „ 14 . . . Returns to Nova Scotia.  
 May 15 . . . Speech at Railway meeting in Halifax.  
 „ 29 . . . Leaves for Upper Provinces.  
 June 2 . . . Speech at Amherst on Railways.  
 „ — . . . „ at Toronto on Railways.  
 July 4 . . . „ at Quebec.  
 „ 7 . . . „ at Montreal on Railways.  
 „ 20 . . . Report to W. H. Keating on Railways.  
 „ 21 . . . Speech on return to Halifax.  
 „ 28 . . . Letter “to the Freeholders of the County of Halifax.”  
 Aug. 1 . . . Speech at meeting on Grand Parade, Halifax.  
 „ 2 . . . Presentation by people of Musquodoboit.  
 „ 15 . . . Letter “to the Electors of the Province of Nova Scotia.”  
 „ 21 . . . Joseph Howe and Stephen Fulton returned unopposed in  
 Cumberland County.  
 „ 21 . . . Speech at Amherst.  
 Sep. 8 . . . Letter “to the Constituency of the County of Cumberland.”  
 „ 12 . . . „ to Charles D. Archibald, Esq  
 „ 18 . . . Speech at Boston.  
 „ 24 . . . „ at Portland.  
 Oct. 1 . . . Letter to Charles D. Archibald, Esq.  
 Nov. 8 . . . Speech on Railway Bill.  
 „ 10 . . . „ on Railway Bill.  
 „ 15 . . . „ on Railway Bill.  
 „ 24 . . . „ on Railway Bill.  
 „ 29 . . . „ on Herbert Huntington's death.  
 Dec. 11 . . . Letter to Sir John Harvey on Railways.  
 „ 24 . . . „ to Sir John Harvey on Railways.

1852

- Jan. 30 . . . Speech on Railways.  
 Feb. 2 . . . " on Railways.  
 " 3 . . . " at public meeting in Temperance Hall, Halifax.  
 " 23 . . . " on Elective Councils.  
 " 23 . . . Howe and Fulton unseated on technicality.  
 " 24 . . . Letter "to the Electors of the County of Cumberland."  
 Mar. 11 . . . Nominated in Cumberland.  
 " 20 . . . Elected with Stephen Fulton—Howe, 1325; Fulton, 1333;  
 Dewolfe, 1062; Macfarlane, 1133.  
 July 27 . . . Letter "to the Liberals of Nova Scotia" in answer to George  
 R. Young.  
 Sep. 2 . . . Speech at public meeting in Halifax to protest against sur-  
 render of fishery rights under Treaty of 1818.  
 Oct. 28 . . . Leaves for England.  
 Dec. 27 . . . Returns to Nova Scotia.

1853

- Jan. 10 . . . Speech on Railways.  
 " 22 . . . " on Railways.  
 " 27 . . . " on Railways.  
 Feb. 2 . . . " on Railways.  
 " 7 . . . Letter to Members of the House of Assembly.  
 " 8 . . . Speech on Railways.  
 Mar. 24 . . . " on Railways.  
 June 29 . . . " at Amherst.

1854

- Jan. 23 . . . Letter to Mr. Charles Dickson, resenting insinuations.  
 Feb. 2 . . . Speech on Windsor Railway.  
 " 15 . . . " on Windsor Railway.  
 " 24 . . . " on the Organization of the Empire.  
 Mar. 27 . . . " on Address to the Queen.  
 Apr. 4 . . . Resigns Provincial Secretaryship and is appointed Commis-  
 sioner-in-chief of the Railway Board.  
 Oct. 5 . . . "Our Fathers," poem read at opening of Exhibition in Halifax.  
 Nov. 12 . . . Address on "Our Obligations to the Early Pioneers," at  
 Halifax Exhibition.  
 Dec. 5 . . . Speech on Reciprocity Bill.

1855

- Feb. 21 . . . Speech on Maine Liquor Law.  
 Mar. 3 . . . Leaves for United States on recruiting mission.

- Mar. 24 . . . Letter to John A. Roebuck, Esq.  
 Apr. 3 . . . Publishes "A British American's Circular to the People of the United States."  
 „ 25 . . . House dissolved.  
 „ 27 . . . Letter in New York *Tribune* on Recruiting.  
 „ 27 . . . „ to James C. Van Dike on Recruiting.  
 May 4 . . . „ "to the Electors of the County of Cumberland."  
 „ 15 . . . Nominated at Amherst for Legislature.  
 „ 22 . . . Defeated in Cumberland. Tupper and Macfarlane elected.  
 June 8 . . . Leaves for England.  
 Aug. — . . . Letter in reply to Hon. Francis Hincks' review of Mr. Howe's speech on the Empire.  
 Sep. 27 . . . Returns to Nova Scotia.  
 Dec. 5 . . . Lectures before Halifax Mechanics' Institute on the Paris Industrial Exhibition of 1855.

## 1856

- Feb. 16 . . . Speech in reference to presentation to General Williams.  
 June 5 . . . „ at Citizens' Meeting in Halifax, to arrange for Address to Mr. Crampton, late British Minister at Washington.  
 „ 10 . . . Letter in *Morning Chronicle* re above meeting.  
 „ 17 . . . „ in *Morning Chronicle* on Railway disturbances.  
 May 26 . . . "Gourley's Shanty Riot" takes place.  
 July 30 . . . Letter to Mr. Gladstone on Foreign Enlistment.  
 Sep. 9 . . . Speech at nomination at Windsor.  
 „ 9 . . . Returned unopposed.  
 „ 9 . . . Lectures before Halifax Mechanics' Institute, giving history of Institute.  
 Dec. 27 . . . Letter in *Morning Chronicle* on "Railway Riots and Catholic Commentators."

## 1857

- Jan. 6 . . . Letter in *Morning Chronicle* on "Railway Riots and Catholic Commentators."  
 „ 12 . . . „ in *Morning Chronicle* on "Railway Riots and Catholic Commentators."  
 „ 15 . . . Letter in *Morning Chronicle* on "New and Old Ireland."  
 „ 26 . . . „ in answer to William Condon.  
 Feb. 9 . . . Speech on J. W. Johnston's motion of want of confidence.  
 „ 11 . . . „ on J. W. Johnston's motion of want of confidence.  
 „ 16 . . . „ on J. W. Johnston's motion of want of confidence.  
 „ 18 . . . Government defeated.  
 „ 20 . . . Speech announcing resignation of Government.

## CHRONOLOGY

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- Mar. 2 . . . Letter "to the People of Nova Scotia" announcing formation of Protestant Alliance.
- " 10 . . . Letter "to the Electors of the County of Cumberland."
- " 19 . . . Resigned Chairmanship of Railway Board.
- " 24 . . . Letter "to the Secretaries of the Protestant Combination of Prince Edward Island."
- Sep. 7 . . . Letter "to the People of Nova Scotia" on Railway matters.

1858

- Jan. 21 . . . Lectures at Cornwallis on "Sacred and Profane Literature."
- " 22 . . . " at Wolfville, N.S., on "A Glance on Literature and Science from the Horton point of view."
- Feb. 10 . . . Speech on Sir John Inglis.
- " 11 . . . " on Sir John Inglis.
- " 17 . . . " on Mines and Minerals.
- " 20 . . . " on Mines and Minerals.
- " 24 . . . " on Personnel of Railway Committee.
- " 26 . . . " on Elective Councils.
- Mar. 1 . . . " on Elective Councils.
- " 5 . . . " on Elective Councils.
- " 8 . . . " on Elective Councils.
- " 17 . . . Speech on Ways and Means.
- " 20 . . . " on Young's motion of want of confidence.
- " 31 . . . " on Young's motion of want of confidence, containing tribute to late James Boyle Uniacke.
- Apr. 1 . . . Speech on motion of want of confidence.
- June 8 . . . " at Windsor. Presentation of £1000.
- July 5 . . . Two Speeches at Boston.
- Aug. 5 . . . Speech at bye-election in Windsor.
- " to Dec. . . Supervises publication at Boston of "Speeches and Public Letters of Hon. Joseph Howe," published in December.

1859

- Jan. 28 . . . Returns from United States after absence of six months.
- Feb. 1 . . . Reply to address from people of Colchester.
- " 4 . . . Speech on the Address.
- " 10 . . . " on the Address.
- " 11 . . . " on the Address.
- " 12 . . . " on the Address.
- " 14 . . . " on the Address.
- " 29 . . . " on Railway to Pictou.
- Mar. 3 . . . " on dismissal of Sheriff McLean.
- Apr. 15 . . . House dissolved.

- May 5 . . . Speech at nomination at Windsor.  
 „ 12 . . . Elected for South District of Hants—Howe, 981 ; Chambers,  
 962 ; Elder, 685 ; Creed, 635.  
 June 8 . . . Speech at Bridgetown.  
 „ 22 . . . „ at picnic at Cornwallis.  
 Sep. 15 . . . „ at picnic at Aylesford.  
 Nov. 25 . . . Lectures before Early Closing Association, St. John, N.B.  
 „ 28 . . . Lectures at St. John on “The Future of British North America.”

## 1860

- Jan. 30 . . . Speech on motion of want of confidence.  
 Feb. 3 . . . Government defeated on vote of 28 to 26.  
 „ 7 . . . „ resigns.  
 „ 10 . . . Appointed Provincial Secretary.  
 „ 28 . . . Speech at nomination for South Hants.  
 Mar. 6 . . . Elected for South Hants in bye-election—Howe, 1052 ;  
 Johnston, 556.  
 „ 13 . . . Speech on Disqualification Laws.  
 Apr. 8 . . . „ in reply to Dr. Tupper.  
 July 7 . . . Report on Tangier Gold Mines.  
 „ 28 . . . Minute of Council recommending Mr. Howe for Imperial  
 appointment.  
 Aug. 2 . . . Speeches at Windsor on occasion of visit of H.R.H. the Prince  
 of Wales.  
 „ 3 . . . Appointed President of the Council and Premier.  
 Sep. 5 . . . Visits Prince Edward Island as Land Commissioner.

## 1861

- Jan. 31 . . . Speech on ministerial changes.  
 Feb. 4 . . . „ in reply to Dr. Tupper.  
 „ 7 . . . „ on the Address.  
 „ 9 . . . „ on the Address.  
 Mar. 18 . . . „ on motion of want of confidence.  
 „ 19 . . . „ on motion of want of confidence.  
 Apr. 15 . . . Moves resolution in regard to Confederation of the Provinces.  
 May 24 . . . Lectures at Sackville Academy, N.B., on “Our Country and  
 its Claims on the Young.”  
 Aug. 28 . . . Speech at Temperance Hall, Halifax, on “The London  
 Exhibition of 1862.”  
 Sep. 4 . . . Report on the Nova Scotia Gold Fields.  
 Oct. 28 . . . Letter to Lieutenant-Governor on the Nova Scotia Gold Fields.  
 Nov. 11 . . . Leaves for England.

## CHRONOLOGY

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- Dec. 3 . . . Speech at Ashton-under-Lyne, England, on American affairs.  
 „ 6 . . . „ at Oldham, England, on “The British Empire and  
 how to Maintain it.”

### 1862

- Jan. — . . . Speech at Bristol, England, on “The Intercolonial Railroad  
 and Nova Scotia generally.”  
 „ 25 . . . Returns to Nova Scotia.  
 Feb. 6 . . . Publishes poem, “Home Coming,” in *The Morning Chronicle*.  
 Mar. 20 . . . Speech on the Estimates.  
 „ 26 . . . Lecture at Temperance Hall, Halifax, on “The Art of War.”  
 Sep. 18 . . . Speech at Niagara, on “The Future of British North America.”  
 Oct. 17 . . . Leaves for England with Mr. S. L. Tilley of St. John, N.B.  
 Dec. 12 . . . Appointed Fishery Commissioner under Treaty of 1854, *vice*  
 Perley deceased.  
 „ 24 . . . Letter to Mr. Adderley on “The Colonies.”

### 1863

- Jan. — . . . Returns to Nova Scotia.  
 Feb. 10 . . . Reports on Intercolonial Railway Loan.  
 Mar. 17 . . . Speech on the Franchise Bill.  
 „ 23 . . . „ on the Franchise Bill.  
 „ 25 . . . „ on the Finances.  
 Apr. 6 . . . „ on the Franchise Bill.  
 May 1 . . . House dissolved.  
 „ 28 . . . General Elections—Government defeated—Mr. Howe defeated  
 in Lunenburg.  
 June 5 . . . Leaves for the United States.

### 1864

- Jan. 30 . . . Letter in New York *Albion* on “Reciprocity.”  
 Feb. 6 . . . „ in New York *Albion* on “Reciprocity.”  
 „ 13 . . . „ in New York *Albion* on “Reciprocity.”  
 Apr. 25 . . . Address on Shakspeare at celebration in Halifax.  
 Aug. 13 . . . Speech at dinner to Colonial (Upper Canadian) visitors.  
 „ 16 . . . Letter to Dr. Tupper respecting Charlottetown Conference.  
 „ 16 . . . Sails for Newfoundland on H.M.S. *Lily*.  
 Nov. 2 . . . Returns to Halifax.  
 Dec. 19 . . . Attends public meeting at Temperance Hall, Halifax.  
 „ 23 . . . Attends public meeting at Temperance Hall, Halifax.  
 „ 31 . . . Attends public meeting at Temperance Hall, Halifax.

## 1865

- Jan. 11 . . . Publishes first number of "The Botheration Scheme" in *The Morning Chronicle*. The series continued until March 2nd.  
 ,, 19 . . . Letter to Lord John Russell on Confederation.  
 Apr. 3 . . . ,, to Mr. Campbell on Confederation.  
 July 14 . . . Speech at Detroit on Reciprocity.

## 1866

- Feb. 12 . . . Letter to George Bancroft, replying to attacks on British institutions.  
 ,, — . . . Letters in New York *Albion* entitled "John Bull and Brother Jonathan."  
 Mar. 22 . . . Signs agreement to edit New York *Albion*.  
 Apr. 10 . . . Letter "to the People of Nova Scotia."  
 ,, 12 . . . ,, "to the People of Nova Scotia."  
 ,, 19 . . . ,, "to the People of Nova Scotia."  
 May 1 . . . ,, in *The Morning Chronicle* "to the People of Canada."  
 ,, 8 . . . Speech at Windsor.  
 ,, 10 . . . ,, at Kentville.  
 ,, 15 . . . Letter in *The Morning Chronicle* on Windsor meeting.  
 ,, 15 . . . Speech at Annapolis.  
 ,, 19 . . . ,, at Yarmouth.  
 ,, 23 . . . ,, at Weymouth.  
 ,, 24 . . . ,, at Digby.  
 ,, 28 . . . Letter in *The Morning Chronicle*, re Heffernan v. Howe.  
 ,, — . . . Article in New York *Albion* on "An Evening with O'Connell."  
 June 15 . . . Speech at Chester.  
 ,, 20 . . . Letter to Isaac Buchanan on Confederation.  
 July 3 . . . ,, to W. A. Henry re Charlottetown Conference.  
 ,, 5 . . . Leaves for England.  
 Sep. — . . . Publishes pamphlet, "Confederation in Relation to the Empire."  
 Oct. — . . . Publishes pamphlet, "The Organization of the Empire."

## 1867

- Mar. 27 . . . Letter in London *Daily News* on Confederation.  
 ,, 28 . . . ,, to W. J. Stairs on Confederation.  
 Apr. 12 . . . ,, to W. J. Stairs on Confederation.  
 May 7 . . . Returns to Nova Scotia.  
 ,, 9 . . . Speech at Masons' Hall, Halifax.  
 ,, 22 . . . ,, at Dartmouth.  
 ,, 24 . . . ,, at Masons' Hall, Halifax.  
 ,, 30 . . . Letter to Dr. Tupper re joint-meeting.



- June 4 . . . Speech at joint-meeting, Truro.  
 „ 5 . . . „ at Upper Stewiacke.  
 „ 6 . . . Reply to address from people of Musquodoboit.  
 „ 18 . . . Letter “to the People of Canada.”  
 July 3 . . . Speech at Amherst.  
 Sep. 11 . . . „ at Windsor on nomination day.  
 „ 18 . . . Elected Member of Parliament for Hants County,—Howe,  
 1530; King, 956.  
 „ 23 . . . Letter to Lord Stanley asking for removal of Governor.  
 Nov. 4 . . . Speech before Working-Men’s Benefit Society, Montreal.  
 „ 4 . . . „ before St. Patrick’s Society, Montreal.  
 „ 8 . . . „ on the Address.  
 „ 11 . . . „ on the Address.  
 „ 25 . . . „ on Railways.  
 Dec. 6 . . . „ on acquisition of Rupert’s Land.  
 „ 11 . . . „ on acquisition of Rupert’s Land.

1868

- Jan. 4 . . . Lectures at Windsor on “The Romantic Side of Nova Scotian  
 History.”  
 „ 13 . . . Speech at Repeal Meeting, Temperance Hall, Halifax.  
 Feb. 14 . . . Leaves for England.  
 June 20 . . . Letter to R. Robertson as to Better Terms.  
 July 3 . . . Delegates publish Protest against Confederation.  
 „ 17 . . . Returns to Nova Scotia.  
 „ 30 . . . Letter in *The Morning Chronicle* recommending courteous  
 treatment to Sir John Macdonald and colleagues on their  
 visit to Halifax.  
 „ 31 . . . Arrival of Canadian Delegates.  
 Aug. 1 . . . Letter to John Livingstone on Confederation.  
 „ 12 . . . „ to John Livingstone on Confederation.  
 „ 25 . . . „ in *The Morning Chronicle* on the Political Situation.  
 Sep. 15 . . . „ to Sir John Macdonald on Better Terms.  
 „ 26 . . . „ to Robert Boak on Better Terms.  
 Oct. 13 . . . Speech at closing of Halifax Exhibition.  
 „ 19 . . . Letter to Members of Parliament representing Nova Scotia  
 Constituencies.  
 „ 21 . . . Letter to Sir John Macdonald.  
 „ 29 . . . „ in *Eastern Chronicle* as to abandoning Repeal.  
 Nov. 4 . . . „ to Sir John Macdonald on Better Terms.  
 „ 6 . . . „ in *The Morning Chronicle* on the Political Situation.  
 „ 9 . . . „ in *The Morning Chronicle* on the Political Situation.  
 „ 16 . . . „ in *The Morning Chronicle* on the Political Situation.

- Nov. 16 . . . Letter to Sir John Macdonald on Better Terms.  
 „ 23 . . . „ in *The Morning Chronicle* on the Political Situation.  
 „ 27 . . . „ in *The Morning Chronicle* on the Political Situation.  
 Dec. 4 . . . „ to Sir John Macdonald on Better Terms.  
 „ 4 . . . „ to Hon. John Rose on Better Terms.

## 1869

- Jan. 4 . . . Letter to Sir John Macdonald on Better Terms.  
 „ 20 . . . „ to Hon. John Rose on Better Terms.  
 „ 30 . . . Appointed President of the Council in Sir John Macdonald's  
 Government.  
 Feb. 12 . . . Letter "to the Electors of the County of Hants."  
 „ 13 . . . Speech at Windsor.  
 Apr. 6 . . . „ at Elmsdale, N.S.  
 „ 10 . . . Letter "to the Electors of the County of Hants."  
 „ 13 . . . Speech at Windsor on nomination day.  
 „ 20 . . . Elected for Hants,—Howe, 1512; Goudge, 1129.  
 „ 23 . . . Address on declaration day at Windsor.  
 May 1 . . . Letter to W. J. Stairs (see *British Colonist* of May 1st).  
 „ 17 . . . Speech on Intercolonial Railway.  
 „ 28 . . . „ on the North-West Territories.  
 „ 31 . . . „ on Disestablishment of Irish Church.  
 June 11 . . . „ on Nova Scotia Resolutions.  
 Aug. 18 . . . Leaves for North-West. Absent over two months.  
 Oct. 16 . . . Letter to Sir John Macdonald on North-West Affairs.  
 Nov. 16 . . . Appointed Secretary of State for the Provinces.

## 1870

- Feb. 21 . . . Speech on North-West Affairs.  
 Mar. 9 . . . „ on Depredations of United States fishermen.  
 „ 14 . . . „ on Harbours of Refuge.  
 „ 21 . . . „ on Customs Union with United States.  
 May 9 . . . „ on Manitoba Bill.

## 1871

- Apr. 13 . . . : Speech in reply to attack of Alexander Mackenzie.  
 „ 20 . . . Letter "to the People of Nova Scotia," No. 1.  
 „ 26 . . . „ "to the People of Nova Scotia," No. 2.  
 „ 28 . . . „ "to the People of Nova Scotia," No. 3.  
 May 2 . . . „ "to the People of Nova Scotia," No. 4.  
 „ 11 . . . „ "to the People of Nova Scotia," No. 5.  
 Aug. 31 . . . Address at Howe Festival at South Framingham, Mass.  
 Nov. 4 . . . Letter to Governor Archibald on Manitoba Affairs.

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1872

- Feb. 27 . . . Address before Young Men's Christian Association, Ottawa.  
July 8 . . . Letter "to the Electors of the County of Hants."  
Aug. 15 . . . Returned unopposed for County of Hants.  
Dec. 6 . . . Letter to Sir John Macdonald disapproving of proposed  
measures in reference to Trans-continental Railway.

1873

- May 6 . . . Appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia.  
" 10 . . . Sworn into office.  
June 1 . . . Died at Government House, Halifax.  
" 4 . . . Burial in Camphill Cemetery, Halifax.



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