

Appendix  
(N.)

9th June.

this connexion. 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 ventured 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 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 floors 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 at least be consoled by the reflection that her past history pleads for her on every fitting occasion.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) JOSEPH HOWE.

The Right Hon. Earl Grey,  
&c. &c. &c.

No. 2.

COPY of a Letter from Mr. Howe to Earl Grey.

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.

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 no little afford to confess, in the presence of all the world, her inability to wisely rule the other half, and 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 burthens, 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 studied in parliamentary and official papers, for some assured prospect of relief from these 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.

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