

LETTER FROM MR. HOWE.
TO THE PEOPLE OF NOVA SCOTIA.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN—
My advice has not been taken, and now, just when the emergency is at our very gates—when messages are rushing over the wires to inform us of the gathering of raiders upon our frontiers—when every ship like a bloodhound on the beach, her moorings strained, is prepared for actual service—when every soldier and militiaman awaits the summons to some stern conflict, it has been determined to launch this Confederation scheme, and embroil the entire population of these Provinces in attack and defence of their institutions. Is this prudent? Is it safe—is it decent? Where is the necessity for haste? The Provinces have lived and flourished till now without Confederation. Surely they can live without it another year. The Imperial authorities we are told, are in favor of the measure, but does anybody in England know at this moment what we are situated? But if they did, and were urgent, I would follow their example not their advice. Did not the House of Lords, only the other day, refuse to discuss the state of Ireland, or to sanction changes or innovations, while the Island was threatened with civil war? England is at this moment discussing a more change of franchise, but if a foreign enemy was upon her coasts, the measure would be at once laid aside. Who would be so insane as to convulse the country at such a time by political agitation? Would the people of England rush into a revolution, and we are asked to do, at this moment, when they were threatened with invasion? The very idea is preposterous and absurd. Surveying the whole field calmly, which I have done for some days, I can see no necessity for this haste, except the necessity of certain politicians, here and in Canada, who feel that if this scheme of Confederation cannot be carried under color of the Imperial seal, it may never be carried at all.

But we are told that it is almost treason to counsel internal tranquility rather than bitter feuds and violent political agitation. I do not think so, and I am prepared to vindicate the soundness of the counsel I have given in the highest quarters and in every part of the Empire.

Look at the spectacle which New Brunswick presents at this very moment. The Militia are training day and night. Ships and troops are sent far and near, and are gathering on the frontier, and at this critical moment, the Governor and the Ministers are quarrelling over this vexed question of Confederation, and just when every man is required to be at his post, the whole country is about to be convulsed with a general election. Except in Poland such folly as this has never been committed in any civilized country, and we know what happened to the Poles. Here we have had in less than a week, two disgraceful street fights, and one attempt at murder, all growing out of this Confederation embroglio. What more we may have before all is over, it requires no prophet to forecast.

But one slavish sycophant tells us that no Nova Scotian should utter his opinion on this question, because the Queen, the Ministers, the Governor, the General, and the Admirals are all on his side. If they were, what then? Every Nova Scotian has the right, nay, it is his duty, to stand up and defend the interests of his country against them all. It is true that the British Government, misled by the Canadian envoys who rushed to England the moment the Quebec Convention broke up, were committed to this scheme before they were aware of the vast mass of feelings to the Maritime Provinces, and, being so committed, cannot recede, till the policy is either approved or condemned in the Colonies. It is also true that paragraphs, sanctioning the scheme, have been inserted in speeches from the Throne. But who does not know that the Queen's speech is nothing more than the speech of her Ministers, which any British subject has the right to criticize, to amend or condemn? There is not a statesman in England, on either side of politics, who has not exercised this right, and laughed at, and amended Royal speeches whenever they were disapproved. Who does not remember how William Cobbett entreated his grammar by showing what had English was sometimes to be found in speeches from the Throne? Yet for more than a twelvemonth the slavish doctrine has been attempted to be taught in this country, that Nova Scotians must not enjoy this common right of all Englishmen, but are bound to bow with submission, and accept for gospel anything that appears in a Queen's speech. The men who surround the Sovereign in England at this moment are not the men I took them for, if they would not scout this doctrine, and treat the men who teach it with contempt.

The General and the Admirals have nothing to do with our Provincial politics. They come here to defend their country and ours, and will follow, or I am much mistaken, the wise precedents invariably set by their gallant predecessors. We are lucky, just now, in having in the Provinces officers who combine the vigilance, the activity and the professional knowledge and reputation, which command our confidence in the hour of danger. The British Army are composed of men of all shades and politics, and when our Militia, Volunteers and Naval Reserves are called into the field, though our officers may desire to point out the distinction, I do not believe that General Doyle or Sir James Hope will ever enquire who are for or against Confederation, provided always that they stand to their arms and do their duty like gallant soldiers.

But we are told that the Governor is in favor of the scheme and we must not oppose the Governor. This is a strange doctrine to come from a person who once professed to belong to that great party who wrung from Sir Colin Campbell and Lord Falkland all the rights and privileges which for twenty years have been the glory of this people—the enjoyment of which makes Nova Scotia the loyal and prosperous province that it is now. Shades of Huntington and Unisacke, hear this fellow, and brighten him into common sense. The great ornaments of the Bench to which he pleads have in their day handled the Governor somewhat roughly, yet who thinks those disloyal men? Aye, but then our Governor is the Hero of Kara—Yes and we are all very proud of him; but he must and will remember that we are defending the fortress of the Constitution, and that the Ministers in the Confederation outside. They may be our friends, but if they do, His Excellency will perhaps also remember that there is more honor to be won by a gallant defence than by a pusillanimous surrender.

Talk about opposition to the Crown. Is there a right that Englishmen have in their day handled by opposing the Crown? While in England last summer I stood beside the tomb of Cardinal Langton, in Canterbury Cathedral. Why did I look down upon it almost with veneration? Because it contained the dust of one of the men who was for ever opposed to the Crown—Hamelin opposed the Crown and the Court, and made himself immortal; and with Earl Russell at the head of the Queen's Government, himself descended from a family ren-

dered illustrious by their political opposition. I am not much afraid that Nova Scotia will be very severely condemned for believing what even the Queen's Ministers may make a mistake.

Sophocles, we are told, killed himself because tragedy of his was hissed off the stage. This poor Quebec constitution has been hissed off the stage in each of the four Provinces. Even the person by whose aid it is now to be brought out and rehearsed again tells us that it was justly damned. Yes, but as the political lives of the authors are depending on some show of success, the audience is to be packed, and we shall have the same play over again.

Believe me,
Yours truly,
JOSEPH HOWE.

COLONIAL LEGISLATURE.
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

ABROGATION OF THE RECIPROcity TREATY.

The whole Address, as above given, having been read by the Chairman, the first paragraph was again read, submitted to the vote, and having been unanimously agreed to without discussion, the second, having reference to the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty between the United States and Great Britain, having, in like manner, been read and submitted.

Mr. COLES rose and spoke to the following effect: The subject spoken of in that paragraph was one of too great moment to be passed over in silence. The treaty had doubtless been mutually beneficial to the contracting parties; certainly, in his opinion, as much so to the United States as to those of the British American Colonies. The Government of the United States, however, thought, or at least pretended to think otherwise; and, therefore, by their having given the stipulated notice for the abrogation it had been annulled. That the Government of the United States should have so determined was an event which he, indeed, very much regretted; for it was beyond all question that the trade and commercial relations established by that treaty between the great American Republic and this Island had been productive of greater prosperity, not only to our mercantile but to our agricultural interests than had ever been consequent upon any time of public policy previously recognised by our Legislature. The abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty by the United States was indeed, not only a matter of regret, but of surprise, throughout the whole of the Colonies; and although the blame of its needless nullification rested upon the United States, he felt persuaded that, had not Canada manifested too great eagerness for its continuance or re-establishment, its renewal if not exactly upon the original terms of the Treaty, yet upon terms not less equitable and advantageous to both parties, would certainly have been effected. The Americans, although they pretended to believe that, in the operation of the Treaty, the British Provinces had been much more benefited than they had been, and that they had had the worst of the bargain, yet knew full well that the same otherwise, and that the Fishing privileges which they enjoyed under it greatly counterbalanced all the benefits derived from it by the British Provinces.

But seeing the extreme anxiety manifested by the Canadians for its renewal, and which they had repeatedly assumed to be intended to be extended to the Maritime Provinces, they concluded that all they had to do in order to force us into annexation, was either steadily to reject all terms whatsoever which might be proposed by us for a renewal of the Treaty, or, on their own part, to manifest a determination to entertain the suggestion of its renewal except on terms so manifestly unfair to us that it would be impossible for us, with any regard for our own interests, to accede to them. They have chosen the latter course, and for the present, his expectations, however, that by such policy they would be able to force, or seduce us into annexation, has arisen from a very fallacious estimate both of our resources and of our loyal and independent spirit. The markets of the United States, in close proximity to us as they are, doubtless afforded us, under the operation of the Reciprocity Treaty, not only a more extensive and advantageous facilities for the sale of all our surplus-agricultural produce; but now that these markets are by the imposition of high protective duties, virtually closed against us, we do not despair of being able to find others in which to prosecute the various branches of our commerce, in a remunerative and beneficial manner. And even were it otherwise, had we less hopes of being able beneficially to extend our trade and commerce in other directions, we are too well satisfied with—too much attached to, the constitution under which we are now living, to be willing to transfer our allegiance to any other under it to any republican form of government, how seemingly great success might be the advantages offered to us for such a transfer of our loyalty. He very much regretted the abrogation of the Treaty, but his sentiment would very much disturb him, if he were to transfer his allegiance to any other under it to any republican form of government, how seemingly great success might be the advantages offered to us for such a transfer of our loyalty.

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for the injury done to our trade by its abrogation. The people of these Provinces would speedily, he hoped, either by separate or united action, find out new and advantageous outlets of trade; and they were not ignorant of the grievous amount of taxation, state and general, which, in consequence of the enormous expenses incurred by the Americans during the late civil war, would have to be endured by them for many years to come, to wish, by annexation, to be made participants in the advantages of their national commerce at the expense of sharing the burden of their excessive taxation, compared with which that which is borne by these Colonies, in their present independent position, under the freest constitution in the world, is as light as air. He knew not what action the Government were prepared to take for the more open an amicable adjustment of the trade and commerce; but he doubted not they saw the necessity of immediate measures to that end, and would be found prepared to introduce and recommend them to the Legislature forthwith. His Excellency, with respect to that necessity, had said no more than it was his duty and province to say. He (the Hon. Mr. Coles) was well pleased that the Government had not thought it proper to send Delegates to Washington; and doubted the Hon. Leader of the Government would be found prepared to inform the House in due time why they had not.

Mr. BRECKEN said he regretted that the great bulk of the American people had not approached the question of the Treaty in a proper spirit. This, in his opinion, was attributable to the sympathies which had been manifested by the people of the Colonies in behalf of the Southern States during the late civil war. There was one point, he said, he connected with the abrogation of the Treaty, namely, the question of the right of the Americans to prosecute the fisheries within the 3 miles, which has terminated with that Treaty. The American's have undesignatedly declared that their fishermen will not submit to a revival of the prohibition which existed previous to the inauguration of the Reciprocity Treaty, sustaining themselves in their assertion of that right upon the construction which they put upon the 3 mile clause in that Treaty, which materially differs from that put upon it by Great Britain. Out of this misunderstanding he was very much afraid collisions of a most serious nature would arise. The value of fish taken by American citizens out of the disputed waters has amounted to five million dollars per annum, and it is not at all likely that they will forego so great a benefit without persistent endeavors to retain it. The existence of the peace and prosperity of these Colonies depended more upon an amicable adjustment of the misunderstanding which was likely to arise out of that disputed point, than upon any other subject connected with the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty.

(To be Continued.)

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RICHARD J. CLARKE.
Orwell Store, Aug. 10, 1864.

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CATHERINE WRIGHT, Executor.
Ch. town, Sept. 20, 1864.

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Drug Store, Oct. 23, 1864.