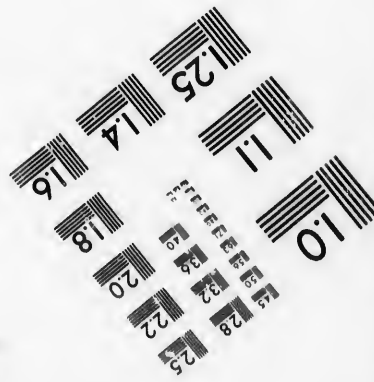
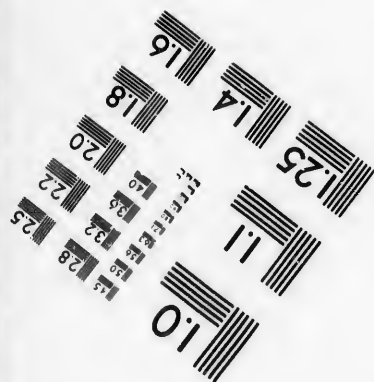
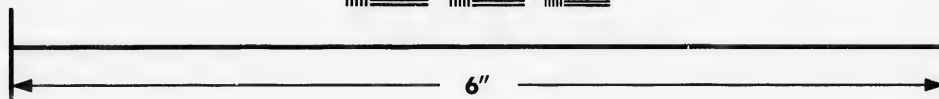
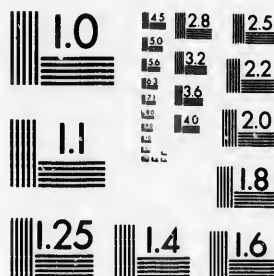


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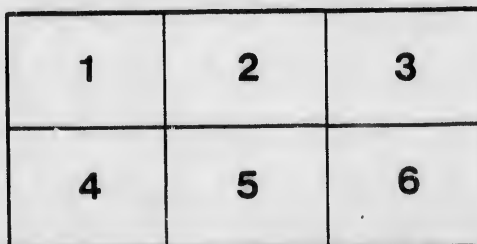
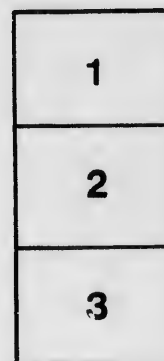
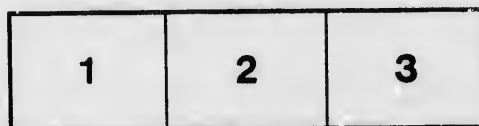
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March
HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA, Nov. 24, 1856.

To

JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, ESQ., M. P.

SIR,—

My attention has been called to a speech, made by you in the House of Commons on the 15th of February, and reported in the London Papers. This speech, conceived in an atrabilious spirit, and remarkable for nothing but ill-nature, contains, besides undeserved attacks upon the Ministers who were present, the most ungenerous and unjust assaults upon gentlemen who were not there to defend themselves. I quote from the report before me this passage:

"I want to know distinctly what were the instructions given to Mr. Crampton. It may be said that he was told not to break the law, but I want to know whether he was told to enlist men in the United States, because to tell a man not to break the law, and in the next breath to tell him to do something by which the law will be broken, is nugatory. It is a farce—an idle direction, not worthy of any man who pretends to be a man of sense and honour. Mr. Crampton knew the law, as is proved by his own written statements; he knew that to do certain acts was to break the law, and he laid plans by which he fancied that law could be safely broken. He was aided in this by two high functionaries—Sir Gaspar Le Marchant and Sir Edmund Head, as well as by Sir Joseph Howe, a gentleman of some celebrity in Nova Scotia. *Sir Joseph Howe was sent to the United States; by his intervention people were employed to break the law of the States, and by his hands they were paid for so doing. After spending about \$100,000 he got together 200 men, when he might have had the same number of thousands for half the money.* I may be asked what good I expect to derive from this motion. (Ministerial cheers) I perfectly well understand that cheer. I know whence it proceeds and what it means, and my answer is, that I wish to obtain from the noble lord a distinct answer to this question—was Mr. Crampton instructed, not simply not to break the law, but not to do deeds by which the law would be broken?"

I have rarely seen, in the same number of lines, more ignorance, or reckless mis-statement, displayed before a deliberative Assembly. John Arthur Roebuck may think himself privileged to take such liberties with the absent, but he shall take no such liberties with me. I have seen him too often, redolent of jaundice—have measured too accurately the breadth of his understanding and the vagaries of his intellect, to permit him to go uncorrected or unchastised when he gives himself such license. The speech to which I refer, Sir, should not have gone uncontradicted an instant had I shared the privilege which you enjoy. Your melo-dramatic style should not long have given currency to nonsense, and the six hundred English gentlemen, before whom you attempted to damage my reputation, should have judged the value of your accusations on the instant, and would, or I am much mistaken, have stamped them with their indignant reprobation. Not being a member of Parliament my pen is my only resource, but the Press of England, thank God, is open to us all.

In the first place I must ask you to take back the title which, without permission of Her Majesty, you have conferred upon me. I am not a Knight or a Baronet. The name I wear, will pass current in British America without the prefix. At all events I do not value an honorary distinction, attached to it by a gentleman, to give point to slanders, calculated, if not intended, to make the name itself a reproach. My own countrymen, who know me best, have elevated me, step by step, to the highest positions and honours in their gift. My Sovereign, if she ever discovers that I have done, and perhaps am capable of doing "the State some service," may gratify them by some mark of Royal favor: but, in the meantime, I value as lightly honorary distinctions conferred without warrant, as I do Parliamentary attacks which have no foundation.

You assert that I spent about \$100,000! Now I declare, in the presence of all England, that you have made a mis-statement so gross that I am astonished at your audacious inaccuracy. But \$8,000 were ever entrusted to my care, or passed through my hands—about £1,600 sterling. Ninety-two thousand Dollars are certainly an over-charge of which any gentleman pretending to speak evil of the absent ought to be ashamed. That more money was expended in the service I do not deny, and that those who spent it can account for it to the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government, I have not a doubt; but I do deny your right to charge upon me such an expenditure, and to mislead the House of Commons by a train of reasoning founded upon so palpable a blunder.

But "200 men," you say, were "got together." Surely you do not often hazard such statements as this upon the Northern Circuit, or on the floors of Parliament. What are the facts? 625 men were "enlisted" in Nova Scotia, not in the United States, though many of them passed through that country. Of these 10 joined the 76th Regiment, and 18 deserted. 597 effective men—clothed, trained and officered—ready, in fact, to take the field, were sent to England. I wish, from the bottom of my soul, that there had been ten times the number. But, at the moment that these men were raised, *they were wanted at any price.* Had they cost \$500 each, which you assert, the wonder would not have been great, as the horrors and perils of the war had been so paraded by your Committee, that for a time, the service was not very popular. I have read somewhere that a British Soldier costs, before he is fit to take the field, £100 sterling. If so, those who sent you Soldiers in a time of peril, at the cost of \$500, should not be severely blamed. But, did they cost this sum? No—not a third of it. I have a statement before me, of the entire expense of enlisting, clothing, subsisting and drilling 597 men, including the cost of transportation until they reached the shores of England. It amounts to but £33 per man, less, by more than two-thirds, than the sum named by the accurate member for Sheffield.

Having disposed of your financial mis-statements, let me now demand upon what authority you have ventured to assert that "by my intervention people were employed to break the law of the United States, and that by my hands they were paid for so doing." I deny the accusation. I ple 3, before the people of England—Not Guilty. I demand the proof, and, if ever I see England again, will call upon you to produce it before your own Constituents, or acknowledge the injustice of the accusation.

I was sent into the United States in the Spring of 1855, not to violate the law, but to ascertain the value of certain representations made by parties in that country, that thousands of men wished to come lawfully, peacefully, and without any infringement of law, or offence to the authorities, into the British Provinces, there to enlist in the service of the Queen. That duty—one of some hazard and delicacy—I performed: and I challenge you, if not in the presence of Parliament, before the empire of which we are citizens, to prove against me one illegal act, done or instigated in the United States, during the two months that I spent in that country.

It is true that the District Attorney laid before the Grand Jury of New York, a Bill of Indictment against me for a misdemeanour. Nobody who knows the state of feeling in the city at the time, or the devotion of that functionary to the interests of Russia, will doubt his anxiety to sustain it—but he could not. It is true that a clerk in my employment, was arrested and tried at Philadelphia—but he was honorably acquitted, the Judge deciding that no violation of law had been committed. What right have you then to assume that I, or any person over whom I had legitimate control, violated the laws of the United States? In British Courts of Justice you were taught to presume the innocence of persons, arraigned with all the formalities of law, until their guilt was proved. You reverse the rule. You assume the guilt of a British gentleman, who, for two months, walked the streets in the midst of his enemies, and the enemies of his country, and whom they dared not try; and of another, who when tried, was honorably acquitted.

The only extenuation that I can discover for such folly or injustice, is to suppose that the wretched Philadelphia pamphlet, containing the trial of one Henry Hertz and Emanuel C. Perkins, has misled you. Had you known that four months ago, in public letters addressed to the prosecuting officer, which have never yet been answered, I had exposed that poor conspiracy, showing Perkins to have been insane and Hertz unworthy of credit, I cannot believe that you would have made the speech of which I have so much reason to complain.

Your attack on Sir Gaspard LeMarchant is even more unjust than your attack on me. That officer never left the Province of which he was the Governor, or did an act beyond his legitimate jurisdiction. He opened a Depot for recruits in Halifax, on British soil—under our national flag. When Foreign officers came to him and offered their services or the services of their countrymen, they were informed of the terms upon which they would be employed and their followers enlisted. The only document which he sent into the United States, was an official public notice that men would be enlisted on certain terms at Halifax. Judge Kane decided that it was no violation of law to circulate this notice in the United States. If his law be sound, then I challenge you to show one act done by Sir Gaspard LeMarchant, that justifies the coarse language applied to him. As respects the Governor General, I can only say that I do not believe your allegations. If Sir Edmund Head erred at all, in this matter, it was on the side of extreme caution lest offence should be given. Mr. Crampton has been abused unsparingly in the United States. He might, however culpable, it appears to me, be spared in the British Senate until his defence is complete, and until the peculiar difficulties and delicacy of his position are rightly understood. In a letter which I addressed to the District Attorney of Philadelphia, on the 6th of November, the conduct of Mr. Crampton, so far as it had come under my observation, was successfully vindicated. Read a single extract:

"But all these witnesses have been summoned to make out, if possible, a case against Mr. Crampton. Now I have evidence to prove the delicacy and legality of that gentleman's conduct and designs at this period, worth "a cloud of witnesses" such as you have conjured up. I produce it without the possibility of any concert with his Excellency, whom I have not seen for months, because I know that it will be weighed in the court to which I appeal against the *ex parte* proceedings at Philadelphia. Mr. Burghal fixes the date of our joint infraction of your neutrality laws on or about the "10th or 12th of March." On the 11th of March I received a letter from Mr. Crampton, which I give verbatim. Let the world at large judge whether the writer of it was at the time conspiring with me to violate the neutrality laws of the United States.

"Washington, March 11, 1855.

MY DEAR SIR—

I enclose, for your information and guidance in the matter in which you are engaged, an opinion which, at my request, has been drawn up by an eminent American Lawyer, in regard to the bearing of the neutrality laws of the United States, upon the subject. This gentleman is also very well acquainted with the practical operation of the law in this country, influenced as it always is, more or less, by the prevalent feelings of the day, and the action of the press. I have entire confidence in the correctness of his views. You will perceive that what can be done in the U. S. either by agents of H. M. Government directly, or by American citizens or residents, is restricted within very narrow limits; and that great caution will be required to avoid even the least appearance of employing any device for eluding the law. I have entire confidence in your prudence and discretion in this respect, but I would beg of you to inculcate the utmost circumspection upon all those with whom you may have to communicate upon this important subject; and to explain to them clearly the true bearings of the case.

I am, my dear Sir, yours truly,

J. F. CHAMPTON."

Having, I trust, sir, taught you a lesson of accuracy and circumspection, I beg now to remind you that there was a time when it was necessary to send troops from England to British America—when American sympathizers swarmed upon our frontiers with rifles in their hands, and when not \$100,000 but £2,000,000 Sterling had to be expended to preserve these Colonies from the rapacity of the people whose slanders you so readily endorse—whose cause you are so prompt to espouse. Perhaps a little of the zeal in defence of our own nationality and laws which is now profusely expended upon foreigners, might have been appropriate to that period, but I cannot charge my memory with any very vehement Parliamentary displays.

The Cedar built vessels of Bermuda pass buoyantly over the waves of ocean, and perfume them as they go. You are always buffeting the billows of strife, and leaving a flavor of bitterness behind. Let me, in conclusion, advise you to cultivate hereafter a better opinion of your fellow-creatures—to display a more generous and genial spirit, and not to suppose that, even with the Atlantic between us, you can take improper liberties with

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Your Obedient Servant,

JOSEPH HOWE.



No. 4.

COPY of a LETTER from Mr. Howe to Earl GREY.

MY LORD,

5, Sloane Street, November 25, 1850.

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 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.

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 8,500 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 inter-colonial 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*l.* 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 3,100 miles; that usually traversed is 3,300.

From Halifax to Galway is	Miles.
Dublin to Holyhead	2,130
	63
	<hr/> 2,193
Holyhead to London	263
Dublin to the South-West Coast of Ireland	120
Halifax to St. John's	266
St. John's to Waterville	200
Waterville to New York	410
	<hr/> 1,259
	<hr/> 3,452

making the whole land and sea distance 152 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 12 miles an hour, would require 92 hours; to run them by rail, at 30 miles an hour, would require but 36 hours. This route would therefore save, in the communication between Europe and America, 56 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 56 hours in going to New York, but must also travel 400 miles on the route to Halifax besides, which will result in a loss of more.

Then, that when the line across Ireland is completed, and that 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 56 or 69 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 56 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 cultivated country and a succession of towns and villages to relieve the eye.

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, 6 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*l.* sterling, must pay 48,000*l.* sterling, or 60,000*l.* currency, over and above its working expenses.

With the Imperial guarantee, we can obtain the funds required at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., reducing the annual interest to 28,000*l.* sterling, or 35,000*l.* 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, wherever 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.

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 the credit of the interest on the loan.

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 interest, 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*l.* 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 it cost England 4 or 5,000,000*l.* to suppress. Immediately after the restoration of tranquillity, the British Government lent the Canadas 1,500,000*l.*

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 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 menaced; 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 350 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—1850, 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 this not 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.

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.

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 road 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 two 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 back-bone 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

realized; 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 inter-colonial policy which the parent State regards as 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 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, nor maintain a garrison in every English town. It does not build a dockyard in every county, nor 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 province all the advantages arising from its proximity to Europe—from its containing within its bosom the high road, 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 burthened 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 rights, 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 1000 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 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 St. 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 30 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*l*. 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 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*l*. 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

humarity. 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 800,000 Blacks is a moral obligation, to be redeemed at the cost of 20,000,000*l.*, 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 10 francs, or 8*s.* 4*d.* sterling, and every man and boy employed receives 50 francs for each voyage besides. For every ton of shipping an American employs in the fishery, his Government pays him 20*s.* 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 those bounties, but she would fit out and own, in addition to her present fleet, at least 1000 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 was 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 inter-colonial 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*l.* The anticipation that the completion of this great work, in connexion 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 across Nova Scotia is commenced, the spirits of the colonists will revive. If extended first to Portland, it will "prepare the way," to employ your Lordship's own language, "for the execution of the line to Quebec; and 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."

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 realize Lord Durham's magnificent conception, and find that the first link in the great chain of inter-colonial 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, then 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 to reflect, 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*l.* 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 some 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.

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.

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 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 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-month, 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.

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 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 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 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, &c.

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

(Signed) JOSEPH HOWE.

No. 5.

COPY of a LETTER from Mr. HOWE to Earl GREY.

MY LORD,

5, Sloane Street, January 16, 1851.

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 too 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 as 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-rites—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. In 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 controul 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 burthens.

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 2,000,000 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*l.* granted by Parliament for the relief of Irish distress, and provisions sent from other countries, 1,216,679*l.* were raised in Ireland for the support of the poor, and that 1,457,194, or nearly 1 out of 5 of the entire population, received relief.

In Scotland, where the population is only 2,620,000, a fifth more than that of British America, 544,334*l.* 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*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.*; 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, 6,186,765*l.* were raised for the relief of the poor, or 1*s.* 10*d.* in the pound on 67,300,587*l.* The number aided was 1,876,541, or about 1 out of every 11 persons occupying this garden of the world. The sum paid for each was even higher than in Scotland, being 3*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* 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 1819 there were in these receptacles, 30,158 boys and 26,165 girls, of whom 8,264 were fit for service. In Ireland, under 18, there were 60,514 boys and 66,285 girls, the aggregate in the two countries being 185,122.

Turning to the criminal calendar, it appears that in 1848 there were committed for offences in England, 30,349; in Scotland, 4,900; and in Ireland, 38,522, making 73,771 in all; of whom 6,298 were transported, and 37,373 imprisoned.

I find that in 1849 you maintained in Ireland a constabulary of 12,828 men, besides horses, at a cost, taking the preceding year as a guide, of 562,506*l.* 10*s.* In England and Wales you employed 9,829 policemen (including the London police), at a cost of 579,327*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* 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 beatles 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*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*

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

forecaste 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 a 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.

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, and which I have carefully examined, challenge in most of their details, my entire sanction.

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 manufactures, 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 the young people who were in the workhouses of England and Ireland in 1849.

Valuable as these Eastern Colonies may be, respectable as may have been the efforts to improve them, it is manifest that whether we regard them as extensive 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 2,500. 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 40; 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 8 or 10 days, and Canada in 12. 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*l*. The cost of a passage to the West rarely exceeds 3*l*. 10*s*., and may be reduced to 2*l*. 10*s*., if steam-ships for the poor are employed.

But mark the disproportion, my Lord, in other respects. If a British or Irishman with capital go to the Eastern Colonies, he must pay 100*l*. sterling for 100 acres of land. If he goes to the Canterbury Settlement he must pay 300*l*. In Western Canada he can get his 100 acres of the best land in the empire for 40*l*.; in Lower Canada for 20*l*.; in New Brunswick (where Professor Johnston declares more wheat is grown to the acre than in the best part of the State of New York), for 12*l*. 10*s*.; and in Nova Scotia for 10*l*., 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*l*. or 300*l*. for every 100 acres. If the poor go out they must begin colonial life by owing that amount, and 20*l*. 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.

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 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 50 to 100 public schools exist in every county; there is a Bible in every house, and few natives of the province grow up but what can read, write, and cypher. 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*l*. 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 2,123 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 5,119 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 2,583.

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 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 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 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 2,455 enrolled militiamen 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 three millions 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, have swept it away, can readily fancy what advantages our neighbours derived from exemption 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.

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 by the 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 during 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, and 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 this 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 the 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 of square miles of territory. All the States of Europe, including Great Britain, measure but 3,708,871. 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 90 acres for every man,

woman, and child, in the United Kingdoms. Now suppose you spare us two millions of people, you will be relieved of that number, who now, driven by destitution to 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 4,480 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 portion 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.

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 limit 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 moment, Nova Scotia's little fleet of 2,583 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 India Islands 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 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.

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 that 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; the lowland peasant's offspring perish annually in the larger 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. Because 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*l.* of debt; their assessed taxes, income-tax, and heavy import duties; their prisons full of convicts; their poor-rate of 7,000,000*l.*; that 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.

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. The 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, an 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 chubbied their muskets at Bloody Creek or charged the enemy at Quenston, have a bit of the land their fathers fought for. Let them have at least the option of ownership 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 100, his 1000 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 preeminently 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 :

		£
<i>Poor Rates.</i>	England	6,180,765
	Scotland	544,334
	Ireland	1,216,679
<i>Constabulary.</i>	England	579,327
	Ireland	562,506
<i>Convicts at home and abroad</i>		378,000
<i>Emigration, 1849 (exclusive of cabin passengers)</i>		
	Paid from Private or Parochial Funds	1,500,000
	Paid by Government	228,300
		<hr/>
		11,189,911

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 prison at York cost 1200*l.* 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, if it were.

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 steam-ships 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, 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 a 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 over 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 Parlian. nt. 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 sea-ports, 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.

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 proportion 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.

Steam-ships may be constructed to carry at least 1000 passengers, with quite as much comfort as is now secured in a first-class 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*l*." The cost of reaching the sea-ports 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 52 days; from Liverpool 45; from London to New York, 43, from Liverpool, 35. The average passage, by steam, from any of the ports I have named, need not exceed—to Nova Scotia 10, to New Brunswick and Canada, 12 days; but assuming 43 days as the average sailing passage from England to America, and 13 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 sea-port, 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 1*s*. a-day in the countries to which they were repairing, would amount to 449,247*l*.

The employment of ocean steam-ships 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*l*. sterling. The ocean omnibus, whether established by Government or by a private association, would save all this in 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 so 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 Government would lay off and prepare their lands for settlement, advertising them in all the British and Irish sea-ports. 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 steam-ships 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 Scotch men, 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 10 days, and the cost to 5*l.*, and thousands would come over here every summer, to return with their hearts warmed towards their British brethren, to teach their children to understand 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, or 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*l.* 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 $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and in the United States, where 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 or dyeing.
Blankets.
Blank books, bound or unbound.
Caps, gloves, leggings, mits, 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.
 Oils 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.
 Paper-hangings.
 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.
 Thread laces.
 Velvet.
 White and red lead.
 Window glass of all kinds.

That pay 25 per cent.

Buttons and button-moulds of all kinds.
 Baizes, flannels, floor-cloths.
 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 palin-leaf.
 Beads.

Hair manufactures of finer descriptions.
 India-rubber manufactures.
 Fur caps, hats, muffs, tippetts.
 Carpets, carpetting, 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 woods.
 Tobacco manufactures.
 Alabaster and spar ornaments.
 Sweetmeats.
 Preserved meats, fish, and fruits.

That pay 100 per cent.

Brandy, whiskey, 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, or 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.

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 inter-colonial 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.

The first 130 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 portions 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, estimates the value of the province, in moveable and immoveable property, at 20,700,000*l.* Without counting wild lands and property upon which labour has not been expended, we rate it at 15,000,000*l.* 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*l.* to 831,071*l.*

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, income-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 6½ per cent.; that of Canada 12½.

All the liabilities of the province amounted on the 31st December, 1849, to 105,643*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.* The Receiver-General writes me that there has been an increase of the revenue during the past year, of 15,000*l.*, which will reduce the liabilities to 90,643*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.* 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*l.* of the whole, which bears no interest. Of the balance, 40,000*l.* 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*l.* and 110,000*l.* The permanent charges on this revenue secured to Her Majesty by the Civil List Bill, are *£6160*. 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 be, 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 3,84288 acres of ungranted Crown lands. These, if required, could also be pledged, or the net amount of sales of lands along the line could be paid over from time to time in liquidation of the loan.

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

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 of 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 air 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; increasing 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.

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 a 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 this 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 unworthy of Heaven who were hung beside him.

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 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 it was sufficient to purchase a tract of land upon the line, with seed and implements to enable them to get in a first crop when the period of service had expired.

This 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 to be discussed were less numerous or important.

I have, &c.

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

(Signed)

JOSEPH HOWE.

