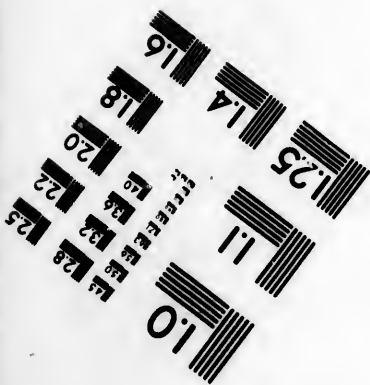
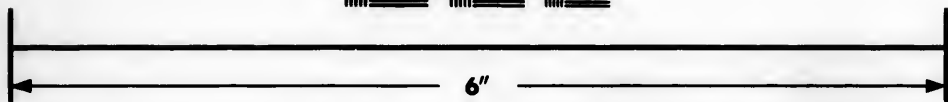
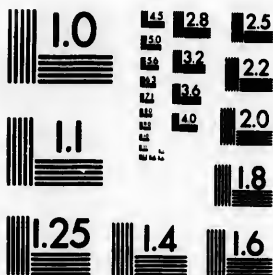


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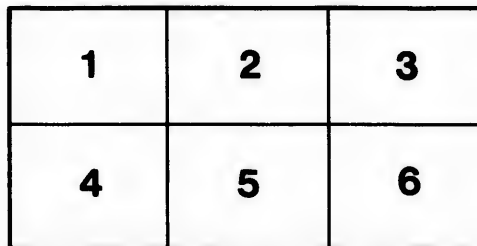
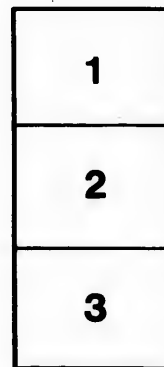
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INTER-COLONIAL RAILWAY.

(Copy.)

No. 27—Miscella.

*Government House, Halifax,
4th April, 1861.*

MY LORD DUKE,—

I have the honor to enclose a joint Address to Her Majesty, passed by the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, on the subject of the Inter-Colonial Railroad.

The question is one of the most vital importance to the interests of this Province, but it is one which has so frequently been brought under the notice of the Imperial Government, that it is hardly necessary for me to add any arguments in its favor.

Information was received from England by last mail, that a strong feeling was getting up there in favour of the proposed line from Halifax to Quebec, and that petitions were preparing for presentation to Parliament. Stimulated by this information, the Legislature of this Province have lost no time in preparing this Address to Her Majesty, in order to assure Her Majesty that their anxiety for the completion of the Inter-Colonial line is unabated.

Your Lordship is aware that since this question was first raised, a line from Halifax to Truro has been completed by the Government of this Colony; but the resources of this Province are at present unable to bear the expense of carrying on the line to the borders of New Brunswick, a distance of about 60 miles, without external aid given either by the Imperial Government, or by a Company taking the line into their own hands.

Should your Lordship, taking into consideration the great national importance of this line of communication between the North American Provinces, be enabled to advise Her Majesty to entertain this subject, my Government, on the part of this Province, will be prepared either to appoint a delegation to wait on your Lordship in England, or to give their most careful and willing consideration to any scheme which has for its object the completion of this great work.

I have, &c.

(Signed.)

MULGRAVE.

His Grace

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, &c. &c. &c.

Nova Scotia.—No. 85.

*Downing Street,
5th May, 1861.*

MY LORD,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch, No. 27, of the 4th of April, enclosing a joint Address to the Queen from the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, soliciting Imperial aid towards the completion of the Railway between Halifax and Quebec.

I have laid this Address before the Queen, but I regret to state that it was not in my power to advise Her Majesty to accede to the prayer of it, as Her Majesty's Government are unable to hold out the prospect of being able to afford any pecuniary aid to the proposed undertaking.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

NEWCASTLE.

Lieutenant Governor

The Right Honorable

THE EARL OF MELGRAVE, &c. &c. &c.

No. 73.—Miscella.

*Government House, Halifax,
29th October, 1861.*

MY LORD DUKE,—

The question of the Inter-Colonial Railroad having been brought under the consideration of the Governments of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, by Mr. Watkin, and other gentlemen from England, it was decided that a delegation from the two latter Provinces should proceed to Quebec to consult with the Government of Canada, in the hope that some united action might be decided upon which would facilitate the carrying out of this most important project; I therefore directed the Hon. Mr. Howe, the Attorney General, and Hon. Mr. McCully, to proceed to England for that purpose.

2. On the 30th Sept. a meeting of the Representatives of the different Governments took place at Quebec, when a resolution—a copy of which is enclosed—was unanimously agreed to.

3. The importance of a Railway communication with Canada, passing through British territory, has so often been recognised by Her Majesty's Government, that I feel that I need offer no apology in again pressing the subject on your Grace's consideration; especially, as at present, there are reasons which would render such a communication more than ordinarily desirable.

4. The encouragement held out at different times by the Government to the formation of this line, has undoubtedly created in this Province the expectation that in consideration of the national importance of the undertaking, the Imperial authorities would not be unwilling to extend their aid in order to ensure its completion, provided such arrangements could be made by the three Provinces as would meet with their approbation.

5. Notwithstanding, therefore, the unfavorable reply which I received from your Grace in answer to the joint Address to Her Majesty from both branches of the Legislature in April last, my Government are emboldened to make one more effort, in the hope that they may now be enabled to bring such new arguments and facts before your Grace as may induce H. M. Government to reconsider the decision at which they have arrived.

6. The Governments of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, are now thoroughly united upon this subject, and have determined to renew the offer originally made of £20,000 a year from each Colony towards the carrying out of this work, notwithstanding the large sums which have since been expended by each of the Provinces for Railway purposes, provided they can obtain the co-operation and assistance of England.

7. I am well aware of the objections entertained in England to subsidies of this description; but, at the same time, there are considerations connected with this undertaking which, I trust, may induce your Grace to consider it of sufficient Imperial interest to justify your giving it your support.

8. I will not pause to point out the advantages which would be derived in time of war by such a communication, extending, as it would, in an unbroken line over a distance of about 1400 miles, because they must be self-evident to your Lordship; and I believe that the advantages which it would offer, even during peace, are such as would nearly, if not quite compensate the Imperial Treasury for the aid requested. £25,000 a year is now paid to the Government of the United States for the transmission of mails to

and from Canada, which would, of course, be saved by the construction of the Inter-Colonial Railway, while the time occupied in their transmission would be considerably diminished. A further saving might also be made in the subsidy paid to the Cunard line of steamers, and troops and warlike stores could at all times be forwarded over the line without incurring the risk and expence of the voyage up the St. Lawrence, which can only be undertaken in the summer season.

9. These three items alone would, I believe, even in a pecuniary point of view, entitle the proposed arrangement to favorable consideration, while, at the same time, it would confer a boon on these Colonies which I believe would tend more than anything else to develop their resources.

10. I have commissioned the Hon. Mr. Howe to proceed to England, to co-operate with the gentlemen who have been selected by the Governor-General of Canada, and the Governor of New Brunswick, and I can only trust that the shape which this question has now assumed may be such as will induce Her Majesty's Government to adopt the proposal.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

MULGRAVE.

His Grace

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, &c. &c. &c.

COPY OF ENCLOSURE IN No. 73 DESPATCH.

Resolution:

At a meeting held in the Executive Council Chamber at Quebec, on the 30th September, 1861, there were present:

Hon. Joseph Howe,	}	From Nova Scotia.
" Mr. Archibald,		
" Mr. McCully,		

Hon. Mr. Tilley,	}	From New Brunswick.
" Mr. Smith,		
" Mr. Mitchell,		
" Mr. Waters,		

Hon. Mr. Cartier,	}	From Canada.
" Mr. McDonald,		
" Mr. Ross,		
" Mr. Vankoughnet,		
" Mr. Alleyne,		
" Sir N. Belleau,		
" Mr. Galt,		
" Mr. Cauchon,		

And it was unanimously *resolved*,

That the three Governments of Canada, New Brunswick and, Nova Scotia, do renew the offers made to the Imperial Government, on the 26th day of October, 1858, to aid in the construction of an Inter-Colonial Railway, to connect Halifax with Quebec; and that a delegation from each Province shall immediately proceed to England, with the object of pressing the project upon the attention of the Home Government, giving the assurance that the Governments of the respective Provinces will endeavor to procure the necessary Legislation at the next ensuing sessions of their respective Parliaments.

And it was further *resolved*, That the route to be adopted be decided by the Imperial Government.

(Certified.)

W. H. LEE,
C. E. C.

Nova Scotia.—No. 116.

*Downing Street,
18th November, 1861.*

MY LORD,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch, No. 73, of the 20th of October, reporting that the Honble. Mr. Howe has been commissioned to proceed to England to co-operate with the gentlemen who have been deputed by the Governments of Canada and New Brunswick in submitting to Her Majesty's Government the question of affording Imperial aid towards the completion of a line of Inter-Colonial Railway between Halifax and Quebec.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

NEWCASTLE.

Lieutenant Governor

The Right Honorable

THE EARL OF MULGRAVE, &c. &c. &c.

*Railway Office, Halifax,
Sept. 20th, 1861.*

SIR,—

In conformity with my instructions received in that behalf, I proceeded on the 12th instant to Fredericton, N. B., accompanied by Messrs. Nelson and Baat, lately from London, and had several interviews with the Executive Government of New Brunswick, which happened to be in session.

Having been invited to a seat at their Council Board, Francis Giles, Esquire, who had lately arrived from Great Britain, and desired an interview on the subject of the Inter-Colonial Railway between Canada and Halifax, was requested to submit any views he wished to communicate to the Board, which he did accordingly.

Messrs. Nelson and Baat were subsequently heard on the same topic.

None of these gentlemen were in any way officially accredited, nor affected to represent any organized Company or interest. They all urged the desirability of the road in question, and Mr. Nelson submitted a printed pamphlet (and a map annexed) containing a brief history of previous negotiations on the subject, prepared by himself, and an account of a highly respectable and influential delegation, or deputation rather, which had, not long previously, waited upon his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, in relation to the subject, and the Duke's reply.

After hearing these gentlemen at length, we were unanimously of opinion that the only proper way to revive the question and promote the construction of an Inter-Colonial Railway, was to secure some joint action on the part of the three Provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, preparatory to any application to the British Government for aid in an enterprise which, by common consent, could only be consummated by material assistance from the Imperial parliament.

In this view of the case, and considering it a very opportune occasion to revive the consideration of the construction of this great public work, it was decided to invite the Government of Canada to meet and confer at an early day in reference to the subject.

Entertaining no doubt but that the Government of Nova Scotia would unite in such a conference, I made the enquiry by telegraph, which, being answered affirmatively, I felt that I had accomplished all that, under existing circumstances, could be expected from the mission with which I was charged, a report of which I thus have the honor to submit for the information of His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor of this Province.

I remain, sir, &c.

J. McCULLY.

To the Honorable JOSEPH HOWE,
Provincial Secretary, &c. &c.

At a Council held at the Government House, at Halifax, on the 24th day of September, 1861,

Present:

His Excellency the Right Honorable the EARL OF MULGRAVE,
Lieutenant Governor, &c., &c., &c.

A Delegation having been arranged with the Governments of Canada and New Brunswick on the subject of the Inter-Colonial Railway between the harbor of Halifax and the River St. Lawrence, His Excellency, by the advice of the Council, is pleased to appoint the Honorable the President, and the Attorney General, and Solicitor General, as Delegates to proceed to Quebec, and to confer with the Governments of the neighboring Provinces on that subject.

The foregoing is a true copy of the original Minute.

Certified by

WILLIAM H. KEATING,
Clerk of the Council.

Halifax, October 24th, 1861.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—

In obedience to your Excellency's commands, we proceeded to Portland, via Windsor and St. John, and arrived there on Saturday morning, the 28th September. We found there a special train waiting for us, and went forward over the Grand Trunk Company's line, through Richmond to Quebec, where we arrived at ten o'clock on Saturday night.

The delegates from New Brunswick, the Hon. S. L. Tilley, Provincial Secretary; the Hon. A. J. Smith, Attorney General; the Hon. Peter Mitchell, and the Hon. Charles Waters, had arrived on Friday. Messrs. Watkin, Nelson, and other gentlemen representing English interests, were also at Quebec.

On Monday the delegates from the Maritime Provinces were invited to meet the leading members of the Canadian Government, to discuss the business of their mission.

The Hon. G. E. Carter,
" John A. McDonald,
" Joseph Cauchon,
" Charles Alleyne,
" P. M. Vankoughnet,
" A. T. Galt,
" Sir N. F. Belleau, Kt.,

were present. Our conference lasted for some hours, and was conducted in a spirit of harmony and conciliation honorable to all parties. We were gratified to find that the interest manifested by our sister Provinces upon former occasions, in favor of an Inter-Colonial Railway, had not diminished; and that instead of having to encounter influences, which, in 1851 and 1852, defeated the enterprise, the unfortunate position into which English capitalists and shareholders had been drawn, assured us of their active co-operation in favor of the national work, which it was now clearly perceived was indispensable to the security and profitable working of the roads already constructed.

We stated to the Delegates that a Despatch had been received here from His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, in which an unfavorable answer was given to the application for aid to the Inter-Colonial Railway, contained in the Address of the two branches of our Legislature, adopted in April last. That Despatch had been written on the 5th May, weeks before the Deputation of Bankers, Merchants, and Members of Parliament waited on

the Colonial Secretary, and it was assumed by the gentlemen from home that His Grace had since become more favorably impressed with the importance of the work, and only waited for a distinct proposition, matured by the three Colonial Governments, to give the project support in the Cabinet and in Parliament. Whether or not the gentlemen who took this view of the case were accurately informed, or were over sanguine, we could not decide; but it was clear that, to mature a policy, and make a distinct proposition, was the readiest way to ascertain the views of Her Majesty's Government. There was no difficulty in doing this. The propositions embodied in the legislation of 1849, and reiterated by the joint Delegations of 1858, formed the best basis for an overture. The renewal of the offer of £60,000 Sterling per annum, in equal proportions of £20,000 from each Province, were held to believe, would be sufficient to secure a Parliamentary grant of £60,000 annually, and the cordial co-operation of all the leading English interests.

Knowing how heavily our resources are already burthened, and how natural and strong is the desire for the extension of our Railroads, east and west, we would have much preferred that any proposition should have been accompanied by a stipulation, that the Company formed to carry out the works should purchase, at cost and charges, the sixty miles of Road already constructed between Halifax and Truro. It was impossible, however, to resist the conviction that any such stipulation would be fatal to the whole scheme. £3,000,000 Sterling were required to unite the lines already formed; and had we insisted upon the purchase of our road, we could not, with any fairness, have resisted similar claims which the other Colonies would have preferred with equal justice. To purchase up the Canadian line from Quebec to the Riviere du Loup, the road from Truro to Halifax, and such portions of the New Brunswick road as might perhaps be appropriated, would require about £2,000,000, leaving but half that amount for the construction of the intervening portions. No Company could be expected, in the present condition of the stock and share market, to advance this Capital, and run the risk of completing a road that, however desirable for national and inter-colonial purposes, even British Americans are not sanguine enough to believe, can, for some years at least, be profitable as a commercial enterprise. Besides, it was impossible to shut our eyes to the magnitude of the burthen assumed by Canada for the construction of the great lines above Quebec, and to the heavy losses borne by the stockholders of the Grand Trunk. It was also impossible not to feel that New Brunswick, with a smaller population, was bearing a burthen equal to that of Nova Scotia, and would be left to bear that burthen, whether any portion of her valley line were appropriated or not, even after the Inter-Colonial line should be made.

There was a more cheerful aspect of the question. Connection, it was apparent, would make all the existing lines more profitable, and whatever the Provinces risked would be in part repaid by the increased traffic over their roads. It was also certain that immigration, which now flies off at all parts of the seaboard and of the frontier, poured into the heart of British America, would there remain, increasing her population and revenues. Looking to the present temper of our Republican neighbors, it was obvious that, as a measure of precaution and defence, the British Government and all the Provinces might ultimately save money by making this road at any present sacrifice.

These views, temperately urged or mutually entertained, led to the adoption of the Minute of Council which we have the honor to enclose.

The question of route has been left, your Lordship will perceive, as it was in 1849 and 1858, to the decision of Her Majesty's Government.

A joint delegation to England was pressed by the gentlemen who had come from thence, and appeared to be a foregone conclusion, assuming that any impression was to be made upon Her Majesty's Government, or that any measure was to be ripened before the meeting of the Provincial Parliaments. It was arranged that Delegates should be sent. The Hon. Mr. Vankoughnet, Commissioner of Crown Lands, has been selected by the Government of Canada, and the Hon. Mr. Tilley, Provincial Secretary, is

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to represent New Brunswick. They are to leave for England about the end of this month.

Having completed our business at Quebec, we thought it very desirable, with a view to the discussions which might arise either in England or in our own Legislature, that we should inspect the Railways with which it is proposed to connect our lines, and see the country by the traffic and intercourse of which the whole system is to be sustained. Mr. Watkin and the chief officers of the Grand Trunk invited us to see their road, and gave us every facility for examining it with rapidity and ease. The same courtesy was extended to us by the chief officers of the Great Western, the Prescott and Ottawa, the Michigan Central, and the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy roads, to all of whom we are under deep obligations, not only for special trains and private carriages whenever our personal comfort or the object of our mission could be promoted, but for much pleasant intercourse and a large amount of valuable information.

We ran over the Grand Trunk from Riviere du Loup to Sarnia, and from Sarnia to Detroit,—the last 68 miles being through the territory of the United States. Feeling an invincible desire to see Chicago, the great centre of Western Trade and civilization, which stands in the same relation to the boundless and rich prairie country around it, that Halifax does to the sea, we took the Michigan Central, and spent a day in that city; and, taking the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy road, went as far as Mendota, and spent a day upon the prairies.

Returning to Detroit, we took the Great Western of Canada, and traversed the whole of that line from Windsor to Niagara and Hamilton, returned to Montreal and Portland by the Grand Trunk. As we went westward we diverged from the Main Line, and passed over the Prescott and Ottawa, for the purpose of inspecting an important feeder of the great system, and of looking at the future metropolis of Canada.

The final decision upon the main question now rests with the Imperial Government. It is not for us to anticipate. We have, in Nova Scotia, been so often disappointed, that, reading the future by the past, we ought not to be very sanguine. Success may crown what ought to be a last effort. At all events, we cannot honorably decline to co-operate with the gentlemen who have invited a Delegation to England, or leave the other Colonies, unsupported, to advocate our common interests.

We have, &c.,

(Signed)

JOSEPH HOWE,
ADAMS G. ARCHIBALD,
J. McCULLY.

His Excellency

The Right Honorable

THE EARL OF MULGRAVE, &c. &c. &c.

(Nova Scotia.)

At a Council held at Halifax, on the 26th day of October, 1861,

Present:

His Excellency the Right Honorable the EARL OF MULGRAVE,
Lieutenant Governor, &c., &c., &c.

It appearing to His Excellency and the Council desirable, that some member of the Board should be charged to proceed to England, to conduct, with Delegates from Canada and New Brunswick, a negotiation in respect to the Inter-Colonial Railway, with Her Majesty's Government, and to generally represent and protect the interests of this Province at the present time; and the opinion of His Excellency and the Council being, that the execution of this important service should be entrusted to the Honorable Mr. Howe, it was unanimously

Resolved, That that gentleman be, and he is hereby, authorized to proceed on a mission to England, for the purposes before mentioned, with full authority to represent the interests of the Province, and the views of the Provincial Government.

A true copy.

Certified.

W. H. KEATING,

Clerk of Council.

Halifax, 5th April, 1862.

MY LORD,—

In obedience to Your Excellency's commands I proceeded to England in the steamship *Arabia*, leaving Halifax on the 1st November, landing on the 11th, and returning in the *Europa* on the 25th January. The Hon. S. L. Tilley, Provincial Secretary of New Brunswick, went over with me, but the Hon. P. M. Vankoughnet, the delegate from Canada, was wrecked on his passage down the St. Lawrence, and did not reach England until late in November.

A few days after our arrival Mr. Tilley and I waited upon the Duke of Newcastle, presented our credentials, and discussed with His Grace the objects of our mission.

We were gratified to find that His Grace viewed most favorably the enterprise which we had been sent to England to advocate. His opinions were frankly avowed, but, while he promised us his aid, he did not conceal from us his opinion that there were difficulties in the way that would probably require all our skill and industry to overcome. His Grace advised us to see Lord Palmerston, and such other members of the Cabinet as might be in town from time to time, and left us free to take any steps that we might consider judicious, in order to rouse and combine public opinion in aid of the project: that the decision of the Cabinet, if it were favorable, might be fortified and sustained by memorials from the large towns and principal centres of commerce in the three kingdoms.

On the arrival of Mr. Vankoughnet we saw in succession the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretary at War, and the President of the Board of Trade, and explained to them the nature of the enterprise and the views of our respective Governments.

Though the subject had been almost exhausted by previous delegations, it appeared prudent to construct an argument, based upon the latest information, and it was, in point of form, indispensable that we should place in the hands of the Colonial Secretary some written paper upon which he could invite the deliberation of the Cabinet.

We had nearly completed this task when the news arrived in England of the arrest of the Southern Commissioners. The determination of Her Majesty's Government to demand reparation was almost instantly known. The moment that a war in winter with the United States became imminent, we could not but feel that our mission was suddenly invested with a dignity and importance, that could only be measured by the difficulties and the cost of protecting our Canadian frontier in case reparation should be refused. It was clear that circumstances favored our exertions, in proportion as they confirmed the anticipations and the arguments of those who had preceded us. We lost no time in addressing the following letter to His Grace the Colonial Secretary:

London, December 2nd, 1861.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—

The undersigned, having presented their credentials and discussed informally with your Grace, and with some other members of the Cabinet, the objects of their mission, were about to forward to your Grace a communication on the subject of the Inter-Colonial Railroad, (the draft of which they

enclose) when the startling events of the past week rendered that task supererogatory.

Those events so completely vindicate the forethought and patriotism of the Colonial Legislatures—of the gentlemen who, from time to time, have represented their views in this country, and of the British Statesmen who have given them countenance and aid, that the undersigned deem it unnecessary to do more than to present to your Grace a list of the papers in which their arguments are embodied, and a copy of the Minute of Council, by which they have been empowered to make, as they now do in the terms of that Minute, a renewed offer to Her Majesty's Government.

The war which, in the Provinces, we have long foreseen as likely to arise out of complications between the Mother Country and the United States of America, is now imminent. The frontier, which would have been defended by means of rapid communication, is unprotected, and exposed to the concentration of troops upon the termini of at least seven railroads. Winter is upon us, and a hundred thousand men can be thrown, by the enemy, upon the frontier, with more ease, than a single battery can be transported to Canada, or a single barrel of flour can be brought down to the seaboard Provinces: which, cut off by war from the United States, and by ice from Canada, must depend upon Europe for Breadstuffs, with the granaries of half a continent in their rear.

If those events, and strategic contrasts, now patent to all the world, do not plead the cause of British America, and finally settle this question, the undersigned feel that anything they could add would be a needless intrusion upon the patience of the Cabinet.

The undersigned do not believe, that in presence of the perils which all Her Majesty's subjects are called upon to confront, an hour should be lost in deciding upon a question which lies at the very basis of national defence. If the Provinces are to be plunged into a war, without the cheap defence which they have urged was indispensable to their protection, let them have at least the satisfaction of reflecting that it is for the last time; and if our commerce is to be imperilled, and our cities exposed to pillage and conflagration, let us not have to defend both with the depressing conviction on our minds, that Her Majesty's ministers are indifferent to our position, and care less for the security of our frontier than they do for that of their island homes.

Whatever the answer is to be, the undersigned would respectfully urge that it should not be long delayed. War will find all the Provinces in many ways unprepared, and the undersigned, upon whom will rest heavy responsibilities, will require every hour of time to meet the exigencies of the period as they ought. They will not permit themselves to believe that any but one answer will be given; but whatever the answer is, it should, if possible, be prompt and decisive, that their minds may be freed from other thoughts than those which the stern duties of the hour imperatively demand.

We have the honor to be,

Your Grace's

Most obedient,

Very humble servants,

P. M. VANKOUGHNET,

For Canada.

JOSEPH HOWE,

For Nova Scotia.

S. L. TILLEY,

For New Brunswick.

To His Grace

The DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, &c. &c. &c.

MEMORANDUM.

The undersigned have been deputed by the Governments of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, to submit a renewed proposition for the completion of the Inter-Colonial Railroad, connecting the Harbor of Halifax—which is open all the year round—with the Railways on the St. Lawrence. Having delivered our credentials, and discussed the subject of our mission with His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, and with some other members of the Cabinet, we now proceed to submit, in a more formal shape, a recapitulation of the grounds upon which we think that the proposition we have been sent to make, ought to be favorably and speedily entertained. These naturally divide themselves under three heads:

1. To what extent previous communications with the Imperial Government have justly led the Provinces to rely upon Imperial assistance, in the construction of that which has been admitted to be an Imperial work.

2. The reasons of public policy which render its construction, at the present time, a measure of wise precaution, indispensable to our national defence; and

3rd. The financial aspect of the question.

We beg, in the first place, to refer to the Memorandum dated August, 1857, and signed by Messrs. MacDonald and Rose, together with the Letter of Messrs. Johnston and Archibald, of 20th August, 1857; and also to Memorandum dated 26th October, 1858, and signed by Messrs. Cartier, Ross, Galt, Fisher, Smith, Tupper, Henry and Dickie, which contain the history of the question so far as respects the general argument. These papers are enclosed.

To the Memorandum and Letter of August, 1857, a reply is contained in the Despatch of the Right Honorable H. Labouchere, addressed to the Governor-General of Canada, and dated 15th May, 1858. That Despatch states:

"Although participating with the members of the several Local Governments, and with their own predecessors in office, in a strong sense of the importance of this object, Her Majesty's advisers cannot feel themselves justified in applying to Parliament for the required guarantee. Their reasons for declining to take this step are solely of a financial description. They feel that the heavy expenditure to which this country has been subjected of late years, and the calls upon the resources of the Empire for pressing emergencies, do not leave them at liberty, for the present at least, to pledge its revenue to so considerable an extent, for the purpose of assisting in the construction of public works of this character, however in themselves desirable."

In answer to the Memorandum of the 26th October, 1858, a despatch from the Right Honorable Sir E. B. Lytton to the Governor-General of Canada, and the Lieutenant-Governors of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and dated 24th December, 1858, states, that

"Independently of any military advantages which might attend the existence of an uninterrupted communication by rail over British territory, in the event of any disturbance of the existing friendly relations of Great Britain with all other Countries—some benefits of an imperial kind would at once accrue from the completion of the Inter-Colonial Railway. The letters from England would pass over a shorter and cheaper route; and the movement of troops would gain in point of convenience and economy."

The Despatch, however, postpones imperial assistance, for reasons analogous to those given in the Despatch of Sir H. Labouchere. This Despatch closes the official correspondence on the subject.

We submit therefore, appealing to past communications, that the Provinces have full justification for relying upon imperial co-operation, to be rendered at least when the position of Great Britain warranted her in undertaking the responsibility of the completion of the Inter-Colonial Railway.

The undersigned feel that here they might rest their case, as they do not believe that Her Majesty's Advisers will forget the hopes held out by previous Governments, or press a literal construction of any bargain or understanding with the Colonies; where, especially as in this case, it can be shown that in a measure of common interest and mutual defence, the Colonies have already done more than their share; but they are desirous to meet every argument by which the proposition for imperial aid may be opposed.

Those who in this country fear the cost of Colonial Garrisons in the West, should remember that the British Provinces lost more, during the last war, than those garrisons have ever cost; and that, in a single year of war with the United States, they would again lose more than the value of all the military expenditure for half a century to come.

We are content, however, with our present position, and with the affectionate and honorable relations with the mother country, which it is clearly our mutual interest to maintain, and which were never more firmly based in thorough loyalty than at this moment. But the question arises always—How can the connection be best cemented, and the frontier be put in the best attitude of defence?

The Colonial Secretary, who has recently visited America, does not require to be informed that, since the war of 1812, the United States have covered their country with a network of Railways, and that seven of these lines run directly in upon the Canadian frontier; while others traverse or reach the shores of the great lakes commanding the chief entrepôts of Canadian commerce, and others again extend to the seaboard cities directly fronting the Province of Nova Scotia, or through the State of Maine to within eighty miles of the borders of New Brunswick. If these Railroads did not exist, the Colonial Militia, with slight aid from the Imperial Government, could defend our frontiers in case of war, as they did in 1812. But, by the aid of these Railroads, it is obvious that the United States could at any time, within a week, concentrate upon their termini a hundred thousand men or more, a force that we might in the end successfully oppose, but one so formidable as to enable them to capture, and, if they were so disposed, to destroy, our chief cities, before, by any means at our disposal, we could concentrate our domestic forces, or receive effective aid from England. While the United States maintained an army of only 10,000 men, the danger of a surprise did not appear to be very imminent. A few British regiments would have been sufficient to cope with such a force, and our Volunteers, with such instructors, could have been disciplined as fast as theirs.

But all this has been changed within the year. The Northern States have now at least a quarter of a million of embodied troops upon the Potomac, considerable numbers under arms in various States, and 50,000 three-months men, who have returned to their homes, with some degree of discipline and some knowledge of camp life. The whole of the Northern States is one vast recruiting ground. Should the present civil war continue, it is contended by some that there will be full employment for these forces at the South; but vulnerable as Canada now is, she invites attack from that surplus force which now exists. But when this contest ends, and end it must (even should no conflict with us mark the interval) either by exhaustion, by conquest, or by the interference of Foreign powers, there will remain in the Northern States two or three hundred thousand trained soldiers, with a fair proportion of ambitious military chieftains, emulous of distinction; or, it may be, not indisposed to wipe out, in foreign fields, the remembrance of discomfitures experienced in civil strife. Besides disciplined masses of soldiers, the United States will have accumulated vast stores of warlike material. Enormous quantities of small arms and of cannon have been purchased or manufactured, and the establishments, founded by a lavish expenditure, can readily supply as many more. The United States thus have been suddenly transformed from peaceful communities, pursuing lawful commerce, to a Military Republic.

The British Provinces survey these phenomena without fear, but not without emotion; and they ask, as the first measure of indispensable precaution and obvious defence, that the Inter-Colonial Railroad shall be completed without delay.

Without that Road the Provinces are dislocated, and almost incapable of defence, for a great portion of the year, except at such a sacrifice of life and property, and at such an enormous cost to the mother country, as makes the small contribution which she is asked to give towards its construction sink into insignificance. With that Railroad we can concentrate our forces on the menaced points of our frontier, guard the Citadels and works which have been erected by Great Britain at vast expense, cover our cities from surprise, and

hold our own till reinforcements can be sent across the sea; while, without the Railway, if an attack were made in winter, the mother country could put no army worthy of the national honor, and adequate to the exigency, upon the Canadian frontier, without a positive waste of treasure, far greater than the principal of the sum, the interest of which she is asked to contribute, or rather to risk.

The British Government have built expensive Citadels at Halifax, Quebec, and Kingston, and have stores of munitions and warlike material in them. But their feeble garrisons will be inadequate for their defence unless the Provincial forces can be concentrated in and around them. An enterprising enemy would carry them by coups de main before they could be reinforced from England, and, once taken, the ports and roadsteads which they have been erected to defend, would not be over-safe for the naval armaments sent out too late for their relief.

Since this subject was pressed upon the attention of the British Government, in 1851, taking the very moderate military expenditure of last year as the basis of an estimate, £4,417,590 have been expended in the British Provinces for the maintenance of a few thousand troops in time of profound peace. Of what avail is this expenditure? With what object has it been incurred, or are similar disbursements to be continued, if the only work, which, during five months of the year, will furnish the means of securing the Provinces, is to be neglected? Why spend so much money, if it is to be of no use hereafter, and if proper precautions are not taken to protect the property which has been made thus valuable.

Therefore, we desire to strengthen our frontier by the completion of a work indispensable to its defence. It is not too much to say that the construction of the Inter-Colonial Railroad might save us the cost of a war; for the Americans are themselves sagacious enough to see, that with that work completed, surprise is impossible, and the results of a protracted war at least extremely doubtful. Without it, Canada and the Maritime Provinces may be cut asunder, and outflanked at any moment, without the possibility of their population leaning upon common points of support and aiding and strengthening each other. We are reluctant to believe, then, that Her Majesty's Government will forget the opinion expressed by Lord Durham in his report, or will, even if disposed to construe strictly the terms of the offer made in 1851 by Lord Grey, overlook the momentous interests now at stake, or the altered circumstances which, at the present moment, invest this subject with so much of national interest and importance.

Though the undersigned argue this question upon higher grounds than those of mere finance, they repeat that they are not indifferent to the financial aspect of it.

The colonies, unaided, have themselves, since 1851, already made nearly one-half of the Railway route, and the construction of about 350 miles more, by the joint action of the Imperial and Colonial Governments, will complete the Inter-Colonial Railway. Our Governments and people, having done so much already, now propose to contribute more than one-half of the liability of what remains, and thus to be responsible for £60,000 a-year, and also for the right of way. The mother country is now asked to give £60,000 a-year so long only as the revenue of the Railway is inadequate to meet the interest.

What is she to get or to save? is not, however, an unreasonable question. We will endeavor to supply an answer.

The British Government now pay to two lines of steamers, one of which carries the mails and passengers past the British Provinces, £189,500. Make the Inter-Colonial Railroad, and there cannot be the slightest pretence, under any circumstances, for continuing these subsidies beyond the port of Halifax, and the subsidy ought then not to exceed £112,000, the amount of postage now actually received.

If the contract for the Galway line is renewed, the subsidy should only cover the sea-service, from the nearest point in Ireland to the nearest port on the Continent of America. It is a mistake to suppose that subsidies are required to maintain communications between the maritime Provinces and the United States. Steamers run all summer from Halifax and St. John to Portland and

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Boston, maintained by private enterprise, and will soon be adequate to the winter service, if left to a fair field of open competition. Subsidies to a reliable line of ocean steamers, may, by the British Government, notwithstanding the differences of opinion existing, be considered indispensable; but these, if limited to the amount of postage, (£112,000) would save £77,500 a-year, so soon as the Inter-Colonial Railroad is completed to Halifax. This saving would more than cover the entire sum which the Imperial Government is now asked to risk to insure the construction of that work.

But, in addition to the cost of ocean steamers, the British people now pay for the transmission of their correspondence with their own Provinces, twelve and a-half cents per ounce on letters, and two cents on newspapers sent through the United States, amounting in the whole to a large sum per annum, which could be saved to the country.

The cost of conveying, by land, a single regiment from Halifax to Quebec, in 1838, is stated to have been £30,000. The cost of transportation in winter was so great in 1855, that the regiments, so much wanted in the Crimea and not required in Canada at all, had to be left there till the war was over.

Were the Inter-Colonial Railway built, troops could be forwarded from Halifax to Quebec in four and twenty hours.

If to the amount which may be fairly deducted from the steamship subsidies, be added the amount paid to the Post Office of the United States, and the actual cost of moving troops and material on an average of ten years, the figures will show an amount of saving far beyond the aid asked for, and which ought to satisfy the most rigid economist that, while what we urge secures Imperial interests now in peril, it saves the resources of the English people.

There is one view of this subject which, surely, should not be overlooked. Within the last ten years, but 235,285 emigrants from the British Islands went to the Provinces, while more than six times the number, or 1,495,243 went to the United States, and are now citizens of that country, whose commercial policy is seen in the Morrill Tariff, which shuts out the manufactures of this country. Let us hope that it is not too late to turn the tide of emigration elsewhere, that the life-blood of the parent state may not be drained off to extend the power of a people who, alone, can threaten or endanger the British rule in America, and whose jealous sensitiveness renders a continuance of their friendship, towards Great Britain, at all times uncertain.

The proposal made to the British Government is, to join the three Provinces in a guarantee of four per cent. upon £3,000,000 Sterling, the assumed cost of the proposed works, less, the cost of the right of way, which the Provinces will provide. The Provinces are ready to pass Bills of supply for £60,000 a year, if the Imperial Government will do the same; and, as no doubt this imperial route will gradually work on with increasing returns, the sum of the risk will gradually diminish; until at last, and perhaps before many years are over, the liability may cease altogether. The Canadian Railway Companies are open to treat for the working of the new line so as to avoid any liability beyond the gross amount of the joint guarantee. The selection of the route of the line is left solely to the British Government.

Should the British Government prefer to raise the capital for building the road, their outside responsibility, under such arrangements, would be three and a quarter per cent. on £3,000,000, or about £97,500 a year, and the Provinces would still be responsible for one-half, leaving a net liability to the British Government of only £48,750 a year; but if they are not disposed thus to increase their nominal and decrease their real responsibility, the sum required for the estimated length of 350 miles of Railway, namely, £3,000,000, can be raised on the terms named, viz: by the mutual guarantee of £120,000 a year, or £60,000 a-year from the Provinces, and £60,000 a-year from the British Government, which guarantee will enable the issue at par of £3,000,000 of four per cent. Stock.

And now, believing that in this and former papers submitted to the Imperial authorities, all the arguments in detail in favor of the Inter-Colonial policy sought for, have been fully set forth, the undersigned have only to add that it appears to them that such arguments are conclusive; that the subject should be looked upon and dealt with mainly in regard to the consideration of permanent con-

nection between Great Britain and the Provinces, and the relative positions of England and the United States, in the event of hostilities between them.

Is or is not the completion of the line of Railway between Halifax and Quebec essential, or at least of infinite importance, as enabling England to carry on by land, as well as by sea, a war with the only power in America which can assail her, as enabling her to protect a portion of her own dominions?

Should war with the United States of America break out during the present or any winter, how is England to cope with her adversary by land? How can she transport, a month hence, to the points of strategy in Canada, the necessary troops and material of war? and to what mortification and disaster may not her few soldiers, usually in garrison there, be subjected, for want of that aid which the Inter-Colonial Railway could bring them? Again, England has pledged herself, and, without a formal pledge, would doubtless strive that the whole force of the Empire should be put forth for the defence of the Provinces in the event of a foreign invasion, but how can that strength be put forth in Canada, without the means of reaching it in winter?

But while she may, by her navy, hold the American seaboard in terror, the American forces can enter Canada, and three millions of people will be left to cope with twenty millions in a war, in the cause of which they would have had no concern, and in the conduct of which they could have no voice.

A dispute in the China seas may involve the United States and England in war; and Canada, without this means of protection, will have to bear the brunt and suffering of it, without having provoked the difference, or being directly interested in the quarrel.

The undersigned must desire it to be understood, that the financial position of the Provinces does not enable them to hold out any hope that more than is herein proposed can be offered by the Provinces themselves. The heavy responsibilities for her Railway undertakings, now pressing upon her, have compelled Canada, in order to preserve her credit with her debenture holders, to impose import duties on a scale which has already raised discussion in England, and laid her under the imputation of having had resort to a system of commercial protection, when in fact she was simply straining her resources, to preserve her credit and good faith.

To her, therefore, as well as to the other Provinces, greater sacrifices are impossible.

As the selection of the route to be adopted has been confided by the Provinces to the British Government, and all local disputes in regard to it thus removed, the undersigned would urge the importance of making use of the coming winter to select and locate the line of Railway. And, if it were possible, to lay upon the ground some of the heavier material, most valuable time would also be gained.

The line can be completed in two summers, if the coming winter be used, and in such case the Railway may be completed by the fall of 1863.

Mr. Edward Watkin and Mr. Joseph Nelson, who were presented to Your Excellency last autumn,—the former representing the proprietors of the Grand Trunk Railway, and the latter having been the very zealous advocate of the Inter-Colonial Railway for several years past—were indefatigable in their efforts to aid us. They furnished much valuable information, opened the way to influential individuals and municipalities, and spared no pains to enable us to accomplish the objects of our mission.

As the Manchester school of politicians had been hitherto regarded as hostile or indifferent to Colonial interests, and as the Ministry rested to some extent upon the support of Lancashire, it was considered advisable to make an effort to change the current of public opinion in that very influential County. If this could be done, one difficulty would be removed out of the way of the Cabinet. If it could not, resting as it did upon so small a majority, the decision must be unfavorable. To carry Lancashire with us, was felt to be of vast importance: and, with this view, Mr. Tilley and myself, accompanied by Mr. Watkin, went down to Manchester, and spent ten

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days in active exertions to interest the population in the future of British America.

We waited upon the Mayor and Corporation of Manchester who received us with great courtesy, and who, convinced by our arguments, have since memorialized Her Majesty's Government in favor of the Railway. We accepted invitations from the Mayors of Oldham and of Ashton-Under-Lyne, to dine with them and to address public meetings in those cities. In both we were received with marked distinction, and heard with great patience; and from both we brought away with us the conviction, that if more pains were taken by the North American Provinces to make their resources and their policy known in the great cities and rural districts of the mother country, it would tend to their mutual advantage.

Other cities would have been visited, but the sudden death of the Prince Consort occupied all minds, and overwhelmed the country with grief till after the close of the year; and besides, our presence in London was much required, to furnish information to the departments charged with preparations for the defence of British America. We were often consulted, but, while we could not but admire the generous promptitude displayed by Her Majesty's Government in vindicating the national honor and preparing for the defence of the Colonies, we were often painfully impressed with the conviction that, had war been declared, costly errors would have been committed in every department, for the want of just such information as well-trained Colonists could supply.

It was apparent that until the issue of peace or war was decided, we could expect no answer to the proposition we had submitted; because, if war came, all the laboring population of the Provinces would be required for self-defence; and, if called to bear its burthens, it was not reasonable to expect that the mother country would assume any pecuniary liabilities that could be postponed until after the termination of the contest.

Mr. Tilley was compelled to return home at the close of the year. I lingered till the news of peace came, and, in the meantime, accepted an invitation to the ancient city of Bristol, the commercial metropolis of the West of England. I addressed the principal merchants and most influential citizens, carried a unanimous vote in favor of the Railway, and was most hospitably entertained, by the descendants of those who saw the keels of the earliest navigators, fitted out by the "merchant adventurers" of Bristol, start on those voyages of discovery which have so long connected their names with the history of British America. Mr. Nelson accompanied me to Bristol, and was there, as elsewhere, of great service, from his knowledge of the city and of its inhabitants.

On my return to London, Mr. Vankoughnet and myself addressed ourselves to the discussion of certain points, informally raised by the Colonial Secretary, and furnished such information as was required to complete the case we had presented.

Having been in England several times, on missions deeply affecting the interests of my countrymen, the conviction has been for years becoming stronger that the North American Provinces ought to be represented in London by some permanent body or association. The experiments made, during this and former visits, satisfied me that the people of the mother country require only to be informed to take a deep interest in these Provinces—to turn the streams of immigration hither; and to supply, for the development of their boundless resources, any amount of capital. Australia is represented in England by a body of far seeing persons, interested in her prosperity. Australia votes £100,000 to promote emigration, and dedicates £5000 of it to pay able lecturers on her capabilities and resources. The results of this policy are everywhere apparent. If you take up a newspaper or a periodical, Australia strikes the eye on every page. If you enter a scientific society somebody is lecturing on the topography or resources of that great Island; and, in society, for one person that you meet who knows anything accurately of British America, there are ten who have either returned from or read something about Australia. The conviction that the time had come when these Provinces should secure some means of permanent advocacy, and illustration

was forced upon my mind by all I saw and heard in England. Having discussed the subject with my colleagues, with Mr. Watkin, Mr. Nelson, and with some of the leading bankers and merchants of London, I was requested to draw up a Prospectus of an Association, which I was assured would be generously patronized and sustained. The Prospectus, a copy of which is appended to this report, was prepared and printed for private circulation; and, although I was compelled to leave before a meeting could be held, it is to me a subject of sincere congratulation that this movement has been crowned by a degree of success far beyond my most sanguine expectations.

British Americans will shortly have a home in London, the means of ready introduction to all the channels of trade, and to all circles of society. The Provinces will have the advantage and the aid of a powerful body, thoroughly comprehending their interests, and prompt to aid them in every forward movement. Minutes of the proceedings of the British American Association, with official letters from the Secretary, are appended to this Report.

Just before leaving London, I was honored by invitations from the Mayors of Liverpool and Chester to dine with them, and address the inhabitants of those cities. Being compelled to return home in time for the meeting of the Legislature, I reluctantly declined distinctions and opportunities which, on many accounts, I ought to have improved, and would have very highly prized.

As Mr. Vankoughnet could only linger a few weeks, it was necessary to organize a working committee to whom should be entrusted the task of getting up memorials from the large towns, and promoting the enterprise in the absence of the delegation. Mr. V. did not leave till this was done, and a body of gentlemen second to none in wealth, position, and influence, now watch over the interests of the Provinces, and form an authorized channel of communication with Her Majesty's Government.

Though no official answer has yet been received, and though I have kept this Report open in hopes that some intimation of the intentions of the Cabinet might have been laid before the Legislature with it, I am reluctant to believe that an unfavorable answer will be given. A friend, who is cognizant of all that is going on, writes cheerfully of the prospects of the great enterprise. I give one or two extracts from his letters:

"London, 22nd February, 1862.

"The Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom, was held on Wednesday last. I was permitted to attend and address them on the Inter-Colonial Railroad.

They passed a resolution recommending it to the Chambers of Commerce throughout the country. The Chambers will all, therefore, send memorials, as a matter of course.

The minute of proceedings of the Railway Meeting, was sent to the Government, and they have addressed another official communication to the Government, which will go in on Tuesday. I will send you copy by next mail.

"8th March, 1862.

"DEAR SIR,—

I have addressed you an official letter on the subject of the British North American Association. Similar letters have been addressed to the Provincial Secretaries of the other Provinces.

When you first proposed the formation of such an Association, you struck a chord which has vibrated throughout the United Kingdom; and I am proud to say that the Association is one of the most decided successes ever witnessed, in reference to the interests of British North America in this country. Although the rules, &c. have not yet gone out, and the circular announcing where the donations, &c. are to be paid, there has been already a large sum paid in to the Treasurer; all the Corporations, except the General Mining, pay 50 guineas each.

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I have inclosed you a copy of the letter addressed by the Chairman of the Intercolonial Railway Committee, to the Lords of the Treasury. No answer has yet been received, but there is a general opinion that it will be favorable.

I have sent you a few copies of a letter addressed to the Chambers of Commerce, and which has been well received.

The Corporation of Dublin have sent an excellent memorial; all Ireland is with us.

Dr. Gray, of the Freeman's Journal, caused the Dublin memorial to be sent."

"22nd March, 1862.

"I duly received your letter of the 5th instant. The Duke sent for Mr. Crawford last Saturday. The interview was confidential, and I think favorable.

The Duke desired Mr. Crawford to send him a copy of the letter to the Lords of the Treasury, and a list of the memorials sent in, which has been done. I had hoped to have seen Mr. Crawford before writing you to-day, but he is not in the city. A meeting of the Committee will be held on Thursday, and if a favorable reply is not received before then, arrangements will forthwith be made to bring the subject under the notice of the House of Commons. The following memorials are already in:—

- The Merchants and Bankers of London.
- " " Liverpool.
- " " Manchester.
- " " Glasgow.
- " " Belfast.
- " " Bristol.
- The Corporation of Manchester.
- " Dublin,
- " Belfast.
- " Chester.
- " Gloucester.
- " Cutlers, Sheffield.
- The Chamber of Commerce of Glasgow.
- " Belfast.
- " Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- " Gateshead.
- " Bristol.
- " Sheffield.
- " Edinburgh.
- " Leith.
- The Harbour Board of Belfast.

We are getting on with the Association admirably. There is upwards of £900 in; the following have sent donations:

Canada Company.....	£50	0	0
Bank of B. N. A.....	52	10	0
Gillespies.....	52	10	0
Barings.....	52	10	0
Morrison, Dillon & Co.....	50	0	0
Glynn & Co.....	52	10	0
Trust and Loan of Canada.....	50	0	0
Finlay, Hodgson & Co.....	26	5	0

Most of the Dry Goods Houses will follow the lead of Morrisons, and I believe Brassy will give £50, and Sir M. Peto the same. We shall get, I have no doubt, near £2000."

It gives me infinite pleasure to inform your Excellency that the utmost cordiality and harmony were maintained throughout the delegation, and that a two months participation in common labors and anxieties, warmed into personal regard the respect which the gentlemen composing it had previously entertained for each other.

I have the honor to be,
My Lord,
Your Excellency's
Most Obedient Servant,
JOSEPH HOWE.

The Right Hon. THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.
&c., &c., &c.

INTER-COLONIAL RAILWAY.

At a meeting, convened for the purpose of considering and determining the steps to be taken in connection with this subject, held at the London Tavern, on the 30th January, 1862, R. W. Crawford, M. P. occupying the Chair. There were present:

Thomas Baring, Esq. M. P.
The Hon. P. M. Vankoughnet
Alexander Gillespie, Esq.
Robert Benson, Esq.
Sir James Ferguson, Bart, M. P.
Edward Wheeler Mills, Esq.
John Chapman, Esq.
H. Danby Seymour, Esq. M. P.
Hon. Robert Grimston,
Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M. P.
Robert Carter, Esq.
Hon. Robert Bourke,
Edward W. Watkin, Esq.
T. M. Wequelin, Esq. M. P.
H. E. Childers, Esq. M. P.
James J. Cummins, Esq.
P. Glyn, Esq.
W. Chapman, Esq.
H. Montgomerie, Esq.
Wm. Hartridge, Esq.
R. Jones, Esq.
Charles Hill, Esq.
Thomas Hughes, Esq.
Charles Bischoff, Esq.

The Chairman having opened the proceedings by a few introductory remarks, proceeded to move the following Resolution:

That this meeting is deeply impressed with the absolute necessity of a Railway being constructed so as to connect Canada and New Brunswick with Halifax, and thus secure at all seasons of the year direct communication between the West and the seaboard, through British territory, and it pledges itself to assist the British North American Provinces in their endeavour to obtain a subsidy from the Imperial Government for this purpose.

The Hon. P. M. Vankoughnet having seconded the Resolution, it was put from the Chair and unanimously carried.

It was then proposed by the Hon. Robert Grimston, seconded by H. Danby Seymour, Esq. M. P. and carried unanimously—

That the following gentlemen be requested to act as a Committee, with power to add to their number, for carrying out the negotiations with the Imperial and Colonial Governments, and that they be authorized to take such other steps as may seem to them necessary, for securing the object in view:

The Chairman, R. W. Crawford, Esq. M. P.
Sir Edmund Head, Bart.
R. Benson, Esq.
Robert McCalmont, Esq.
Sir James Ferguson, Bart, M. P.

Alexander Gillespie, Esq.
 Robert Carter, Esq.
 John Chapman, Esq.
 Samuel Gurney, Esq. M. P.
 Hon. Robert Bourke,
 H. Dunby Seymour, Esq. M. P.
 Hon. Chas. W. W. Fitzwilliam, M. P.
 Edward W. Watkin, Esq.
 Wm. Scholefield, Esq. M. P.
 Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M. P.
 H. E. Childers, Esq. M. P.

The question of Secretaryship having been mentioned, it was proposed by John Chapman, Esq. seconded by William Hartridge, Esq. and carried unanimously—

That Mr. Joseph Nelson be appointed Secretary to such Committee.

The meeting then adjourned.

(Signed)

R. W. CRAWFORD, *Chairman*.

Extracted from the Minutes.

J. NELSON, *Secretary*.

BRITISH AMERICAN ASSOCIATION.

PROSPECTUS.

British America, including a territory of 4,000,000 of square miles, and Six organized Provinces, has no representation in the British Metropolis, and no means of direct communication with the People of England.

The Colonial Office corresponds with the Colonial Governors, but these are selected often without any regard to the interests or the feelings of the people they are sent to rule. Their correspondence is sometimes laid before Parliament, but rarely furnishes much information to the people of England, or any adequate expression of the views and feelings of the colonists upon questions in which they take an interest.

In almost every negotiation, where the territorial rights of British America were involved, or her commercial privileges could be effected, both have been sacrificed, either from ignorance or indifference on the part of the Imperial authorities.

British America has rarely been directly represented in any negotiation. She has no voice in either House of Parliament. There is not a British colonist in any Imperial department charged with the control of her commerce and foreign relations in peace, and her destinies in war. She has no influence with the press of England, and no means of communication with the large cities and organized public associations of this country.

The Australian, and all the larger groups of colonies, have organized associations, or resident agents or representatives, in England. British America has neither.

The United States have their minister in England, whose house is the home of his fellow-countrymen, whose office is the centre of union and of intelligence, whose personal courtesy is extended to all, and whose influence opens the way for travellers to society, and to the means of information. Even the Southern States have their representatives in England, and will presently have their recognized diplomatic agents or ambassadors.

The loyal provinces of British America are unrepresented here, either in the Government or in society. No provision is made for them; and upon the scant courtesy of any administration they have no claim. When queens are crowned, princes buried, parliaments opened, treaties framed, or wars declared, their existence is ignored, and their feelings are never respected. Governors are sent to them of whom they never heard,—who are unknown to the higher walks of British parliamentary life, science, literature, diplomacy, or war; and now, with war impending along a frontier of fifteen hundred miles, the two largest provinces have been intrusted to two officers who never saw the countries to be defended, and are without any local knowledge or experience.

British America, with a population double that of Norway, larger than that of Denmark, and nearly as large as that of Sweden, has no representative in London, although each of these states has; their ministers being treated on all occasions with distinction, which is never accorded to those who represent the loyal Provinces of our own Empire.

Oldenburg and Brunswick, with populations less than that of Nova Scotia; and Hanover, Saxony, and Wurtemberg, with populations less than that of Canada, are represented at the Court of England, and their slightest wish or most insignificant interest finds expression or defence in this country.

All this is wrong, and the people of England and of British America can put it right. It is in vain to look to the Government, no matter what party is in power. The Government has looked on with indifference while the Provinces have been nearly split in halves by territorial arrangements now admitted to have been founded on a mistake. It has flung away the coasting-trade and coast-fisheries without corresponding equivalents. It has looked on with indifference while the United States have silently secured facilities for throwing 100,000 men in a week upon our frontiers, though the Queen's subjects in America have for ten years been warning us of the danger; and now the unprotected state of that frontier, as the colonists long since foresaw, invites the Republicans to try the hazard of a war, which, had we been better prepared, might have been averted.

Though warned, ten years ago, of the impolicy of permitting British subjects to wander into foreign countries, while there are comfortable homes and ample employment for them in our own fertile territories, the Government of these Islands has looked on with criminal indifference, while 1,495,243 of the Queen's subjects have drifted into the United States since 1851, the largest portion of whom, by a little judicious management, might have been planted in our own provinces. They have now been lost to the strength of the Empire. If war comes they will be enemies, not friends. Should peace be preserved they are behind the Morill Tariff; consumers for ever of American and not of British manufactures; and their savings will come home to swell the stream of immigration in the wrong direction in all time to come.

The people of England are taxed to maintain thousands who are criminal because they are destitute or poor because the means of employment cannot always be found in an over crowded country, liable to violent fluctuations in the labor market. Half that is paid, if judiciously employed in the distribution of this labor, would relieve the poorhouses and jails, and strengthen our Colonies while purifying the moral atmosphere of these Islands.

The work must be done, as all other work is done in this country, by associated enterprise, by combination and mutual intercourse, by collecting and diffusing information. What is wanted is a suite of rooms, a chairman, a secretary, and a working committee; all other things will follow in their order.

It is proposed then to form a society to be called "The British American Association," to which members paying a subscription of one pound per annum shall be admitted. Gentlemen favorable to the design can give more to the general funds, or for any special objects in which they take an interest. It is expected that the Colonial Legislatures will contribute, and that Colonial gentlemen coming to London will become members, or cheerfully pay a sovereign or two for the privilege of the rooms while they remain. These resources will be ample, to provide rooms, to pay a secretary, and make such arrangements as are contemplated in the first instance, to form a centre around which Colonial gentlemen can revolve, and where intelligent Englishmen, connected with trade, politics, literature, or science, can find them.

There are now in London ten joint-stock companies who have invested a capital of thirty millions in British America. There are in all our large manufacturing and seaport towns a numerous body of persons deeply interested in the productive power and commercial prosperity of British America. There is no connecting link, no bond of union, between these companies or individuals. Whatever strengthens, elevates, or makes the provinces prosper, must benefit them all, improving the character of their investments and enlarging the field of enterprise. To promote the interests of all by combining their resources and

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appealing to their intelligence, will be one of the objects of this association. It will maintain a friendly intercourse with the government of each province, through its recognized organs, without distinctions of party; and it will proceed at once to collect, and form into a library of reference, every work to which a person interested in our Transatlantic possessions would desire to have access.

It is proposed to organize this association by calling the subscribers together as soon as fifty names have been obtained.

RULES OF THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN ASSOCIATION.

President,

Vice-Presidents,

COUNCIL.

R. W. Crawford, Esq. M. P.

Hon. P. M. Vankoughnet, of Canada }
 Hon. Joseph Howe, of Nova Scotia } *Ex Officio.*
 Hon. S. L. Tilley, of New Brunswick }

Lord Alfred Paget, M. P.
 Right Hon. Sir E. Head, Bart.
 Sir James Fergusson, Bart. M. P.
 Hon. Arthur Kinnaid, M. P.
 J. A. Roebuck, Esq. M. P.
 The Hon. Robert Bourke.
 Hon. Justice Haliburton, M. P.
 Hon. Robert Grimston.
 Hugh Childers, Esq. M. P.
 H. W. Blake, Esq.
 Robert Benson, Esq.
 Robert Carter, Esq.
 Robert Gillespie, Esq.
 H. Montgomerie, Esq.
 Thomas Baring, Esq. M. P.

George Carr Glyn, Esq. M. P.
 Sir Minto Farquhar, Bart. M. P.
 Sir Francis Head, Bart.
 Hon. Wentworth Fitzwilliam, M. P.
 Capt. Whyte Jervis, M. P.
 Sir J. Dalrymple Hay, Bart. M. P.
 Danby Seymour, Esq. M. P.
 Henry Paull, Esq. M. P.
 Charles Franks, Esq.
 P. Rose, Esq.
 Wm. Chapman, Esq.
 Edward Watkin, Esq.
 Charles Bischoff, Esq.
 John M. Grant, Esq.

TRUSTEES.

Treasurer, Hon. Arthur Kinnaid, M. P. *Bankers,* Messrs. Ransom, Bouverie & Co., Messrs. Glyn, Mills & Co. *Secretary Pro. Tem,* J. Nelson.

1. The British North American Association is formed to diffuse information as to the British North American Provinces, to promote Colonial union and correspondence, and to enable the imperial and colonial interests on both sides of the Atlantic to confer from time to time through its instrumentality, as an established centre of communication, on all topics of mutual interest.

2. The Association shall collect and circulate official information regarding the material resources of the Provinces, in respect to emigration and the employment of capital and labor, and also such facts as shall record the development of their commerce and their progress in the arts and sciences.

3. Any person, whether residing in the Provinces or the United Kingdom, can be admitted as a Member of the Association on being nominated by two Members, and approved by the Council for the time being, but no person shall be entitled to the privilege of Membership until his annual subscription shall have been paid.

4. All Members of the Provincial Parliaments, being Members of the Association, shall, while in London, be *ex officio* and extraordinary Members of the Council, with the power of voting.

5. The annual subscription shall be not less than £2 2s., and every Member shall on his election pay the same for the current year, and no Member shall be entitled to vote or to enjoy any other privilege of the Association so long as he shall remain in arrear with his subscription. Any Member, if resident in the United Kingdom, may compound his future annual subscriptions by one payment of Twenty Guineas, and if a resident in the Provinces, by a payment of Ten Guineas.

6. The Council shall have the power to admit persons, resident in the Provinces and visiting this country, as visitors to the Association on such terms as they may from time to time determine.

7. Any Member intending to withdraw from the Association, must signify his intention to do so in writing to the Secretary, provided always that such Member shall be liable to the payment of his subscription for the current year.

8. There shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, and Treasurer, and such Honorary Officers as the Council may appoint as the Honorary Members of the Association.

9. There shall be three Trustees to be chosen by the Council, in whom the property of the Association shall be vested, and who shall have the power in respect to the same to adopt such measures, under the direction of the Council, as may appear expedient for the interests of the Association, and the Trustees shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

10. The government of the Association shall be managed by a Council of Thirty members (in addition to the President, Vice-Presidents, and Trustees,) of whom three shall form a quorum. The Council shall elect their Chairman, and shall have the appointment of Treasurer, Secretary, and other officers and servants, whether honorary or stipendiary.

11. The Council shall hold an ordinary meeting once a month, and minutes of the proceedings thereat shall be regularly kept by the Secretary.

12. A Special Meeting of the Council shall be called on a written application from two members, to elect a new member, such new member not being a resident of Great Britain.

13. The Council shall be empowered to make from time to time such bye-laws, consistent with the general rules of the Association, as they shall think necessary, and they shall have the power of filling up any vacancies which may occur in their number after the annual meeting.

14. Ten members of the Council shall go out at every annual meeting according to seniority of service next after the first two years, (the first and second vacancies to be determined by ballot amongst themselves,) but they shall be immediately eligible for re-election.

15. The Annual Meetings of the Association shall be held in the month of June, for the purpose of the election of members of the Council of the succeeding year, and of receiving an abstract of the state of the finances, with a report of the general concerns of the Association for the past year. At the Annual Meeting any member may bring forward suggestions for improving the working of the Association, provided he has given notice of his intention to the Council seven days before the meeting; and if any new rule or alteration of an old rule be duly proposed and be approved of by two-thirds of the members then present, the same shall be considered as adopted by the Association, subject to the confirmation of another General Meeting. The Council shall call an Extraordinary General Meeting on the requisition of twenty-five members.

16. Notice of every meeting shall be given by public advertisement at least fourteen days before the day of meeting, and such notice shall specify the object or objects of such meeting. The quorum requisite to constitute such meeting shall be seven members.

17. The Association shall possess a Library, with Maps, Charts, &c., connected with the British American Provinces. It shall also be regularly supplied with such leading papers and publications of the chief towns and cities of the Provinces as the Council may think fit.

18. The Association shall from time to time, under the superintendence of the Council, publish statements, and accompany them with maps and other illustrations as occasion may require.

19. The Chairman shall be entitled to vote on all questions, and shall have the casting vote.

20. The Treasurer shall, *ex officio*, be one of the Trustees.

21. The Association shall not, and may not make or distribute any dividend, gift, division, or bonus, or money unto or between any of its members.

At the First General Meeting of the Members of this Association, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Friday, the 28th February, R. W. Crawford, Esq., in the chair, the Rules for the governance of the Association having been read—

It was moved by Mr. Robert Carter, seconded by Mr. Danby Seymour, M. P. and Resolved,—

That the Rules now read be approved, confirmed, and adopted, and that the Association be now formed in accordance therewith.

It was moved by the Hon. A. Kinnaird, M. P. seconded by Mr. Wm. Jackson, M. P. and Resolved,—

That the following gentlemen do form the Council of the Association until the first Annual General Meeting :

R. W. Crawford, Esq., M. P.

Hon. P. M. Vankoughnet, of Canada,
 Hon. Joseph Howe, of Nova Scotia,
 Hon. S. L. Tilley, of New Brunswick, } *Ex Officio.*

Lord Alfred Paget, M. P.
 Right Hon. Sir E. Head, Bart.
 Sir James Fergusson, Bart, M. P.
 Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M. P.
 J. A. Roebuck, Esq., M. P.
 The Hon. Robert Bourke.
 Hon. Justice Haliburton, M. P.
 Hon. Robert Grimston.
 Hugh Childers, Esq., M. P.
 H. W. Blake, Esq.
 Robert Benson, Esq.
 Robert Carter, Esq.
 Robert Gillespie, Esq.
 H. Montgomerie, Esq.
 Thomas Baring, Esq., M. P.

George Carr Glyn, Esq., M. P.
 Sir Minto Farquhar, Bart, M. P.
 Sir Francis Head, Bart.
 Hon. Wentworth Fitzwilliam, M. P.
 Capt. Whyte Jervis, M. P.
 Sir J. Dalrymple Hay, Bart, M. P.
 Danby Seymour, Esq., M. P.
 Henry Paull, Esq., M. P.
 Charles Franks, Esq.
 P. Rose, Esq.
 William Chapman, Esq.
 Edward Watkin, Esq.
 Charles Bischoff, Esq.
 John M. Grant, Esq.

It was proposed by Mr. Andrew M. Uniacke, seconded by Mr. Robert Benson, and Resolved,—

That the Council be requested to place themselves in communication with the Provinces, and public bodies and individuals either at home or abroad, with the view of making known the formation of the Association, and of obtaining annual subscriptions and contributions towards its preliminary expenses and maintenance, and gifts of books, papers, &c. to the library.

It was proposed by Mr. Wm. Chapman, seconded by Mr. Danby Seymour, M. P, and Resolved,—

That the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M. P., be appointed Treasurer to the Association, and that the bankers be Messrs. Ransom, Bouverie, and Co., and Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co.

A vote of thanks having been unanimously passed to the Chairman, the Meeting adjourned.

71 Old Broad Street, E. C.,
 February 25th, 1862.

MY LORDS,—

As the Chairman of a Committee, recently appointed at a public meeting for the purpose of carrying on negotiations with the Imperial Government, in regard to the proposed Intercolonial Railway between Halifax and Quebec, I have been directed to place in Your Lordships' hands the accompanying Memorial from Merchants, Bankers, and others of the City of London, in favor of the object in view, and in so doing to submit to Your Lordships a brief statement of the proceedings recently taken here and in the Colonies in connection therewith.

On the 14th of June last a Deputation waited upon His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, for the purpose of laying before His Grace a memorial showing the commercial, political and military advantages of the proposed Railway, and the views of the promoters in soliciting the sanction and assistance of Her Majesty's Government in favor of the project. On that occasion His Grace remarked, that he was most anxious to consider favorably any feasible plan by which the proposed line of communication might be secured, but that it appeared to him that the subject had not been placed before him in a shape that would enable him to propose it formally for the consideration of the Government. His Grace suggested, at the same time, that a responsible body should be constituted, with whom he could communicate, and that more definite proposals should be submitted, as to the extent to which the Colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick would bind themselves to afford financial support to the undertaking.

In conformity with these suggestions a convention of delegates from the three Provinces met at Quebec on the 30th September last, when a resolution

was unanimously adopted to the effect "That the three Governments of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, do renew the offer made to the Imperial Government on the 26th October, 1858, to aid in the construction of an Inter-colonial Railway to connect Halifax with Quebec, and that a delegation from each Province shall immediately proceed to England, with the object of pressing the project upon the attention of the Home Government, giving them the assurance that the Governments of the respective Provinces will endeavor to secure the necessary legislation at the next ensuing sessions of their respective Parliaments." The offer made in 1858 was in effect that the three Provinces should grant a free right of way, with land, &c. and provide and pay each of them £20,000 sterling, or collectively £60,000 annually, so long as it might be wanted, towards the charge of the guarantee required for the raising of the necessary capital.

Conformably with this resolution the Hon. Messrs. Vankoughnet (of Canada), Tilley (of N. Brunswick), and Howe (of Nova Scotia), were appointed to proceed to England as Delegates for the purpose of stating the views and wishes of the Provinces, and negotiating with the Government. They arrived early in the month of November, and having delivered their credentials at the Colonial Office, had every opportunity afforded them of discussing verbally and by written communication the object of their mission with His Grace the Secretary of State; but the all absorbing events, in connection with the Trent affair, soon afterwards occurring, they were reluctantly obliged, as their several Parliaments were on the eve of meeting, to return to their duties, without carrying with them any definite intimation of the views of the Government on the matter in question. Prior to their departure, however, it was resolved, formally to constitute a body in this country for the purpose of communicating with the Government, and a meeting was accordingly held, at which the Committee was appointed, on whose behalf I am deputed now to address Your Lordships.

The Committee, after full consideration of the whole question, are of opinion, that their first step should be to satisfy your Lordships as to the feelings of this country, as well as of the Colonies, on the general question of the imperfect nature of the existing Interecolonial communications, and the necessity, on commercial and political grounds, of establishing the Railway proposed; and with that view they have invited an expression of public opinion on the subject, the results of which will have been submitted to your Lordships in memorials, similar to that which I have now the honor to forward.

The numerous papers, which were delivered in to the Government by the Commissioners prior to their departure, render it unnecessary for me here to trouble your Lordships with any repetition of the arguments therein adduced in support of the necessity of the projected line, whether regarded from an Imperial or a Colonial point of view. The Committee earnestly desire to press these considerations upon the serious attention of the Government, and request me to state, that if their Lordships shall feel themselves justified in meeting the wishes of the Colonies, by recommending Parliament to take part in affording such aid to the construction of the proposed Railway as the circumstances may require, they will be prepared, on their part, either to leave the construction of the Railway entirely in the hands of the Government and the Provincial authorities, or to submit proposals of their own, if the Government should be of opinion that the enterprise should be placed in the hands of a public company.

As the Legislative Assemblies of the several Provinces are now in session, or about to meet soon for the despatch of business, the Committee trust that the subject will receive the early attention of the Government, and that the result may be communicated to them in time to influence the proceedings of the Provinces abroad as the circumstances may require.

I have the honor to be,

Your Lordships most obedient humble servant,
R. W. CRAWFORD.

(Signed)

To the Honble.

THE LORDS OF THE TREASURY.

*British North American Association,
Temporary Offices, 21 Old Broad Street, E. C.
London, 1st March, 1862.*

Sm,—

I am desired by the Council of the British North American Association to transmit to you the Rules and Regulations which were approved and adopted at a public meeting yesterday, as well as copies of the Resolutions passed thereat, and at the same time to invite, in the name of the Council, the cordial co-operation of the Government, and also as far as you may be able to influence it, that of the people of your Province who may approve of the objects the Association has in view. A considerable expense, variously estimated at from £1,500 to £2,000 will be incurred in the formation of the Association, but that liability defrayed, the Council have every hope that the annual subscriptions of the members, with such donations as they have reason to believe they will from time to time receive, will be sufficient to cover the current annual expenses.

At the first public meeting which was held to consider the advisability of establishing such an Association, the Hon. P. M. Vankougmet, the Canadian Delegate to England in the matter of the Intercolonial Railway, speaking on behalf of himself as well as yourself, and the Hon. Mr. Tilley of New Brunswick, was understood to say that he felt assured that when the question of the formation of the Association was brought under the consideration of the Provincial Governments, that they would, one and all, not only assist by a grant of money in its organization, but cordially co-operate in promoting its permanent establishment.

I am therefore desired to request that you will be good enough to obtain the views of your Government, at their early convenience, as the extent of the usefulness of the Association will in a great measure be determined by the amount of assistance the Council may expect to receive at the hands of Nova Scotia and the other Provinces.

The Rules which are enclosed herewith explain fully the objects in contemplation, and I am desired to add in connection therewith that the Council will be glad to receive at all times, any suggestions which may be considered likely to promote the interests and influence of the Association.

You will not fail to notice that one of the chief objects is the establishment of a library, particularly one of reference as regards British North America, and the Council beg that you will kindly make such arrangements as will insure the regular transmission of all parliamentary and other papers likely to be useful as affording statistical information regarding the Provinces. As the success of the undertaking will to some extent depend upon the number of its members, the Council are of opinion that steps should be taken to make known its existence and objects throughout the Provinces, for the purpose of obtaining members, and they will be glad to receive any advice or suggestions from you as to the best course to be adopted, to give effect to their views in this respect.

I shall not fail to keep you regularly advised of the proceedings of the Association, and in the meantime drawing your especial attention to Rules 3 and 4, as relating to the members of your Legislature desiring to become members of the Association.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient faithful servant,

JOSEPH NELSON,
Secretary, (*pro tem.*)

To Honorable JOSEPH HOWE,
Provincial Secretary,
Halifax, Nova Scotia.

