

with the lowest class of Britons, but does not raise us to an equality with the better classes, or with the New-Englanders over the border. The time is fast approaching, or I am much mistaken, when Englishmen will consider it as disgraceful to sell a Commission in the Army as they would to sell a seat upon the bench—when merit, and not interest, will be the rule in both services; and when, having ceased to eat dear bread for the benefit of a few, they will not vote heavy Army and Navy Estimates, without the great body of the people are freely admitted to an equal participation in the patronage and promotion maintained by their expenditure. When that day arrives, and it may be nearer than we think, the Colonists will have nothing to complain of—until it comes, some steps should be taken to remove all ground of complaint, and to associate North Americans with the habitual defence of the British flag. I must confess that I feel a degree of diffidence in offering suggestions on a point, which, for its full elucidation, would require some professional information and experience; but there is one passage in British history that may furnish something like a precedent.

When the Highland Regiments were raised, the districts whence they were drawn were generally disaffected. The embers left, when two unsuccessful rebellions had been trodden out, were still smouldering, and ready to be rekindled—Jacobite songs were the prevailing literature of the glens; and broadswords were bequeathed from father to son, with the dying injunction, that they were only to be used in defence of "the King over the water". Chatham saw, that to incorporate the Scottish highlands with the rest of the Empire—to make their hardy mountaineers loyal British subjects, it was only necessary to give them something to do, and something to be proud of: to direct their chivalrous valour upon a foreign foe—to let them win laurels and fortune under the House of Brunswick. The experiment was regarded as hazardous at the time, but how nobly the result confirmed the sagacity of the great statesman. On almost every battle field for the last century, the prowess of these Scottish Regiments has shown conspicuous. The tales, told on their return, by maimed but honored veterans, of the heights of Abraham—of Egypt—Toulou—Victoria and Waterloo, have superseded the exploits of Charles and Bonnie Dundee. The Regiments in which their fathers and brothers had served, were readily recruited from the ardent youth born among the heather. Glenco and Culloden were forgotten—a new spirit pervaded the Highlands; and, even to the extremity of the "black north", the fusion of the Scottish race with "the Southron" is acknowledged on all hands to be complete.

Now, my Lord, try some such experiment in North America. Raise two or three Regiments—train Colonists to command them—let it be understood that, in those corps, merit only leads to promotion; and give them, in name, or dress, or banner, something to mark the Province whence they come. Try a frigate or two on the same principle; call one of them the "Nova Scotia"; man her with the hardy fishermen who line our sea coast, and hoist the Mayflower beneath the Union Jack, when she goes into action. Those regiments may flinch in the hour of trial, but no man who reads this letter, from Fundy to Michigan, will believe it—that ship may sink, but there is not a Nova Scotian, who would not rather go down in her, than have her flag disgraced. From the heads of those regiments, and the quarter decks of those ships, the fiery spirits of North America would pass, if they were worthy, into the higher grades of both services: they would be to us what the Academy of West Point is to the youth of republican America, schools of instruction and discipline; and then we should be prepared, not to envy our neighbours, but to meet them on the frontier, or on the coast, when the meteor flag of England was unfurled.

Turning to the civil service of the State, we find the Colonists practically excluded. Some of them hold subordinate places in the Imperial Departments, whose branches extend into the Provinces in which they reside; but the higher positions, even in these, are generally engrossed by natives of the Mother Country, who have had the good fortune to enjoy Parliamentary or family influence. Of this we should not complain, if we had the same means of pushing our fortunes home, or in other portions of the Empire. There is one Department, to employment in which we fancy

we have a peculiar claim—the Colonial Office.—Your Lordship may be startled; and others, who have never given the subject a thought, may be disposed to sneer. But there have been, occasionally, worse Clerks and Under Secretaries than North America could have supplied, without my political remembrance. From the Bench, the Bar, the Legislatures, abundance of material could be selected, to give to that Department a character for efficiency which it has rarely enjoyed; and to draw around it a degree of confidence that it can hardly hope to attain, while the leading minds produced by the great countries committed to its care are practically excluded from its deliberations. I could quote twenty cases, in which one North American, by the Colonial Secretary's side would have prevented much mischief—scores of exciting and protracted controversies, that might have been closed by a single Despatch; and I have listened to and read speeches in Parliament, which the merest political tyro in the Provinces would be ashamed to deliver. I feel, my Lord, that this is bold speaking, and delicate ground; but I shall be much mistaken in your Lordship's noble nature, and in the improved organization of the Colonial Office, under Earl Grey, if offence is given.

An important preliminary step to this infusion of Colonial life into the Imperial system, is, Mr. Howe conceives, the admission of colonists to representation in the National Councils,—in other words, that a certain number of men from each colony should have seats in the British Parliament. "North America," he observes, "is nearly as much interested in every question of commercial regulation, of foreign policy, of emigration, religious equality, peace and war, as are the inhabitants of the British Isles. If she were an independent nation, besides controlling her internal government, she would protect her own interest in the arrangement of them all. Did the Provinces form States of the American Union, they would have their representation in Congress; and would influence, to the extent of their quota, whatever it was, the national policy." Under this conviction, Mr. Howe proceeds to put a case, and to deduce from it what he conceives would be the natural results of such a system. He does this with so much eloquence and so much force, that we will offer no excuse for giving the entire remarks which close this clever, and in many respects really remarkable, letter:—

Suppose that the five North American Colonies were permitted to elect, in the following proportions, either through the Legislature, or by the body of the constituency, men of talent, enjoying public confidence:

Canada.....	3
Prince Edward Island.....	1
Nova Scotia.....	2
New Brunswick.....	2
Newfoundland.....	2
	10

and that the members, so elected, were permitted to sit and vote in the House of Commons: a number so small would neither be inconvenient, nor apt to excite jealousy, and yet they would give to North America a vote in the national councils—an influence proportioned to the ability, information, and powers of debate, she furnished. It would give her more—it would give her a noble field for the display of her cultivated intellects, and open for the choicest of her sons a path to the higher distinctions and honours of the Empire. It would give to her less brilliant, but enterprising youth, seeking their fortunes in the Military, Naval, and Civil Services of the State, not patrons, for the influence of these Representatives would be trifling, but earnest and judicious friends, on the spot, where their claims were to be stated, and their interests advanced.

Now, my Lord, would not such a concession as this—graciously bestowed, almost before it was asked for, strengthen the Empire? Would it not put republicans and sympathizers hors de combat, without a bayonet or a barrel of powder? It would be worth half a dozen of citadels; and, on the day that those ten members took their seats in the House of Commons, you might withdraw thousands of men who are kept here at an enormous expense, to defend a country, the population

of which, too happy for discontent, would guard with spirit the privileges thus peacefully secured.

But, my Lord, I do not put this moderate demand on the footing of a favour—to my mind, it bears the semblance of simple justice. In every session of Parliament, measures are discussed, in which the Colonists are deeply concerned. Many times, within the last twenty years, the Colonial trade has been deranged—Colonial interests sacrificed; and our views have been often strangely misinterpreted and misunderstood. If the general welfare were promoted, our sectional interests of course, should not have stood in the way; but even in these cases where you are right and we are wrong, we would yet have the security of consultation—discussion—remonstrance. We would say, with becoming firmness, "Strike, but hear us."

Take the recent case of the repeal of the Corn Laws. Of that measure I highly approve. As a youth, just entering into public life, I denounced the Corn Laws; and when they were doomed, I smiled at the fears expressed in Canada and else where, and rejoiced with all my heart. But, my Lord, even a good measure hardly reconciles us to the fact, that the commercial relations and settled business of two millions of people should be dealt with, even in a wise and philosophic spirit, without their exercising upon the discussion, or the result, the slightest influence. Take another case. The North American Provinces might have been plunged into a war, arising out of the annexation of Texas, or the settlement of the Oregon question, without, perhaps, having the slightest interest, or desire to participate, in either quarrel. Happily such calamities were averted by the dignified firmness and moderation of the Imperial authorities—but similar controversies with foreign powers may arise, and may not always be so satisfactorily adjusted. The Colonial Legislatures do not pretend to meddle with any of these disputes: but is it reasonable to ask millions of Britons to take up arms—to suspend their commerce—to bear their ploughshares into swords, in a quarrel, upon the growth and deadly termination of which, they have never been consulted; and which they have had no power to influence or avert. The presence of such a body of men, as I propose, in Parliament, would remove this ground of complaint: if they were outvoted, we should at least have the satisfaction to reflect, that they had been heard. In some cases, their reasoning would probably prevail, to the modification of a bad measure, or the improvement of a good one—in others, they would be convinced, and would take pains to satisfy their constituents of the wisdom and sound policy of the course pursued. They would perform the double duty, of mingling Colonial sentiment and opinion with the current of debate, and of reconciling the Colonists to the decisions of Parliament. This they would do, if only permitted to speak and vote upon Colonial, or rather on Imperial questions; but if allowed a larger latitude, even in the discussion of purely British topics, they might, at times, exercise a salutary and temperate influence. If men of sound judgment, conciliatory manners, and cultivated taste, they would—from the very fact of their isolation, and impotence as a party—from their being strangers from a far country, with no interest in the matter; trained in a different school, and accustomed to examine similar questions with other lights, and from different points of view, sometimes be heard amidst the din of party conflict. They might, when the storm was highest, pour oil upon the troubled waters; and win respect for their intentions, when they failed to convince by their eloquence.

If these men—fairly tried on the great arena—were found to possess talents for debate, ready pens, and habits of business, who could better material be sought to recruit and strengthen the Colonial Office? Their local information and knowledge of detail, could not well be surpassed—their sympathy with the population of the Countries to be dealt with would not be suspected; and the double responsibility felt, to Parliament on the one side, and on the other, to the people among whom they would probably return to pass the evening of their days, would ensure the most vigilant and enlightened discharge of their public duties. And, my Lord, would it be nothing to have these men returning, every few years, from such scenes and employments, to mingle with and give a tone to the society of North America? How invaluable would be their experience—how enlarged their views—how