

Colonial Empire, that it seems, perhaps, idle to recall the struggles on its behalf. But they must always have an element of interest to a Canadian who desires to be familiar with the growth of his country's institutions. In both Upper and Lower Canada, responsible government was only achieved after open rebellion against the government, and the destruction of life and property. Mr. Howe, through all the fierce and bitter struggles for self-government, never sanctioned the use of arms, nor for a moment admitted its necessity. He had always full faith in the capacity of a British community to work out, by peaceable means, the question of self-government. He was ardently attached to British connection, and loved England and the English system of government. He cordially sympathized with William Lyon Mackenzie, Papineau, Nelson, and other Liberals of the Canadas, in their struggles against the Family Compact, and other evils and indignities precisely akin to those against which he was contending in Nova Scotia; but the instant armed resistance was proclaimed, he warmly opposed this course as unwise, unnecessary, and hopeless. His views on the Canadian Rebellion are expressed in strong and elevated terms in an able and statesmanlike letter written at the time and spoken of in the highest terms of praise by the London press.

His idea throughout was to bring Colonial grievances clearly and cogently before British statesmen, in the full conviction that they could not be long disregarded. At this time Lord John Russell was Secretary of State for the Colonies, and very greatly concerned in the question of Colonial Government, for difficulties were looming up on every hand. To him Mr. Howe addressed a series of letters which every student of Canadian affairs should read and study. They were able and brilliant papers, and illustrated in the most

clear and convincing manner the evils of the system, and, at the same time, suggested the remedy. The letters have been published in Vol. II. of "Howe's Speeches and Public Letters," and may be studied by those who wish. This article must conclude by one or two extracts, which embody the most striking points in the argument. Beyond doubt, these letters had a wonderful effect in preparing British statesmen for those just and wise concessions which led to the permanent establishment of self-government in all the Colonies:

"Your Lordship asks me for proofs. They shall be given.

"Looking at all the British North American Colonies, with one single exception, so far as my memory extends, although it has sometimes happened that the local administration has secured a majority in the Lower House, I never knew an instance in which a hostile majority could displace an Executive Council whose measures it disapproved: or could, in fact, change the policy, or exercise the slightest influence upon the administrative operations of the Government. The case which forms the exception was that of the Province of New Brunswick, but there the struggle lasted as long as the Trojan war,—through the existence of several Houses of Assembly; and was at length concluded by an arrangement with the authorities at home, after repeated appeals, and two tedious and costly delegations to England. But the remedy applied, even in that case, though satisfactory for the time, can have no application to future difficulties or differences of opinion. Let us suppose that a general election takes place in that Province next year, and that the great body of the people are dissatisfied with the mode in which the patronage of the government has been distributed, and the general bearing of the internal policy of its rulers. If that Colony were an English incorporated town, the people would