

ON THE
MILITARY & COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE
OF COMPLETING THE
LINE OF RAILWAY
FROM
HALIFAX TO QUEBEC.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE, PROCEEDINGS AT DEPUTATIONS,
COPIES OF MEMORIALS TO HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT,
PETITIONS TO THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT, AND
OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

WITH A MAP.

LONDON :
WILLIAM PENNY, 57, LINCOLN'S-INN FIELDS.

April, 1862.

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ON THE
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BRITISH North America still forms one-eighth of the habitable globe, it measures about 4,000,000 square miles, its internal navigation is unparalleled in the world, it has an extremely fertile soil, inexhaustible forests of the finest timber, immense mineral resources of coal and iron—the coal area of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick equalling in extent and richness that of the whole of Europe,—the wealth of all the fisheries upon a sea coast of 5,000 miles, blessed with a bracing and healthy climate; in fact, its natural advantages and resources are sufficient to make it an empire equal to Russia. But when we consider that for six months of the year we are solely dependent on the United States for our intercommunication with this immense portion of our colonial empire, it behoves us to provide a remedy if possible.

In the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick we have harbours for capacity and safety unequalled; but these ports have no connection with the interior of Canada by railway, and the consequence is that the passengers, mails, and merchandise, have to pass through the United States; but once reach Canada, and we have the finest system of railways in America.

Halifax, in Nova Scotia, is the finest harbour on the continent of America, and always open; it is 547 miles nearer to Europe than New York is, and 400 miles nearer than any other open port on the continent of North America. Halifax is nearer to Canada and the Saint Lawrence navigation than New York is; Saint John's, New Brunswick, is on a par as to distance to Canada with Portland, and 100 miles nearer than Boston.

Halifax is England's naval station in the Atlantic Ocean;

it is also the packet station of the British and North-American Mail Service; and, on the expiration of the contract with the West-India Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, Her Majesty's Government have expressed their intention to make the West-India and Pacific mail service an offshoot from the British and North-American at Halifax.

Halifax is on the direct line from Liverpool to New York. It is two-thirds of the distance from England to the West Indies, and only 180 miles out of the direct course to Jamaica. It is as near from Liverpool, *via* Halifax, to Havannah and the Gulf Ports, as from Southampton, *via* St. Thomas, to those places.

To connect Halifax with the interior of British North America originated with Lord Melbourne's administration on the establishment of Transatlantic Steam Navigation in 1838, and the construction of a railway was strongly recommended by Lord Durham in his celebrated report on Canada. Lord Melbourne's Government, however, went out of office without making much progress in the matter. Sir Robert Peel's administration, which followed, first had the route surveyed for a military road; and, subsequently, in 1846, Mr. Gladstone, the then Colonial Secretary, organized a survey for a railroad. This survey was completed during the administration of Lord John Russell, which followed. The survey and report thereon were so favourable to the project that the Government, in a despatch to the Governor-General of British North America, dated the 14th March, 1851, pledged themselves to recommend Parliament to guarantee a minimum rate of interest on the capital necessary for its construction, or to advance the money from the British treasury: before arrangements could be completed the ministry went out of office. Lord Derby's administration succeeded them, and although they renewed the pledge of their predecessors, a delay arose upon a question of route, they also resigned before final arrangements were made. Lord Aberdeen's Government succeeded them, and the Duke of Newcastle, then Colonial Secretary, in conjunction with the Colonial Governments, were arranging the terms on which it should be submitted to Parliament, when the Russian war brought the matter again to a stand-still.

Seeing the great pressure at that time upon the resources of the Home Government, the Colonial Government set to work, and from their own unaided resources made 284 miles of the line, relying upon the Imperial Government fulfilling their repeated pledges at a more convenient period.

Canada, in addition to making 114 miles of the Halifax and Quebec line, also made upwards of 2,000 miles of railway

westward of Quebec, after the date of the despatch before alluded to; but there is a limit to Colonial resources, and Canada and her sister provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick found they had gone to the verge of prudence in extending their resources to carry out railway communication, and that it was utterly impossible for them to complete the Halifax and Quebec line without imperial aid. And they therefore renewed their application to the imperial Government; but the Indian mutiny prevented the Government from complying with their request.

Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia had some years before, in accordance with an invitation from the Imperial Government, passed acts of Parliament granting to "Her Majesty £60,000 a year, and a free right of way through all private property, provided her Majesty's Government would by themselves, or through the instrumentality of a private company, make the railway."

Notwithstanding the portion which the British North-American provinces have already made, they, in their last application to the Imperial Government, expressed their willingness still to carry out these enactments so as to secure its completion.

Canada is the only colony of the Empire that has raised a colonial force paid for out of the Provincial Treasury, and amply sufficient for the internal defence of the province, but notwithstanding this, the military expenses of British North America borne by the Imperial Treasury amounts, in time of profound peace, to more than £400,000 a year. This arises from the fact that, for one-half the year, reinforcements cannot be sent to Canada, and, therefore, such a force has to be maintained in time of peace as could hold the garrisons for six months in time of war, and from the fact that, that for half the year the British Provinces have no communication with each other, so as to enable them to give mutual aid and support, and which would be their best surety against aggression. A fortification is only as strong as its weakest point; so also is the whole naval and military force of the Empire only equal to the facility with which they can be brought to bear on any given point. This can be measured by the difficulty of transporting troops and munitions of war for 350 miles, more than a third through a howling wilderness, and over a road seven feet wide, and with a depth of snow varying from four to eight feet, and the thermometer with the mercury frozen.

The Canadian rebellion, the Crimean war, and the events of the last few weeks have demonstrated that the only road to and from Canada during the winter months is by this route.

and that it is only during the winter months that the defence of Canada has ever been, or likely to be subject to danger.

Time and money are both important considerations; by railway 10,000 men could be sent through from Halifax to Québec in twenty hours; by the present means of conveyance it would be almost impossible to move troops in larger bodies than 100 men, and at the rate of thirty miles a day; so that from the first 100 men of a regiment starting from Halifax to the last 100 arriving at Québec, would take at least three weeks. The cost would be as six to one for troops, and as eight to one for war material, as compared with the charges by railway.

In case of an attack upon the Canadian frontiers, or the siege of Québec, Halifax or St. John must be our basis of operation for extending relief; now, if it was found so difficult to move troops and stores from Balaclava to the trenches, a distance of about twelve miles, without a railway, how much more so would it be to move them 350 miles through a country where *Généraux Janvier* and *Février* are equally formidable?

Commercially it is of the most vital importance. At the present time, our trade and correspondence with our own Province of Canada is for half the year subject to the will and fiscal enactments of the United States. First, let us consider the importance of the trade itself. Canada, with a population of two million and a-half, takes about £5,000,000 sterling annually of our manufactures, or about 20s. per head more than the people of the United States did even before the Morrill tariff, or the civil war. During the present year, our exports to Canada nearly equal those to the United States, when we exclude the war material. The magnitude of the trade of Canada through the United States is enormous, amounting to not less than £10,000,000 sterling annually, and it has, owing to want of access through British territory to our own ports in the Atlantic, forced nearly the whole carrying trade of Canada into the hands of the United States' shipowners. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick draw half a million sterling annually of Canadian breadstuffs through the United States; the whole of our correspondence passes, for six months of the year, through the United States. They can pass transit duties, discriminating duties, prohibitory duties; they can, in fact, close our and Canada's through trade altogether; they can terminate the postal treaty, and just drop Canada back into the age when railways were unknown for the transmission of letters; but once complete this railway, and all those evils vanish. With an independent line through British territory from Halifax to Lake Huron—1,400 miles transit, discriminating, pro-

hibitory, nay, even protective duties, are utterly impossible ; no argument, no treaty, no favour would so certainly secure free trade between this country and the United States as the completion of this railway.

Its completion would bring railway communication with the whole of North America *two days nearer to Europe*. The length of line remaining to be completed, is about 550 miles, the estimate for its construction and equipment is £3,000,000 the three Provinces have proposed to her Majesty's Government to join in a guarantee of £120,000 per annum until such time as the line shall be self-sustaining, with the condition that her Majesty's mails, military stores and troops, shall be carried free.

There lies between the western boundaries of Canada and the base of the Rocky Mountains a great fertile country of more than 300,000 square miles, admirably adapted for settlement, and which is just as much the fee-simple of the British crown as the Tower of London or Windsor Castle ; to make a road through the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, to this immense territory, is just as much the duty of the people of Great Britain as of the three provinces named.

One of the reasons given for reconciling the people of British North America to the changes in the commercial policy of the empire at a former period was the pledge of Imperial assistance to complete this railway ; that pledge has not yet been fulfilled, but further changes have recently been made in the commercial policy of the empire, by which the last vestige of protection which British North America enjoyed has been swept away.

No portion of our Colonial Empire has shown such noble and chivalrous devotion to the mother country as British North America ; in the hour of need she raised an army, and sent them to our assistance ; she also claimed to contribute her share towards providing for the relief of the widows and orphans of those brave men who had fallen in the service of their country, and whilst fighting for the liberties of Europe.

It requires no great foresight to see that Nova Scotia, on the Atlantic, and Vancouver's Island on the Pacific are absolutely essential to the maritime supremacy of Great Britain ; they are unquestionably the best Naval Stations in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and enjoy in a greater degree all the elements for a great future maritime power than any other countries in the world, excepting Great Britain ; their climates are both temperate and healthy, their harbours both numerous and good, and their coal and iron-mines

inexhaustible, it is in the power of the mother country to secure them to her for ever.

Since the day when Lord Grey pledged the Imperial Guarantee to this line of Railway, in 1851, 1,500,000 of the Queen's subjects have drifted into the United States, the largest portion of whom, by a little judicious management, might have been planted in our own provinces. They have 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 morrill tariff; consumers for ever of American and not British manufactures, and their savings will come home to swell the stream of immigration in the wrong direction in all time to come; although Lord Durham stated the boundless resources of British North America in these eloquent words—

“These interests are, indeed, of great magnitude; and on the course which your Majesty and your Parliament may adopt with respect to the North American colonies will depend the future destinies, not only of the million and a half of your Majesty's subjects who at present inhabit those provinces, but of that vast population which those ample and fertile territories are fit and destined hereafter to support. No portion of the American continent possesses greater natural resources for the maintenance of large and flourishing communities. An almost boundless range of the richest soil still remains unsettled, and may be rendered available for the purposes of agriculture. The wealth of inexhaustible forests of the best timber in America, and of extensive regions of the most valuable minerals, have as yet been scarcely touched. Along the whole line of sea-coast, around each island, and in every river, are to be found the greatest and richest fisheries in the world. The best fuel and the most abundant water-power are available for the coarser manufactures, for which an easy and certain market will be found. Trade with the continent is favoured by the possession of a large number of safe and spacious harbours; long, deep, and numerous rivers, and vast inland seas, supply the means of easy intercourse, and the structure of the country generally affords the utmost facility for every species of communication by land. Unbounded materials of agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing industry are there. It depends upon the present decision of the Imperial Legislature to determine for whose benefit they are to be rendered available. The country which has founded and maintained these colonies, at a vast expense of blood and treasure, may justly expect its compensation in turning their unappropriated resources to the account of its own redundant population. They are the rightful patrimony of the English people—the ample appanage which God and nature have set aside in the new world for those whose lot has assigned them but insufficient portions in the old.”

EPITOME OF PROCEEDINGS *taken by the Imperial and Colonial Governments, &c. &c., to carry out this UNDERTAKING.*

ON the establishment of Transatlantic Steam Navigation by the Imperial Government they directed Lord Durham (then in Canada) to turn his attention to the formation of a road between Halifax and Quebec. Lord Durham recommended the construction of a railway; see his Report on Canada, presented to Parliament, February, 1839.

Extracts from Lord Durham's Report:—

"In a despatch which arrived in Canada after my departure, the Secretary of State informed me of the determination of your Majesty's Government to establish a steam communication between Great Britain and Halifax; and *instructed me to turn my attention to the formation of a road between that port and Quebec.* It would indeed have given me sincere satisfaction, had I remained in the province, to promote, by any means in my power, so highly desirable an object; and the removal of the usual restrictions on my authority as Governor-General having given me the means of effectually acting in concert with the various Provincial Governments, I might have been able to make some progress in the work. But I cannot point out more strikingly the evils of the present want of a general government for these provinces, than by adverting to the difficulty which would practically occur, under the previous and present arrangements of both executive and legislative authorities in the various provinces, in attempting to carry such a plan into effect. For the various colonies have no more means of concerting such common works with each other, than with the neighbouring States of the Union. They stand to one another in the position of foreign states, and of foreign states without diplomatic relations. The Governors may correspond with each other; the legislators may enact laws, carrying the common purposes into effect in their respective jurisdictions; but there is no means by which the various details may speedily and satisfactorily be settled with the concurrence of the different parties. And, in this instance, it must be recollected that the communication and the final settlement would have to be made between, not two, but several of the provinces. The road would run through three of them; and Upper Canada, into which it would not enter, would, in fact, be more interested in the completion of such a work than any even of the provinces through which it would pass. *The colonies, indeed, have no common centre in which the arrangement could be made, except in the Colonial Office at home;* and the details of such a plan would have to be discussed just where the interest of all parties would have the least means of being fairly and fully represented, and where the minute local knowledge necessary for such a matter would be least likely to be found.

"The completion of any satisfactory communication between Halifax and Quebec would in fact produce relations between these provinces that would render a general union absolutely necessary. *Several surveys have proved that a railway would be perfectly practicable the whole way.* Indeed, in North America, the expense and difficulty of making a railway bears by no means the excessive proportion to those of a common road that it does in Europe. It appears to be a general opinion in the United States, that the severe snows and

frosts of that continent very slightly impede, and do not prevent, the travelling on railroads; and if I am rightly informed, the Utica Railroad, in the northern part of the State of New York, is used throughout the winter. If this opinion be correct, the formation of a railroad from Halifax to Quebec would entirely avoid some of the leading characteristics of the Canadas. *Instead of being shut out from all direct intercourse with England during half of the year, they would possess a far more certain and speedy communication throughout the winter than they now possess in summer. The passage from Ireland to Quebec would be a matter of ten or twelve days, and Halifax would be the great part by which a large portion of the trade and all the conveyance of passengers to the whole of British North America would be carried on.*

During Sir Robert Peel's Administration, in 1843, they caused a survey for a military road to be made by Sir James Alexander and Colonel Simmonds, but when nearly complete it was abandoned by the Imperial Government in favour of a railroad. (See Sir James Alexander's *Arcadia*.)

In 1846, Mr. Gladstone, then Colonial Secretary, organized a survey for the railroad at the joint expense of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, and the Imperial Government.

In February, 1849, the survey and report of Major Robinson and Captain Henderson, of the Royal Engineers, was presented to Parliament.

Extracts from that Report:—

"The state of Massachusetts affords the best materials for accurate information as to the cost of railways in the United States.

"The average cost per mile of 830 miles has been £7,950 sterling.

"The climate and nature of the country bears a strong resemblance to that through which the Halifax and Quebec Line will pass, and in this respect the analogy of the two cases is extremely favourable.

"On some of the lines upwards of £15 per ton for rails have been paid. In England rails can now be bought at £8 or £9 a ton.

"The advantage which Halifax and Quebec will possess over the lines in Massachusetts in respect of iron alone, may be calculated at £500 per mile.

"When these lines were constructed, also, the demand for labour was extremely great, and wages much higher than in the present day.

"The Halifax and Quebec Line will have also many advantages which the American lines have not.

"The land for the greater portion will not have to be purchased; timber and stone will be had nearly along the whole line for cutting and quarrying.

"Halifax may be considered the nearest great seaport to England.

"The mails, troops, munitions of war, commissariat supplies, and all public stores, would naturally pass by it, as the safest, speediest, and cheapest means of conveyance.

"If a straight line be drawn from Cape Clear, in Ireland, to New York, it will cut through a pass close to Halifax: the latter, therefore, is the direct route; and as the sea-voyage across the Atlantic to New York may be shortened by three days nearly in steamers, it is not improbable that, on that account, when the branch railroad to St. John's is completed, and other lines to connect it with the United States, the whole or greater portion of the passenger traffic between the Old and New World would pass through Halifax, and over a great section of the proposed railway.

"But the great object for the railway to attain, and which, if it should be able

to accomplish, its capability to pay the interest on the capital expended would be undoubted, is to supersede the long and dangerous passage to Quebec by the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

"To make two voyages in the year, vessels are obliged to leave England earlier, and encounter the dangers of the ice in the gulf much sooner, than it is safe and prudent for them to do. The loss of life and property which has occurred from this cause has been enormous. It cannot be ascertained, but probably it would have more than paid for the railway.

"An opinion, however, may be formed of it from the rates of insurance, which in the spring and autumn are as high as 10 per cent.—a much higher rate than to any other part of the world. For six months of the year, then, the St. Lawrence would cease to be a competitor with the railway, and large quantities of produce would be certain to be forwarded by it. For the other six months of the years it would have also the following strong claims to preference: rapidity of transport, the saving of heavy insurance, and cheaper rate of freight from Halifax. Vessels engaged in the Canadian trade would make three voyages to Halifax for two to Quebec.

"The trade which is now crowded into six months, to the great inconvenience of every one concerned, rendering large stocks necessary to be kept in hand, would be diffused equally over the whole year. It is most probable that these advantages will be found so great that only the bulky and weighty articles of commerce, such as the very heavy timber and a few other goods, will continue to be sent round by the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

"The enterprise is of general interest, it concerns the prosperity and welfare of the three provinces, and the honour as well as the interests of the whole British empire may be affected by it. It is the one great means by which alone the power of the mother country can be brought to bear on this side of the Atlantic, and restore the balance of power, fast turning to the side of the United States. Every new line of railway adds to their power, enabling them to concentrate their forces almost wherever they please; and by the lines, of which there are already some, and there will soon be more, reaching to their northern frontier, they can choose at their own time any point of attack on their long extending Canadian frontier, and direct their whole strength against it. The provinces, therefore, and the empire, having such interest in the formation of the Halifax and Quebec Line, it should be undertaken by them in common as a great public work for the public weal.

"The ordinary price for an acre of wild, uncleared land is about 2s. 6d. to 3s. per acre; but where public roads are made through them, the value immediately increases, and it will not be considered an extravagant estimate to suppose that the land along it or in the immediate vicinity of the railway will be worth £1 per acre.

"But to look at this great work only as a commercial speculation and yielding merely interest for the expenditure incurred, would be to take a very limited view of the objects it is capable of claiming.

"In the United States they are well aware of the increased value which internal improvements and communications give to property of every kind.

"In those countries, works have been undertaken for that object alone, not for the mere return which the work, whether railway, road, or canal, would make of itself. The indebtedness of the several states has been incurred almost entirely in making great internal improvements: and in the boldness and unhesitating way in which they have incurred debts and responsibilities for the purpose of developing their resources may be seen the secret of their unrivalled prosperity.

"The state is in debt, but its inhabitants have been enriched beyond all proportion. Most unfavourable comparisons are made by travellers who visit the British provinces and the United States; and some have gone as far as to state, that travelling along where the boundary is a mere conventional line, they could at once tell whether they were in the States or not.

"The creative or productive power of canals, railways, &c., may be traced in the history and progress of New York. The Erie Canal was commenced in 1817, and completed in 1825, and cost £1,400,000 sterling. The canal was found so inadequate to the traffic, that, between the years 1825 and 1835, a

further sum of £2,700,000 was expended in enlarging it. And on the 1st of July, 1836, there had accumulated in the hands of the commissioners an amount sufficient to extinguish the whole of the standing debt incurred in its construction.

“For the States of New York :—

“In 1817, the official value of real and personal property was	£63,368,000 ;
“In 1835, the official value of real and personal property was	£110,120,000 ;

or, an increase of nearly £47,000,000 sterling in the value of property, attributed chiefly, if not entirely, to the formation of the canals.

“It is not too much to say, that between the Bay of Fundy and the St. Lawrence, in the country to be traversed by the proposed railway, there is abundant room for all the surplus population of the mother country.

“Of the climate, soil, and capabilities of New Brunswick, it is impossible to speak too highly. There is no country so beautifully wooded and watered. An inspection of the map will show that there is scarcely a section of it without its streams, from the running brook up to the navigable river ; two-thirds of its boundary are washed by the sea, the remainder is embraced by the large rivers, the St. John and the Restigouche. For beauty and richness of scenery, this, latter river and its branches are not surpassed by anything in Great Britain. Its lakes are numerous and most beautiful, its surface is undulating, hill and dale varying to mountain and valley. It is everywhere, except a few peaks of the highest mountains, covered with a dense forest of the finest growth. The country can everywhere be penetrated by its streams ; in some parts of the interior, for a postage of three or four miles, a canoe can float away either to the Bay of Chaleurs and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or down to St. John's, in the Bay of Fundy. The labours of the season over or suspended upon the railway, they could most advantageously employ themselves in clearing, logging, and improving their own lots.

“Another great effect of the railway would be to enhance almost immediately the value of all real and personal property. Villages and towns would no doubt spring up in its course, the same as in the Erie Canal. The railway would give them birth, agriculture and external commerce would support and enrich them. But if by its means the navigation of the Gulf of St. Lawrence is spared, what an amount of human suffering and loss of life will it not save !

“Embarking and disembarking at Halifax, all danger and inconvenience from the Gulf navigation would be avoided, time and expense would be saved, and the season might be disregarded. Troops are annually moved to and from Canada ; about the close of the navigation in 1843, a transport having the 1st royal regiment on board, was wrecked in the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The men got safely on shore, but there were no roads or means of getting away from the place. By the personal exertions of one of the officers, who made his way through the woods in snow-shoes to the nearest settlement, and thence to Quebec, information was given of the wreck, and a steamer sent down to take them off ; but for this, the consequence must have been that the regiment would have had to winter there in the best manner they could.

“The mails to and from Canada would pass over British territories exclusively, and they would be received at Quebec before the steamer reached Boston, and at Montreal about the same time as its arrival at that port.

“Its agricultural capabilities and its climate are described in Bouchette's works, in Martin's ‘British Colonies,’ and other authors. The country is by them, and most deservedly, so highly praised, that, for any great plan of emigration or colonization, there is not another so well formed for the trial as New Brunswick.

“To 17,000,000 productive acres there are only 208,000 inhabitants.

“Of these, 11,000,000 acres are still public property. On the surface is an abundant stock of the finest timber, which in the markets of England realizes large sums annually, and affords an unlimited supply of fuel to the settlers. If this should ever become exhausted, there are the coals underneath.

"The lakes and sea-coasts abound with fish; along the Bay of Chaleurs it is so abundant that the land smells of it; it is used as manure, and while the olfactory nerves of the traveller are offended by it on the land, he sees out at sea immense shoals, darkening the surface of the water.

"For about the same expense, five emigrants could be landed in New Brunswick for one in the Antipodes.

"The present limited population being so generally engaged in the timber trade and the fisheries, there is the richest opening for agriculturists.

"New Brunswick annually pays to the United States upwards of £200,000 for provisions and other articles, which she can raise upon her own soil.

"Nova Scotia does nearly the same thing.

"There exists, therefore, a good market already on the spot for agricultural produce, and it would be a strange anomaly indeed if a country, situated within three or four weeks' sail of the markets of England, could not compete with the growers of produce in the valley of the Mississippi, and the countries round the great lakes in the far west.

"In a political and military point of view, the proposed railway must be regarded as becoming a work of necessity.

"The increasing population and wealth of the United States, and the diffusion of railways over their territory, especially in the direction of the Canadian frontier, renders it absolutely necessary to counterbalance, by some corresponding means, their otherwise preponderating power.

"Their railway communication will enable them to select their own time, and their own point of attack, and will entail upon the British the necessity of being prepared at all points to meet them.

"It is most essential, therefore, that the mother country should be able to keep up the communication with the Canadas at all times and all seasons. However powerful England may be at sea, no navy could save Canada from a land force.

"Its conquest and annexation are freely spoken of in the United States, even on the floors of Congress.

"Weakness invites aggression, and as the railway would be a lever of power, by which Great Britain could bring her strength to bear in the contest, it is not improbable that its construction would be the means of preventing a war at some no distant period.

"The expense of one year's war would pay for a railway two or three times over.

"And if, for great political objects, it ever became necessary or advisable to unite all the British provinces under one Legislative Government, then there will be found, on this side of the Atlantic, one powerful British state, which, supported by the imperial power of the mother country, may bid defiance to all the United States of America. The means to the end, the first great step to its accomplishment, is the construction of the Halifax and Quebec Railway."

Extract from Captain Henderson's Report to the Imperial Government, accompanying Major Robinson's Report:—

"Table of gradients on the whole line from Halifax to Quebec:—

"Level, and under 20 feet per mile	439 miles.
20 to 40	150 "
40 to 50	23 "
50 to 60	10 "
60 to 70	4 "
	635 "

Further extract from the Report of Major Robinson, dated March 30th, 1849:—

“ I have the greatest hope and belief that a very large portion of the traffic from the United Kingdom to Quebec will pass to that railway, and that it will command nearly the whole passenger traffic, not only to Canada, but also, in course of time, a very large portion of that between Europe and the continent of North America.

“ The punctuality and shortness of the voyages made by the Cunard steamers from Liverpool to Halifax, as compared with all others running between England and the United States, will, I conceive, insure this result.

“ What the Erie Canal has accomplished for the State of New York, this may possibly do for the British provinces.

“ In the former case, it has doubled the population of this state, increased by 1,231,683 souls, and added about £50,000,000 sterling to the value of real and personal property.

“ It will not be too much, I think, to estimate that within the same period one-third of that number, or about 400,000 settlers might by the means of the works afforded by the construction of the railway and the opening out of such a wide field for agriculture, be added to the population of the three provinces.

“ The balance of trade paid by the British North-American colonies to the United States for four years, from 1844 to 1847, inclusive, was £4,218,835.

“ New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have paid the largest portion of this to supply their lumbermen and fishermen with provisions; but what proportion is due to Canada I am unable to ascertain.

“ The latter is an exporting country for provisions, and could well supply the two sister provinces.

“ I cannot conceive, either, in the list of exported articles of their domestic produce, that there is any one but which could, if it met with due encouragement, be produced in some portion or other of the British North-American possessions.

“ The railway is the one thing needful to afford the means of distributing the produce from one province to another.

“ From the foregoing, I think it may be said that the British colonies of North America pay for their want of enterprise and neglect in developing their internal communications and resources an annual fine of £1,000,000 sterling to the United States of America.”

On the 17th November, 1848, Earl Grey, Colonial Secretary, in a despatch to Lord Elgin, the Governor of British North America, transmitting that Report, said—

“ Downing Street, Nov. 17, 1848.

“ MY LORD,

“ 1. The Commissioners appointed by Her Majesty’s Government to explore and survey the line of country offering the greatest advantages for the formation of a railway from Halifax through New Brunswick to Quebec, having completed the duties with which they were charged, I have now the honour to transmit to your lordship the final report of Major Robinson, addressed to the Inspector-General of Fortifications.

“ 2. I have perused this able document with the interest and attention it so well merits, and I have to convey to you the assurance of Her Majesty’s Government that we fully appreciate the importance of the proposed undertaking, and entertain no doubt of the great advantages which would result, not only to the provinces interested in the work, but to the empire at large, from the construction of such a railway; but great as these advantages would be, it is impossible not

to be sensible that the obstacles to be overcome in providing for so large an expenditure as would be thus incurred, would be a very formidable kind.

"Before, therefore, Her Majesty's Government proceed to consider the question, as to whether any steps should be taken to carry this plan into effect it is necessary that we should be informed how the several provinces would be prepared to co-operate in its execution.

"3. It is obvious that the cost of the work would be too great as compared to the return to be anticipated from the probable traffic, to give reasonable hope of its being undertaken by any company as a private speculation; the question, therefore, arises, whether it would be expedient that in some form public assistance should be given towards the accomplishment of an object in which the public is so much interested.

"4. The answer to this question must, in a great measure, depend upon the degree of importance which the provinces attach to the opening of this line of communication, and upon the amount of exertion they would be prepared to make for the purpose. I am, therefore, anxious that the subject should be brought under the early consideration of the respective legislatures, and that I should be placed in possession of their views with respect to it as soon as may be practicable.

"5. In forming a judgment as to whether public assistance ought to be given towards the execution of the work, it will be necessary to take into consideration the different ways in which this might be done. Various modes of proceeding have been proposed; one is, that of endeavouring to form a company by guaranteeing to them a certain minimum interest on the capital to be invested in the undertaking.

"This plan would, no doubt, possess some advantages; but, on the other hand, it would be attended with the disadvantage of depriving the public of the proper control over a great national work, and also of having a tendency to encourage inattention to economy, both in the construction and subsequent working of the line. This last objection has been met by proposing that any company formed to construct the line, should receive assistance, not in the form of a guarantee of any given rate of interest, but of a fixed payment, either of capital towards the execution of the work, or of an annual sum of money, in addition to the receipts derived from traffic when the line is completed.

"6. Another plan which has been suggested is, that the required capital should be raised by loan by the Government, and contracts entered into for the formation of the line, which, when finished, could be worked either by Government, or by any company formed for that purpose, and to which company the working of the line might be leased, under such conditions, and for such a period as might be deemed advisable. The objections to this proposal are those usually raised against the undertaking of such a work by a Government; while, on the other hand, it would be attended with these advantages: first, that probably the capital required would there be raised on better terms than could otherwise be expected; and secondly, the Government would have a more complete control over a great national line of communication. * * * *

"11. The whole subject is one of the very highest importance, on which I shall be anxious to learn the conclusions to which the Colonial authorities may come, after mature consideration, and after such communication with each other as may be necessary.—I have, &c.

(Signed) "GREY."

"The Right Hon. Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, &c.

On the 20th December, 1848, Lord Elgin, replying to the despatch of Earl Grey, said—

"As regards the probability of the work proving ultimately remunerative, I cannot but express my belief, that under the arrangement suggested by the

Canadian Government its cost to the British Government will be found to fall within Major Robinson's estimate. He has based his calculations, it would appear, on the expense of railways constructed in the state of Massachusetts, where large prices are frequently paid for land, and where the cost of the principal materials employed is enhanced by the operation of a highly protective tariff. As the land to be occupied by the line will cost the Government nothing, and as a considerable sum may be realized by the alienation of that portion of the public domain which will be placed at its disposal, a large deduction may, it is to be hoped, be made for these estimates, whilst the almost invariable productiveness of the railways in America, which are frequently pushed, in the face of great engineering difficulties, into districts whose present resources and population would not appear to justify the outlay, or warrant the expectation of a return on the capital expended.

"I have chiefly insisted on the advantages which the mother-country is likely to derive from the execution of this work, believing that the benefits which it will confer on the colonies are too manifest to require elucidation. I would, however, venture to offer one observation on this head. It is obvious that as soon as railway communication is extended throughout the provinces, a smaller military force than is now requisite will suffice for their protection. But, looking to the anxiety which your lordship has repeatedly expressed that a diminution in the expenditure incurred by Great Britain on this account should be effected at the earliest period, I am prepared to go a step further in this direction, so confident am I that the more undertaking of the work in question will tend to raise the colonists from the despondency into which recent changes in the commercial policy of the empire has plunged them—to unite the provinces to one another and to the mother country; to inspire them with that consciousness of their own strength, and of the value of the connection with Great Britain, which is their best security against aggression—that I would not hesitate to recommend that an immediate and considerable reduction should take place in the force stationed in Canada in the event of the execution of the Quebec and Halifax Railway being determined on."

On the 6th January, 1849, the Legislative Council of New Brunswick passed a series of resolutions, from which the following extracts are made:—

"Viewing the relative positions of the North American Colonies, and the great importance, in a national point of view, of improving the facilities for mutual intercourse, we consider it a matter of the greatest moment for the permanency of British interests in this continent, that a railway should be laid down to connect the lower provinces with the interior of Canada.

"We believe that no other measure can be devised which will so certainly consolidate the colonies, and perpetuate our connection with Great Britain; while without it we fear that our position as colonies will be of short duration.

"We think the plain broad question on this subject is—Do the people of England wish to retain the North-American colonies, or not? If they do, the Trunk Railway is indispensable, and should be completed at any cost."

On the 31st March, 1849, the legislature of New Brunswick granted to Her Majesty in aid of the undertaking £20,000 a year, and all ungranted lands within 10 miles on either side of the line, and a free right of way through all private property (see address).

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“We, the Legislative Council and Assembly of your Majesty’s Province of New Brunswick, beg leave to approach your Majesty with renewed assurance of our attachment and fidelity to your Majesty’s person and Government.

“In common with all your Majesty’s subjects in these North-American Colonies, we are deeply impressed with the paramount importance of the contemplated line of railway from Halifax to Quebec for the consolidation of these portions of your Majesty’s dominions, and for the preservation of British interests on this continent.

“Strongly attached to our country and its institutions, we beg leave to submit to your Majesty our humble offering in aid of this great national undertaking.

“Anticipating that the railway will be constructed by the aid of the Imperial Government, we offer, in consideration thereof, to secure to your Majesty all the ungranted lands through which the road may pass to the extent of ten miles on each side, to be disposed of in such manner as may be deemed most advisable by your Majesty’s Government. And also to secure, at the expense of the province, a sufficient breadth of way and the necessary stations over and upon private property for the use of the said road.

“And we further pledge ourselves that we will charge upon the general revenues of the province a sum not exceeding £20,000 currency per annum, towards paying the interest upon the capital invested in the said road, to be paid yearly from and after the completion of the said road, and while the same is kept in operation, and to be continued for a term not exceeding twenty years.

“We would respectfully impress upon your Majesty’s consideration that the quality of the land pledged by us, and its easy access from the United Kingdom, present it as one of the most eligible fields for emigration in any of your Majesty’s dominions.

“Whenever we shall be advised of the favourable determination of your Majesty’s Government in this matter, we will immediately pass such legislative enactments as may be necessary to carry into effect the pledges made in this our humble and dutiful address.

(Signed)

“WILLIAM BLACK, P. L. C.

“J. W. WELDON, Speaker, House of Assembly.”

On the 31st March, 1849, Nova Scotia did the same (see despatch from Sir John Harvey to Earl Grey, of the 2nd May, 1850).

“MY LORD,

“I have the honour to enclose, for your lordship’s consideration, a resolution adopted by the Legislative Council of this province on the subject of the projected railway from Halifax to Quebec.

“The people of this province are very anxious that this great public work should be immediately commenced; and I beg to draw your lordship’s attention to the law passed on the 31st of March, 1849, enacting that it should be lawful for her Majesty to cause five commissioners to be appointed for establishing and constructing such railroad from Halifax to the boundary line of New Brunswick, to meet a railroad from Lower Canada through New Brunswick, and also giving power to the Governor, by and with the advice of the Executive Council, to vest in her Majesty ten miles of the Crown lands on each side of the line for the benefit of the railroad, and to raise funds for the construction thereof. And, lastly, that the railroad should be under such rules and regulations as shall be established by her Majesty’s Government.

“A pledge has likewise been given for the sum of £20,000 sterling to pay the interest on the capital to be expended for the accomplishment of this work.

"The opinion is very strongly entertained here, my lord, that the construction of this railroad would be one of the most effectual means of defending these possessions of her Majesty, and would assist in preserving the connection with each other and the mother-country, and would develop the *resources*, and invigorate trade and commerce, and promote the permanent prosperity and happiness of her Majesty's subjects in these portions of the realm.

(Signed) "J. HARVEY."

On the 30th May, 1849, Canada did the same (see extract from the Act of Parliament).

"And whereas the proposed railway between Halifax and Quebec will be a great national work, bringing together the several portions of the British Empire on the continent of North America, and facilitating the adoption of an extensive, wholesome, and effective system of emigration and colonization; and it is right that Canada should render such assistance as her means will admit towards the accomplishment of a work so important, and promising results so beneficial: Be it therefore enacted, that if her Majesty's Government shall undertake the construction of the said railway, either directly or through the instrumentality of a private company, it shall be lawful for the Governor in Council, on behalf of this province, to undertake to pay yearly, in proportion as the works advances, a sum not exceeding £20,000 sterling, towards making good the deficiency (if any) in the income from the railway, to meet the interest of the sum expended upon it, and to place at the disposal of the Imperial Government all the ungranted lands within the province lying in the line of railway, to the extent of ten miles on each side thereof; and to undertake to obtain, pay for, and place at the disposal of the Imperial Government all the land required within the province for the line of railway, and for proper stations and termini."

On the 25th April, 1850, the New Brunswick legislature again addressed Her Majesty, from which the following extract is made:—

"Although we have on a former occasion brought this subject to your Majesty's notice, yet on such a momentous question, involving, as we sincerely believe it does, the stability and permanency of British interests on this continent, it is our duty to be importunate, and not let the subject rest while there remains any prospect of its success.

"We have already afforded the best possible proof of our own sincerity, by pledging ourselves to grant a sum of £20,000 a year for twenty years, together with at least 2,000,000 of acres of superior land available for settlement and colonization.

"Believing your Majesty's Government sincere in the declaration that these colonies will be retained at all hazards, and that they are viewed as part of the strength of the empire, it is surely a question worthy of the best consideration of your Majesty's Government, What can be done for the North-American Colonies, to prevent their declension, to give them strength and consistency, and thereby retain confidence in the Imperial Government?

"To this important question we are prepared to answer, that no other measure will so certainly produce the desired effects as the railway from Halifax to Quebec.

"The sum of £60,000 being already guaranteed by Canada, Nova Scotia, and this province, we are led to hope that if your Majesty's Government would

procure from the Imperial Parliament a grant of £1,000,000 sterling in aid of the undertaking, the work would be shortly commenced and successfully prosecuted, &c., &c.

(Signed) "J. W. WELDON, Speaker of Assembly."

On the 25th November, 1850, the Hon. Joseph Howe, of Nova Scotia, who had been delegated to Her Majesty's government, addressed Earl Grey (see papers presented to Parliament, April 8th, 1851), from which the following extracts are made:—

"This route would, therefore, save, in the communication between Europe and America, fifty-six hours to every individual in all times to come who passed between the two continents, the sea risks to life and property being diminished by one-third of the whole. . . .

"The British Government now pay for the conveyance of the North American mails between England and New York £145,000 sterling per annum. By this arrangement 1,107 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 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 came 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.

"A very common idea prevails in this country that nearly the whole continent of North America was lost to England at the time of the revolution, and that only a few insignificant and almost worthless provinces remain. This is a great, and if the error extensively prevails, may be a fatal mistake. Great Britain, your Lordship is well aware, owns up to this moment one-half of 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 northern European, the most provocative of steady industry, and, all things else being equal, the most impregnable and secure. . . .

"The balance of power in Europe is watched with intense interest by British statesmen. The slightest movement, or the smallest state, that is calculated to cause vibration, animates the Foreign Office, and 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!"

On the 14th February, 1851, Earl Derby, then Lord Stanley, addressed the House of Lords as follows:—

"He was quite sure that no apology was necessary from his noble friend, who had introduced, with great ability and clearness, a

subject to their lordships' notice, the importance of which he had in no degree overrated, and the importance of which he feared their lordships might only be disposed to underrate. This question was one that had long been under the consideration of parties who, from various circumstances, had been called upon to take an interest in colonial affairs ; but every day and every hour that elapsed only added to the importance of the question itself, and to the necessity of not losing time in bringing to practical conclusions the various operations conducted partly by the Government and partly by others. He was not one of those who underrated the importance to this country of Canada, and the whole of our North American possessions ; but important as was Canada and the whole of these possessions, comprising an area of surface not less than the whole of Europe put together, and a large portion of which was well suited for the production of a hardy and healthy race of people, he thought, if it were possible to separate their interests or their political relations—which he believed it impossible to separate—he was not sure if he should not say that even beyond the preservation of a great part of Canada to us, which in his notion was an inferior point of view to regard the matter in, the possession of what were called the lower provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, from their geographical position, and their naval and military capacities from the resources they afford in time of war, and the advantages they are able to offer us in time of peace—he was not sure if he would not say that these lower provinces, infinitely less extensive as they were, were not of much greater importance to Great Britain than all our Canadian and other North American dependencies. But if there was any one point of view in which these colonies, or the great portion of the North American continent which still belonged to us was to be regarded as of importance, that point of view was the intimate connection of all these provinces in one unbroken chain of communication, rendering their material and social intercourse as easy as possible, and combining with that intercourse, as necessarily and naturally follows, their political connection with each other and with this country. He held, therefore, that the establishment of a line of communication between Halifax and Quebec for a distance of about 700 miles, through an exclusively British territory, rendering two points—and two points essential for the power of this country, which are now separated by a vast extent of wilderness on the one side, and by a difficult and, for a great portion of the year, frozen coast on the other—rendering their communication, from being what they now are, most uncertain, most difficult, and most dilatory—rendering it rapid, easy, and constant—that, he said, was an object in itself of primary importance to the interests and to the imperial power of this country on the continent of America.

But it was also a matter of incalculable importance that we should open to the teeming thousands and millions we were pouring out from this country, where they were unable to obtain a liveli-

hood, that we should open to them a home in a healthy climate, and within a very limited distance from our own shores, which did not exceed a twelve days' passage by steam—and the rapidity of that passage was every day increasing—it was of the highest importance, whether we looked at it as affording a relief for our pauperism or an increase of our power in those regions, that we had eleven or twelve millions of acres of unoccupied lands, fertile and possessed of great mineral wealth, and which, at the same time, would be the means of extending our military power, and securing the permanence of our empire in America. This was no ordinary case of a railway project, where the question very properly might be, would the line pay or not? but it is a railway which, even in a pecuniary sense, he had sanguine expectations would pay, if they took into consideration not merely the traffic on the railway, but the adjuncts they would raise by the formation of it. But, he said, if it would not pay one shilling for the £100 in a pecuniary point of view for the next ten years to come, the interposition of this country, not for the purpose of involving itself in an enormous and needless expense, but for the purpose of aiding with its credit, if not by more than its credit, those who were anxious to the utmost of their power, and even beyond their power, not for a local but for an imperial object, this was a subject well worthy of the consideration of the imperial Parliament, and was not to be looked upon as a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence. It was exceedingly gratifying to hear from the noble lord the result of a similar, and, he thought, wise—as the person who devised it thought it wise—advance, not of expenditure, but an advance of the credit of this country, for the purpose of encouraging the great line of canals and inland navigation in Canada. We advanced, not sums of money, but guaranteed, on the security of the provincial revenues, a sum of money which the provinces had gladly and willingly paid. We guaranteed—and they obtained far easier with our guarantee than they could otherwise have obtained it—the necessary capital to complete the works, which has paid them over and over again; and we had not lost a single halfpenny, or been called upon to advance a single halfpenny out of this country; and we had seen what an immense spring of national prosperity had been produced from a wise and just policy of extending the credit of the country for the promotion of great colonial works. His noble friend most truly said, that in new countries we were not to consider the accomplishment or execution of such projects on the same principles as we would in an old and settled country. And the United State Government were aware of this fact.

It might be very right here, when a railway was projected, to inquire what the traffic was, where it was to be established, and what amount of traffic might be calculated upon and would be obtained from the community that applied for the execution of such a work. It might be very right that the postmaster in this country should refuse to establish a branch post-office in any place

unless a certain number of letters were already in the process of being taken that would cover the necessary additional outlay. But in the case of a colonial railway the circumstances of the country were widely different. And, perceiving this, the United States extended roads into deserts, where they knew that in the first instance they could not pay, and they established post-offices, and forwarded mails at a very great expense to the Government, because they knew that these facilities and the convenience of receiving the mails and letters, would induce settlers, and tend to the occupation of the lands ; and if we desired our own colonies to progress with equal rapidity, we must, if not from our purse, at least from our credit, and by the sanction of our authority, and by our influence, advice, and assistance, enable them to undertake works which they were by themselves incapable of undertaking and executing. Now, the work of a railway from Quebec to Halifax divided itself into three portions, passing through three separate provinces under the control of three different Legislatures. The countries were in some respects different from each other ; but in all these there prevailed a deep anxiety that the work should be done—all were ready to guarantee out of the public funds of the province the large outlay necessary for effecting the work. They also offered a donation of a very large amount of their waste lands, not only for the purpose of forming the railway, but of a space of ten miles on either side of the railway, to the amount, he thought, of five million acres of land. And what did they ask for ? That they should have the countenance and support of the Home Government. He could not expect them to perform these works unassisted and unguaranteed. He would take the case of each of these colonies separately. The province of Nova Scotia had 130 miles of railway to execute. The population in some parts was exceedingly dense, and in others exceedingly scanty ; and there was great mineral wealth in Nova Scotia. This railway would form either a portion of the trunk line leading subsequently through New Brunswick, and that way up to Quebec ; or of the other line, which, whether we would or not, would certainly be formed, and it would run between Nova Scotia, Halifax, and Portland ; and from Portland through the United States to Quebec. The legislature of Nova Scotia had, undoubtedly, a double interest in the execution of this part of the line ; and even if the work should never be carried further, it was a matter of importance to Nova Scotia that she should be able to effect on the easiest terms that portion of the line which would certainly be formed by one country or the other. And for this reason the present communication, or the communication that would very shortly take place between Quebec and Halifax, do what we pleased, would be a line which, supposing you put Quebec in the place of Edinburgh, and Montreal in the place of Glasgow, would be like the Caledonian Railway, passing east and west, and then south and west from Portland to the State of Maine.

From Portland a line was contemplated, and was actually in progress, passing eastward along the coast, as far as the United States' territory went, and intersecting the boundaries of New Brunswick, and afterwards it would enter New Brunswick and proceed to its termination. But the legislature of Nova Scotia, very much, as he thought, to the credit of their prudence, their good sense, and their loyalty, had determined that the line, which would be completed in some way or other, should, if possible, not be completed by a body of foreign capitalists; and they had resolved to retain in their own hands the command of a line which ran through their own territory, and when they retained it in their own hands they retained it in the hands of a British province, unimpeachable in its loyalty under all circumstances, and having within itself the great port of Halifax, the very key of our North American possessions as a whole. But they said it was true they could afford to pledge their surplus revenues, which were sufficient to enable them to execute the work; and they were prepared to execute it, and should execute it at their own expense and at their own risk, confident that, so far as it was concerned, the work would ultimately pay, if only by the communication with the United States. But they came and said the work would cost £800,000, and their surplus revenue was between £40,000 and £50,000 a year, their whole revenue being about £80,000 a year. The work would, therefore, take ten years' income of the entire revenues of the province. But the colonists said it was a different thing whether they should borrow the amount of ten years' revenue at five per cent., as they could by their own debentures, or whether they borrowed at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., as they might with the sanction of the Government and the local legislature. They would show an actual surplus revenue, and offer as the first charge on it to the amount of £40,000 a year, capable and certain to obtain a large increase; and if we were not satisfied with that security, not for granting the money, but for lending the use of our name, they would be ready that the waste lands of the colony should be given as a further security to any amount that the Secretary of State for the Colonies might choose to demand. So far with regard to Nova Scotia. Then, as to New Brunswick. Here the surplus revenue was not so large. The line was of a considerable extent, and passed for the most part through a very rich country, with a fine climate, though somewhat rigorous, and it was well timbered, and abounded in mineral wealth. The Legislature was able to offer us, in addition to their surplus revenue, any amount we chose of their 11,000,000 acres of unoccupied and fertile lands in pledge, as security for the repayment of the advances. The whole of this country was open to British settlement if this line of communication was formed; but the whole of the country would be closed to British settlement if we refused to give our aid and our guarantee to the province to enable it to undertake a work which was not more important to us than it was to them.

Now, he felt that to grant our aid was a wise, a sound, and even an economical course in the end, even though, in the first instance, it would involve an outlay ; and sure he was that it would confer immense benefits on the colony, and bestow incalculable advantages on this country itself, and confirm its territorial power in North America. Now, there were various ways in which the Colonial Secretary of this country might aid in the accomplishment of this project. He might, as in the case of Nova Scotia, offer the guarantee of the Government of England for the sum to be raised on the security of the surplus revenue and unoccupied lands of the provinces ; or he might adopt another plan, which would be approved by all the other colonies. The colonies had offered to grant ten miles of land on either side of the line to any company that would make it, and also to grant the company the amount between the several provinces of £60,000 a-year for a term of years to come, to cover any deficiency which might arise between the earnings of the line and 4 per cent. interest on the outlay of any capital which might be expended in the execution of the project ; but if any further security was wanted by any company, or by the Government entering into the guarantee to meet the case of the proceeds falling short of the 4 per cent., the provinces were ready to pledge their unoccupied lands to the required extent. With these securities from the colonies, if the Government would give its guarantee, he thought capitalist would be found in this country perfectly willing to undertake the execution of either line, or any portion of it, if that course were preferred by the Government here. Another course that might be pursued, which, however, he was not recommending, but which he thought the colonies would also agree to, was this—that the Government should themselves undertake the performance of the whole enterprise, taking as their security for repayment such portions of the waste lands as they thought necessary, and also, of course, taking the profits of the undertaking, whatever they might be, in repayment. He would not say that he recommended either of these courses ; but it was important that the colonies should know without delay what the Government intended to do, and to what they might have to look. At present this was the position of affairs in Nova Scotia. With regard to its line, an Act had been passed, and it was actually negotiating for the money, for executing their portion at the expense of the province. New Brunswick was guaranteeing its waste lands, and a certain sum, to any company that would undertake to execute its line. The Legislature of Canada had actually passed a bill incorporating a company, which company was vainly seeking now to raise capital for completing the work. But every one of these separate projects might separately be accomplished, or the whole might be accomplished together, if the Government of this country would step forward and say it would lend its sanction and name.

He did not blame the noble earl (Earl Grey) for being cautious ;

he did not blame him for watching narrowly and carefully the expenditure that would be requisite for carrying out these projects ; but he believed that in cases demanding a prompt and decisive course of action, even a heavy outlay might prove in the end the best economy, and lead ultimately to the most beneficial results. And if the noble earl would only say which course he should be prepared to take, and if the Government would give any sanction and assistance for the execution of what these colonies could not accomplish unassisted, although he believed a comparatively small aid on the part of the Government, or its liberal guarantee for the capital required, on account of which guarantee they would never be called upon to pay a single shilling, such an amount of assistance from the Government he firmly believed would enable the great work to be carried to a successful completion : and equally certain he was that unless our Government and our Parliament did interfere, these advantages would be indefinitely postponed—the communication between two most important points would be permanently cut off ; the stream of emigration would continue to be directed, as it was now directed, from this country and Ireland, not to our own colonies, but to the territories of the United States ; the communication between Halifax and Quebec would ultimately be through the United States, be wholly dependent upon them, and liable at any moment to be cut off in the case of hostilities ; while the United States would be enabled to reap all the advantages of the transit in times of peace. Now, we had the option whether we should give to the United States these great advantages, and at the same time deprive the subjects of this country of the opportunity of receiving a useful and most valuable population settling in our own colonies, and by their emigration relieving the overburdened mother country of its surplus labour ; or whether we would, by a prompt and liberal course of action, which would ultimately cost us nothing, enable our dependencies to complete that which would cement a closer union between our North American possessions, and teach them to feel that they were regarded by the Imperial Government and Parliament as an integral portions of the empire. The course was open either for great good, or for great evil, for in this case great evil might result from a refusal of the prayer of the petition, both in specific loss, and in its effects upon the minds of the colonists. He trusted that there would be no waste or lavish expenditure, but it would be seen that in that case prompt and energetic action was the one best suited to the interests and honour of this country, and also to the honour, though that was an inferior consideration, of Her Majesty's Government. (Hear, hear).

On the 10th March, 1851, the following letter was addressed by Mr. Hawes, Under Secretary for the Colonies, to the Hon. Joseph Howe:—

“ Downing-street, March 10th, 1851.

“ SIR,

“ I am directed by Earl Grey to inform you that he is at length enabled to communicate to you the decision of her Majesty's Government on the application for assistance towards the construction of the projected railway through Nova Scotia, contained in your letters of the 25th of November and the 16th of January last.

“ You are already aware, from the repeated conversations which you have had with Lord Grey, of the strong sense entertained by his lordship and his colleagues, of the extreme importance, not only to the colonies directly interested, but to the empire at large, of providing for the construction of a railway by which a line of communication may be established on the British territory between the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, and that various plans which have been suggested for the accomplishment of this object have undergone the most attentive consideration.

“ It appears from Sir John Harvey's despatch of August 29th, 1850, as well as from your letters and the verbal communications you have made to Lord Grey, that the Provincial Government of Nova Scotia, fully relying on the concurrence of the Legislature, is desirous of undertaking the construction of that part of the projected line which would pass through that province, and proposes to obtain for that purpose a loan of £800,000, which is the estimated expense of the work. The assistance which Lord Grey understands you to apply for, in behalf of the province, is that the payment of the interest of a loan to this amount should be guaranteed by the Imperial Parliament, the effect of which would be that the money might be raised on terms much more favourable than would be otherwise required by the lenders.

“ I am directed to inform you that her Majesty's Government are prepared to recommend to Parliament that this guarantee should be granted, or that the money required should be advanced from the British Treasury on the conditions which I will now proceed to state.

“ In the first place, as her Majesty's Government are of opinion that they would not be justified in asking Parliament to allow the credit of this country to be pledged for any object not of great importance to the British Empire as a whole (and they do not consider that the projected railway would answer this description, unless it should establish a line of communication between the three British Provinces), it must be distinctly understood that the work is not to be commenced, nor is any part of the loan, for the interest of which the British Treasury is to be responsible, to be raised, until arrangements are made with the provinces of Canada and New Brunswick, by which the construction of a line of railway passing wholly through British territory, from Halifax or Quebec or Montreal, shall be provided for to the satisfaction of her Majesty's Government.

“ In order that such arrangements may be made, her Majesty's Government will undertake to recommend to Parliament that the like assistance shall be rendered to those provinces as to Nova Scotia, in obtaining loans for the construction of their respective portions of the work. If it should appear that by leaving it to each province to make that part of the line passing through its own territory, the proportion of the whole cost of the work which would fall upon any one province would exceed its proportion of the advantage to be gained by it, then the question is to remain open for future consideration, whether some contribution should not be made by the other provinces towards that part of the line: but it is to be clearly understood that the whole cost of the line is to be provided for by loans raised by the provinces in such proportions as may be agreed upon with the guarantee of the Imperial Parliament.

“ The manner in which the profits to be derived from the railway, when com-

pleted, are to be divided between the provinces, will also remain for future consideration.

“ You will observe, that I have stated that the line is to pass entirely through British territory ; but her Majesty’s Government do not require that the line should necessarily be that recommended by Major Robinson and Captain Henderson. If the opinion which is maintained by many persons well qualified to form a judgment is correct, that a shorter and better line may be formed through New Brunswick, it will of course be preferred, and there will be sufficient time for determining this question while the earlier part of the line is in progress.

“ It is also to be understood that her Majesty’s Government will by no means object to its forming part of the plan which may be determined upon, that it should include a provision for establishing a communication between the projected railways and the railways of the United States. Any deviation from the line recommended by Major Robinson and Captain Henderson must, however, be subject to the approval of her Majesty’s Government.

“ It will further be required that the several provincial legislatures should pass laws, making the loans which they are to raise a first charge upon the provincial revenues, after any existing debts and payments on account of the civil lists settled on her Majesty by laws now in force ; and also that permanent taxes shall be imposed (or taxes to continue in force till the debt shall be extinguished) sufficient to provide for the payment of the interests and sinking fund of the loans proposed to be raised after discharging the above prior claims. It will further be necessary that the expenditure of the money raised under the guarantee of the Imperial Parliament shall take place under the superintendence of commissioners appointed by her Majesty’s Government, and armed with sufficient power to secure the due application of the funds so raised to their intended object. The commissioners so appointed are not, however, to interfere with the arrangement of the provincial governments, except for the above purpose.

“ The right of sending troops, stores, and mails along the line, at reasonable rates, must likewise be secured.

“ If, on the part of the Government of Nova Scotia, you should express your concurrence in the above proposal, Lord Grey will immediately direct the Governor-General of the British North American Provinces to communicate with the Lieutenant-Governors of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, who will also be directed to bring the subject under the consideration of their respective Executive Councils, in order that, if they should be prepared to join in carrying the undertaking into effect on the terms proposed, the details of the arrangements between the provinces may be settled, and the sanction of the legislatures obtained for the plan, so that it may with as little delay as possible be submitted for the approval of Parliament.

“ Before, however, the proposed measures can be so submitted to Parliament, it is proper to observe there are some of the questions affecting the pecuniary relations between the mother-country and the colonies which will require to be considered ; but as these questions have little, if any, reference to Nova Scotia, it is not necessary that they should be further adverted to in this letter.

“ I am directed to add that Lord Grey thinks it unnecessary that any measures should be taken by her Majesty’s Government to encourage the establishment of steam-vessels for the accommodation of the emigrants of the humbler classes, which is one of the subjects to which you have called his attention.

“ If there should be a demand for such vessels, Lord Grey has no doubt that they will speedily be supplied by private enterprise ; indeed, he has been informed that ships of large size, intended for the conveyance of emigrants, and furnished with auxiliary steam-power, are already building, both in this country and in America ; and if by undertaking the projected railway a demand for labour is created in the British provinces, and a large extent of fertile land is open for the occupation of settlers, these circumstances cannot fail to lead to an extension and improvement of the means now afforded for the conveyance of emigrants to these provinces [a further reference is made as to convict labour].

(Signed) “ B. HAWES.”

On the 14th March, 1851, Earl Grey, in a despatch to Lord Elgin, on the military expenses of Canada, said—

“Under these circumstances, it appears to her Majesty’s Government that no more favourable opportunity could be found for placing the fiscal relations of the mother-country and the colony on a permanent and equitable footing. They are the more induced to adopt this view of the subject, because they are prepared to recommend to Parliament that assistance of the same kind with that which has proved so eminently useful to Canada in the construction of the St. Lawrence canals, should be extended to her in respect of another public work, calculated to be hardly less beneficial to her than these canals. In another despatch I will explain to your lordship the views of her Majesty’s Government with regard to the means by which it is hoped that the construction of the Quebec and Halifax Railway may be accomplished. I only advert to this subject at present for the purpose of observing that while the credit of this country is exerted to enable Canada to extend her public works and to develop her resources, *I feel confident that the Parliament of Canada will readily co-operate with her Majesty’s Government in adopting measures for diminishing the charge on the British Treasury for the defence of the province.*

“N.B.—Upon the faith of the pledge given as above, of assistance to the proposed line of railway, Canada took upon herself a large share of the military expenses theretofore borne by the British Treasury for the protection of the province.”

On the 14th of the same month, Earl Grey, in another despatch to Lord Elgin, pledging the imperial guarantee to the Halifax and Quebec Railway, said—

“Downing Street, 14th March, 1851.

“MY LORD,

“From the correspondence which I have already had with your lordship on the subject of the projected railroad from Halifax to Quebec, you are well aware that, although her Majesty’s Government have not hitherto been enabled to take any steps towards the execution of that work, it is an undertaking which they have long earnestly desired to see accomplished, as they believe it to be one calculated very greatly to advance the commercial and political interests, both of the British provinces in North America, and of the mother-country. It is therefore with great satisfaction that I have now to acquaint your lordship that I have reason to hope that the time is at length come when this great national enterprise may be undertaken with advantage, if there still exists (as I am assured there does) as strong a desire to promote it on the part of the inhabitants of Canada and New Brunswick as they formerly expressed, and as the people of Nova Scotia have again recently manifested.

“2. I enclose for your lordship’s information a copy of a despatch, addressed to me in the course of the last autumn, by Sir John Harvey, introducing to me Mr. Howe, a member of the Government of Nova Scotia; and also copies of two letters I have received from that gentleman, and of the answer which has by my direction been returned to him. Your lordship will perceive from these papers, that the proposal made by Mr. Howe, on behalf of the province of Nova Scotia, and to which her Majesty’s Government have thought it their duty so far to accede as to undertake, on certain conditions, to recommend it for the sanction of Parliament, is to the effect that the credit of this country should be employed to enable the Provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, to raise, upon advantageous terms, the funds necessary for the construction of the proposed railway, just as Canada has already been enabled by similar assistances, to construct the canals by which she has lately completed the most extensive and perfect system of inland navigation which exists in the world. Although her

Majesty's Government are of opinion that great caution ought to be observed in pledging the credit of the British Treasury in aid of loans raised by the colonies, they regard the work now in contemplation as being (like the Saint-Lawrence Canals) of so much importance to the whole empire as to justify them in recommending to Parliament that some assistance should be given towards its construction; nor is there any mode of affording such assistance which has been hitherto suggested, which appears on the whole so little burthensome to the mother-country, and at the same time of so much real service to the colonies, as that which is now proposed.

"3. In coming to the decision that Parliament should be invited to give this support to the projected railway, her Majesty's Government have not failed to bear in mind that, by enabling the North American provinces to open this great line of communication, it may fairly be assumed that a powerful stimulus will be given to their advance in wealth and population; and that the consequent increase in their resources will render it possible for them to relieve the mother-country sooner, and more completely, than would otherwise be practicable, from charges now borne by it on account of these colonies. In another despatch of this date, I have informed your lordship that, in the judgment of her Majesty's Government, the British colonies ought to be required, as they become capable of doing so, to take upon themselves not only the expenses of their civil government, but a portion at all events of those incurred for their protection; and I have pointed out to you, that the British North American Provinces, and especially Canada, have now reached such a stage in their progress, that the charges for which Parliament is called upon to provide on their account, ought to be rapidly diminished. The construction of the proposed railway would greatly contribute to promote this important object. By opening new districts for settlement, and by the demand for labour which will be created during the progress of the work, the projected railway cannot fail to increase the wealth and population of these provinces, while by affording a rapid and easy communication between them, it will enable them to afford to each other far greater mutual support and assistance than they now can in any difficulty or danger to which they may be exposed.

"4. Your lordship will not fail to observe, from the letter which has been addressed to Mr. Howe, that the assistance which it is proposed to grant to the provinces towards the construction of the proposed railway is to be contingent on provision being made for opening a complete line of communication from Halifax to Quebec, or Montreal; it is necessary, therefore, to ascertain whether Canada and New Brunswick are ready to join with Nova Scotia in raising the capital required for the work in the manner proposed, and if so, in what proportion each province is to become responsible for the expense incurred. The question whether it will be advisable for these two provinces to join in the construction of the projected railway, if they should be enabled, by the assistance of Parliament, to raise the required capital at a low rate of interest, is one for the consideration of their respective legislatures; but, so far as I have the means of forming a judgment on the subject, I should anticipate that their decision would be in favour of doing so. I infer that this is probable, not less from what I have learned of the actual state of public opinion on this subject in the provinces, than from the view which I take of their interest in the work. Though I can well believe that there would be much room for doubting whether the railway would pay as a mercantile speculation to a company looking to traffic only for its remuneration, the case is very different when it is regarded as a public undertaking. When viewed in this light, the various indirect advantages which cannot fail to arise to the provinces from possessing such improved means of communication must be considered, as well as the very great additional value which would be conferred on a vast extent of public lands which are now comparatively worthless. This is a source of profit from which no advantage can in general accrue to the contractors of railways in countries where the soil has been appropriated by individuals; on the contrary, in these countries the purchase of land is not one of the least important items of the expense to be incurred in such undertakings; but where, as in parts of Canada and New Brunswick, a great part of the territory to be traversed by a railway is still unappropriated, and the land may be sold by the public, the in-

creased value given to it by being thus rendered accessible may render it advantageous to construct a railway, though the traffic is not expected to do more at first than pay the working expenses.

"5. If these considerations should induce the legislatures of the three provinces to combine in undertaking the projected railway, the terms on which they are to co-operate with each other for that object will have to be settled; and in coming to such an arrangement, various questions of great difficulty and importance will require to be considered. For instance, it is probable that when the line is completed, the traffic will be far more remunerative at the two extremities than in the more central portion of it; while, at the same time, the expense of construction would, from the nature of the country, be precisely higher where the traffic returns would be lowest; so that if each province were required to pay for the formation of the line through its own territory, and to receive the returns from the traffic through the same, it would follow, that while the expense to New Brunswick would be the greatest, its receipts would be the smallest. On the other hand, as I have just observed, one of the most important sources of profit from the construction of such a railway as that now in contemplation would arise from the sale of land, of which the value would be increased by the work: and it appears from the papers before me, that New Brunswick would probably derive a greater profit from that source than the two sister provinces. Whether the result upon the whole would be, that each province, considering these various circumstances, ought to take upon itself the construction of the railway through its own territory, or whether, on the contrary, any one should be assisted by the others, is a point on which I have not the means of forming a judgment; and I would suggest to you that the best course, with a view of arriving at some practical result, would be, that a deputation from the Executive Councils of the two lower provinces should proceed to the seat of Government in Canada, in order to confer with your lordship and with your Council, for the purpose of coming to some agreement upon the subject; which, after being approved by the legislatures of the several provinces, might be submitted for the sanction of Parliament.

"6. It does not appear to me that if such a conference should be held, it need occupy any very great length of time, or that much difficulty would arise in coming to an arrangement for the construction and working of the projected railway, by which the expense of the undertaking on the one hand, and the advantages to be derived from it on the other, might be fairly apportioned between the different provinces. Hereafter I may, probably, be enabled to offer some suggestions as to the manner in which this might be accomplished; but, at present, I have only to add, that I shall transmit copies of this despatch to Sir Edmund Head and to Sir John Harvey, with instructions to them to communicate to your lordship, without delay, on the important subject to which it relates; and it will give me the highest satisfaction if the result of these communications should be the undertaking of a work, which, if completed, cannot, I believe, fail to add greatly to the prosperity of the British provinces in North America, and, at the same time, to give additional strength to the ties which connect them with each other, and with the British empire.—I am, &c.,

(Signed) "GREY."

On the 31st March, 1851, Earl Cathcart, Governor-General of Canada, wrote as follows:—

"The very warm interest I naturally feel for the prosperity and welfare of the British possessions in North America, arising from the personal knowledge and experience I had the opportunity of acquiring during the period of my official residence in Canada, fully enables me to appreciate the inestimable advantages both to themselves and to the mother-country of thus uniting Canada with the lower province, and by this means securing to the former a direct communication, perfectly independent of the United States, with England, through the port of Halifax, which is accessible at all seasons."

A difference having arisen upon the wording of Earl Grey's despatch, as to whether or not the guarantee extended also to a branch line to the city of St. John,—

On the 12th June, 1851, Earl Grey, writing to Mr. Howe, said—

"I feel very sanguine of the ultimate assent of New Brunswick to the measure as proposed, and that we shall succeed in getting this most important work, destined, as I believe, to effect a change in the civilized world, accomplished."

On the 31st March, 1852, the Hon. F. Hincks, having been deputed by the Governor-General of Canada to proceed to London to make arrangements with the Imperial Government for the completion of the railway, addressing Sir John Pakington, Colonial Secretary, said—

"SIR,

"Having been honoured with the commands of his Excellency the Governor-General of British North America to proceed to London to endeavour to make final arrangements with regard to the terms on which a loan can be effected for the construction of a line of railway in the provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, with the guarantee of the Imperial Parliament * * * * The scheme of uniting the three principal provinces of British America, by means of a railway, originated with the late Earl of Durham, who formed a strong opinion that imperial interests would be largely promoted by such a work. No action, however, was taken in the matter for some years, nor until it was proposed to construct a great military road through New Brunswick at the expense of the mother-country. The scheme of substituting a railway was then revived, on the supposition that the necessity for a military road being superseded, imperial assistance would be given in aid of such a work to a considerable extent. The Secretary of State for the colonies proposed that a survey of the line should be made by the officers of the Royal Engineers, and that the expenses of such survey should be borne by the three provinces. * * * It is proper to state, that in the expectation that the work would be constructed by the Imperial Government, the three provinces agreed to secure the right of way, the land requisite for stations, ten miles in extent, of all ungranted land on each side of the line, and £60,000 sterling per annum to cover any deficiency in revenue. * * * *

"I believe that the importance to imperial interests of this great work is not sufficiently appreciated.

"*I have reason to believe that were a line of railway completed from Halifax, and that made the terminus of the voyage of the ocean steamers, fully £50,000 per annum might be saved in the Atlantic mail service, independent of the saving of the sum now paid to the United States for carrying the Canada mails,—a service most unsatisfactorily performed, and most extravagantly charged for. Instead of the British mails being carried over the American railways, it must be obvious that the mails and passengers destined for New York, Boston, and other American cities, would be carried over a great section of the Halifax and Quebec line.*"

Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, having agreed upon a proposal to carry the line through the Valley of the

St. John River, which was a deviation from that recommended by the Government Engineers, and to which Earl Grey had pledged the Imperial guarantee, an application was made to Lord Derby's Government in 1852.

On the 20th May, 1852, Sir John Pakington, Colonial Secretary, sent a despatch to Lord Elgin, from which the following extract is made:—

"2. Her Majesty's Government are not only anxious to act with the most perfect good faith towards the legislatures and people of the provinces, and *to fulfil every just expectation which may have been held out by their predecessors, but they also sincerely desire to adopt all measures by which the welfare of the British colonies in North America can be promoted, as far as they can do so consistently with their duties to the empire at large.*

"3. But on a reference to the correspondence which has already taken place on this subject, and especially to the letters addressed by direction of Earl Grey to Mr. Howe, on the 10th March, 1851, and Mr. Hincks on 20th February last, it will appear evident that no pledge had been given of assistance to any line, except that originally proposed.

* * * * *

"Among the peculiar advantages in this point of view, which it was thought that the line selected on the report of Major Robinson and Captain Henderson would realize, were the opening up of a new tract of maritime country, easily accessible with the railroad, but almost unapproachable without it, to emigration from these islands; and the effecting a safe and continuous route through the province, which, both by its distance from the American frontier, and its proximity to the sea, might be peculiarly available for military purposes."

From the close of this despatch the matter remained in abeyance until the accession of Lord Aberdeen's Government, when the Duke of Newcastle, as Colonial Secretary, had the project under consideration, with the view of carrying it out, but the Russian war intervened, and no further progress was made. The Colonial Government, seeing the pressure upon the Imperial resources by the Russian war, set to work and from their own unaided resources, made 284 miles of the line depending on the Imperial Government extending their share of assistance at a more convenient period. Canada had also in addition to having made 114 miles of the line from Quebec towards Halifax, also made upwards of 2,000 miles of railway westward from Quebec since the date of Lord Grey's despatch, pledging the Imperial guarantee in 1851. But finding they had gone to the very verge of prudence in their resources, delegates from Canada and Nova Scotia again arrived in this country in the autumn of 1857, and made application to the Home Government. The Canadian delegates addressing the Government, said—

"Toronto, 1st February, 1858.

"SIR,

"Having been authorized by the minute of Council of the 9th July last to urge on the Imperial Government the reasons which should induce the immediate construction of an inter-colonial railway to Halifax, I have the honour to report for the information of his Excellency, that, under the authority contained in that minute, I sought the assistance and obtained the valuable aid of the present Solicitor-General for Lower Canada, who acted with me accordingly on this service.

"At the time of our arrival in England, events in India had assumed a most threatening aspect, and in consequence, the attention of her Majesty's Government was very much occupied with matters of a more imminent nature.

"We proceeded, however, to communicate as well with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, as with Lord Palmerston, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Secretary of State for War, and other members of her Majesty's Government, and explained verbally and at length our views on the subject of our mission.

"The importance of the work to imperial interests was fully acknowledged, and the means by which its execution could best be accomplished were fully discussed.

"After these communications, we deemed it advisable to embody our views in a written memorandum, which we laid before the Colonial Secretary. That memorandum fully states the arguments pressed on the consideration of the Home Government, and is now submitted for the approval of Council.

"The Canadian delegates had the advantage of communicating, while in London, with Mr. Johnson and Mr. Archibald, from Nova Scotia, who were also urging the same subject in the interests of that province. The propositions advanced by these gentlemen were nearly identical with those submitted on the part of Canada.

"Being apprised that the prorogation of Parliament, the absence of some of her Majesty's advisers, and the pressing nature of the Indian difficulties, would preclude any immediate conclusion being come to on the propositions of either Canada or Nova Scotia, I considered that a more prolonged attendance would be followed with no advantage, and the question was left under the consideration of the Government.

"The despatch of the Secretary of State for the Colonies of the 15th January, 1858, containing the reply of her Majesty's Government, having now arrived, I deem it a fitting time formally to report the action which was taken on the mission intrusted to me.

"I would state, in conclusion, that the Colonial Governments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, as well as her Majesty's advisers, seem deeply impressed with the necessity of this work on imperial as well as colonial grounds. My conviction is, that its construction is only a question of time, and I would respectfully urge that the early attention of the Legislature should be directed to it.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"The Hon. T. J. J. Loranger, (Signed) "JOHN A. MACDONALD."
"Provincial Secretary."

Extracts from Memorandum above referred to, and which was submitted to the Imperial Government:—

"The necessity of constructing a military road between Halifax and Quebec, so as to render Canada accessible to her Majesty's forces at all seasons of the year, seems long to have engaged the attention of the British Government.

"In 1838 and 1839, when Canada was invaded by organized parties of marauders from the neighbouring country, with the avowed intention of conquest, troops were transported by that route in winter, when the St. Lawrence was

closed, with much difficulty, at an enormous expense, and with great suffering to the soldiery; and the impossibility of carrying military stores in sufficient quantities was then also fully proved.

"Several explorations were consequently made by the military authorities, with a view to the construction of a military road as part of the system of defence of the British North American colonies. It was then suggested that a railway, besides being of more utility for this purpose than an ordinary road, would be of great commercial benefit to those provinces, and at the same time confer the political advantage of connecting them more intimately with the mother-country and with each other.

"As this scheme would cost much more than the road originally intended, and as the colonies would be so much more benefited thereby, it was thought right that they should contribute to the expense of construction.

"A survey was accordingly made in the year 1848, by Major Robinson and other officers selected by the Imperial Government, but at the expense of the colonies.

"Misapprehension arose between Lord Grey and Mr. Howe, of Nova Scotia, then conducting the negotiation, as to whether, in case Major Robinson's line were adopted, the imperial guarantee would not also be extended to a lateral railway running from the main line through New Brunswick westward to the frontier of the United States.

"This side line, if constructed, would have much improved the commercial character of Major Robinson's line, as it would have formed a valuable feeder, and connected it with the general railway system of the United States. Acting, therefore, under the belief that the guarantee was to be so extended, the three provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, made an agreement to construct the railway from Halifax to Quebec in equal proportions, and proceeded to legislate upon it with a view to the immediate execution of the work.

"On its being ascertained that it had not been intended by the British Government to grant the guarantee to the local line above referred to, all the objections to Major Robinson's route revived, and the arrangements between the provinces fell to the ground.

"Anxiously desiring the construction of the railway, the provinces, although much disappointed at the frustration of their expectations, entered into a new arrangement.

"They agreed, if the railway was built along the valley of the river St. John, Nova Scotia would advance three-twelfths, Canada four-twelfths, and New Brunswick five-twelfths of the cost of construction.

"This line promised great commercial advantages, and a fair pecuniary return, and at the same time satisfied the condition imposed by the Imperial Government, that it should pass exclusively through British territory. The agreement thus altered was submitted to the Imperial Government for approval; but Sir John Pakington, then Colonial Secretary, in a despatch, dated 20th May, 1852, intimated his disapproval of the proposed deviation from the Eastern line, and that he therefore did not feel warranted in recommending the guarantee to Parliament. He, however, at the same time stated, that the Imperial Government was by no means insensible to the great national objects involved in the construction of the line, and that the most favourable attention would be given to any modification of the proposals then before him. The negotiations thus fell a second time to the ground, the provinces are without their inter-colonial railway, and England has yet no military road to Canada.

"The three provinces have been driven, from the failure of these negotiations, to undertake, within their several territories, without concert, and on their own unaided credit and responsibility, the construction of railways, no doubt of local advantage, but not of general or national importance.

"It was not thought in Canada a fitting time to press this subject again on the British Government, when all its energies were directed to the vigorous prosecution of the Russian war, a struggle in which Canada fully sympathized, and was ready to make its own. But now that peace has been restored, it would seem that no time should be lost in undertaking this great work. Circumstances have arisen during the progress of the war,—the enlistment and Nicaraguan questions

with the United States, for instance,—which show that the necessity for such a road has not decreased. Whether as a means of pouring into Canada a sufficient force, or of withdrawing it therefrom, without delay, and at all seasons, in case of sudden exigency, it is equally called for.

“The only bar to its construction up to 1852 was the difference of opinion as to route; and that difference, it is believed, is not irreconcilable.

“While imperial interests require as imperatively as ever the completion of this project, the position of Canada with respect to it has materially altered.

“In 1852, there were no railways in operation in Canada (with two unimportant exceptions), and she had no winter route to the Atlantic; but since that time ten lines, extending over about 1,600 miles have been constructed, at an aggregate cost of about nineteen millions sterling, by private companies, chartered and aided by money grants from the Provincial Government to the extent of nearly five millions and a half. This sum has been raised partly by the bonds of Canada, on the immediate credit of her consolidated revenue, bearing six per cent interest, and partly by her bonds, issued on the credit of a general municipal fund, established in the province by legislative authority. Preparations are now also in progress for the construction of an interior line of communication, far removed from the American frontier, by a combined system of railway and canal between the River Ottawa and Lake Huron.

“Canada has, therefore, already assumed the full measure of pecuniary obligation which her resources render prudent; but as access to the ocean, and communication with England, can only be had in winter through the United States, it is manifest that, in so far as imperial interests are concerned, the railway facilities are in a great measure incomplete.

“Canada is fully alive to the importance of providing for the maintenance of her connection with England; and she has sought opportunity, and availed herself of every occasion, practically to cement that relation.

“For the purpose of establishing a direct postal communication with England, which should not only put a stop to a large contribution to the revenue of the United States, but also attract to the colony a share of that trade and that emigration which was being diverted to that country, she has established, by the payment of an annual subsidy of £50,000, a direct weekly line of ocean steamers between the colony and England. In this enterprise she is not only unaided by England, but has to combat a line plying to the ports of the United States, supported by a subsidy from the Imperial Government exceeding £180,000 per annum.

“The Province has also enrolled, drilled, and armed, at her own expense, a large and available volunteer force, consisting already of sixteen troops of cavalry, seven field batteries of artillery, five companies of foot artillery, and fifty companies of riflemen; all provided with the most modern and effective arms. This force is maintained at a heavy cost to the Colonial treasury, and, being well disciplined, would be of essential and immediate service, should occasion arise for their active employment.

“In addition to this, Canada has been divided into military districts; and the whole sedentary militia, consisting of every man capable of bearing arms, has been organized.

“In so far as the commercial wants of the province are concerned, they are amply supplied by the existing railway communications to the American seaports, New York and Boston, and by the railway from Montreal to Fortland, over which a Canadian company has complete control; but this entire dependence on, and exclusive relations with a foreign country, cannot but exercise an important and unwholesome influence on the status of Canada as a portion of the empire, and tend to establish elsewhere that identity of interest which ought to exist between the mother-country and the colony.

“We are sensible that we need not dwell on the grave and possibly disastrous consequences which, if a rupture should unhappily arise with the United States, may result from the want of communication in winter between England and the interior of the province; but it is evident that the safety of the colony can only be secured either by keeping, from the moment of the first apprehension of danger, a military power within it of such magnitude as would repel any invading

force, during the five months when reinforcements or supplies could not be obtained by sea ; or the means must be created of throwing in that force, and transporting them to those points which are assailable.

" We would further mention some facts which show that while the means of resisting invasion are in no way increased, the facilities for accomplishment are daily becoming greater. There are now no less than seven American railways terminating directly at the Canadian boundary, and a far greater number touching the waters of the river St. Lawrence and the lakes Ontario and Erie, which divide Canada from the United States. All these roads may be said to form together a continuous line, running parallel with, or in easy proximity to, the provincial boundary ; and by their means, America would be enabled to concentrate, with the utmost expedition and ease, all her forces upon any quarter, and to choose her own point of attack.

" It may be urged that war with America is impossible, or at least an event so unlikely and remote as to justify no expenditure in anticipation of it. Admitting that the character and moderation of the Federal Government afford assurances of continued amity, it is not to be forgotten that there are other elements, not subordinate, whose influence may at any time become too powerful for control. The best safeguard against aggression is the power of repelling it. The knowledge of our weakness and exposure to attack may do much to precipitate that which, were our strength understood, would never be undertaken. It is now well known that, being cut off from England, the province cannot make her resources and strength available, should the necessity for their exercise unhappily come to pass ; and when the occasion does arise, it will be too late to provide the means. The road cannot be constructed with a due regard to reasonable economy for several years, and experience shows how impossible it is to foresee what events within that period may interrupt the friendly relations with a country the peculiar constitution of which vests so much power in a class whose interests or passions may, at any time, prompt them to acts which would necessarily lead to a rupture. While, therefore, the commercial or material advantages to Canada which would follow the construction of the road are comparatively unimportant, she feels it her duty to urge the high national considerations which demand that the work should be undertaken.

" There can be little fear of any causes of difference between the colonies and the United States. The danger hitherto has sprung from subjects wherein, as a colony, Canada had no interest, but which (such as the Central American, the Oregon, and enlistment questions) were purely of imperial concern ; so that, should hostilities arise, Canada would (as she was during the last war) be made the battle-ground in a quarrel which she did not cause, and in which she had no special concern. The colony has received the solemn assurance of the Imperial Government, a promise on which she implicitly relies, that while she is expected to assume her share of the burden of any force which her own internal wants may require in time of peace, yet that the whole power of the empire will be put forth for her protection and security against foreign aggression. Canada has acted on this assurance, and performed her part of the obligation ; but we would respectfully urge that, without means of communication with Great Britain, the Imperial Government is powerless to perform its share ; and that the very first step, towards the fulfilment of the promise is to provide proper access to the country.

" But apologizing for presenting at perhaps too great length arguments whose weight may be fully admitted, we proceed to suggest a mode by which we propose that the work should be constructed.

" The question of route is one which, in so far as Canada is concerned, might be left to the Imperial Government and the Lower Provinces ; but the distance of that which would probably be chosen may be assumed at 600 miles. By Major Robinson's report, the cost of the longest or coast route of 635 miles is £7,000 sterling per mile, to which ten per cent. is added for contingencies ; making the cost in round numbers £5,000,000.

" Now Canada has already built, or has in progress, 110, and Nova Scotia 60 miles, available for any route selected for the intercolonial road ; leaving 420 to be constructed. Allowing one million sterling to be added to Major Robin-

son's estimate for the rise in the cost of labour and materials, since 1848, the balance to be provided for is £5,000,000. This would include the cost of the whole section apportioned to and now in process of construction by Nova Scotia, but does not include the cost of the 110 miles in Canada, on which a million, raised from other sources, will be expended. * * *

"Canada and New Brunswick have already appropriated all their ungranted public lands, for ten miles on each side of the line, in aid of the undertaking. It is assumed that these lands amount to about four millions of acres.

"The system of land grants to aid the construction of railways has been followed by the most entire success in the United States of America, where lands from being almost worthless and unsaleable, have risen in value with a rapidity far exceeding the most hopeful anticipations. * * *

(Signed)

"JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"JOHN ROSE."

Captain Douglas Galton, of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade, who had been commissioned by the Imperial Government to report upon the railways of the United States and Canada, in his report dated 8th December, 1856, and presented to Parliament 1857, said—

"In addition to these eastern and western routes of the United States must be mentioned the communication by water along the lakes, a communication which is continued by the Erie Canal to New York, and by the St. Lawrence through Canada to the Atlantic; and the line of Canadian railways, which since the opening of the Grand Trunk Railway has assumed considerable importance. This line commences with the Great Western of Canada at Detroit, and, passing through Toronto, is continued by the Grand Trunk Railway, which, when the Victoria Bridge shall have been completed, will afford an uninterrupted line of railway communication through Montreal to Quebec, and to Portland in the State of Maine. *But it cannot be considered that this line of communication is completed, or that a proper outlet has been afforded to the trade of the British North-American possessions, until the line of railway through Canada shall have been continued on to Halifax.*

(Signed)

"DOUGLAS GALTON, Captain R.E."

Extract from "Martin's British Colonies :"—

"The harbours of Nova Scotia, for number, capacity, and safety, are unparalleled in any other part of the world. Between Halifax and Cape Canso are twelve ports capable of receiving ships of the line, and there are fourteen others of sufficient depth for merchantmen.

"The harbour of Halifax has not perhaps a superior in the world: from its situation being directly open to the Atlantic, it is scarcely interrupted with. It is our chief naval station in North America, and affords safe anchorage for one thousand ships.

"New Brunswick is generally composed of bold eminences, sometimes swelling into mountains, and again subsiding into vale and lowlands, covered with noble forests and intersected by numerous rivers and lakes, affording water communications in every direction to the pleasing settlements scattered throughout the fertile alluvial spots termed intervaes. The greater part of the territory, namely about 11,000,000 acres, is still in a state of nature, adorned with abundance of timber and fine extending prairies. New Brunswick is healthy."

On the 1st May, 1858, both branches of the Legislature of Nova Scotia, again addressed Her Majesty as follows :—

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY :

“ We, the loyal and devoted subjects of your Majesty, the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, now in provincial parliament convened, approach your Majesty to renew an expression of the unabated interest which the Legislature and people of this province continue to take in the long-agitated project of an intercolonial railroad, by which the colonies of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, with the sister colony of Prince Edward's Island, may be bound more closely together, and their intercourse and union facilitated, and the communication from the parent state and your Majesty's North-American empire be improved by a rapid and efficient mode of transport from the seaboard to its distant borders, *independently of passage through foreign territory.*

“ This great enterprise, of national no less than colonial importance, has been through many years pressed upon the consideration of your Majesty's Government. During the last season delegates from the Governments of Canada and this province, in person, urged the undertaking on the attention of your Majesty's ministers.

“ The benefits of the measure, both in its national and colonial relations, are acknowledged ; and we abstain from repeating arguments so recently presented and so familiar, further than humbly to beg your Majesty's consideration of the statements contained in the letter of the delegates from this province, addressed to the Right Hon. the Colonial Secretary, dated in London on the 20th August, 1857, a copy of which accompanies this address.

“ The gigantic work we advocate has been facilitated by the efforts and expenditures of the provinces ; *but its accomplishment is beyond their unaided resources ; and on the efficient assistance of your Majesty's Government depends this great result.*

“ In urging our prayer on your Majesty, we are assured that it will not be its least recommendation to your royal consideration, that, while it has in view the consolidation of national power, it affords to your Majesty another occasion of manifesting your benignity and regards towards your loyal colonial subjects in this portion of your extended empire, by aiding an undertaking in which their feelings and interests are deeply engaged.

“ We humbly pray that *your Majesty will be graciously pleased to extend imperial aid to this important measure, and to cause measures to be taken for ascertaining the views and ability of the several provinces with respect to it, and the nature and extent of the assistance they respectively require, and of the aid your Majesty's Government will be disposed to afford ; that arrangements may be matured for the early commencement and the completion of this work by the united efforts of the three provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, with such co-operation and aid from your Majesty's Imperial Government as may be commensurate with the greatness of the object and the magnitude of the national interests which it promotes.*

“ EDWARD KENNY, President of Legislative Council.

“ STEWART CAMPBELL, Speaker of the House of Assembly.

“ *Halifax, N.S., May 1, 1858.*”

On the 16th August, 1858, both branches of the Canadian Legislature passed the following resolutions, upon which addresses were presented to Her Majesty :—

“ RESOLVED :—

“ 1. That the construction of an intercolonial railway, connecting the pro-

vinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia with Canada, has long been regarded as a matter of national concern, and ought earnestly to be pressed on the consideration of the Imperial Government.

"2. That during several months of the year, intercourse between the United Kingdom and Canada can only be carried on through the territory of the United States of America, and that such dependence on, and exclusive relations with, a foreign country cannot, even in time of peace, but exercise an important and unwholesome influence on the *status* of Canada as a portion of the empire, and may tend to establish elsewhere that identity of interest which ought to exist between the mother-country and her colonies.

"3. That while this House implicitly relies on the repeated assurances of the Imperial Government that the strength of the empire would be put forth to secure this province against external aggression, it is convinced that such strength cannot be efficiently exerted during a large portion of the year, from the absence of sufficient means of communication, and that should the amicable relations which at present so happily exist between Great Britain and the United States be ever disturbed, the difficulty of access to the ocean during the winter months might seriously endanger the safety of the province.

"4. That in view of the speedy opening up of the territories now occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company, and of the development and settlement of the vast regions between Canada and the Pacific Ocean, it is essential to the interests of the empire at large that a highway extending from the Atlantic Ocean westward should exist, which would at once place the whole British possessions in America within the ready access and easy protection of Great Britain, whilst by the facilities for internal communication thus afforded, the prosperity of those great dependencies would be promoted, their strength consolidated and added to the strength of the empire, and their permanent union with the mother-country secured.

"5. That Canada has already nearly completed the construction within the province of a chain of railways over 1,600 miles in length, extending from the eastern frontier of the province towards its western boundary, which is of the greatest importance to its commercial and material prosperity, and forming part of the great proposed highway, but which, without completion to the ocean, is comparatively useless in a national point of view, either as bringing the sister colonies together, or as connecting those colonies with the parent state.

"6. That this House, under these circumstances, is deeply impressed with the importance of an intercolonial railway, and the necessity for its immediate construction; and desiring to co-operate with the Imperial Government and the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in securing its speedy completion, this House approves of the memorandum addressed to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Canadian delegates, and laid before Parliament by his Excellency the Governor-General in his gracious message communicated on the thirty-first day of May last, and recommends that the future negotiations should be conducted as nearly as may be on the basis thereby submitted,

"7. That in the opinion of this House it is expedient that his Excellency the Governor-General should cause all communication with the other provinces, necessary for common action on the subject, to be entered into.

"8. That a humble address be presented to Her Majesty embodying the foregoing resolution, and that the Honourable the Legislative Council be asked to concur in the said address."

On the 5th June, 1858, a meeting was held at the Thatched House Tavern, St. James's Street, for the purpose of devising the best means of carrying out the completion of the railway. It was attended by the following gentlemen:—

Viscount BURY, M.P., in the chair; the Rt. Hon. Sotherton

Estcourt, M.P., Capt. the Hon. John Vivian, M.P., the Hon. Sir A. Napier Macnab, Bart., Viscount Goderich, M.P., the Hon. Samuel Cunard, Colonel Boldero, M.P., James Wyld, Esq., M.P., G. G. Glyn, Esq., M.P., the Hon. Charles Fitzwilliam, M.P., R. P. Nisbet, Esq., M.P., the Hon. Justice Haliburton, John Neeld, Esq., M.P., Francis S. Head, Esq., Alfred Roche, Esq., and others.

The CHAIRMAN read letters from numerous members of parliament, bankers, merchants, and Presidents of Chambers of Commerce, stating they were strongly convinced of the expediency of the undertaking ; and that, on the Meeting resolving on any course of action, they were perfectly ready to further that course of action to the best of their power.

The Right Honourable SOTHERON ESTCOURT, M.P., in moving the first resolution, said—I am not reluctant at all to offer such humble assistance as I can, towards putting our proceedings in course of operation, which I look upon, in a national point of view, as being of manifest advantage, not only to Canada, and the other parts of America, but also, I must say, to the mother-country itself. * * * As matters now stand, there is for half a year an absolute separation between the three provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Canada. (Hear, hear.) Now that that is of some importance in times of difficulty, I bear in mind a recollection which I think is a proof. At the time when what was called the rebellion of Canada broke out, I was well acquainted with the movements of the 43rd regiment. That regiment was stationed on the seaboard of New Brunswick ; it was of the greatest importance that all succour that could be afforded should be marched with every rapidity that was possible to the place where operations were going on in Canada. That regiment made a most magnificent and difficult passage through the midst of the country, which had scarcely been explored before they cut their way through—in short, it was one of the most brilliant operations, which is as deserving to be recorded by an historian as the famous expedition of Cyrus, which was so fortunate as to receive a place in history, and an historian in Xenophon ; it was something that could not fail to make an impression upon a non-military as well as a military mind. I know it did upon mine. They took, if I am not mistaken, pretty nearly the course along which you propose to carry this railway ; they underwent great difficulties ; they could not avoid leaving behind them a great many of those accessories which were, in fact, indispensable to the full development of the power that had to bring to bear upon the scene of action. All that could be done was done in their personal and individual capacity—they contrived to make their way through the forests. Now, if there had been then such a railway as you are proposing to establish, instead of its being an operation of difficulty, it would have been one of great facility ; instead of cutting their way through, at a slow rate, which still was very creditable to them, for they did it at twenty miles a day, they would have been wafted within twenty-four hours from Halifax to Quebec, and thus have produced, by the rapidity of com-

munication, an impression that would have more than doubled any amount of imperial force that might have been brought.

My lord, with regard to the mode in which this Meeting should proceed, I beg to say, that it is hardly necessary for me to do so, that I attend here only as a private individual member of Parliament; it is not in my power to state anything here on the part of the Government, of which I am a very humble member, and cannot certainly in any way venture to take upon myself to say what their views will be; but having taken part in similar operations before, it seems to me that the course you have delineated is very much the sort of course that it would be prudent for us, as well-wishers of the cause, to adopt, which would be likely to make an impression; and, really, if there is to be any confidence placed in these figures, I do not think you will be calling upon the Government to incur any prodigious risk. (Hear, hear). I must say, I think that the cause is one of such great importance, since it would enable us during one-half of the year, during which at present communication is totally intercepted, to establish, by means of a railway, facilities of conveyance and communication between these three provinces. That in a national point of view you might fairly ask of the Government to make some pecuniary sacrifice, in order to achieve it (hear, hear); but it seems to me, also, if these figures have any weight, you might go to the Government and say, you gain this great Imperial advantage without any risk at all. (Hear, hear).

Now, my lord, I will leave it to those who are far abler than I am myself to enter into the details, and I only beg leave to move the resolution which has been put into my hands, in every word of which I must say for myself I not only cordially concur, but I cannot doubt that every person who knows anything of what is likely to be beneficial to our Colonial interests, and the Imperial interests of Great Britain, will be certain to concur.

He concluded by moving the following resolution:—

“That the extraordinary advance which has been made within the last few years in the trade and population of the British North American colonies renders it imperatively necessary that Great Britain should no longer be dependent upon the United States for railway communication with these important colonies especially, when a cheaper and more expeditious route can be obtained through the British possessions.”

The Hon. JOHN VIVIAN, M.P., in seconding the resolution, stated he had great pleasure in doing so, for he happened to have marched with the 43rd regiment, on the occasion referred to by his right honourable friend; and after giving a most interesting account of their march, concluded by saying,—The only thing that surprises me is that, considering the necessity of the communication between those three great countries of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, so many years should be permitted to have elapsed since they came into our possession,

without any suggestion of this sort having been brought before the public.

SIR ALLAN NAPIER MACNAB, in moving the next resolution, said,—The time had certainly arrived when we should no longer be dependent upon a foreign power for access to the ocean at all seasons of the year, and for our communication with the mother-country.

The people of the colonies have done all that could be expected of them. The province of Canada has given £20,000 a year, and all the land necessary for the railway, and they have also given ten miles on either side of the track. The provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have done the same, and you learn by the report just read by the Chairman that this railway is estimated to cost about £3,000,000. You will, therefore, have money sufficient to pay the interest on more than one-third of the amount, and a grant of land that will, in my opinion, shortly realize all the money required. You cannot expect the colonies to do more than they have done, and surely the Government of this country ought to be prepared to give them the assistance they require.

My friend Mr. Cunard, who sits on the other side of the table, will tell you that the port of Halifax is one of the finest ports in the world, that the communication between Halifax and Quebec will not occupy more than twenty-four hours, and that a large portion of the land is good and will be available after the completion of the railway. The exports and imports of Canada alone are now about £20,000,000.

He concluded by moving the following resolution :—

“That the importance of a line of railway from Halifax to Quebec, in a national point of view, having been repeatedly acknowledged by the Imperial Governments, and by the legislatures of the various colonies through which the said line of railway is intended to pass, it is desirable that measures be forthwith adopted to carry out the views expressed by such high authority.”

It was seconded by Mr. NISBETT, M.P., and spoken to by Lord GODERICH, M.P., as follows :—My Lord Bury and Gentlemen—As I shall be obliged to leave this Meeting in a few moments, you will perhaps allow me to say one or two words, feeling, as I do, a very deep interest in all that concerns the colonies of England. I was very happy to avail myself of your invitation to attend this Meeting to-day ; but, as I told you then, and stated to other gentlemen in the room, I came here more as a earner than in any other capacity. Before I go I am anxious to state, that all that I have heard has convinced me that the assertions contained in those two resolutions that have just been moved and carried are fully borne out, as far as I am able to judge of the matter. There can be no doubt of the great importance of the colonies, and of the great importance to the mother-country, of such a railway as is proposed to be made. For my own part, with regard to the other resolutions, I am not a great friend in the abstract

to Government guarantees or Government assistance to Railways. I am always more glad to see undertakings of this kind carried out by the unassisted efforts of capitalists. But I can understand that a work of this description, which may be truly called a national work, tending to bind together three colonies, and to confer great and manifest advantages upon the mother-country, may require some assistance of that description.

The CHAIRMAN said,—The Honourable Samuel Cunard will move the third resolution.

The Hon. S. CUNARD.—My Lords and Gentlemen, I do not think it is necessary for me to say much to you upon the subject, as I think you have pointed out yourselves the proper course to be adopted. I think that a committee should be appointed to wait upon the Government, and I think the Government are fully sensible of the importance of this measure. I have had a great deal to do with it myself. I had managed with Lord Grey at one time to carry it out, and the Government were very much disposed to come forward, and to do anything almost that was required, they knowing the importance of the measure. (Hear, hear.) Anybody who knows Halifax will admit it is one of the first harbours in the world, and that a railway there would be a link which would connect together the three provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, and without that connecting link they are completely separated. It is something remarkable that for six months of the year there is no access to Quebec, and neither is there any outlet from Quebec. If you have in a government point of view, troops in Halifax, you can send them wherever they are required. If you wish to take them from Canada, you can take them down to Halifax. Last year I had to bring troops from Quebec to Halifax, when they are wanted in the Crimea, and I could not do it for want of proper communication. I want to show the importance of the railway not existing at that time, and what I could have done with it. I pointed out to the Government that they could do with three regiments less in Canada by means of this railway than they could do without it. I did not at that time think that they would find it necessary to bring troops from Canada to assist in other parts of the world where we might want them. I think the Government would be glad to aid and assist this as a great national undertaking, and as a measure of very great importance. I think the Chairman has pointed out that a deputation should wait upon the Government, and I think it would not wait upon them in vain. I think they would not only get the countenance of the Government, but they would get as large an annual sum of money as the provinces are willing to give for the advantages the Government would receive from it. The Government would receive much greater advantages than the provinces by the sum they would give. The Government did propose to allow me a very large sum of money annually, and also to guarantee the payment of a loan in this country, at a low rate of interest, which we could now get and could have got at that time ;

and the sum the provinces were to pay and the sum the Government were to pay would meet the interest altogether, so that they could go on and work the railway by that means. (Hear, hear.)

I do not think it necessary to occupy more of your time than I have done—it is a great measure and of importance both to the colonies and to the country at large.

He concluded by moving the following resolution :—

“ That, in the opinion of this meeting, the Halifax and Quebec Railway will afford a safe and profitable means of investment for a large amount of unemployed capital in the United Kingdom, provided that the Imperial Government be willing to confer upon the subscribers such privileges and advantages as are commensurate with the importance of this great national undertaking, and with the advantages already accorded by the Colonial Governments.”

Colonel BOLDERO, M.P., in seconding the resolution, stated he had great pleasure in doing so, for during a residence of some years in Halifax, carrying on important works for the Government, he had become fully aware of its importance.

The Hon. CHARLES FITZWILLIAM, M.P., in moving the next resolution, said, he looked upon it as the commencing link to connect the Atlantic Ocean with the Pacific, an object which no doubt every person ought to have in view who wishes to keep Her Majesty's dominions in their utmost integrity. We fortunately possessed on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans the most important harbours in the world, and it was highly essential they should be connected by a railway through British territory. He concluded by moving—

“ That it is advisable that application be forthwith made to Her Majesty's Government upon the subject of the proposed railway from Halifax to Quebec, with a view to ascertain what arrangements and assistance they are prepared to afford to the promoters of the undertaking.”

Mr. WYLD, M.P., on seconding the resolution, said—I have watched the observations that have fallen from the different hon. gentlemen who have addressed your lordship to-day, and I find all have abstained from pointing out what are the great commercial and paying advantages of this line to Nova Scotia itself. I have some acquaintance with that country, and I know its vast mineral riches, its forests, its mines, both of coal and iron-stone, and other materials, which, I feel assured, in itself would yield a very ample return for the capital that might be outlaid upon it. (Hear, hear.) Your lordship has spoken of the matter in a military point of view, which is an important one no doubt ; but I am a man of peace, and I look upon this railway as perhaps one of the most important links in our communications, not for the purpose of war, but for the purpose of cementing us eternally in the bonds of peace, not only with Canada, but with the United States ; for what has been our position with the United States ? We have been absolutely dependent for our communications, for a large portion of the year, upon the railway communication with the United States ; but this railway will give us an independent communication, and I have not the slightest doubt will

in itself yield a very ample return for the capital that will be outlaid upon it. Now, the resolution that I am to speak to is, "That it is advisable that an application be made forthwith to Her Majesty's Government." From the tenor of the letter of Lord Grey, of March 10th, 1851, I think we have a right to go to Her Majesty's Government, and ask them to carry out the promise made by Lord Grey in that letter, for although the *personnel* of the Government has changed since that time, yet I think the policy of Her Majesty's present Government should not change. I think that the promise contained in Lord Grey's letter is such, that at this moment if an organization is made to carry out this railway, we have a right to ask the present occupant of the Colonial Office to carry out the terms contained in Lord Grey's letter of the 10th of March, 1851.

The Honourable Justice HALIBURTON, in moving the next resolution, said : In the first place we are totally dependent upon the United States for the transmission of the English mails to Canada : we have to carry them by the magnificent line of steamers of Mr. Cunard, either to Boston, and then send them up to the province of Canada, or by that equally magnificent line of his to New York, and send them thence to Canada, through the States.

Now, those who have as much knowledge of the Americans as I have, I believe, will be constrained to say that they are either not able to carry out their treaties, or that they are not willing to do so ; but whether they carry them out, or whether they fail to do so, it is always accompanied with very great impertinence and insolence. (Laughter.) Now, in the present postal arrangement between this country and the United States there is a clause, granting permission for the mails to travel through their country, and a very large sum of money is paid for it. But that arrangement is terminable at a very short notice. I think it is a month or six weeks ; and the consequence of that clause is, that when the Collins line was put on, they wanted to have all the English letters sent by their ships ; and when the demand was refused, notice was given to terminate the treaty, which caused the greatest confusion and alarm to the mercantile world ; for you could not get a letter except through the United States without infinite delay. Now I have lived, I will not say the greater part of my life, but all my life in Nova Scotia, and am a native of the country. Quebec is practically as far distant to me, and infinitely more difficult to get at, than Dresden is from here. (Hear, hear.) I can go to Dresden with a good deal more comfort and a vast deal more ease than I can go from Halifax to Quebec, and I believe a great deal cheaper. I have got, in the first place, to ship on board one of Mr. Cunard's vessels and to go to Boston, and perhaps I have to wait a fortnight for the arrival of his steamer. Then I have to go through that very conciliatory country and polite people, the Yankees, until I can get up to the border, and then I have to go to such a point in Canada as I want to go to. You have heard about those troops that were sent to Canada from Halifax in the winter.

I recollect it well, for I was riding on horseback on the Halifax road at the time these men were coming up. It was in the month of December—the month of December at Halifax and the month of December at Quebec are two very different things. It is something like the Polar Sea at Quebec; it is very cold at Halifax, but God knows how much colder it is at Quebec—it would take the hair off a man's head. The march of these troops was, even by the people of that country, who understand the use of the snow-shoes and all that sort of thing, thought a most marvellous undertaking.

MR. CUNARD.—It was.

THE HONOURABLE JUSTICE HALIBURTON.—And it was thought a most marvellous undertaking, even by the colonists themselves, and I believe the commissariat officer's name was Inglis, who was a colonist, and therefore had a knowledge of these modes of conveying troops which an English commissariat officer would not have. He was a host in himself; and there would have been very different work in the Crimea, if he had lived to have gone there. The St. Lawrence is closed for a great part of the year, and a road through the wilderness does not exist. To send or withdraw troops at all times, to forward warlike stores or militia to assailed or assailable points, is of the first importance—where means of transport exist to the sea, the military force may be reduced greatly; in eleven days troops can reach Canada from England—weakness invites attack. Now, Halifax is situate at the nearest point to England in America. Most of you, gentlemen have been there. It is the most magnificent harbour in the world. It is not only one harbour, but it is a double harbour. After you go up about ten miles of magnificent harbour, you pass through a small narrow passage of about 1,100 to 1,200 feet—perhaps not so much—and then you get up to Bedford Harbour, which is the best, if there can be two bests.

MR. CUNARD.—Halifax is the best, and the other is the better.

THE HONOURABLE JUSTICE HALIBURTON.—That is, that Halifax is a double first. It is an extraordinary fact, and difficult to account for, that the harbour of Halifax is only once in many years frozen over. For instance, if you go further south to Boston, it is twice as often frozen over as Halifax.

MR. CUNARD.—I have been twenty years with steamers, and have not been kept out of Halifax once, but I have out of Boston many times.

THE HONOURABLE JUSTICE HALIBURTON.—During the winter a few years ago, there were a hundred vessels frozen up in Charleston, South Carolina, and had to stop there six weeks at a time; but that does not often occur. If you go north of Halifax, then it is entirely closed. But I have no doubt that the magnificent harbour of Halifax was intended for this railway.

MR. CUNARD.—Nothing happens by accident.

THE HONOURABLE JUSTICE HALIBURTON.—No doubt Providence intended this, for this particular object. (A laugh.)

Now, I will just mention one thing that has been omitted. When it was first started it was considered a monstrous undertaking, and alarmed everybody, because you were to begin at Halifax, and run to Quebec. But the distance is lessened at both ends now. Nova Scotia has already made its railway from Halifax very near to the New Brunswick border. Canada has done the same thing; it has run down the St. Lawrence as far as Trois Pistoles, and I believe is willing to do what lies within its own border; but there is a large piece of vacant ground between Nova Scotia and Canada, lying in New Brunswick. They have not anybody who seems to take any interest in that which is the key to the whole. When you come to consider with reference to this particular resolution that you are at the mercy of the Americans for your postal communication; that you have not a road from these Lower Provinces, that they are totally detached, that they are unconnected, that there are five sets of laws in consequence of their being in that way, that there is no general public feeling got up amongst them, it is manifestly an object of the first importance to unite them. I think the government ought to take into consideration another view, which is, that in all the possessions of England in the wide world (where the sun never sets upon her possessions), and especially on the American continent, if there are loyal subjects it is in British North America, and they have lately given a proof of it (Hear, hear), for a regiment has been formed, and it is not only now offered, but it has been offered and rather superciliously rejected on one or two occasions before; but at this time they could not well refuse it, because they could not do without it, and if the regiment does not give a good account of itself, I shall be greatly mistaken. They sent General Inglis to defend Lucknow, and General Williams to defend Kars, and also sent the Admiral who brought the Yankee *Chesapeake* into Halifax (laughter), who was also a native of our country; and it sent to the Redan some of the very first victims who fell there. Therefore, I think, in considering this,—it is a truly English possession,—that it is larger than all Europe—it is connected with the East, and it is of importance in every way, I should certainly think it a very extraordinary thing if the Government does not, at all events, give a guarantee. *British America is the only possession we have where the climate suits European constitutions; in this respect it is far before the States, as is evinced in the health, vigour, and stature of the population.* He concluded by moving the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. NEELD, M.P. :—

“That the undermentioned noblemen and gentlemen, together with such others as may wish to unite them, agree to form a deputation for the purpose of applying to her Majesty's Government upon the subject of the proposed railway from Halifax to Quebec, and that the Chairman be requested to ascertain when her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies will be prepared to receive the deputation, and to communicate the result to them.”

Mr. ROCHE said: My Lord Bury and Gentlemen,—You will

perhaps allow me to mention one circumstance which came under my observation, which shows in a very remarkable manner the impolicy of allowing our communications with the Atlantic to be dependent upon a foreign power. During the late war, and at one of the most critical periods of that war, the British government were desirous of removing from Quebec to Halifax the large munitions that they had in store; and a question was put to the law officers of the Crown of this country, if the munitions were carried along the railway from Quebec to Portland to be embarked, it could be done without giving offence to the United States. The law officers of the Crown having pending before them the question of the Foreign Enlistment, gave it as their opinion that it would be a violation of the international law of the United States; that we should get into another complication; and the consequence was, that these stores were carried, in the depth of winter, on sledges, to Halifax, and shipped to the Crimea. This is a circumstance showing the grounds on which we should not be dependent upon a foreign power. (Hear, hear.)

In accordance with resolutions at the before-mentioned meeting the following deputation waited on the Right Hon. Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer-Lytton, Bart., M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies, on Monday, the 14th day of June, 1858:—

The Deputation consisted of the following noblemen and gentlemen:—Viscount BURY, M.P., *Chairman*; Viscount Goderich, M.P.; The Hon. Sir Allan N. Macnab, Bart.; Capt. the Hon. John Vivian, M.P.; The Hon. C. W. W. Fitzwilliam, M.P.; The Hon. S. Cunard; G. G. Glyn, Esq., M.P.; J. A. Roebuck, Esq., M.P.; John Neeld, Esq., M.P.; R. P. Nisbet, Esq., M.P.; Colonel Boldero, M.P.; The Right Hon. Sotheron Estcourt, M.P.; The Hon. F. Berkeley, M.P.; The Hon. Justice Haliburton; W. H. Gore Langton, Esq., M.P.; Samuel Christy, Esq., M.P.; James Wyld, Esq., M.P.; Mr. Collins, M.P.; Mr. Nelson; Mr. Brotherhood; Mr. H. Masterman; Mr. Stevens; Mr. Sewell.

Lord BURY said,—Sir, I attend here to-day to present this influential deputation to you, as the chairman of meetings which were held at the Thatched House Tavern on last Saturday week, and also on last Saturday.

The object of the meeting is to urge upon her Majesty's Government the advisability of assisting, in some manner, the construction of a railway between Halifax and Quebec. You, sir, are aware, from the papers which have been submitted to you, that the Governments of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, have each of them guaranteed £20,000 per annum towards the completion of this work, together with certain crown lands

lying within each of their jurisdictions, and they engage to place at the disposal of any Company who may undertake the railway, or rather of her Majesty's Government, such private lands as may be required for making the stations and other works on the line. The conditions upon which they guarantee this to her Majesty are, that her Majesty shall, either by herself, or through the instrumentality of a private company, undertake the construction of the line. Lord Grey was very favourably disposed towards the project, and, in a dispatch to Lord Elgin, dated the 14th March, 1851, he stated that her Majesty's Government would be prepared to recommend to Parliament that a minimum interest on the amount to be expended in constructing the line, should be guaranteed to them. We should like to put it to her Majesty's Government whether they would not be equally prepared to assist in this undertaking.

I need not urge upon you, sir, the extreme importance, in a political point of view, of the construction of this line ; but I only allude to it now because I know that the view which will have most weight with you will, of course, be that the undertaking is great in a national and political point of view. You, of course, will not enter with such care into the circumstances whether it would be likely to be peculiarly remunerative to the shareholders of the undertaking. I shall only allude to that part of it in order to show that her Majesty's Government will not incur any very great risk if they, in accordance with our request, guarantee the sum required for the construction of the line.

With regard to the first point, namely, the national importance, the map which I see before you will immediately show you the manner in which the communication at present takes place with Canada, and which involves a very considerable circuitous route, besides going through the territories of another power. By our proposed route you will land at Halifax, and then go from Halifax to Quebec ; you will not only go through the British territory the whole way, but you will save 400 miles as regards going by steamer to Boston, and 600 miles as regards going by steamer to New York. You now have to go across the state of Maine from Boston, and from the port of New York through the state of New York, to the Canadian frontier ; consequently, this our route involves not only a very great saving of time as regards the transit, but it would allow us to complete your communications through the British territory. I need only cite one instance—I am sure you are already aware of that one point to which I will advert—that during the last war, when it was desirable to convey stores which were in the arsenal of Quebec for use in the Crimea. The law officers of the crown were consulted as to the possibility of conveying these stores over the railroads of the United States ; it was decided by the law officers that it would be a contravention of the neutrality laws to do so, and, in consequence of that opinion, the stores were locked up in Canada, and they were ultimately, I believe, conveyed on sleighs,

over the very line through which this railway will pass which we wish to undertake.

What we ask her Majesty's Government now to do is this : These Legislatures having already voted £60,000 a year to her Majesty's Government, and certain crown lands—that her Majesty's Government would consent to propose to Parliament to guarantee us an equal sum of £60,000 a year, together with the £60,000 a year that has been voted by these colonies, and the crown lands they have voted. That would form a guarantee equal to £4 per cent. on the estimated amount of the capital to be expended, which is £3,000,000.

These amounts will make £120,000 a year guaranteed by her Majesty's Government, for which they will have as assets £60,000 a year guaranteed by the Legislatures of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, and for the remaining £60,000 a year the company will undertake to convey her Majesty's mails, stores, and troops, free of cost,—the mails throughout the year, the warlike stores, or any other stores her Majesty might choose to send, and the conveyance of the troops free of cost, whenever her Majesty may choose to send them. That, sir, is the proposal we wish to make to her Majesty's Government.

I may say that the meeting appointed a financial committee to confer with you in case her Majesty's Government should feel generally disposed to afford us any guarantee, and should wish to confer with respect to the amount of that guarantee, and the details of it ; and that committee would wait upon you at your convenience in case you feel favourably disposed to entertain the proposals.

I may add to this, that a memorial has been prepared for presentation to you, embodying the resolutions of the first meeting, which was held at the Thatched House Tavern, on Saturday week, and also embodying the resolutions of the adjourned meeting, held on Saturday last, touching the financial part of it. I will hand this to you, but it is subject to a slight alteration in the latter part of it, so that perhaps you will not consider it as quite complete.

Sir E. BULWER LYTTON.—I think the question divides itself into two great divisions : one is the political and the other is the financial. So far as the political is concerned, which more immediately comes under my notice, I have given the best consideration I can to the subject, and I think that the imperial advantages are not exaggerated. I think that there is a sufficient degree of imperial advantage to be derived from the proposed line to justify, in my mind, the Government in giving assistance to the colonies ; and the more I look at the great importance of it, the more favourable I think the proposed course is.

But then there comes the other question, which clearly does not come into my department, which is the financial, and that is really a question for the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is a question for him to consider whether he thinks the financial state of the country would justify it, and he also has to consider how far he

thinks there would be a sufficient degree of Parliamentary support for such a purpose. All I can say is, if he will agree, I should be myself exceedingly proud and excessively happy to assist in carrying it out. (Hear, hear.) But I cannot say anything upon that. That is not at all in my department. I think that there are difficulties. You know very well the great difficulties there are in obtaining through Parliament anything like guarantees for loans for colonial purposes ; and in order to carry that out, you must make out a very strong case, not as to the colonial advantages only, but as to the imperial advantages. As far as I have been able to look at it, which is only within a short time, I must say it appears to me that there are very good grounds for stating there are imperial advantages.

Mr. ROEBUCK, M.P.—Sir Edward, you ought to bear in mind that at the present moment we do incur a certain amount of expense. We transmit our post, we transmit our warlike stores, and also our troops to Canada—that united makes up an annual sum. Now, the post alone makes up an annual sum of £25,000. That is a matter which annually occurs. That would be done away with entirely by the proposed plan. The railway company undertakes to convey the post of her Majesty from Halifax to Quebec—that is included in the grant of £60,000 a year. Besides that, they undertake to transmit all the *stores* that Her Majesty may choose to send to Quebec, and also all the *troops* that Her Majesty may choose to send to Quebec ; so that all those three items together ought to be considered as diminishing the expenses of our guarantee. That is, we are, by a sort of forethought, making a contract to conduct our troops, our post, and our stores for £60,000 a year across that portion of the territory.

The Hon. Mr. Justice HALIBURTON.—Sir, there is one thing I must beg leave to mention ; this is to be distinguished from almost all other railways. This is not a colonial railway as affects Canada, New Brunswick, or Nova Scotia individually, but as affecting the whole of them, and as affecting their intercourse with this country, Mr. Roebuck has put that in a very forcible way. With respect to the carriage of the mails, which is an actual expenditure at the present moment in the shape of a charge on the revenue, you will observe that the mail goes to Boston, it is carried to New York, and in either case, whether it goes to Boston or New York, before it can reach Canada and the British possessions there, it has to pass through the United States. We ought not to be at the mercy of a foreign power for carrying the mails to our own possessions. I want further to state—this is something which perhaps neither you nor myself may live to see carried out ; but, beyond all manner of doubt, it is the destiny of this country to have a complete inter-colonial communication all the way, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean by Vancouver's Island ; and there is now, from the entrance of the St. Lawrence to the head of Lake Superior, a larger inland navigation than from Liverpool to New York (which is upwards

of 3,700 miles). From the embouchure of that river in British territory up to the head of Lake Superior in British territory, it would take a vessel with the same power a longer time to go up through that natural canal than it would to go from Liverpool to that country. After this railway is completed, you will have an outlet for all the western waters ; all the produce that they have in that part of the world must come by this railway to the nearest port of Halifax on the Atlantic, between England and America. Here are things that are practicable—they begin piece by piece. Through Canada there are locks to connect the lakes and railways at certain points. There is a railway through Nova Scotia, and now it wants but this little bit, and then you get a communication all the way from Halifax to the head of Lake Superior, and thence to Vancouver's Island through open country.

But there is another fact ; this is not a grant or a guarantee ; it is, in fact, a contract to a certain extent. You are to pay this company what you are now paying the American Government for the transmission of your mails. It is a company which you can constrain by courts of law and by means of which you can reach them as British subjects. You cannot constrain the Americans to the fulfilment of any treaty (I do not think it is in their power to fulfil a treaty, and I do not think they have the disposition to do it if they had the power), but this is a company that can be constrained to do it. But there are considerations far beyond all that. There are ramifications and consequences which cannot be easily foreseen in the first instance,—one is the reduction of Her Majesty's expenditure. If you have a railway from Halifax you need not keep troops in Canada for its defence ; for in eleven days they can be sent from Chatham to any point of Canada ; they would get to Halifax in nine days, and in two days the greater portion of Canada would be under protection, and that it is as soon as the Americans could discipline, embody, and march their troops. Therefore you do not want to keep such a military force, and all the saving that is constituted out of that state of things must be put also to the credit of this railway. Now, during the last war it was the disposition of the Government to withdraw the troops. They wanted a regiment ; they put it off for too long a time, and they to wait for six months, as they could not come out ; they wanted to get the stores, and they could not bring them through the United States, because it would be contravening the neutrality treaty.

You should look at it as a national and intercolonial question, and not as colonial merely ; and you should look at it for the postal communication, and also that it will (which is highly desirable) connect those colonies in a way that there shall be the same communion and the same confederation. You have now five different colonies there, and those five different colonies have five different sets of customs, five different tariffs, and five different sets of laws. We know as little of what goes on in Nova Scotia, at Toronto, or at Kingston, as we do of what goes on at Dantzic or Hongkong. I can

much easier go now from here to St. Petersburg than I can go from Halifax to Quebec. I can do so much more comfortably and at half the cost.

MR. CUNARD.—You remarked just now that the Government were indisposed to make grants for colonial railways. Now, this is not a colonial railway, nor an intercolonial one, but it is a *great national road*—it is a *great military road*, and it should be viewed in this country as such, and not as a colonial one.

SIR E. BULWER-LYTTON.—There are various ways of putting it ; I SHOULD THINK IT WAS A GREAT NATIONAL ROAD.

MR. CUNARD.—*It really is so.* For six months in the year you can have no access to Canada in a military point of view ; you cannot bring troops from Canada, neither can you take troops to aid and assist them. That we saw during the last year or two ; and therefore I think that we should view it as a military road, and as a great national road. You pay nothing for it. You become liable to pay £60,000 a year, and you get it back before you can pay it. You actually get it back as a saving before you spend the money. Somebody has said that it cost £25,000 a year for the postage. I believe it is so. Then, if you would have to convey troops, see what you would save ! You would save three regiments in Canada and the provinces, because you could have them where you pleased at any one point. You might have troops at Halifax, and send them up the country if you wanted, or you might bring them home. You would save more than £60,000 a year in those different items which were mentioned.

In reply to a question from the Chairman, Sir E. Bulwer-Lytton said he should recommend the deputation to wait on the Chancellor of the Exchequer at once, and state to him that it had received his (Sir Edward's) most favourable attention.

On the following day the deputation waited on the Right Honourable Benjamin Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Deputation consisted of the following noblemen and gentlemen :—Viscount Bury, M.P., Viscount Goderich, M.P., the Hon. Sir Allan N. Macnab, Bart., the Hon. C. W. W. Fitzwilliam, M.P., Capt. the Hon. John Vivian, M.P., the Hon. S. Cunard, the Hon. F. Berkeley, M.P., the Hon. Justice Haliburton, J. A. Roebuck, Esq., M.P., Colonel Boldero, M.P., G. G. Glyn, Esq., M.P., Thos. Luce, Esq., M.P., William Roupell, Esq., M.P., the Rt. Hon. Sotheron Estcourt, M.P., W. H. Gore Langton, Esq., M.P., H. W. Schneider, Esq., M.P., John Neeld, Esq., M.P., R. P. Nisbett, Esq., M.P., James Wyld, Esq., M.P., H. P. Roche, Esq., Pascoe Glyn, Esq., Mr. Nelson, Mr. Brotherhood, Mr. Sewell, Mr. H. Masterman, and Mr. Stevens.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—My Lord Bury, I have got your papers, but I have not been able to look at them much.

What I know is what everybody knows who takes a popular view of the subject. You thought it of importance for the convenience of several gentlemen that I should see you to-day. It was only yesterday that you intimated your wish, and therefore I am not prepared to enter into all the details laid down, which otherwise I should have been very glad to have done ; but I will now listen with the greatest pleasure to what you or any other gentleman may wish to say on the subject.

LORD BURY.—Sir, I am here to state to you the object of this deputation. The parties who are here represent a large body who are very much interested in all ways, both by knowledge of the country and connection with Canada, and they have seen with very great displeasure, and great anxiety, that we are entirely dependent upon a foreign country for communication with that province, which at any moment may be cut off if we are at hostility with the United States. We have met together to discuss whether it will not be possible to obtain some communication entirely through a British territory from Halifax to Quebec. This deputation met, as you are aware, by appointment, the Colonial Secretary yesterday, and he received us with the greatest courtesy, and with expressions of sympathy in our views which were very cheering to us. We laid before him the position of matters ; and in doing so, and as the spokesman of the deputation, I thought it my duty rather to urge upon him the political value of this line and its extreme importance in a national point of view, than to enlarge upon the commercial part of the undertaking. He perfectly agreed in the political importance of the line ; but he said, as we asked for a Government guarantee or Government assistance, it would come within your province, and he dismissed us with a general expression of sympathy with the objects of the meeting, and, of course, carefully guarding himself against expressing any opinion as to whether her Majesty's Government would feel it to be their duty to recommend any such guarantee.

Perhaps, as you have been so kind as to inform us that you have not had time to look through the papers, I may be permitted to mention one or two of the prominent matters which render this important in a national point of view. His lordship then repeated the imperial advantages it would confer, and continued, —The Legislatures of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, as you will see by the papers which are before you, have each of them guaranteed to her Majesty's Government £20,000, making in all £60,000, towards the completion of this line. And they have also guaranteed to her Majesty all ungranted lands within ten miles of the proposed route, and all private lands requisite for the construction, not only of this line, but for the stations and buildings : that is £66,000 granted to her Majesty's Government.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—Annually ?

Lord BURY.—Yes, and the land, with the line itself when constructed, would be extremely valuable, and would probably repay

the expense of its construction. The estimated amount of the capital required for the construction of the whole line is about £3,000,000 sterling; so that this £60,000 granted by the Colonial Legislatures amounts to a guarantee of about £2 per cent. upon the whole capital. We do not presume to lay down any positive terms on which we will treat with her Majesty's Government, but as her Majesty's Government cannot be expected to take the initiative in a matter of this sort, we wish to state what would be satisfactory to the company. The deputation which is here, have appointed a Finance Committee to discuss with you the details of this matter, if you should intimate your readiness to enter into the subject. We would ask, as the first proposal, that her Majesty's Government should, in consideration of the conveyance of the mails, troops, and stores, as I have said before, propose to Parliament to give us another annual sum of £60,000, equal to the annual sum of £60,000 guaranteed by the Colonial Legislature, and the crown lands granted by them, making in all £120,000, which is £4 per cent. upon the required capital estimated for the construction of the line. I may state that, out of that £60,000 there is a *quid pro quo*, and I would rather wish to insist upon that point; so that the remaining portion would be about £30,000 a year, and the asset that I would put against that would be the conveyance of the troops and stores, and the *extreme national importance* of our being connected, and having the facility of communicating with the Canadas; and I submit to you whether that altogether would not form a reason why her Majesty's Government should, at least, entertain the proposal. The harbour of Halifax, I should have mentioned, enjoys the advantage which I believe is not shared by any of the harbours south of New York, nor even Charleston in South Carolina, of being open at all seasons of the year. Halifax is never closed up. The harbours south of Halifax are closed up. Boston and New York are very often closed, and Halifax is the only port which is always open.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—Is this company just formed?

Mr. WYLD, M.P.—Yes.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—For the specific purpose of forming a line from Halifax to Quebec?

Mr. NELSON.—More properly speaking that part of it which is not already made, from Truro to Trois Pistoles.

Lord BURY.—I forgot to mention that when the Colonial legislatures granted the £60,000 to Her Majesty they granted it on condition that Her Majesty would undertake the work, either by the Government or by a private company. What we *want* is to be recognized *as that* private company, to carry out, as Her Majesty's instrument, the work. If we are so recognized we instantly become possessed of those advantages that are held out.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—There has been no attempt to raise capital for this company?

Mr. WYLD, M.P.—None, sir. First of all they must ask whether Her Majesty's Government would entertain this proposition, and if Her Majesty's Government will entertain it, the immediately the capital will be raised.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—What is the date of forming this company?

Lord BURY.—A few days ago.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—Have you submitted any memorial to the Secretary of State?

Lord BURY.—Yes, explaining the resolutions that were passed at a meeting held at the Thatched-house Tavern, on Saturday week. That is a copy of it [handing it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer]. There may be a slight alteration to make in it of a few words at the

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—I have no hesitation in saying *as everybody must feel*, that this is an object of the *greatest importance and most desirable to be accomplished*. I should like very much to go into the financial part of it before I could speak with any precision upon the recommendation that I should give. You say there are gentlemen in this room who can communicate with me upon it.

Mr. SCHNEIDER, M.P.—Sir, there is one thing you should bear in mind—that is, the present state of railway enterprise in this country, and especially after what has occurred with regard to the Grand Trunk Railway. If Her Majesty's Government do not feel it their duty to grant this £60,000, the line would be practically hopeless, and you will not find a class of shareholders to subscribe shares without there is a certain guarantee from Government. This guarantee would be £4 per cent., which would be little enough. A £4 per cent. guarantee upon the original estimate would induce anybody to embark in it; and, therefore, in this case it is not a question of getting a guarantee of £4 per cent. for the sake of making a line pay, but really as a foundation on which the line itself can be made. You would never raise the money without there was a certain guarantee of £4 per cent. upon the original capital.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—*It is not an UNFAVOURABLE PERIOD for undertaking* THESE GREAT WORKS, if you can agree upon any arrangement. I can only say that I am *duly impressed* with the great importance of it; and your (Lord Bury's) very clear and lucid statement has revived my recollection. I remember a great deal on this point when Lord Grey was in office. It certainly is, in every point of view, *a matter of the highest consideration*, and I will confer with Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton immediately upon it. I will not lose any time. Perhaps, I had better communicate with you, Lord Bury?

Shortly after these deputations Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton and Mr. Disraeli replied verbally to Lord Bury, and pointed

out that the assistance promised had been granted by the Colonial Legislatures in 1849; that the negotiations then entered into had not been carried out, and that the Acts then passed, though not formally expunged from the statute book, might not improbably be regarded as having fallen into desuetude,

Under these circumstances, it was determined that some gentleman should visit British North America, and ascertain, from personal observation, how far the colonies would be disposed to ratify and renew the engagements made in 1849.

Lord Bury undertook the mission, and on his return he, referring to the above-mentioned enactments, reported as follows:—

“During my visit to the three provinces, I endeavoured, both in public meetings which were convened for the purpose, and by private conversation with gentlemen of every shade of political opinion, to ascertain whether the words in that and the similar acts of the lower provinces, still indicated the views of the people.

“I have to express my belief that a large majority of the people in the three provinces desire to see the work undertaken, and that the acts cited are considered still in force. I also think that if, from the length of time during which they have remained in abeyance, any renewal of their provisions were considered necessary, it would not be difficult to obtain their re-enactment.

“During the past year delegates from each of the three provinces met in England to discuss with the head of the Colonial Office the mode in which this work might be constructed. Their reports are not yet before the public, and it would be improper for me to allude further to the result of their labours than to say that I believe their opinions to be highly favourable to the construction of the road.

Delegates from Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, arrived in this country simultaneously with Lord Bury's departure; the object of their mission was again to press upon the Imperial Government the necessity of granting aid to complete this railway.

They addressed Sir E. B. Lytton, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, as follows:—

“3, Charles Street, St. James Square, London,
26th October, 1858.

“SIR,

“The subject of an intercolonial railway from Halifax to Quebec has been so frequently and so fully discussed, both as between the colonies interested, and between those colonies and the Home Government, that the undersigned do not now propose to reproduce at length the arguments which have been from time to time urged in favour of its construction.

"The late Earl of Durham, in his report upon the affairs of British North America, suggested the importance of this railway.

"The first practical step, however, was taken in the organization of a survey by Mr. Gladstone, when Secretary of State for the Colonies, in 1846, which survey occupied a considerable period of time, involving a large amount of expense, and to which expense Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia contributed.

"Earl Grey, when Secretary of State for the Colonies, in 1851, distinctly pledged the Imperial Government to aid in making the line by affording the imperial guarantee to the payment of the interest on the capital required for the work, and this pledge would doubtless have been carried out at the time, had not a difficulty arisen as to a branch line from the main line into the State of Maine, for the cost of which Mr. Howe, of Nova Scotia, also claimed the imperial guarantee.

"Subsequently, in 1852, Mr. Hincks, on behalf of Canada, and Mr. Chandler, acting for New Brunswick, brought the matter under the notice of Sir John Pakington, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, who in effect repeated the pledge of Earl Grey, but a difficulty arose as to the route.

"His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, as Secretary of State for the Colonies in the ensuing year, had the project under consideration with a view to carrying it out; the Russian war, however, unfortunately intervened, and prevented any progress being made until last year (1857), when Messrs. Macdonald and Rose from Canada, and Messrs. Johnson and Archibald from Nova Scotia, again made application to the Home Government, and submitted to Mr. Labouchere propositions for the completion of this railway.

"The undersigned have thus, but briefly, referred to the action in relation to this question as between the Imperial and Colonial Governments, knowing, sir, as they do, that you are fully acquainted with its history in all its bearings, and that a reference to the Parliamentary Blue Books for the documents and despatches alluded to will be more convenient and satisfactory to you than a repetition of their contents.

"It must be borne in mind, however, that the state of the question in the Colonies interested has been materially changed since the correspondence with Earl Grey and Sir John Pakington.

"At that time Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia had not, in fact, taken any step incurring debt or liability for the purpose of aiding the project; and it is proposed here to state briefly what has been done, and what liabilities incurred in the respective Provinces, towards carrying out this great Imperial and Provincial work.

"Canada has not only provided for the construction of a line of railway from Quebec to Montreal, and thence westward, passing through Kingston and Toronto to the western boundary of that Province at Sarnia, the foot of Lake Huron, but 40 miles below Quebec have been made, and are now worked for traffic; and during next year a further distance of 70 miles to Rivière du Loup, now being made, comprising in the aggregate 110 miles below Quebec, or 86½ miles in all, from Rivière du Loup to Sarnia, will be completed, at a cost to the Province of £3,111,500 sterling, raised and paid out since 1852, to aid in the construction of this railway, and involving an annual charge upon the revenues of the Province to the extent of £186,000 sterling. From Rivière du Loup to the New Brunswick frontier the distance to be yet made depends upon the route selected, the shortest distance being about 50 miles; and there will then be a continuous line of railway throughout the entire length of Canada, from its extreme eastern boundary on the New Brunswick border to its western boundary at Sarnia, on Lake Huron.

"In addition to this large outlay, Canada will contribute the sum of £20,000 sterling annually, to aid in raising the capital for the completion of this important work.

"New Brunswick has incurred a heavy debt in the construction of railways. Upon the completion of the unfinished portion of the road between Shediac and the city of St. John, a distance of 110 miles, which are now under contract, her total expenditure for the construction of railways will exceed

£800,000 sterling, for which she will be subject to the payment of an annual interest of £48,000 sterling. She has already given 100,000 acres of land to the St. Andrew and Quebec Railway and Land Company, and has pledged a further large grant of land, and agreed to pay an annual sum of £5,000 sterling to the same company on certain conditions, to assist in the construction of a railway from St. Andrew to Woodstock, a distance of 85 miles, 60 miles of which will be finished this autumn. Notwithstanding these large expenditures, New Brunswick will now provide a free right of way, and contribute £20,000 sterling annually to aid in raising the necessary capital for the completion of the intercolonial railway.

"Nova Scotia, before the close of this year, will have opened for traffic 61 miles of the trunk line from Halifax to Truro, and a branch line of 31 miles, connecting the main line with Windsor and the fertile counties of the western portion of the province on the basin of mines, has been in operation since June last.

"This portion of the trunk line has cost about £500,000 sterling, and the Windsor branch £300,000 sterling, the interest of which is chargeable upon the revenues of the province, the capital having been raised upon provincial debentures bearing six per cent. interest. To complete the trunk line from Truro to the borders of New Brunswick there remain about 60 miles.

"Unless it be in connection with the Intercolonial Railway, it forms no part of the policy of Nova Scotia to carry the line from Truro to the New Brunswick frontier, as, unaided, it is entirely beyond her resources; and a line is now being located from Truro to Picton, by which communication will be opened with the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Prince Edward's Island, and the eastern counties, including Cape Breton.

"In the event, therefore, of the present effort failing to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of the Imperial Government in completing the Intercolonial Railway, in which the general interests of the empire are so largely involved, Nova Scotia must turn her resources to the construction of the line to Picton; and no hope can be entertained that she will afterwards be able to contribute to the Quebec and Halifax line, as all her means will have been expended upon the local lines already indicated. So deeply impressed is she, however, with the immense importance of this great Imperial and Colonial Railway undertaking, that, although nearly one-half the line through Nova Scotia has been made and completed since the action of her Legislature in 1849, she is now willing to renew the pledges then given, to grant a free right of way, and provide and pay £20,000 sterling annually, so long as it may be required, to aid in meeting the interest of the additional capital to be expended in making the line from Truro to Rivière du Loup.

"Referring, then, to the action of the Home Government; to the pledges of Earl Grey in 1851; to the adoption of those pledges in effect by Sir John Pakington in 1852; and to the repeated admissions on the part of the Imperial authorities, that the interests and integrity of the empire are involved in the speedy construction of this railway, the undersigned respectfully submit that the period has arrived when it is essential that the Imperial assistance necessary be granted.

"It is estimated that the different sections required to complete the line from Halifax to Quebec may now be made at a cost of three millions and a half of pounds sterling. If the million and a half of pounds which Canada owes to, and proposes to raise and pay off at once to the Imperial Government, be appropriated, there remain but two millions more to be provided; and to meet the interest on this sum, each province here proposes to contribute to the extent of £20,000 sterling, in each year.

"The British North-American Provinces would thus be brought together and consolidated; the postal communication between England and all North America would be conducted through Halifax, and that for the United States would thus pass first through British Territory, inasmuch as letters for Boston, New York, and other American cities, would reach their destination sooner through Halifax and over the rail than in any other way.

"When the Intercolonial Railway is completed, there will be an unbroken

communication by railway from Halifax, in Nova Scotia, to the western part of Canada, at Sarnia, extending over a distance of about 1,400 miles in the direction of British Columbia and Vancouver's Island, the whole being in the dominions of the Queen; and from Sarnia there is now an unbroken water communication for steamers and vessels of the largest class to the head of Lake Superior, at Fort William, a further distance of nearly 1,000 miles.

"The military objects are now so thoroughly understood, and have been so fully dwelt upon in former communications on the subject of this railway, that they are not here repeated.

"Trusting that this important matter may receive the early and favourable consideration of her Majesty's Government,

"We have, &c.

(Signed)	"G. E. CARTIER,	}	Canada.
	JNO. ROSS,		
	A. T. GALT,	}	New Brunswick.
	CHARLES FISHER,		
	A. P. SMITH,	}	Nova Scotia."
	CHARLES TUPPER,		
	W. A. HENRY,		
	R. B. DICKEY,		

And on being referred by him to the Chancellor of the Exchequer they addressed the following letter to Mr. Disraeli—

"London, 16th November, 1858.

"SIR,

"We have the honour to enclose a copy of the joint letter from the delegates from the British North-American Colonies to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the subject of the intercolonial railway; and we venture to express the hope that her Majesty's Government may be able to give an early and favourable consideration to the question.

"We have, &c.,

(Signed) "JOHN ROSS.
"A. T. GALT."

"To the Right Hon. B. Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c.

"London, 13th November, 1858.

"SIR,

"In the interview with which we were honoured by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the subject of the railway from Halifax to Quebec, Sir E. B. Lytton stated, that while the construction of this work unquestionably entered into Imperial policy, it involved questions more peculiarly financial, and that he therefore wished us to address you, and in submitting our united application, to add our views of the manner in which the British exchequer would be affected by your assent to our proposal.

"A reference to the enclosed copy of our joint letter to Sir E. B. Lytton will show you that, estimating the capital required to be £3,500,000, the Imperial Government are asked to apply £1,500,000, now payable by Canada, and to guarantee, if necessary, the proposed grant by the three colonies of £60,000 per annum. Assuming, which we trust will not be questioned, that the obligations of the several provinces will be honourably met, as has always hitherto been the case, the amount of aid asked from the British Government to secure an object admittedly of vast imperial interests is limited to the grant of £1,500,000, representing, at 4 per cent., an annual charge on the British exchequer of £60,000.

"Against this sum it is claimed that the construction of the railway would relieve Great Britain of certain known charges:—

“ ‘ Payment to United States Government for the transmission of mails to and from Canada	25,000	0	0
Reduction in ocean services, as now performed by the Cunard line, Halifax being 547 miles nearer Liverpool than New York, in proportion to the whole subsidy, at least	35,000	0	0
Saving in transmission of troops and munition of war, at least	10,000	0	0
To which may be added the sum which would be paid by the United States Government for the transmission of their mails by the railway, at least as much as is now paid by the British Government	25,000	0	0
	£95,000	0	0

“ ‘ On financial grounds we therefore do not hesitate to state our conviction that a large reduction may be effected in existing charges upon the British revenue ; while, at the same time, the other and more important Imperial political objects will be attained.

“ ‘ We have now fully stated our views on this important subject, and it only remains for us to express our hope that, if her Majesty's Government are desirous of extending their aid, they may be pleased to advise us of their views, and, should they not be prepared to adopt the precise scheme submitted by us, that they will be pleased to inform us of the mode by which they consider the object can be attained more consistently with the interests of the Imperial Government.

“ ‘ We may add, that if it should be more consistent with your views to grant aid to this proposed railway by way of subsidy, for the services hereinbefore enumerated, instead of an absolute grant of money, it would equally meet the expectations and desires of the colonie.

“ ‘ We have, &c.

(Signed) “ ‘ G. E. CARTIER, per A. T. GALT.

JOHN ROSS.

A. T. GALT.

CHARLES FISHER.

A. P. SMITH.

CHARLES TUPPER.

W. A. HENRY.

R. B. DICKEY.’ ”

SESSION, 1861.

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

THE HUMBLE AND DUTIFUL ADDRESS OF THE
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AND HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—

We, the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, beg leave to approach your Majesty with renewed assurances of our attachment and fidelity to your Majesty's person and Government.

In common with your Majesty's loyal subjects in these North-American provinces, we are deeply impressed with the great advantages, if not absolute necessity, of a railway from Halifax to Quebec, connecting Nova Scotia and New Brunswick with Canada.

The Legislature and people of New Brunswick have, on all occasions, manifested the greatest interest in the importance of the work to the British Empire, and have expressed their willingness to contribute for its accomplishment to an extent commensurate with the financial ability and resources of the country.

Your Majesty's Government are aware that the construction of railways has so far absorbed our resources as necessarily to lessen the means at our disposal to assist in this important undertaking ; but the lines of railway already in operation in this province may be made available for the purposes of this great work. The importance of the intercolonial railway for the great and manifold resources of the province ; the facilitating the transmission of mails ; the securing of improved postal communication between Great Britain and Canada through British territory ; the advantages of the line for military purposes, and for the consolidation of your Majesty's dominions in this continent, have often been urged in former representations, and as often conceded by your Majesty's Ministers. Recent events have demonstrated the necessity for renewed exertion for the attainment of an object so essential to national interests and the maintenance of national honour. New Brunswick has millions of acres of ungranted lands fit for cultivation and settlement, which under a good system of colonization, might be made to contribute to this work. Should your Majesty's Government, in view of the great national advantages the carrying out of this great work will secure, adopt measures to promote its construction, New Brunswick will cheerfully contribute in lands and money to the utmost of her means towards the accomplishment

of an object so desirable. We therefore humbly pray your Most Gracious Majesty to take this our petition into your most favourable consideration, and grant such aid for the construction of an intercolonial railway as may be proportionate to the magnitude of the work, and to the Imperial interest involved in this great undertaking.

SESSION, 1861.

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

THE HUMBLE ADDRESS OF THE LEGISLATIVE
COUNCIL AND HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY OF
NOVA SCOTIA.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—

We, Her Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, respectively beg leave again to invite our Sovereign's consideration to a work of National importance.

For nearly twenty years the people of British America have been struggling to secure a great Highway extending from the Sea to the Western bounds of Canada, and have made many sacrifices to obtain it. The foremost men in all the Provinces, of all political parties, have, from time to time, united to accomplish this work. They are united now, and they justly regard the realization of their hopes as an object not unworthy of the grave consideration of the Imperial Government.

The recent visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to these Provinces has not only enabled our Sovereign's son to survey their boundless resources, but has illustrated the spirit of loyalty and love of British connection which pervades them. To unite them in the bonds of peace—to develop their resources, to enlarge their population, to harmonize their public sentiments by mutual intercourse, to strengthen them in time of war, and to keep alive in their midst the traditions and the policy of the mother country, appear to us objects worthy of combined effort on the part of the Provincial and Imperial Governments ; and we rejoice to perceive that, at last, the great Cities of the three Kingdoms are awakening to a sense of their importance, and are about to petition Parliament for aid to construct a great Highway from the St. Lawrence to the Harbour of Halifax.

The Legislature of Nova Scotia beg respectfully to refer Your Majesty to the various efforts made by means of Addresses and

Delegations from the Colonies to enlist Imperial support to this great National Undertaking; and the heavy sacrifices made by them in constructing several Sections of Railway, which may now be incorporated in this work, sufficiently evince the anxious desire of the people and Legislatures of all the Provinces to secure its speedy completion, which cannot be done without Imperial aid.

We entertain the confident hope that the assurances repeatedly given by Your Majesty's Ministers of their determination to aid this important enterprise may yet be realized, and that Your Majesty's reign may witness the completion of an undertaking which involves the interests not only of British America, but the Empire at large.

Trusting that Your Majesty will give to the subject of this Address the grave consideration due to its magnitude and importance, the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

SESSION, 1861.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal.

(A similar Petition has been addressed to the House of Commons.)

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE UNDERSIGNED
MERCHANTS, BANKERS, AND OTHERS OF THE
CITIES OF LONDON AND WESTMINSTER.

SHEWETH—

FIRST.—That for one-half of the year we are solely dependent on the United States of America for our communications with Canada.

SECOND.—That in case of an interruption of our friendly relations with the United States, our intercommunication with Canada, during that period, is liable to be cut off at a moment's notice, and an important portion of the British Empire placed in great jeopardy.

THIRD.—That the completion of the line of Railway from Halifax to Quebec would render us perfectly independent of the United States at all seasons of the year.

FOURTH.—That the completion of this line of Railway would accelerate the delivery of the Canadian Mails and Despatches at

least thirty-six hours in advance of the present route through the United States.

FIFTH.—That the completion of this line of Railway would open up for colonization and settlement by emigrants from the mother-country upwards of 14,000,000 acres of ungranted lands within a journey of ten days from our own shores.

SIXTH.—That the present cost of conveying the British North American Mails through the United States, estimated at £25,000 per annum, would be saved to the Imperial Treasury.

SEVENTH.—That by making Halifax the Terminus of the Atlantic Royal Mail Service, instead of Boston and New York, a large annual sum would be saved in the mileage rate, as at present paid for that service by the Imperial Treasury.

EIGHTH.—That the Military expenses for the preservation of British North America, borne by the Imperial Treasury, amount every year to the sum of £420,000.

NINTH.—That the completion of this line of Railway would effect an almost total saving of this expenditure, as it would render Canada accessible for the extradition and transmission of Troops and Military Stores within ten days at all seasons ; whilst at the present time she is, in a military point of view, excluded from communication with the mother country for six months of the year.

TENTH.—That it would link together the three provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, without which any further combination of these Provinces would be impracticable, and would also give them access to the ocean at all seasons through the port of Halifax, one of the finest harbours in the world, and nearer to England (and to Europe) by 400 miles than any other open port in America.

ELEVENTH.—That by completing the construction of the Railway from Truro to River du Loup, a distance of 350 miles, a direct Railway communication will be established through British territory between Halifax, Quebec, and Lake Huron, a distance of 1,400 miles, from whence it is intended to open a direct communication with British Columbia, Vancouver's Island, and the Pacific.

TWELFTH.—That your petitioners believe that the immediate completion of the line of Railway from Halifax to Quebec is essential to the preservaton and integrity of the British Empire in North America.

THIRTEENTH.—That your petitioners believe that in addition to its adding to the security and permanence of the British Empire in North America, accelerating the communication with the

mother country, reviving that identity of interest with her which has been too long engrossed by the United States, the Railway would also effect a saving to the Imperial Treasury far exceeding any assistance that may be required for its completion.

FOURTEENTH.—That from the formation of the Halifax and Quebec Railway commercial advantages of immense value would be secured to Great Britain and Canada, and the great importance of the line is fully acknowledged by every trading community. It would benefit most of the Railways at present in existence in the Colony, and its accomplishment is looked forward to with great anxiety.

Your petitioners therefore pray your Honourable House to grant such aid and assistance to the Halifax and Quebec Railway as shall bring to a successful completion this great national undertaking.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Charles Franks, Wm. Wilson, T. H. Mitchell, Robert Gillespie, W. T. Hibbert, S. J. Bosanquet,	}	<i>Governor and Directors of the Canada Land Company.</i>
T. H. Booking, William Chapman, F. Le Breton, W. R. Chapman, R. Carter,		
Henry Barnwell, John Ranking,		
James J. Cummins, Thomas Devas, John Hackblock,		
	}	<i>Directors of the Bank of British North America.</i>
	}	<i>Governor and Directors of the British American Land Company.</i>
The Hudson's Bay Company, W. T. Berens, <i>Governor.</i>		
The Trust and Loan Company of Upper Canada, Fred. Fearon, <i>Secretary.</i>		
The Directors of the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company, Wm. Aggas, <i>Secretary.</i>		
Alfred Charles Bridge, <i>Chairman General Mining Association of Nova Scotia.</i>		
S. Cunard, <i>British and North American Royal Mail Steam Ship Company.</i>		
Joseph Fry, William Hazlitt,	}	<i>Directors of the Canada Agency Association.</i>

Wm. Newmarsh,
Wm. Hartridge,
William Smith,
William Evans,
Henry Wheeler,

*Members of the Committee of Inquiry on
the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada.*

Crawford, Colvin, & Co.
Gillespies, Moffatt, & Co.
McCalmont, Brothers, & Co.
Gilmour, Rankin, Strang, & Co.
Baring, Brothers, & Co.
Morrison, Dillon, & Co.
Leaf, Sons, & Co.
T. Thomson, T. Bonar, & Co.
Glyn, Mills, & Co.
J. T. Pawson & Co.
Finlay, Hodgson, & Co.
J. B. Elin & Co.
Robert Benson & Co.
Bryson, Hoyer, & Tagart
Janvrin, Grassie, & De Lisle
F. De Lizardi & Co.
Robert Martin (Martin, Stone,
& Co.)
Geo. R. Marten (Sir William
Call, Marten, & Co.)
Philip Twells (Spooner, Att-
woods, & Co.)
G. W. Alexander, } Lombard-
W. D. Alexander, } street
The Union Bank of London,
W. W. Scrimgeour, *Manager*
The London Joint-Stock Bank,
John P. Oxley
The London and Westminster
Bank, Henry Buckle, *Trustee*

The City Bank, London, per A.
J. White, *Manager*
The London & County Banking
Company, Wm. McKewan,
Manager
J. and R. Morley
Henry Wollaston Blake (James
Watt & Co.)
Leo Schuster
Thomas Brassey
James Hutchinson
Isaac Braithwaite
Phillip Hardwick, R.A.
Edw. L. Betts
Bischoff, Cox, & Bompas
Thomas Hughes
J. D. Lowden
Charles Morris
Charles Phelps
Charles Hill
Thomas Butts
J. Sewell
Robert Curling
William Forman & Co.
G. B. Thorneycroft & Co.
William Crawshaw
A. M. Wier
Ellis, Everington, & Co.
Dent, Aldcroft, & Co.
Charles Candy & Co.
&c. &c. &c.

**SIMILAR PETITIONS FROM THE UNDERSIGNED
MERCHANTS, BANKERS, AND OTHERS OF THE
BOROUGH OF LIVERPOOL.**

Allan, Brothers, & Co.	Clayton, James
Allen & Edwards	Chalmers & Co.
Arnold, Lete, Roscoe, & Co.	Cæsar & Sobbe
Archer, R. E.	Cornish, Geo. J.
Archer, J. K.	Cohan, Henry
Anderson, William	Clarke, W. P.
Brown, Wm. (Brown, Shipley, & Co.)	Carter, Henry
Baines, James, & Co.	Coglan, John
Bailey, Brothers, & Co.	Colley, Fras. P.
Beazley, James	Carne, C. Fredk.
Boult, English, & Brandon	Cox, John
Booker, S.	Caroe, A. K.
Booker, Geo., & Co.	Duncan, John, & Co.
Bradshaw, J. F.	Darbyshire, McKinnell, & Co.
Broach and Bostock	Dowie, James
Billinge, Charles	Dixon & Wynne
Bakewell, Sydney	Dale & Ryrie
Baines, John	Dixon, W. H.
Bowen, G. M.	De Wolf, John S. & Co.
Burraclough, George	Deckins, H.
Baddeley, R. T.	Daly, John
Bell, Thom.	Ellerton & Wormald
Bartlett, G.	Edwards, E.
Bedell, John	Fielden, Brothers & Co.
Baker, James	Farnworth & Jardine
Bryan, George	Fox, Bromham, & Lewis
Brown, John Gordon	Fox, William
Bond, J. C.	Fisher, William
Beardwood, W.	Graves, S. R. (Mayor of Liver- pool.)
Barber, Thomas Eaton.	Gladstone & Co.
Cannon, David, Sons, & Co.	Gibbs, Bright, & Co.
Cunard, Wilson, & Co.	Glen & Anderson
Chaloner, Edward	Gibb, Duncan
Craven and Bull	Glynn, Henry
Cassidy & Turner	Gaskell, Thomas
Clifford, Mark	Gardner, Joseph
Cato & Overend	Gunston, Wilson, & Co.
Carson, James	Horsfall, Charles, & Son
Cartull, Richd.	Houghton, Smith & Co.
Crow, G. B.	Houghton, James

Holme, John	Macphie, D.
Holland, Henry	Morris, John
Hill, F. Stanton	M'Lauchlan, James
Hudson, Thomas	Malcolmson, Andw.
Hill, Alfred, & Co.	Mucklow, Edwd.
Hakes & Garforth	McKensie, Charles H.
Hughes, Edwd.	Mahler, Bros., & Sultzberger
Hampson, Thos., Jer.	McCully, William
Higgins, William	Mensch, F.
Irvine, Thomas, & Co.	Major, John, Jr.
Jobb, Brothers, & Co.	Naylor, Vickers, & Co.
Jones, R. L.	Nicholson, Richard, & Son
Jones, Hugh, & Co.	Nicholson, Bros.
Jardine, John, & Sons	Nicholson, Walter C.
Jackson, Wm., & Ronald, Jas.	Nosworthy, Chas. P.
Jones, John W., & Co.	Neroutsos, G. D.
Joseph, John, & Co.	Nicholas, Wm.
Jones, Joseph	Ogden, C. R.
Jackson, Thomas	Oxley, Geo. P.
Johnson, James H.	Pilkington, Bros.
Johnson, John	Perrin, J., Son, & Co.
Jackson, G. R.	Porter, Wm., & Co.
Kenneth, Dowie, & Co.	Postlethwaite & Carlisle
Kennedy & Gilkeson	Powell, Fred. H., & Co.
Kaye, Edmond	Paton & McNicol
Kewley, Wm. B.	Prowse, J., Jr.
Kirkman, G. S.	Penny, J. P.
Kelly, Thomas	Patterson, Wm. M.
Kerr, Hugh	Patton, Duncan
Kirk, Robert	Pritchard, John W.
Liston, Young, & Co.	Pemberton, S.
Lindsay, William, & Co.	Rankin, Gilmour, & Co.
Lee & Nightingale	Robertson, C.
Moore, J. Bramley	Robertson & Ewing
Moore, Charles, & Co.	Robertson, David
Miller & Mosman	Ralston, Robert, & Co.
Moon, William	Robinson, J. & W.
Macdonald, D. and J.	Reyner, Nathl.
Morrow, Son, & Garbutt	Roy, Chas. & Jas.
Mott, J., & Sons	Russell, John M.
Marquis, John, & Co.	Saunders, Charles (McAlmont,
Miller, G. S., & Barker	Bros. & Co.)
Moran, Galloway & Co.	Shand, C. W. & Co.
Morrow, Bros., & Dennis	Sharples, Jones, & Co.
Morris, John	Sinclair, Wm., & Co.
Mathison, John	Strong, Reid, & Co.
McGachen, Alex.	Strong, Matthew, & Co.
Manders, Albert E.	Singleton, Wm., & Co.
Morgan, John	Stitt, Brothers

Sutherland, Peter, pro G. Brown	Thompson, George
Spence, John B.	Tucker, Robert
Steel, William	Trotman, S. Lee
Samuel, P. J.	Talbot, Alfred W.
Steinthal, H., & Co.	Verdin, Thom.
Samuelson, James	Wilson & Chambers
Samuelson, Newton	Wilson, John, & Son
Stokesley, James Thomas, Jr.	Wood, Henry, & Co.
Shearson, Joseph C.	Wainwright, Richard
Smith, George Ed.	Winns & Co.
Sweeney, W. J.	Walthew, Jas. M.
Turner, Charles, (Chairman of the Mersey Dock Board)	Wilson, Rob.
Tarbet, W., & Sons	White, Walter
Taylor, Charles R., & Son	Wise, Charles
Trimmer & Grainger	Williams, Maurice
Taylor & Timmis	Wade, W. B.
Tweed, Wm., & Co.	Williams, Thomas H.
Thomson, Finlay, & Co.	Whitehead, John W.
Thompson, Joseph	Wade & Robson
	Young, Geo., Jr.

SIMILAR PETITIONS FROM THE UNDERSIGNED
MERCHANTS, BANKERS, AND OTHERS OF THE
CITY OF MANCHESTER.

A. & S. Henry & Co.	William Harding & Son
J. P. & E. Westhead & Co.	J. & B. Pearsen
J. & N. Phillips & Co.	James Kershaw & Sons
Daniel Lee & Co.	Sharp, Stewart, & Co.
Robert Barbour & Brother	Fielden, Brothers
H. Bannerman & Sons	Thomas Sharp & Co.
Samuel Fletcher, Son, & Co.	Richardson, Lee, & Co.
Rylands & Sons	Sam Mendel
James M'Laren & Nephews	Hall & Udall
James Brown, Son, & Co.	Samuel Radcliffe & Sons
Cook, Son, Hocken, & Co.	W. Compton
Kershaw, Sidebottom, & Berry	George & R. Dewhurst
Callender, Sons, & Dodgshon	Butterworth & Brooks
Samuel & Thomas Ashton	J. Schofield Mayson
James Burton, Jun.	Edward Mucklow
John Dugdale & Brothers	John Pender & Co.
Henry Bury (Messrs. Loyd, Entwistle, & Co.)	Bickham, Pownall, & Co.
	Thomas Forshaw

Gibson, Hankey, & Co.	William Harding & Son
George Milnes, J. A. Turner, & Co.	John Breenan, Sons, & Co.
Bradbury, Doncaster, & Co.	Dobson, Chapman, & Co.
Collier, Hepworth, & Gervans	Isaac Thorpe & Sons
Medcalf, Musgrave, & Livesay	W. G. Cooper
John Davis, Son, & M ^c Whinnie	John Chadwick & Sons
Pennington, Swanwell, & Co.	Brotherton & Collier
Carlton, Walker, & Watson	Bayley & Craven
Glover & Son	Elkanah, Armitage, & Sons
James Dilworth & Son	John Ashworth & Co.
John Samuels & Co.	Earwakes & Challen
Samuel Meyer	Smith & Downes
J. F. & W. Roberts	Adams & Crompton
Edward & John Jackson	Wells, Cook, & Potter
William Peel & Co.	Riley, Codling, & Co.
John Munn & Co.	John Drinkwater & Co.
Hall, Brown, & Co.	Thomas Brown & Sons
Sharp, Murray, & Co.	Barlow, Gooddy, & Jones
George & Richard Holt	Shorrock, Sons, & Waterhouse
Charles Openshaw & Sons	Tunstill, Brothers
M ^c Ewen, Stenhouse, & Co.	Clough & Meadows
Littlewood, Wilson, & Co.	Cartwright, Haywood, & Co.
Greenhalgh & Romey	Buckley, Williams, & Co.
H. R. Balstone	James Bentley
John Williams, Nephew, & Co.	Lewis, Humphrey, & Co.
Thomas Tilley	William Hobbs
Robert Gardner	Gault, Begg, & Co.
Phibb, Rowbotham, & Co.	Wrigley & M ^c Millan
H. C. Owtam & Co.	William Roberts
John Allen	Robert Naylor
James Gibb, Son, & Gray	Norris, Brothers
Reddish & Bickham	Simpson, Thompson, & Co.
John Barford & Sons	John Standring & Brother
Edward Dewhurst	Ormerod, Jervis, & Thompson
Josh. Thompson & Son	Joseph & Edward Waters & Co.
Dalton, Brothers	Wood & Wright
Thomas Entwistle & Co.	Bradshaw, Hammond, & Co.
Taylor & Pegg	Porteus & Paul
S. Lany & Son	Melland & Coward
Edwin Townend & Co.	Nichols, Son, & Morris
Townend, Brothers	Edward Lyon & Brothers
William Gibb	Durham & Co.
Richard Haworth & Co.	Donald, Brothers
Edward & Robert Pritchard	Cunliffe, Piggott, & Co.
George & Hugh Booth	John H. Whittle & Co.
Benjamin Hill & Co.	Geddes, Brothers, & Co.

SIMILAR PETITIONS FROM THE UNDERSIGNED
MERCHANTS, BANKERS, AND OTHERS OF THE
CITY OF GLASGOW.

Henry Dunlop
W. B. Huggins, & Co.
Geo. Gillespie & Co.
Jas. Richardson & Co.
Stirling, Gordon, & Co.
J. & J. G. Rodger
James Burns
Gregor, Turnbull, & Co.
James Ewing & Co.
Handysides & Henderson
J. & R. Young & Co.
Wm. McLaren, Sons, & Co.
Wm. Ewing
Neil Macnish
Playfair, Bryce, & Co.
Henry Monteith & Co.
James Murison & Co.
Robt. Chrystal
William Birrel
Robt. Hastie & Co.
William Kidston & Sons
A. G. Kidston & Co.
Edmiston & Mitchell
Hew, Young, & Co.
T. C. Orr
John Loudoun & Co.
Wm. Leggat
J. & W. Mackinlay
Miller, Rose, & Co.
Brown, Maxwell, & Co.
John F. M'Laren
Thos. W. Mackay
J. Wallace Robertson
Wingate, Birrell, & Co.
John Wardlaw Ramsay
John McGregor

Pro. H. L. Schwabe & Co. }
 Theo. R. Schwabe }
Wm. Henry Dobie
Peter Buchanan & Co.
James Bunten & Co.
James Black & Co.
Jas. & W. J. Scott & Co.
J. & W. Campbell & Co.
William P. Paton
P. Henderson & Co.
Paterson Jamieson & Co.
A. & S. Henry & Co.
Wingate, Sons, & Co.
M. A. Clunie
Sam. R. & Thos. Brown
Lewis, Potter, & Co.
H. & A. Galbraith
John Atlya & Co.
T. Currie Gregory
Hay Wright
Charles Tennant & Co.
A. & J. McKeand
Adam Pearson
W. Connal & Co.
John McCall & Co.
Macleroy, Hamilton, & Co.
John Ronald & Co.
Wm. Malcom & Co.
Thomas Clavering
Geo. Smith & Sons
Robert Bryson & Son
Pro. William Baird & Co. }
 James Bain }
A. D. Robertson
Walter Gray & Co.
 &c. &c. &c.

SIMILAR PETITIONS FROM THE UNDERSIGNED
MERCHANTS, BANKERS, AND OTHERS OF THE
CITY OF BRISTOL.

- John Shute *Chairman of the
Bristol Chamber of Commerce
on behalf of the Chamber*
Thomas Evans, *Deputy Chair-
man.*
Leonard Bruton, *Secretary*
John Bates, Mayor of Bristol.
Miles & Co., Bankers
Miles, Bros., & Co., Merchants
Stuckey's Banking Co.
James Poole, ex-Mayor of Bristol
Mark, Whitwell, & Son, Ship-
owners.
Lucas, Bros., & Co., Shipowners
W. D. & H. O. Wills & Sons,
Merchants
Richard & William King, Mer-
chants
C. & J. R. Price, Stoneware
Manufacturers
T. & A. Warren, Merchants, &c.
E. S. & A. Robinson, Paper
Merchants
Wm. Terrell & Sons, Merchants
Wait & James, Merchants
J. M. Hyde & Co.
William Gough
James Protheroe, Warehouse-
keeper
Chas. P. B. Howell, Timber
Merchant
Alfred Robinson
Robert Bruce, Merchant
Henry Granger
Joseph G. Lovell, Merchant
Alf. W. W. Holmes, Broker
J. Hayward, Corn Factor
William Witchell, Corn Mer-
chants
S. Ward & Son, Seed Merchants
Longmon & Co., Wholesale Drug-
gists, &c.
Joseph Almond, Iron Merchant
Hudden & Ditchett, Tobacco
Manufacturers
Candy & Eggar
Wm. B. Beck, Wine Merchant
Francis Adams, Merchant
Franklyn, Daveys; & Co., Mer-
chants.
Evan, Baillie, Sons, & Co., Mer-
chants
Fedden, Morcom, & Co., Colonial
and Foreign Sugar Brokers
Manning, Hayman, & Baker,
Merchants
Bevan, Elton, & Cross, Iron Mer-
chants.
Jones and Nash, Timber Mer-
chants
Taylor & Low, Brothers, Timber
Merchants
Ford & Canning, Bonded Ware-
house-keepers
Hassall & Cogan, Merchants
Wm. Patterson, Ship Builder
J. Webb & Co., Iron Merchants
Nash, Cole, and Elton, Iron Mer-
chants
Leonard, Warren, & Co., Iron
Merchants
Wm. C. Beloe
Thos. P. Jose
F. K. Barnes & Sons, Merchants
G. W. Lucas
George Cole, Merchant & Ship-
owner
Wm. Yeo, Merchant
Robert Carpenter, Merchant
Howell & Leak, Merchants

Thomas Pike, Broker	James & Robert Bush, Merchants
Edward Allen	Cox and Shaw, Merchants and
E. B. Hipplesley, Corn Merchant	Soap Manufacturers
S. J. Sayce, Broker	Thomas Harris & Co., Distillers
T. B. Miller & Co., Seed Crushers	Slaughter, Gruning, & Co., Engi-
Richard Rowe, Shipowner	neers
Danks, Venn, & Sanders	Chrstr. Thomas & Bros., Soap
George C. Glasson	Manufacturers
Richard Cripps, Redcliff Wharf.	G. & S. Wills, Wine Merchants
Barnes & Adey, Merchants &	Llewellyns & James, Brass and
Shipowners	Copper Works, Castle Green
John Edward Germaine, Timber	Powell & Ricketts, Glass Bottle
Merchant	Manufacturers, St. Phillip's
Richard Mogg Bryant, Builder	William Powell & Sons, Stone-
William Claxton, Merchant	ware Manufacturers, Temple Gate
Woodrow & Bell, Chain and	Roberts & Davies, Timber Mer-
Anchor Makers	chants, &c.
M. J. F. & A. Alexander, Mer-	William C. Cambridge, Engi-
chants	neer, &c. Pro Winton E.
Jno. Edwards & Co., Shipowners	Baker
Tratman, Brothers, Ship Chand-	Charles Hill & Sons, Ship
lers	Builders, &c.
Henry Prichard & Co., Merchants	

A numerous and influential deputation waited upon his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, at the Colonial Office, Downing-street, on the 14th of June last, for the purpose of laying before him the following memorial :—

“That for six months of the year we are entirely dependent upon the United States for our intercommunication with Canada.

“That the existing laws of the United States amount to a virtual prohibition of the passage of goods *in transitu* through their territory to Canada.

“That our communication through the United States with Canada cannot be used for any military or political purpose.

“That the importance of a Line of Railway from Halifax to Quebec through British territory, in a national point of view, has been repeatedly acknowledged by the Imperial Government.

“That the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada was constructed on the assurance that the Line would be continued through the

Lower Provinces to the Atlantic by the Imperial and Provincial Governments.

"That the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada have constructed 114 miles of the line between Halifax and Quebec. The Government of New Brunswick 110 miles of the line from Shediac to St. John ; and the Nova Scotia Government 60 miles of the line from Halifax to Truro, and a branch line of 38 miles to Windsor, on the Bay of Fundy, without any imperial aid whatever.

"That 350 miles yet remain to be made, and that this could be completed providing Her Majesty's Government will grant such aid as is commensurate with the imperial advantages which on its completion it would confer.

"That the Legislatures of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have passed addresses to Her Majesty during the present Session of their several Parliaments, pledging themselves to aid to the fullest extent which their means will justify in accomplishing an object so desirable as the completion of this Railway.

"That providing Her Majesty's Government would back the guarantee of £60,000 per annum granted by the three Provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, towards making good the interest on the capital necessary to complete the line, and further give a sum of £60,000 annually for the carriage of mails, military stores, and troops (making 4 per cent. on the capital of £3,000,000, the amount estimated to complete the Railway), the necessary capital could be raised.

"That providing Her Majesty's Government are disposed to give a favourable reply to this preliminary application, the British North American interest in this country will cordially unite with Her Majesty's Government in arranging for the completion of this great national undertaking with the least possible delay."

The deputation, which was introduced by Mr. R. W. Crawford, M.P., consisted of the following gentlemen :—

Mr. Robert Gillespie.	Mr. H. B. Sheridan, M.P.
Mr. Thomas Baring, M.P.	Mr. H. Ewing, M.P.
Mr. George Carr Glyn, M.P.	Mr. Scholefield, M.P.
The Hon. C. W. Fitzwilliam,	Mr. Whalley, M.P.
M.P.	Mr. Buchanan, M.P.
Mr. J. C. Ewart, M.P.	Mr. Dunlop, M.P.
Mr. Horsfall, M.P.	Mr. D. Seymour, M.P.
Mr. Turner, M.P.	Mr. Wyld, M.P.
Mr. Bazley, M.P.	Mr. Steel, M.P.
Mr. Garnett, M.P.	Mr. K. D. Hodgson, M.P.
Mr. Westhead, M.P.	Sir W. M. Farquhar, M.P.
The Hon. H. F. Berkeley, M.P.	Mr. Charles Franks (Governor of
Mr. Gore Langton, M.P.	the Canada Company).

Sir Samuel Cunard, Bart.
 Messrs. Carter, Brooking, and
 Le Breton (Bank of British
 North America).
 Mr. H. Wollaston Blake.
 Mr. W. Chapman.
 Mr. W. Evans.
 Mr. Henry Wheeler (Chairman
 of the Northern Railway of
 Canada.)
 Mr. N. Gould.
 Mr. Hartridge.
 Mr. Sewell.
 Mr. Aggas (New Brunswick and
 Nova Scotia Land Company).

Mr. J. J. Cummins (Governor
 British American Land Com-
 pany).
 Mr. Bischoff, Solicitor.
 Messrs. Hazlett & Roche (Canada
 Association).
 Mr. Giles, C.E.
 Mr. Bruton (Bristol Chamber
 of Commerce).
 Mr. Ford (General Mining Asso-
 ciation).
 Mr. Weir.
 Mr. Nelson.

Messrs. Crawford, Baring, and Gillespie, entered into a full explanation of the objects of the deputation, and received in reply from his Grace the assurance of his cordial sympathy, simply requiring, before submitting it to the Cabinet, he would wish to know from the British North American Governments, the amount of assistance they were prepared to give, and also the amount of liability which the Imperial Government were required to undertake to secure the completion of the Railway.

REPORT OF CONVENTION OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN GOVERNMENT, HELD IN QUEBEC, SEPTEMBER, 1861.

At a Meeting held in the Executive Council Chamber at Quebec, on Monday, the 30th of September, 1861, there were present—

The Hon. Joseph Howe,	}	<i>From Nova Scotia.</i>
„ Mr. Archibald,		
„ Mr. McCulley.		
The Hon. Mr. Tilley,	}	<i>From New Brunswick.</i>
„ Mr. Smith,		
„ Mr. Mitchell,		
„ Mr. Walters.		
The Hon. Mr. Cartier,	}	<i>From Canada.</i>
„ Mr. Macdonald,		
„ Mr. Ross,		
„ Mr. Vankoughnet,		
„ Mr. Alleyn,		
„ Sir N. F. Belleau,		
„ Mr. Galt,		
„ Mr. Cauchon.		

And it was unanimously Resolved—

That the three Governments of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, do renew the offer made to the Imperial Government on the twenty-sixth day of October, 1858, to aid in the construction of an Intercolonial 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 endeavour 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.

HALIFAX AND QUEBEC RAILWAY.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

CANADA—OUR FROZEN FRONTIER.

(*From Blackwood's Magazine for January, 1862.*)

THE probability of a war with the Northern States of America makes us anxious to inquire what the condition of our colonies in that quarter of the globe is at present, and what assistance they may expect to receive from the mother country during the winter months.

Having passed a portion of last autumn in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and Canada, we may perhaps be able to throw some light upon a subject which just now is one of great national interest.

Early in September, a conversation took place in our hearing on board one of those excellent steamers which ply between the rapids of St. Anns—the scene of Moore's "Canadian Boat-song"—and the town of Ottawa, the new seat of Government for the United Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada.

The party consisted of a distinguished officer in the English army on full pay ; a merchant, resident at St. John, New Brunswick ; an Englishman well "posted" in public affairs *at home* ; and a member of one of the Colonial Legislatures.

These gentlemen we will for brevity call respectively—"Miles," "Mercator," "Civis," and "Senator."

They were all proceeding to Ottawa,—Miles to make a report on certain Government works ; Mercator to see his partner, who was engaged in the lumber-trade ; Civis for curiosity, information, and fishing ; Senator for the purpose of conferring with a contractor respecting the extension of railways in his own province.

A brandy cocktail, after a substantial and well-cooked dinner, had made them all just sufficiently communicative and tolerant to be both pleasant talkers and good listeners.

Civis.—"How beautiful this river is ! When one looks at the gorgeous foliage on the banks, the settler dropping calmly but quickly down the stream in his canoe, and feels the soft, warm, clear air, one can hardly realize the fact that before three months

are passed the broad rapid stream will be completely frozen over, the branches of the trees borne down with snow, and the inhabitants along the banks almost entirely without occupation."

Mercator.—"Yes; the lumbering is nearly over for this year now, and very few rafts will start from Ottawa after the first week in September."

Civis.—"When do the steamers discontinue running?"

Mercator.—"They knock off about the 20th of November, I am sorry to say, as I have shares in the company; and grumble extremely at our property being idle for full four months every year."

Senator.—"You will have more reason, I fear, to complain of your profits in the timber-trade falling off this year than your dividend in the steamboat company."

Mercator.—"Yes; but our profits are pretty good most years, and we can afford to have a bad one in that trade now and then."

Civis.—"Have the troubles in the States affected the timber-trade of Canada much?"

Mercator.—"Yes, sir, enormously; and that is one of those things which you people in England forget when you tell us that we must take care of ourselves in matters of military defence. Peace with the States is essential for the prosperity of almost all trades in Canada, but especially the timber-trade. Anything that affects the quiet of the United States acts immediately upon our business, for I can show by books of our own that we export as much to the United States every year as to Europe."

Civis.—"And what has been the falling off this year?"

Mercator.—"With the United States we have done nothing; trade there has been so paralysed, and prices have been so low, that we could not deal with them, except at a loss, and have therefore preferred to keep our stock on hand."

Miles.—"How unfair, then, it is for England to suppose that Canada can defend herself in case of war between Great Britain and America. Her whole frontier must bear the brunt of the battle, whenever it comes; and, owing to her proximity to the foe, she must suffer in a far greater proportion than the mother country."

Civis.—"Suppose a war were to take place between the two nations, upon a subject which did not directly affect the interests of Canada, what view do you think the Canadians would be likely to take of it?"

Mercator.—"I not only think, but know, that both provinces are as loyal as the county of Middlesex. We are proud of our connection with the old country. We send our children there to be educated when we can; we speak of it as "home;" we cling to monarchical principles. When the prince of Wales was here, he was received throughout the whole territory with an enthusiasm impossible to describe or overrate, in spite of occasional maladroit advice and consequent arrangements devoid of tact and good judg-

ment. In the Upper Province of Canada there are many subjects upon which men differ, and concerning which there are continually angry disputes in the Legislature. In the Lower, the land-tenure question being now settled, there can scarcely be said to be one matter of public importance upon which the public mind is at all agitated. Between the provinces the question of representation, of course, is one that divides parties, fills the newspapers with angry arguments, and keeps up that unhappy feeling which their union was intended to obliterate, and which, in a great measure, it has allayed. But the people of both provinces believe that they have a better form of government than that which any foreign prince or president can offer them."

Cicis.—"You hardly answer my question. If England was obliged to embark in a war with the United States, for the cause of which the colonies could in no way be held responsible, and the *casus belli* one that they were never asked their opinion upon, and were totally indifferent to, do you not think that the feelings of the Legislature would be to throw off a connection which made them obnoxious to their friends, without giving them the means of protecting themselves from their enemies?"

Mercator.—"You almost suppose an impossibility. America is not likely to go to war for any cause arising out of European disputes. But if she were to quarrel with you upon a question which affected England's honour, no matter how great our stake would be, or how little we had to do with the origin of the quarrel, we should prepare to defend our border with as much determination as if it were a question in which Canada alone was consulted and concerned."

Senator.—"I am not so sure about that. I believe the whole of the North American colonies would, if possible, on such an occasion, act as Mercator has described; but, in case of a sudden invasion in the winter season by a large army, they would very likely be driven to surrender, and would be obliged to make the best bargain they could for themselves."

Miles.—"I don't fear that any disaster of that kind could happen, even with the limited number of troops which we now have on the continent. We could, even with these, defend some of the strong places and positions, while our militia would in a few weeks be quite as numerous and well drilled as any soldiers that they would be likely to meet."

Senator.—"The loyalty of the people was sufficiently shown during the Crimean war, by their contributions to the Patriotic Fund, and during the Indian Mutiny, by the raising of the 100th regiment; and I believe nothing short of insult from the mother country will eradicate the feeling of devotion to England and England's honour, that universally pervades all classes in our colonies. At the same time, I hold it to be the plain duty of England, under existing circumstances, to keep many more troops on this continent than she has hitherto done. Look at the

frontier we have to defend. From Detroit to the River St. John is more than nine hundred miles, and thence to the Bay of Fundy is more than three hundred."

Civis.—"You don't propose that this should all be placed in a state of defence?"

Senator.—"Certainly not; such a thing would be impossible, of course; but I mention it to show our vulnerability. If a trouble were to arise suddenly, we could only do as Lord Seaton did in 1837—concentrate our forces, form magazines, and organize our militia."

Civis.—"For my own part, I do not see that much ultimate harm would ensue if a lodgment were made in Canada during the winter months by a force from the United States. It would be impossible for them to penetrate far into the interior. The absence of roads, the nature of the country, and the severity of the climate, would prevent them from making any way."

Senator.—"I hope that is not the opinion of English statesmen at home. It is true that the loyalty of the inhabitants of Canada would render it almost impossible for the hostile army to penetrate far; but the efforts made by the inhabitants, which alone would prevent a successful invasion, would be founded upon the conviction that they might expect succour from England before long, and that England is ready to protect our interests, and indeed to defend her own honour, which would be for ever sacrificed if she were to regard with coldness an attack upon our soil."

Civis.—"You mistake me; I mean that the invasion of Canada would not be attended with ultimate success. We could, when the St. Lawrence opens, crowd the lakes with gunboats, cut off the enemy's basis of operations, and capture the whole of their invading force."

Senator.—"But see what destruction would be effected in the mean time! Montreal, Kingston, Toronto, Hamilton, totally undefended, would very probably fall. Batteries might be erected, which would render their recapture difficult and expensive. Besides, if England does not think that it is of vital importance that our towns should be saved from pillage, the sooner we know it the better, in order that we may be able to take measures in time to save ourselves from such a calamity."

Civis.—"If anything like the destruction of defenceless towns were to take place, we could have the most ample revenge by attacking and destroying the cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and many others along the coast."

Senator.—"An operation which would be nearly as injurious to your own merchants and countrymen as to the Yankees, putting humane notions aside."

Miles.—"As we are at present, in case of an unexpected attack the only thing to be done would be to seize a few strong positions, and hold them with the regular army, and leave the militia to account for the enemy when they crossed at other places; but the

rapid manner in which the Americans have developed their railway system has altered the whole state of things in respect to the defence of Canada since 1837. Besides, that was only a rebellion, and danger was not actually felt beyond our own frontier. But supposing that we were at war with the States, they would threaten by railway our New Brunswick frontier, from Bangor, in the State of Maine. At Richmond they could, by sending troops from Portland, intercept our railway between Montreal and Quebec, and from this point to Detroit, in the extreme west, they would have lines along every inch of their border, communicating with the great seats of industry and population—Boston, Lowell, New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and the Atlantic coast.”

Civis.—“We could send you reinforcements from England in a month.”

Miles.—“Suppose the difficulty were to take place in the winter. The St. Lawrence is practically closed by Christmas, and it would be madness to attempt to land troops on the lower part of the river, even if ships could get into the centre of the stream. The snow storms in the beginning of December are fearful,—perfectly blinding, and the navigation most dangerous.”

Mercator.—“There can be no better proof of that statement, than that, after the middle of November, owners find it extremely difficult to effect insurances on the strongest ships.”

Miles.—“No wonder. The channel is narrow and tortuous. The masses of ice floating about the river are sufficient to break the strongest paddle-wheels to pieces, and to damage the most powerful screw. The ropes of the ships become coated and stiff with ice, which prevents their running through the blocks. The ‘bordage,’ consisting of rough masses of frozen water, shifting, rushing, and grinding with the action of the tide and wind, and varying from a mile to two in width, would render the landing of troops a most perilous undertaking. No common sailors could be of the least use in overcoming the difficulties, or in managing the ice-boats necessary for a disembarkation. And I should be very sorry to intrust any number of men to the charge of the most experienced ‘voyageurs,’ wonderful as their daring and skill is in getting through this inhospitable stuff. A very short time ago, the 1st regiment was wrecked at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The men were all saved; and as the winter had not set in, a steamer was sent down from Quebec, which took them off. Had it been later in the year, it is impossible to say what the consequences would have been, for there was no road to escape by, and no ship could have come near them. Then again, if he were to look for help from Halifax or St. John, I believe the road from Fredericton to Riviere du Loup, the point where the Grand Trunk Railway terminates, is narrow and bad, and would offer many difficulties to an army in the winter.”

Senator.—“From the Lake Temiscouata to the St. Lawrence it is new, and, I have heard, good; at any rate it ought to be

an excellent one, for it has cost the province a very large sum of money."

Miles.—"Is it macadamised?"

Civis.—"Oh dear, no! It is a common clay road, with ruts in places two feet deep, many of which are capacious enough to inter a file of grenadiers. The country is covered by dense forests, only thinly populated, and buried in ice and snow for at least four months in the year."

Mercator.—"In peace we have a ready access to Canada through Portland, in the State of Maine, over a railway to Quebec, which is leased to the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and worked by them. This, of course, would be closed to us in war, and we should therefore be confined during the winter to one route—namely, that through New Brunswick, which *Civis* seems to have lately seen."

Civis.—"I shall not forget it in a hurry. About a fortnight ago I passed over it all with a friend, in travelling from St. John to Quebec."

Miles.—"Then, as we are speaking of the defences of Canada, will you give a description of your journey, for there is nothing so important connected with that subject as the means of transport through New Brunswick?"

Civis.—"We left St. John one morning about the end of August, in one of the steamers which ply daily during the summer and autumn between there and Fredericton, the town which, for some good cause, I have no doubt, is the seat of government rather than St. John, the commercial capital of the province, and the most flourishing place between Quebec and the 'hungry' Galway. The passengers on board the steamer gave one a fair notion of what the travelling population is. One or two settlers, intelligent and hardy Scotchmen, returning to their farms after making arrangements at St. John with merchants there, about sending down their corn for exportation; lumberers returning to their clearings; a few timber-merchants running up to get a peep at their various saw-mills and depôts along the river; and three or four copper-coloured parties, attired like dilapidated inhabitants of Monmouth Street, whose long, black, straight-matted hair, dark, narrow, long eyes, high cheek bones, flattish nose, wide mouth, bad teeth, and Tartar-like expression, made our first impression of the 'red man' anything but romantic. A few of them are here generally seen in every steamer, lying lazily on the cargo near the engine, or crowded with their squaws and children in some snug corner of the vessel. They are dreadfully poor and indolent, and defy the exertions of all settlers to make them work. Nothing will induce them either to dig the ground or hew the timber, and they seem perfectly incapable of learning any trade which might keep them in competence. They live in wretched villages of wooden huts, and support life by hunting and fishing, while the women make baskets, as well as that bark-work, ornamented with flowers in mouse hair, so familiar to us at home. At the same time, no one

can build a canoe like an Indian. His work in that line contrasts as favourably with that of the Anglo-Saxon as one of Barker's broughams does with a hackney cab ; and no foreigner can call a moose, track a bear, or spear a salmon in comparison to him. They are perfectly harmless ; and although living completely apart from Europeans, freely mix with them in the towns, solicit their alms, sell them game, and accompany Englishmen as guides in all sporting expeditions.

"For the first ten miles after leaving St. John, the river spreads out into a series of lakes, each of which varies in breadth from two to four miles. Hills of considerable height, clothed with pine and oak from the top to the water's edge, fall precipitously to the shore ; and rocky cliffs occasionally jut out into the stream, which in many places is so deep that the steamers can run up close to the trees that hang along the banks. Where the Kennebecasis joins the St. John, the traveller may think that he has arrived at some great inland lake ; for, in looking into its broad mouth, the watery horizon is only slightly varied by the mirage floating under the clear sky.

"The stoppages at regular stations along the St. John are not frequent, but many boats push from shore to take off and bring back passengers. This does not in each case occupy more than two minutes. The vessel is eased, a rope thrown to the boat, which a man seizes with consummate skill, and away goes the steamer again at full speed, towing the boat along until the process of disembarkation is effected.

"Those who have seen the Danube at Orsova, can form from that a good notion of the St. John river, thirty miles away from its mouth, except that the colour of the former is brown, and that of the latter clear and blue ; but the high wooded banks, the great width, and the bold cliffs, are very much alike in both. As we approached Fredericton, the banks became tamer, the clearings very frequent, and the appearance of the soil extremely rich. Meadows, on which were feeding large quantities of sheep and cattle, were situated near the river, behind which rose hills covered with wood, putting one in mind of the Clifden valleys around Maidenhead.

"The distance from St. John to the capital is about seventy miles, and is performed by the steamers in eight hours against the tide, which runs up nearly the whole way. Great numbers of sailing vessels are met, loaded many feet above the deck with planks sawn at the various mills which lie along the river. But the rafts are much larger than those we have seen on the Ottawa, some extending over six or seven acres. They are very unmanageable, and where there are shoals and islands, often offer serious impediments to the course of the steamers."

Miles.—"Is there any road between Fredericton and St. John upon which artillery can travel?"

Cicis.—"Yes. On the left bank of the river from Carlton there

is a very good one, over which the transport of troops would be quite practicable.

"The town of Fredericton may be said to consist of one long street lying along the river. The houses are generally built of wood, and are of a very poor character. A few pretty villas are situated on the wings of the town, which have a comfortable appearance, and command a fine view of the broad stream in front. The only public conveyance north of this point is the Woodstock 'stage,' a sort of George II. coach, very heavy, rough, and uncomfortable. We have, however, pleasant recollections of the seat behind the coachman, as we there made the acquaintance of the first down-eastern 'cousin' we had the honour of meeting. After answering the common-form questions of the Yankee catechism respecting our country, business, and destination, our friend said, with that curt, sharp coolness of his countrymen,—'Well, as you come from England, s'pose you know Taylor of Sheffield?' We thought for a moment, and were obliged to express our regret that we had not the advantage of Mr. Taylor's acquaintance. 'Strange, that,' replied he; 'thought he was well known. Smart man, Taylor, and prompt in business matters. He travels for Smith and Company. One of you very much resembles him.'—'Indeed,' said we, 'we know a great many Taylors, but we fear we can't boast the acquaintance of Messrs. Smith's Taylor.'

"The road lies along the banks of the St. John the whole way to Woodstock, a distance of sixty-five miles. The scenery resembles Saxon Switzerland—luxuriant meadows near the banks, and rich land in all directions; the clearings numerous, and the country thickly populated. About seven miles from Fredericton, the Madamkeswick joins the St. John, forming one of the most lovely views on the continent of America. The Yankee remarks, 'I guess the Moose river in the State of Maine whips it!'—'No, sir,' replied the driver, a loyal New Brunswicker; 'all your folks that comes on my coach swears this is the prettiest spot in the whole airthe.' Nothing can be much worse than the road; but our vehicle was well horsed, and went down the most precipitous dips and over the loose wooden bridges at a pace which tried our nerves to the utmost. These bridges consist of rough wooden buttresses, on which are placed strong timber logs laid longitudinally, and covered over with transverse planks, which generally have nothing to keep them in their position but their own weight; and as we passed over the mountain-streams, the boiling torrent was frequently seen through the larger crevices, which any other wheels in the world, we believe, would have fallen into.

"The great drawback to travelling in New Brunswick is the bad food which one is obliged to eat; and about half way to Woodstock, where the coach dines, we were obliged to ill-treat our hearty appetites with salt pork, greasy trout, bad butter, and execrable tea. On arriving at our destination, we found, however, a comfortable little inn, kept by a Mr. English, which is the only

place between Fredericton and the St. Lawrence where anything approaching to a civilized repast can be obtained. The next day's journey was to Grand Falls, a distance of seventy-five miles, which we were obliged to perform in a waggon, kindly provided for us by Major Tupper, who has the contract for the mails to Rivière du Loup. As far as Tobique, a small village, close to the St. John river, the scenery was very much the same as that of the previous day, but the road a good deal rougher, so that it was impossible to travel more than about five miles an hour. After passing Tobique the clearings got less frequent, and the forests more dense. The road leaves the river, and passes over a ridge of hills covered with pine, hemlock, maple, ash, and oak. Below the town of Grand Falls the St. John, about one hundred yards wide, throws itself over a rugged and irregular bed of rock quite seventy feet high, and rushes down a deep wooded, and very picturesque gorge, taking three or four more leaps in the space of about two miles. Here we found ourselves close to the frontier of the State of Maine, and were not surprised to be told that a considerable immigration had taken place into New Brunswick since the beginning of the war. The people, apprehending a large amount of taxation, have preferred to immigrate to British soil, although the advantages, in respect to the purchase of land, are not so great here as in the States. The next day a drive of twenty-six miles brought us to Little Falls, a small town at the junction of the rivers Madawaska and St. John, where we bade a final adieu to the latter, after adhering with great fidelity to its course for more than two hundred and forty miles."

Miles.—"How far is this from the frontier?"

Cris.—"I will answer your question better by saying that at Woodstock we were about fifteen miles from the boundary line, but near Tobique it strikes the St. John, which continues to be the frontier for sixty miles beyond Little Falls."

Miles.—"So that between Tobique and Little Falls the road is close to the frontier?"

Cris.—"Exactly; it then follows the river to the foot of the Lake Temiscouata, where we stopped for the night at a house outside the hamlet of Degilé. About half-way between Little Falls and Degilé we passed a long straight cutting in the forest, which we found to be the boundary between New Brunswick and Canada. The next morning we embarked on the lake, in a fine canoe, propelled by two men using alternately paddles and poles, as they considered best. Where the river Madawaska leaves the lake we passed a place which never freezes even in the coldest weather. Six or seven feet of ice may be all around, but at this spot there is always flowing water. We could not hear that there were any hot springs, but there can be no doubt that the coldest winter has little effect upon the temperature of this part of the Lake. The wind was considerable, and it was remarkable to see the light and easy way in which our 'Indian bark' glided over

the waves, not forcing or dashing herself through them like our boats, but slipping politely and quietly over the crest of each, insinuating herself gracefully into their captivated affections. Lake Temiscouata reminded us of Loch Lomond—the hills densely and universally wooded from top to bottom, and their foliage tinged with every variety of gorgeous colour—

‘Umbrageous hills, sweet glades, and forests fair.’

But silence reigned over the whole scene. No house, no smoking cottage, no boat, nor picturesque peasant ; all is lonely and deserted, but at the same time bright and luxuriant. If there were on its pleasant hills a few inhabitants like those at home, Temiscouata would, I fear, make some of our Scotch lakes hide their diminished heads, and even render it advisable that Killarney should avoid watering her colours quite as much as she does if she wishes to retain her rank amongst the sweet waters of the globe. At the head of the lake we found a waggon which had been sent to meet us from Rivière du Loup, some forty-five miles farther north. This journey we performed on the new road which Mercator has been speaking of, but were disappointed to find it very little better than that between Little Falls and Degilé. The drive was through wilderness, broken by very few settlements, until we came to the watershed. Here the streams falling into the St. Lawrence have only about twenty miles to travel, while those falling into the Bay of Fundy pass over the whole length of the province of New Brunswick. The view on descending was very splendid—the St. Lawrence, twenty miles in width, lay at our feet studded with large islands, and dotted with ships beating up and down in all directions. On the other side is a noble range of mountains, into which the gloomy Saguenay winds its fathomless course ; and here ended my first journey in the New World, which I must say was an extremely rough, but by no means a disagreeable one.”

Senator.—“I suppose the population is chiefly French?”

Civis.—“Between St. John and Grand Falls they are almost all of English and Scotch origin, but after passing Little Falls, one rarely meets a person who can speak any language except the French patois.”

Miles.—“You see from *Civis*’s description how exposed our frontier is between Woodstock and the St. Lawrence, and what a difficult country it would be to march an army through in winter.”

Senator.—“In the winter they would come as the troops did in 1837 and 1838, at the time of the Canadian rebellion, if they could.”

Miles.—“Then they only marched in companies through a friendly country, which is very different from moving an army in time of war along the enemy’s frontier.”

Senator.—“I forget the details of that expedition ; but I daresay Miles can tell us the particulars.”

Miles.—"My recollection of the history of that March is distinct, for it has always been looked upon by military men as a memorable transaction, and was attended with a success which the great risk rendered very remarkable; and when these troubles in America commenced, I rubbed up my memory, by looking at some interesting records on the subject, now to be found at the library at Quebec.

"When the attack of the rebels on the Richelieu broke out the first week in November, the 43rd and 85th were ordered from New Brunswick, and the 34th from Halifax. These three regiments marched along the route which *Civis* has just described, and the season is said to have been one of the severest on record."

Senator.—"I very much doubt that fact; for I recollect that the 83rd regiment was brought up by steamboat from Quebec to Montreal in December of the same year, that being much later than usual for the river to remain open."

Miles.—"Well, I am inclined to agree with you that the year was not so severe as those who have described the march represent it. The first two regiments I have mentioned followed each other in quick succession: the 43rd left Fredericton on the 11th of December,* and reached the St. Lawrence in twelve days. The 85th started from St. John a few days after, and proceeded by the same route, but accomplished the distance one day quicker than the 43rd, the path being in some degree better, and the snow hardened by the first regiment.

"The 34th, after the reverse at St. Dennis, were marched up from Halifax, and left St. John about ten days after the 85th. This regiment seems to have been able to make more use of the river, and to have been transported upon it a considerable portion of the way, but does not appear to have done the distance in a shorter time than the other two. In December of the following year the 11th regiment left St. John and proceeded in exactly the same mode as the 34th, but seem to have suffered more from the cold than their predecessors. This, however, did not prevent the gallant 11th from being bivouacked in the depth of the winters of 1838-39 and 1839-40 on the banks of the Temiscouata, during the dispute upon the boundary question between Great Britain and the United States, and the regiment had the distinction of marching thirteen hundred miles in the snow during the two winters which they spent in America."

Civis.—"In what numbers did the men travel through New Brunswick?"

Miles.—"In companies of nearly one hundred, and were carried in sleighs, each of which held eight men. During the first part of the march, the 43rd and 85th were able to get along at the rate of twenty-five miles per day, but the seven last days, which

* Since the above was written, an interesting account of the march of the 43rd has appeared in the *Army and Navy Gazette* of December 14th.

they passed between Little Falls and the St. Lawrence, were extremely severe, and the country was a great deal wilder and less settled than that through which the first part of the journey lay."

Senator.—"I believe there were few bridges there at that time?"

Miles.—"I think not. I recollect that they were obliged to cross several rivers in boats."

Senator.—"Well, in that respect, the route could be more easily performed now, for, according to *Civis*, although his nerves were severely tried, he was never reduced to passing through one of those torrents, the view of which, through the creaking and broken planks, appears so to have disturbed his peace of mind."

Miles.—"Of course the journey could now be done much more easily than it was in 1838, but you must recollect that we were then at peace with the States; but if we were at war we might not be able to venture to send men by companies; they would be then obliged to travel in large bodies, and bring with them artillery."

Civis.—"Not all the way, surely!"

Miles.—"Well, from Woodstock to the St. Lawrence the road runs so near the frontier that I don't believe any officer could recommend a march by companies. They would be exposed to be cut off by an enemy who would thoroughly know the country, and could bring a considerable body of men to bear upon many points of the line. Besides which, unless we had troops at St. Andrews, the Yankees would probably seize that terminus, and send their own forces along the new line to Woodstock, and in that way cut off our communication entirely, and render any advance impossible."

Senator.—"I was going to suggest that this new line would be of much service to us."

Miles.—"So it would, no doubt, if we were sure of holding it; and it would be the best way now to get troops to Quebec so long as we can command it; but the enemy have got perfect railway communication to Bangor, within fifty miles of this town, and there can be no doubt that the whole of the St. Andrews and Quebec track would be continually in danger. There is, however, a good access to the harbour of St. Andrews, which is more free from those fogs that are the curse of the Bay of Fundy than St. John; but if it were determined to make the latter place a central depôt, there is a good road to St. Andrews, and the distance not more than sixty miles, so that the railway would be quite accessible if it were thought desirable to use it."

Senator.—"I believe, in ordinary times, there are not more than three regiments in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, besides a few artillery; and, in case of war with the States, these could not be spared. In fact, Halifax and St. John would require large garrisons, and St. Andrews ought to be protected as well."

Miles.—"I quite agree with you. The harbour of Halifax would be the great object; the forts at its mouth would require to be manned, and the citadel must be taken care of as well."

Civis.—"Lord Mulgrave seemed fully impressed with this idea, and when I was there the other day the people spoke of him in terms of great praise for the successful efforts he had been making to raise volunteer corps in the neighbourhood."

Miles.—"Volunteer artillery corps would be invaluable at Halifax, and I am glad to hear that they have been induced to see the necessity of rising them. The fleet would, I think, prevent any serious attempt being made upon the harbour; but it is such a vital point that no effort ought to be spared to put the works in a thorough state of defence, and have every gun properly manned, which it is quite possible to effect with volunteers, when we consider the large population and feeling of the place."

Mercator.—"The trade of St. John is so extensive, and the shipping so great, that it would be a tempting place for the Yankee privateers to make a dash at from time to time."

Miles.—"The remarks which I made with regard to Halifax apply with equal force to St. John. Of course more damage could be done to commerce at St. John, but I hold Halifax must always be the real basis of operations; its harbour is open throughout the whole winter, and never exposed to those awful fogs which hang continually round St. John, and in fact the whole mouth of the Bay of Fundy."

Mercator.—"There can be no nastier navigation than that round the western extremity of Nova Scotia; a heavy sea continually runs there; the tide is the most rapid in the world, and the atmosphere is almost always thick."

Civis.—"Well, suppose the contingency we are contemplating were to take place in the winter, after the St. Lawrence is closed, where would you send the troops to?"

Miles.—"Undoubtedly to Halifax."

Senator.—"There is a line of railway open from there to Truro, sixty miles; and from that to Pettitcodiac, a station on the Shediac and St. John Railway, is only seventy miles. Could not troops be marched across there and get straight down to St. John by rail?"

Civis.—"From Truro to Amherst the country is well settled and the road excellent. In the winter, of course, it is covered with ice and snow; and from Amherst to the railway it is dense forest, with a fair road and a well-to-do population, who could afford the troops plenty of assistance."

Miles.—"The march would be a long one, and time would be valuable under the circumstances we are supposing; so I should much prefer sending troops by railway to Windsor, and then run them across the Bay of Fundy to St. John."

Civis.—"Why not then send them straight to St. John from England?"

Miles.—"Because we should, in the way I propose, avoid the dangerous navigation we have been speaking of, and could send them down the bay in smaller numbers than if we were to transport them direct from England. Besides, I hold Halifax,

with its accommodation for almost any amount of shipping, to be the best port for embarkation."

Civis.—"Now, if you were to have a *carte blanche* given you by the commander-in-chief to transport ten thousand men to Canada in the winter, how would you manage it?"

Miles.—"If they were to leave England after November, I should certainly prefer sending them to St. John by Halifax and Windsor to running the risk of landing them amongst the storms, snow, and ice, in the Lower St. Lawrence. I believe they would meet with fewer casualties in following the example of 1837. Arrangements could be easily made for putting a regiment or two under cover every night along the march through New Brunswick. The lumberers would run up sheds at intervals of nineteen or twenty miles, into which plenty of stores could be put, and where the men could bivouac for the night. Food could easily be provided at each of these places, and there is no reason in the world why, with proper clothing, the men should suffer. Probably they would be obliged to march on snow-shoes, but, after a regiment or two had passed, guns could be transported without difficulty on sleighs. A guard could be placed over these depôts; and, although some danger would be incurred from the liability of an invasion from the State of Maine, the roads upon which the enemy would come are so few and far between that a small force would be sufficient to check any attempt of this nature. The St. Andrew's Railway would have to be guarded, or at least watched; the various roads leading from the State to the frontier should be broken up and the bridges destroyed; while a body of lumberers, each of whom could hew down the largest tree in twenty minutes, would make the road impassable in a few hours, and render the march of the troops comparatively safe."

Civis.—"Is it not strange that a railway has not been made before now along the St. John to the St. Lawrence?"

Senator.—"You, sir, have hit the right nail on the head; if that were done I believe it is out of the power of man to describe the benefit which the provinces would derive from it. New Brunswick would rapidly become settled. Halifax would successfully rival Portland. The colonies would get the advantage of the postal contract which England is now obliged to give to the States. St. John and Quebec, brought into direct and rapid communication with each other would increase with giant strides in wealth and importance. The trade of Canada, now shut up for six months in the year, would find an outlet through British ports. The mother country would save money in being relieved from keeping garrisons in Canada even as large as she does now, and the colonists would at length feel that they were brought nearer to England; while a closer intimacy would create increased affection for your laws and civilization. The great obstacle to the extension of a railway from Halifax to Quebec has been the want of means by which the Governments of the three provinces through

which it would run can act in concert. One province may make a railway, but there is no machinery by which the concurrence of all can be obtained, which is absolutely necessary for such a work as you allude to. This has been our great stumbling-block ; and the example of the States shows what a detriment it has been to our advancement. There railways are made through wildernesses and prairies without inhabitants, but which soon become settled, cultivated, and wealthy. The lines may not and do not pay, but the State receives enormous advantage, and is indirectly recompensed a hundred-fold."

Mercator.—"Commerce would be benefited in a similar degree by the line you speak of. Vessels could make three voyages to Halifax for two to Quebec in the course of the year ; we should save the heavy insurances required for early and late voyages through the St. Lawrence ; and the trade now crowded into six months would be equally diffused throughout the twelve. I am inclined also to think more favourably of the direct paying prospects than Senator ; for half the year the St. Lawrence would not compete with it, and for the other half it would give a route to Europe and back more expeditious and safe than any other."

Civis.—"From a superficial observation of the resources of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, I should think that railways through the interior would develop many sources of industry now unknown."

Senator.—"Undoubtedly. Immigration would become rapidly increased, agriculture would be extended in proportion to the amount of labourers coming over to us. Those provisions which we now get from the States to the amount of nearly a million of dollars a year, we could raise for ourselves ; and if any surplus remained, we should become successful competitors with the far West for the European trade, possessing enormous advantages, as we should, in situation over the farmers of the prairies and the Mississippi valley."

Civis.—"If the advantages are so great, how is it that this railway has not been built before now ?"

Mercator.—"Chiefly for the reason which Senator has assigned ; but we think we have a right to ask the mother country to help us."

Civis.—"I fear the doctrine of subsidies to Colonial Governments is exploded, and that the present Chancellor of the Exchequer is one of the most determined enemies to its revival."

Senator.—"I cannot understand how such a friend to peace as Mr. Gladstone can object to the promotion of an object that, by relieving the colonies from a weakness that invites aggression, will perhaps some day prevent a war, one year's expense of which would perhaps pay for two or three railways from Halifax to Quebec."

Mercator.—"When we get to Ottawa, I think I shall be able to show *Civis* that, if the mother country will comply with the request which will be made upon her Chancellor of the Exchequer this winter, she would not only not lose, but save several thousands per annum."

On our arrival at Ottawa, we had an opportunity of meeting several gentlemen who were on a tour through Canada and the States, for the purpose of investigating the prospects and position of the Grand Trunk Railway, and who were kind enough to put us in possession of certain facts, and permitted us to see papers and documents, from which we think we can lay before our readers a statement respecting the importance of direct communication with Canada, a subject that has since derived additional interest from the state of our relations with America. Since the year 1836, the project of connecting Quebec with the Atlantic, by means of a railroad through British territory, has been anxiously and seriously debated; and during the disputes respecting the boundary question, which were not finally settled for some years afterwards, the probability of St. Andrews becoming the Atlantic terminus of this line served as an additional stimulus to the Americans to bring their frontier as near to that harbour as possible. This they finally accomplished, and the mouth of the river St. Croix was unfortunately taken as the limit of the boundary of the United States, instead of Penobscot Bay, as it had originally been intended. On the establishment of transatlantic steam navigation, Lord Durham was directed to turn his attention to the formation of a road between Halifax and Quebec; and, after pointing out the difficulties which the relation of the various provinces to each other presented to the undertaking, that noble lord remarked, in his report, that the completion of any satisfactory communication between Halifax and Quebec "would, in fact, produce relations between the provinces that would render a general union absolutely necessary. Several surveys have proved that a railway would be perfectly practicable the whole way. Indeed, in North America the expense of making a railway bears by no means the excessive proportion to that of a common road that it does in Europe. It appears to be a general opinion in the United States that the severe snows and frosts of that continent very slightly impede, and do not prevent, the travelling on railroads; and, if I am rightly informed, the Utica Railroad, in the northern part of the State of New York, is used throughout the winter. If this opinion be correct, the formation of a railroad from Halifax to Quebec would entirely avoid some of the leading characteristics of the Canadas. Instead of being shut out from all direct intercourse with England during half of the year, they would possess a far more certain and speedy communication throughout the winter than they now possess in summer. The passage from Ireland to Quebec would be a matter of ten or twelve days, and Halifax would be the great port by which a large portion of the trade, and all the conveyance of passengers, to the whole of British North America would be carried on."

In 1843, the project of a military road was entertained by the Government of Sir Robert Peel, but was abandoned in consequence of the survey which was then made by Sir James Alexander

and Colonel Simmonds, proving how much more advisable it would be to spend the money upon a railroad. And in 1846 a second survey took place, under the auspices of Major Robinson and Captain Henderson, and two reports were consequently made and presented to Parliament.

A line was recommended to be constructed down the right bank of the St. Lawrence, on to the Bay of Chaleur, then, near Northumberland Straits, across the Miramichi river, and so on to Shediac, Truro, and Halifax, with a branch from Shediac to St. John. In these able papers it was shown most plainly that the railway could be constructed at a much less expense than those in the States. The enormous advantages of the line, in a military and mercantile point of view, were pointed out with great minuteness; and the benefit which would result to our fisheries along the Bay of Chaleur and Northumberland Straits was fully considered and demonstrated. Major Robinson and Captain Henderson considered that "it was the one great means by which alone the power of the mother country can be brought to bear on this side of the Atlantic, and restore the balance of power fast turning to the side of the United States. Every new line of railway adds to their power, enabling them to concentrate their forces almost wherever they please; and by the lines, of which there are already some, and there will soon be more, reaching to their northern frontier, they can choose at their own time any point of attack on the long extended Canadian frontier, and direct their whole strength against it. The provinces, therefore, and the empire, having such interest in the formation of the Halifax and Quebec line, it should be undertaken by them in common, as a great public work for the public weal." The subject was taken up with warmth by the Government which succeeded that of Sir Robert Peel; and in 1848 Earl Grey, the Colonial Secretary, in expressing his belief that great advantages would result not only to the territory chiefly interested in the work, but to the empire at large, requested the Governors of the several provinces to bring the matter before their respective Legislatures, in order that the Government might know the degree of importance attached to the enterprise by them before recommending the Imperial Parliament to afford the necessary assistance.

The view which the Provincial Governments took of the project was, that no other measure could be conceived that would so surely consolidate the colonies and perpetuate the connection with Great Britain. The Parliament of Canada passed an Act declaring, "That if her Majesty's Government shall undertake the construction of the said railway either directly, or through the instrumentality of a private company, it shall be lawful for the Governor in Council, on behalf of this province, to undertake to pay yearly, in proportion as the works advance, a sum not exceeding £20,000 sterling towards making good the deficiency (if any) in the income from the railway to meet the

interest of the sum expended upon it, and to place at the disposal of the Imperial Government all the ungranted lands within the province lying in the line of railway, to the extent of ten miles on each side thereof; and to undertake to obtain, pay for, and place at the disposal of the Imperial Government all the land required within the province for the line of railway, and for proper stations and termini." The provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, in effect, did the same thing. In 1850 the Hon. Joseph Howe, of Nova Scotia, was sent to England with the view of inducing the Government to take active measures towards giving effect to the resolutions of the different Legislatures, and on the 10th of March the decision of the Government was conveyed to Mr. Howe. The credit of England was to be employed to enable the provinces to raise upon advantageous terms the funds necessary for the works. This assistance was only to be given in case of provision being made for a complete line between Halifax and Quebec; but that of Major Robinson and Captain Henderson was not insisted upon as a *sine qua non*, although any deviation from it was to be subject to the approval of her Majesty's Government. Subsequently the valley of St. John was agreed upon by Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia as the proper route; but this being so great a deviation from the proposed line of Major Robinson, another application to the home authorities was necessary. At this time a change of ministry took place in England, and the Colonial Secretary did not conceive that the Government would be justified in carrying out the pledge of assistance to the project, now that it was so much changed from the original plan. Then came the Russian war, followed by the Indian mutiny, which had the effect of hanging up the matter till 1857, when delegates from Canada and Nova Scotia were again sent to England, and once more the subject was pressed upon the Government, the same arguments being used and similar offers being made by the provinces. The following year both branches of the Legislature of Nova Scotia and Canada addressed the Crown, praying—"That arrangements may be matured for the early commencement and the completion of this work by the united efforts of the three provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, with such co-operation and aid from your Majesty's Imperial Government as may be commensurate with the greatness of the object, and the magnitude of the national interests which it promotes."

Public meetings were held, resolutions passed, and the Colonial Secretary and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were again waited on, when it was pointed out that Provincial Legislatures, having passed the acts affording assistance to the scheme as far back as 1849, might consider that these acts had fallen into disuse, and that, as the arrangements had not been carried out, the provinces might think themselves absolved from the pledges given ten years previously. A noble lord was then deputed to visit British North America, and ascertain how far the colonies would be disposed

to ratify the engagements of 1849. He reported that the majority of the people in the three provinces were desirous of seeing the work undertaken, and that the acts of 1849 were considered to be in full force. Delegates from Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, were again sent to England for the purpose of pressing the subject on the Imperial Government. They addressed Sir Edward Lytton and the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the autumn of 1851, but a change of Government occurred before any action was taken by the home authorities. We believe that gentlemen have this year come over to England in hopes of inducing the Colonial Office and the Treasury at last so grant them the same assistance promised by Lord Grey in 1851, and which, by a series of untoward circumstances, for which the colonies are not to blame, has never been afforded to them. Since the negotiations commenced in 1849, a line has been opened from Quebec to Rivière du Loup in Canada, from St. John to Shediac in New Brunswick, and from Halifax to Truro in Nova Scotia. These are all portions of the great Halifax and Quebec route, to complete which a junction must be made between Truro and Shediac, and between Fredericton and Rivière du Loup, or a length of nearly three hundred and seventy miles of new railway, which it is estimated will cost about £3,000,000.

We believe that the proposal made to the present Government is that the three provinces will each charge their revenues with the payment of £20,000, to meet the interest of capital expended in case the line is not remunerative ; that the British Government should guarantee a minimum dividend at 4 per cent on the whole amount, which would amount to £120,000 per annum. For this she would have the guarantee of the Provincial Governments for £60,000, and the security of the land for ten miles on each side of the line. As to the other £60,000, we should have the payment in our own hands, for we now pay the United States £25,000 for the transmission of mails to Canada, a service which would be transferred to the projected line. We should save £25,000 a-year on the Cunard contract, by Halifax being more than five hundred miles nearer our shores than New York, and we should receive from the United States at least £20,000 per annum for the transmission of their mails by the railway ; so that, provided the Provincial Governments meet their engagement, which there can be no reason to doubt their ability or willingness to do, the mother country would be ten thousand a-year richer for this guarantee upon their hands than without it, even if the railway were never to pay a cent beyond its working expenses.

A golden opportunity now offers itself of completing this great work ; public attention is drawn to the locality. The whole nation must feel the necessity for it ; the anxiety which pervades us all as to the safe arrival of the army that has just left our shores, and which we are told is supplied with every appliance that can make it formidable to our enemies, would be considerably allayed if we

were certain that it could with ease, and without risk, reach its destination. At any rate, let the work be begun. We think we have shown that it can be accomplished without cost to this country ; and we believe that, independently of military considerations, it would tend more to establish our supremacy on the American continent, than anything that a bountiful Providence has hitherto given us the means of accomplishing.

OUR COLONIAL POLICY IN NORTH AMERICA.

(From the *Saturday Review*, January 4th, 1862.)

AN armada of steam-transports is now bearing across the Atlantic eight or ten thousand Imperial troops, with proportionate cargoes of military stores, for the reinforcement of the British garrisons in North America. Whether their valuable freights are to be locked up awhile in ice-drifts on the St. Lawrence, or landed on firm ground at Halifax or St. John's, depends on contingencies which defy even the calculations of our wisest meteorologists, and are evidently beyond the control of Her Majesty's Government. But whether the winter passage of our brave soldiers across the ocean is to be ended by a few hours' railway trip from their landing-place to Quebec, or by a five hundred miles' march across the frozen morasses of New Brunswick, let us hope that, sooner or later, they may reach safely the heart of that territory which Mr. Seward recently proposed to annex to the Northern States of America.

It may be roughly estimated that eighteen or twenty thousand British troops, of all arms, and at least five times that number of local militiamen and volunteers, will shortly be at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's forces in British North America. Munitions of war are passing rapidly along the internal lines of communication for the defence of our Canadian cities, which are already arming themselves against any possible aggression. *Si pacem velis, para bellum*, is the motto which has apparently been adopted by both the Imperial and Colonial Governments at this eventful crisis ; and whatever may be the final issue of the communications now passing between the Cabinets of London and Washington, England has at all events afforded to the world one unmistakeable proof of her desire for peace, in her vigorous and prompt preparations for the defence of her Transatlantic empire against the contingencies of war. And though these costly precautions may have been undertaken on the exclusive responsibility of the Executive Government, it may be safely asserted that, in thus reassuring the loyalty and confidence of our North American colonists, they have but anticipated the unanimous instincts of Parliament and of the country.

The stoutest advocates for economy in our colonial administration, the most ardent admirers of that ancient policy which stimulated colonial self-reliance, will not dispute the responsibility of the parent State for the protection of our distant dependencies against perils directly arising from the results of Imperial policy. During the last session of Parliament, our colonial military expenditure was the subject of a specific investigation by a Committee of the House of Commons. When the report of that Committee was presented, five months ago, an invasion of Canada was among the remotest of the probable perils of our colonial empire. It is therefore not unworthy of remark, that while deprecating the unwise policy which has too often fostered and prolonged colonial wars, and affirming broadly the responsibility of all colonial communities for the maintenance of internal order within their respective boundaries, the Committee admit no less distinctly the claims of those communities on Imperial aid in their defence against all external perils occasioned by their dependence on a parent State, which may involve them in its own disputes with other nations of the world. To defend a transatlantic colonial frontier line of three thousand miles, the natural access to which is during half the year closed to our approaches, is doubtless a severe task to a nation which undertakes at the same time to garrison Hindostan with eighty thousand British soldiers, to protect its settlers in New Zealand and South Africa against chronic wars with native races, and to guard its commerce by maintaining naval and military posts in all quarters of the globe. And when it is borne in mind that to our North American colonists have been conceded the full privileges of self-government, it may be doubted whether their relations with England, as regards the actual distribution of power, responsibility, and charge, have any parallel in the history of the world. The Imperial responsibility for their defence has nevertheless been undertaken, and cannot without dishonour be evaded. But though no Englishman can desire to escape the burdens which devolve on the citizens of an empire on which the sun never sets, yet there are seasons—and the present is one of them—when the glaring inconsistencies of our past colonial administrations are irresistibly forced on our notice by the pressure on our resources inevitably involved in the fulfilment of our admitted obligations. To ripen to the earliest possible maturity, social and political, the dependencies of our empire, to qualify them for present self-government and eventual independence, is now the universally recognized aim and object of our colonial policy. If free institutions and Executive Councils responsible to and removable by provincial Legislatures, were all that went to constitute colonial prosperity, Great Britain has certainly done her duty to the full. But Imperial responsibilities of a far more costly and substantial nature are distinctly implied by the whole history of our military administration in North America.

By the maintenance of an average peace establishment of 5,000 troops at Imperial cost, by an expenditure of at least two or three millions sterling on North America fortifications, by the gratuitous distribution of arms, accoutrements, and ammunition for the equipment of provincial corps, we have, of late years, uniformly taught our colonists to rely for their defence on the parent State; and we cannot complain if they have been willing learners of a lesson so welcome, and willing recipients of a political position in which they could enjoy the privileges without bearing the usually correlative burdens of independent States. Yet, without complaining of this state of things as a grievance, we would nevertheless venture to remark that, if it is really worth our while to hold Canada against all comers, it must surely be worth our while to secure a ready access to that colony at all seasons of the year. At the present moment, Montreal, which is only within a few hours by railway from Portland, through the State of Maine, can be only reached from Halifax, by forced marches in little less than a fortnight. The certain inconvenience and possible disaster likely to arise from this state of things have been admitted by every Colonial Secretary, for the last quarter of a century; but political and financial obstacles have always impeded the completion of internal communications between the Canadian cities and our own Atlantic seaboard. A railway traversing five hundred miles of territory thinly peopled, and for the most part uncultivated, has not been deemed by capitalists a tempting enterprise for the investment of five millions sterling, even before the discouragements recently sustained by similar but more hopeful undertakings. Finance Ministers at home have not unnaturally hesitated to support, by an Imperial guarantee, a work as to the execution of which colonial opinion was divided. It has been hinted from time to time that a federal union of the North American Provinces might facilitate the accomplishment of these internal communications; but the rivalries which impeded the selection of a Canadian capital were not very encouraging to any grand projects of colonial amalgamation. One-tenth of the public money which (as LORD GREY informed the Committee of last Session) has been "absolutely wasted" on colonial fortifications, with which "the wisest thing we could now do would be to blow them up again," would have sufficed to complete, for all Imperial purposes, those internal communications of our North American colonies on which engineers have reported, statesmen corresponded, colonists memorialized, without the slightest result, for the last thirty years. And so it comes to pass that the facilities for the defence of a colony which we won by great efforts a century ago, and have since held at vast sacrifice of blood and treasure, largely depend upon the mere chance whether a quarrel between England and her only possible enemy in that quarter of the world may arise in January or July.

It has been said, and perhaps truly, that there are but two

alternative principles of relationship between colonies and parent States—that of subserviency and dependence, or that of community and partnership. To elevate the former, wherever it exists, to the rank of the latter, is the obvious function of all Imperial Government. Our early North American colonies, before the declaration of Independence, paid the whole cost of their military defence out of their own taxes, and yet provided in addition for the whole expense of their civil government. During the Seven Years' War they raised, clothed, and fed 25,000 men at the cost of several millions sterling; and history records more than one occasion on which, as at Lewisburgh and Cape Breton, they actually aided Great Britain in her colonial conflicts. They were, in fact, partners both in the burdens and the privileges of British citizenship. If the same relation does not subsist between England and her five North American provinces at the present day, it is not colonial loyalty but British policy which has been at fault. The chivalrous sympathy which our late war with Russia called forth in all those provinces, and their vigorous preparations for self-defence, at a time when Imperial interests demanded the temporary withdrawal of a large portion of our troops, were only a fair sample of the spirit of mutual confidence and co-operation which, though now, perhaps, fitful and evanescent, might undoubtedly, under happier auspices, become the uniform characteristics of our colonial relationship. If our North American empire is really to be qualified for that self-defence which has been held to be a natural consequence of self-government, it must be by that consolidation of its powers and resources which may enable Canada and the Lower Provinces to hold their own among the nations of the world. This end can only be attained by an Imperial policy which, steadily aiming at colonial self-reliance, seconds all efforts in that direction by liberally aiding in the development of the resources of all our colonies. It is by ceaselessly applying all the means within our power for qualifying our colonies for eventual independence, that we may hope gradually to relieve the Imperial Treasury of the burden of their defence, and to reap, at no distant day, our own reward in the advancing greatness and prosperity of loyal subjects, converted through the natural process of political growth into the free and friendly allies of the British Empire.

HOW TO GET TO CANADA.

(From the *London Review*, January 11th, 1862.)

“ ‘He won’t, won’t he? Then bring me my boots,’ said the baron. Consternation was at its height at the castle, for a caitiff had dared to disobey his behest, and the Baron had called for his boots, ‘a thunderbolt in the great hall had been a bagatelle to it.’” Thus commences Ingoldsby’s inimitable legend of the Grey Dolphin. And so also commences the legend of the Trent. A caitiff had dared to board that good packet-ship, and forcibly remove therefrom two of its passengers, who were enjoying the protection of the British flag. It was rumoured that the President would refuse to deliver up the prisoners. “Oh! he won’t, won’t he?” said the noble Viscount at the head of the government, “then bring me my boots, and order out the Guards.” Now boots and spurs are very good, and very necessary things in their way, but they pre-suppose both horses and roads, and when the Guards are ordered to Canada, the question arises, “how are they to get there?” “Why, by the river St. Lawrence, to be sure.” But suppose the river is obstructed by ice, and strange to say, it does freeze up in winter, and so continues closed until April; what then? Why, they must go to Halifax, and remain there till the spring, or march at the risk of losing their toes or their fingers, if not their lives, through snow that at every step is over their jack-boots. But has Canada no outlet in winter, to the ocean? Certainly it has, three; one by railway to Portland; another by Boston; and a third by New York; but, unfortunately, they all pass through a foreign country, and with many others, terminating on the Canadian frontier, are available to the Americans for the purpose of invasion; but are of as little service to the colonists, either in war or peace, for the conveyance of troops or military stores, as the Great Northern of England would be to them. This is certainly not very consoling to the friends of the gallant men who have been sent on this dangerous service. The alternative is well calculated to excite alarm; on the one hand entanglement in the ice, or shipwreck in the St. Lawrence; and on the other, a winter journey of some hundreds of miles through wilderness, over untrodden snow, more than two feet in depth.

But why was this not thought of long ago, and provision made for such a contingency as the necessity of reinforcing Canada in winter? Alas! it has been thought of, and *talked* of for years, but, unhappily, nothing has been *done*. The same difficulty has arisen before, and regiments have been sent in winter, under such exceptional circumstances of weather as may never occur again, and at a prodigious expense, through that immense forest that lies between Halifax and Quebec; but where shall we find a man like the late Commissary Inglis, who planned and arranged the transit of the troops, or

one who has the experience and knowledge of colonial life, which he possessed as a native of the country? These dangers are not the legitimate perils of war, and a heavy responsibility rests upon those who neglect to make timely provision against this recurrence. The experiment may be made once too often, and the men may be overwhelmed by a snow-storm and perish, like the columns of the Czar, on the dreary Steppes of Russia, during the late war. If troops cannot be sent with safety to Canada in winter, neither can they be withdrawn, in that inclement season, if required elsewhere. During the Crimean war, we were most anxious to avail ourselves of the services of the military stationed in Quebec, but the order for their return arrived too late, and the risk and expense attending the land route prevented us from making the attempt. If, however, the line of railway is of importance to us, for the reasons assigned, it is absolutely indispensable to the unity of the Colonies and the consolidation of that part of our empire.

The North American provinces are now no longer small communities, ruled by the authorities in Downing-street through the instrumentality of a Governor and Council, with a House of Assembly resembling the Corporation of a little English borough; but they have grown into large, populous, intelligent, and prosperous States. As they have long since become self-supporting, and outgrown their early dependant condition, so have they within the last few years risen to a position requiring a more extended sphere of action, a more intimate connection with each other, and a united Legislature, that, representing the interests of all, shall make them respected among the growing nations of America, and allies to England, rather than a group of distinct and independent colonies.

This consolidation, however, so necessary to their safety and development, and so ardently desired by them all, can alone be obtained through the instrumentality of a great colonial highway. The representatives of the several provinces could not at present assemble at a certain point for deliberation, without passing through some portion of the adjoining republic. It will scarcely be credited that it is easier for persons living at Halifax to proceed to England than to go to Quebec at this season of the year; and that the inhabitants of Nova Scotia and Canada know less of each other and their neighbouring provinces than they do of England and the English. In like manner, the inter-colonial and English correspondence with Canada during winter, notwithstanding the enormous subsidies paid to trans-Atlantic steamers, is conveyed through the States, and is liable to be summarily suspended, even in peace, upon a short notice, and must necessarily cease altogether in war. The expense that would be occasioned by conveying the mails overland from Halifax to the St. Lawrence on sledges, would be immense, while the delay would almost paralyze commerce, and be attended with the greatest danger and disadvantage to military operations.

The Americans, with their usual foresight and intelligence, have availed themselves of our supineness to monopolize the markets of Canada. They have wisely provided the colonists with a canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson, and another from Champlain to the same river, so as to divert the trade of the country from the St. Lawrence to themselves, while railways without number are constructed at every convenient point, to intercept and convey travellers and traffic to their own cities. In winter they have a monopoly of its mails and passengers, and in war, during that season, the country would be practically blockaded. The idea of first connecting Quebec and Halifax by a railway through New Brunswick, instead of a military road, first originated in the year 1838, when transatlantic steam navigation had been fully established. In that year the subject was pressed so earnestly upon the attention of Lord Melbourne, that he directed Lord Durham to institute inquiries as to its practicability, and in 1839 his lordship, in a very able and comprehensive report, strongly urged its construction. In 1846 Mr. Gladstone, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, ordered a survey of the route to be made by Major Robinson and Captain Henderson, of the Royal Engineers, and in 1849 their report, which was most favourable to the project, was presented to Parliament. The provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, contributed in the most liberal manner £30,000 towards the expenses of that exploration. In 1851 Lord Grey pledged the Imperial Government to a guarantee of the interest on the amount requisite for its construction, which promise was renewed by Lord Derby in 1852, but fell into abeyance on a question of route.

Acting, however, upon this understanding, Canada constructed the Grand Trunk, and extended it 114 miles below Quebec, on the Halifax route, and Nova Scotia has completed sixty miles on the other end of the line, leaving 350 to be yet finished, which, when accomplished, will furnish the only link that is wanting in a continuous line from Halifax to Lake Huron, from whence, at no distant day, a direct communication will be opened with Columbia, Vancouver's Island, and the Pacific. From the time Lord Durham made his report, to the present day, the subject has been constantly pressed upon the attention of our Government, by commissions, memorials of the several colonial legislatures, and petitions of various public bodies, both in North America and Great Britain, but hitherto without effect. So lately as the beginning of last month, and before the present difficulty with the United States had become known, a deputation from British America arrived in this country, consisting of Mr. Howe, Premier of Nova Scotia; Mr. Tilley, Premier of New Brunswick; and Mr. Van Koughnet, Secretary of State for the Land Department of Canada, to confer with the Colonial Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer on this matter. Their proposal is understood to be the renewal of an offer formerly made by the provinces they

represent of a guarantee of £60,000 a-year towards the interest of the capital required for the execution of the work, to give a right of way for the entire road through both public and private property, together with ten miles in extent on either side of the railway of ungranted land, while they ask the British Government to give a like sum of £60,000 a-year for the conveyance of mails, troops, and military stores. It is estimated that the railway will effect a saving of more than four times the amount of the sum required of the Government in the military expenses of the colonies, which at present are not less than £120,000 a-year, and also a further saving of £25,000 per annum, the cost of the conveyance of the mails through the United States, besides a still greater amount deducted from transatlantic subsidies. In the event of these terms, so honourable to the provinces and so favourable to the Government, not being approved, they declare themselves willing to adopt any other proposal that shall be within their limited means.

It is difficult to appreciate the full value and importance of the project, either in a military, colonial, or commercial point of view, and we cannot but think that it is an object well worthy of the combined efforts of the Imperial and local Governments.

THE CONDUCT OF CANADA.

(From the Spectator, January 11th, 1862.)

NOTHING, during this last dispute with the Federal Government, has been so remarkable, or to Englishmen so gratifying, as the course of our North American colonies. They have acted like English counties, displaying not merely loyalty, which might have been expected, but a hearty sympathy with our action which was almost beyond hope. We would ask those gentlemen who disbelieve in political institutions to explain why the Canadians, of all mankind, should so thoroughly understand the impulses their next-door neighbours fail so miserably to appreciate. They have no better means of knowing the views of Great Britain than the people from whom they are separated by an imaginary line, or half a mile of river. English news arrives in New York almost as soon as in Halifax, and sooner than in Quebec. The domestic relations of England and Canada are scarcely more numerous than those between England and the Eastern States, and the commercial bonds were, until lately, very much weaker. The tie of blood exists in the one case as much as in the other, while that of language, which we believe without much reason to be so strong, is more complete with Americans than the people of Lower Canada. We have within living memory been compelled to constrain the Canadians; we have till lately legislated for them in a spirit of the narrowest

selfishness, and we have even now a habit of neglecting dependencies which must be infinitely galling. Yet the Canadians, throughout this affair, have not misunderstood us for an hour. While the Americans were convinced that any demand for the restoration of Messrs. Mason and Slidell was impossible, the Canadians calmly awaited a declaration of war. The journals only laughed at American ignorance, and affirmed, long before a word had reached them from this side, that the British Government would demand instant and plenary reparation. When the news reached Quebec, the merchants on 'Change, those very "*habitans*" whose loyalty French writers affect to doubt, received it with enthusiastic cheers. *They* would have to bear the first brunt of the war. Their property and trade, and means of communication, would be the first sacrifice to the armed hordes which the mob of the Eastern cities threatened to pour upon our borders. The quarrel was none of their seeking, nor did it in any way affect their immediate or pecuniary interests,—those powerful motives which, as Mr Kinglake asserts, supersede such sentiments as indignation and honour. Yet the dealers of Liverpool were not more enthusiastic than the *seigneurs* of Canada. The province was heartily unanimous. The news found them almost defenceless, but an unanimous people can act with the promptitude of a despotism, and find resources to which none but a free government ventures to appeal. The Government called out the militia, and 35,000 men have already responded to the call. Officers were there in profusion, and the men were drilled under cover, in buildings provided by the wealthier class. Volunteer companies were instantly formed, and already, it is said, twenty thousand men are ready for rifle drill. Arms were supplied from home. The foundries were set to work to rifle the smooth-bore cannon, of which there are plenty in the colonies. The "*habitans*" joined in the movement as freely as the people of Upper Canada. The coloured men formed themselves into companies, certain, whatever their discipline, to fight with all the energy of despair. The Lake population offered a Volunteer Naval Reserve. And, finally, the Irish, on whom the Federal Government almost relied, declared themselves to a man attached to the Imperial cause, and their most prominent leader solemnly warned his compatriots in the States that the day of American sympathies was past, that if, trusting to kinship and creed, they joined the invading force, the Irish of Canada would defend the Government they preferred, and the guilt of "fratricide" would not rest with those who armed to protect their own. And all this was accomplished with as little noise or stump oratory as followed the volunteer movement in our own country. The Canadian journals write like our own provincial press, and with the exception of one threat to occupy Maine, their tone has been that of resolute self-defence, and of a reliance on English help almost wonderful in its completeness. After all that has been said in

Parliament about the expense of our colonial garrison, the speeches of Mr. Bright, and the supposed tendencies of Mr. Gladstone, the Canadians no more doubted that we should fight to the last in their behalf—than did those who criticized the expenditure. A deep and strong sense of content, a feeling that they are justly treated, seems to have spread through our North American possessions, and given, as it were, substance and form to the sentiment of English loyalty. Much of the feeling displayed may arise from hate of the “Yankees,” as keen in the Canadas as in the Southern States ; but much more springs from a clear and distinct preference for monarchical institutions. The Canadians feel that “under the shadow of that guardian throne” they at least do not wither, and in any contest with the Americans we may rely on them as frankly as on the people of Cornwall. For American purposes we have in them a reserve of three millions of brave hearts.

Parliament does not forget these things any more than the English people, and England has at this moment an opportunity of proving how deep is her interest in the prosperity of Canada. The direct railway from Halifax to the St. Lawrence ought to be at once completed. Whatever the result of the civil war, we cannot remain for ever dependent on the Federal Government for access to our own provinces. The sum demanded, £60,000 a year, is less than a fourth of the subvention now paid to one English mail company, and under the guarantee the local government can prevent those intrigues, and perhaps those blunders, which have hitherto made Canadian railways such costly and unremunerative concerns. We must, for some years to come, garrison Canada, and the mere saving in the number of troops required will almost provide for the expense of the guarantee.

From the Morning Chronicle, January 9th, 1862.

The Anglo-American difficulty, as the French papers have called it, will have achieved one good result ; it will have taught the English people the geography of Canada and our other possessions in North America. We pay a large price for our lessons, but they are useful beyond a doubt, and no body of men will be better pleased with the marked progress John Bull has made since “last half” in his geography studies than the shareholders in the Halifax and Quebec Railway Company. A petition, signed by most of the eminent mercantile firms of Bristol, and by the Chamber of Commerce in that city, has just been forwarded to London for presentation to the House of Commons at the commencement of the approaching session, which will recall public attention to the affairs of this company. The public will now enter into the subject with greater interest, because with better information than

on former occasions, and the company has a much better chance than heretofore of obtaining from Parliament the aid which it requires.

The object which the Halifax and Quebec Railway Company has in view is explained by its name. The importance of uniting Quebec with Halifax—an achievement by which the natural disadvantages of Canada would be in a great measure overcome—is so obvious as hardly to need advocacy. When we have examined the practicability of the scheme, however, we will point out some of the advantages which would accrue from it to this country, in addition to those which would be obtained by the colonists themselves. First, as to the precise nature of the work which it is proposed to carry out. Every one knows that a large portion of the desired railway is made already. The Grand Trunk line, after leaving Quebec, follows the course of the St. Lawrence as far as Rivière du Loup, a place half-way between the city and the river mouth. Here it stops at present. It was originally proposed to carry it on in an easterly direction as far as the bay of Chaleur, the estuary of the river Ristigouche, which forms the northern boundary of New Brunswick, and from this point southwards through New Brunswick to Shediac. A short line to Truro along the isthmus which connects New Brunswick with Nova Scotia would then have completed the line, as Truro is already in railway communication with Halifax.

This scheme was mapped out in 1849, and negotiations were entered into between the Governments of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia on the one hand, and that of Great Britain on the other, with the view of obtaining an English guarantee for the proposed line. The Government of Sir Robert Peel, Earl Grey being at the time Colonial Secretary, took a very favourable view of the proposal. There seemed every probability that the colonists would triumph; but there is many a slip between negotiation and success, as well as between the cup and the lip. Renewed surveys of the ground led to the conclusion that a deviation from the proposed route would be desirable, and it was decided to take the line down the valley of the St. John River, instead of by the Bay of Chaleur, and thence by St. John to Shediac. This was so great a deviation from the proposed line that a renewed application to the Home Government was necessary. Alas! for the railway. The Home Government had been changed in the meanwhile, and the new Colonial Secretary did not think that it would be justified in carrying out the views of its predecessor. Great events in Europe and the East succeeded, and Halifax was forgotten. While all our thoughts were concentrated on the little peninsula in the Black Sea, or later, when we could not spare a glance for any map but that of India, Canada and New Brunswick seemed out of the way places, and John Bull sternly refused to open his pockets, or even to write his name on the back of bills which the colonies were so anxious to negotiate.

Now, however, the colonists, with great good sense, revive their claims, and they are pretty sure of a hearing. Since the matter was first discussed, some portions of the desired line have been constructed. There are now railways between St. John and Shediac, and between Truro and Halifax. The Grand Trunk itself, indeed, has come into existence since 1849. All that remains to be done, therefore, is to unite St. John with Rivière du Loup by one section of railway, and Shediac with Truro by another. In other words, the railway communication between Halifax and Quebec will be completed by the construction of about 370 miles of railway, at a cost of some 3,000,000 dollars.

The sum is a large one, but let it not be thought that the colonists ask for this money outright as a token of our regard. It is simply asked that England shall guarantee the interest, in which case the money would, of course, be at once forthcoming from fifty sources. Moreover, the colonies are willing to pass bills binding themselves to contribute large annual sums towards making good any deficiency which may be found to exist in the income from the railway. England, therefore, could not lose much. The petition which is shortly to be presented to Parliament, and to which we have already alluded, undertakes to show, indeed, that England will necessarily be a great pecuniary gainer by the railway. We have no reason to doubt the facts put forward, which are these. The present cost of conveying the mails for British North America through the United States' territory is £25,000 a year, which it is said would be saved to the Imperial treasury. This, it is true, looks a little like special pleading, as we suppose the Halifax and Quebec Railway Company would decline to carry the mails for nothing. No doubt a good deal would be saved, however, on this item. It is further urged that by making Halifax the terminus for the Atlantic Mail Service, £48,000 a year would be saved in the mileage rate. Again, the sum annually borne on the Imperial estimates for the military defence of British North America is £420,000, a very large portion of which would be economised by the improved facilities for transporting troops which the proposed railway would afford. Whatever the pecuniary advantages of the line might be, however, whether the calculations of the company are well founded or not, the political advantages which it would afford are manifold. We do not merely mean that the security of our possessions in North America would be enormously enhanced, and the efficient protection of that Government to which they cling so loyally be assured to the Canadians for the future. None of us will be disposed to underrate this advantage; but those which would accrue in times of peace, from the execution of the proposed scheme, would almost transcend it. All the resources of the colonies, the vast sparsely-peopled territory of New Brunswick, and the untilled forests of Canada, would be thrown open to emigration as they have never been before. In a new country civilisation follows a locomotive engine, as a needle

follows a magnet. With such a railway as that proposed, linking all the three colonies together in the close bonds of commercial intercourse, they would, before long, become the greatest power in the American Continent, and the broken fragments of the old republican union might be defied by the unaided strength of the loyal provinces. The wealth and commercial prosperity which this country has hitherto been pouring into Portland and New York would, to the general satisfaction of Englishmen, be diverted to our own port of Halifax, and from that centre would spread over countries belonging and among people devoted to our own Sovereign. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is opposed, on principle, to giving either money or credit to a Colonial Government. We believe, however, that the other members of the Cabinet are free from any such objection. The question whether subsidies to colonies are, as a general rule, advisable, or the reverse, is too broad a one for us to take up now. Even, however, if we thought them in most cases objectionable, we should look upon the present case as an exception. The British colonists of North America, by the peculiar strength of their attachment to the English Crown, acquire a claim upon us which we are sure no true Englishmen will wish to shirk. They now ask us to perform for them a service which, in all probability, will react most advantageously on ourselves. We earnestly hope that their representations will be favourably considered by the House of Commons during the approaching sessions of Parliament.

From the Edinburgh Review, January, 1862.

As to the North American colonies, Mr. Godley has attempted to found an argument upon the practice of England in the last century. Before the American war, England did not regularly station troops in the North American colonies, but left their military defence to their own exertions. This argument is conclusively refuted by Mr. Merivale in the note to which we already referred.

"The old English colonies had no foreign enemy to fear except France. Against France, all their instincts of self-defence were roused into immediate activity. Had England absolutely deserted them, nothing but downright force would have driven them into subjection to a country of absolute government, of foreign language and religion. All that was needed to ward off danger, was that England should be practically as near to them as France, and ready to help as soon as occasion required. Their own courage and hearty good-will were sufficient for the rest; at least until the changes produced by the seven years' war. At the present day, the menace against which the British troops are thought to guard proceeds, not from France, but from the United States: the country of a powerful and warlike people, continuous with our provinces for thousands of miles, ready, from geographical position, to throw at any time a strong force against any weak point, and secure of considerable sympathies among large classes of our colonists. Against such enemies as these, the maintenance of a few fortified posts, by imperial expenditure, to serve as rallying points in the event of sudden invasion until assistance can arrive from the mother-country, may, or may not, be a sufficient and a wise precaution, may or may not be imperially expedient. These are open questions, of a mixed political and military character; but to refer for guidance on them to a precedent so utterly dissimilar as that of our ancient colonial dominions—or to imagine them capable of solution on any general principles of colonial administration at all—is, I cannot but think, a waste of ingenuity." (*Merivale's Lectures*, p. 589).

These remarks receive a forcible illustration from the present relations of this country with the United States. The first probable consequence of a rupture of friendly relations with the Federal Government, against which our Government has been called on to provide, is an invasion of Canada by the American forces. The frontier between the United States and the British North American provinces is long and undefended, either by nature or by art. The lower part of the St. Lawrence is frozen after January, and the military communication between England and Quebec is by a road from St. John's through the province of New Brunswick, which runs along the frontier of the State of Maine, and is therefore exposed to hostile inroads in the event of war with the United States. Neither Halifax nor St. John's is connected with Quebec by railway; whereas there are numerous railways in the State of New York which might carry troops to points adjoining the Canadian border. The militia of the British provinces may be called out at a moment of emergency, but it is untrained and unsupplied with officers accustomed to the profession of arms.

Under these circumstances, the defence of Canada and of the other British provinces of North America must be undertaken by England in the event of war with the United States; and even in time of peace, preparations against the contingency of invasion from the American territory must be made, which will be a serious charge upon the imperial exchequer. We have no doubt that the spirit of the Canadian people will show itself capable of that self-defence which Mr. Gladstone regards as a primary condition of freedom, and the enterprise of the conquest of Canada by the United States would not in any case be so easy a task as it has perhaps been imagined to be by the sanguine adventurers who rule at Washington. But if Canada become the scene of military operations in a war which is begun to vindicate the honour and independence of the British flag, our obligation to protect Canada with all the power of the empire is equal to her obligation to share in repelling an attack on the symbol which now waves over her fortresses and her inland seas.

"From our Own Correspondent"—the Times, January 16, 1862.

Though the conclusion come to by the United States' Government on the affair of the *Trent* has removed the apprehension of immediate hostilities, the prevailing impression throughout Canada is that the result would have been different if the consequences of a rupture with Great Britain at this juncture had not been so apparent as to have impressed even the mind of Mr. Seward with the most serious concern.

Though the course pursued by the British Government and Lord Lyons has been as courteous and conciliating as it was possible for the conveyance of so firm a demand to be, yet there can be no doubt that the proceeding will rankle in the minds of the American people, and that when they feel themselves more able to enter on a war with Great Britain a cause of quarrel will not be wanting.

It is to be hoped, however, that as regards *one* element, which the American Secretary of State was wont to believe would favourably affect the fortunes of war; namely, the sympathy of Canada with the United States—he has now seen his self-delusion.

If the American Government have not been utterly unobservant of events, the attitude which the North American colonies and especially Canada has assumed must hereafter weigh far more against, than ever it did in favour of, a rupture. From Halifax to Lake Superior more than three millions of people have given no uncertain indication of the determined resistance with which they will meet the invasion of their soil, and of the loyal and devoted support they will offer to the Crown. There is no longing for American institutions—there is no indifference among the colonists whether

they are transferred from a monarchical to a republican government or not ; but there is a deep-rooted resolve to stand by the Throne and fortunes of England, and to transmit to their posterity the heritage of constitutional liberty which they now enjoy. The British American colonists had no more special interest in the events that led to the misunderstanding between England and the United States than any other British subjects in the remotest quarter of the globe. They had, however, far more at stake on the issue, for they knew that Canada would be the battle-ground, and that war, with all its horrors, would be at the thresholds of their homes. Yet, the resolution of the British Government to maintain the national honour was received throughout the land with a hearty and unqualified response. There was no boasting or mere evanescent enthusiasm, but there was no craven apprehension of the consequences to themselves. All began to prepare with a firm and cheerful resolution for the alternative if the insult was not atoned for.

The population of Canada is far from homogeneous, but in this instance the descendants of France vied in friendly rivalry with their fellow-colonists of British origin. I perceive that both in the United States and in Ireland the hope has been expressed—if the assertion has not been actually made—that the Irish in Canada would not rally in support of the Crown, but would rather cast in their lot with the enemies of England. I am happy to be able to give the most unqualified contradiction to any such statement. Irishmen who have on other subjects entertained such discordant opinions, as even to affect their personal intercourse with each other, were to be seen in hearty and earnest co-operation devising measures for the defence of the country. At all the meetings which they have held separately, and at all in which they have participated, men of every creed and political party have sunk their former differences, and are united in the firm resolution to defend the soil against invasion to the last. I should not have alluded to this—for, as I have already said, no distinction of origin affect the loyal unanimity of the people—but for the sake of removing any misapprehension that may have arisen abroad from ignorance of the state of feeling here.

There are few countries more exposed to hostile attack than Canada is from the United States, but there are also few in which an enemy would run greater risks from unsuccessful attack. A reference to the map will show that for nearly 1,550 miles there there is no other barrier than narrow waters, easily navigated, or a line which in many places exists only in name. A successful landing in force at certain places might be possible, but let an enemy attempt to advance to the interior, or to obtain possession of any commanding point which would bring him any nearer a subjugation of the country, with these same waters, for months impassable from the ice, in the rear, with a hardy, resolute, and united population round him, and the end is not difficult to foresee.

Canada, in case of emergency, could bring into the field upwards of 200,000 militia, inured to the hardships of a northern climate, and admirably adapted for purposes of defence. During the last fortnight men have been forming themselves into Volunteer companies and battalions in every city and parish of the province, and are engaged in drilling, while the Government is preparing a proper scheme of systematic organization. It is to be hoped that the authorities will profit by the spirit of the people which the presence of danger has evoked to place the militia on such a footing of efficiency as that hereafter they can be brought out on any emergency. A moderate proficiency in drill and in the use of arms would be acquired in a few weeks by men of stamp and intelligence that are everywhere to be seen here.

There is a marked contrast between the men in Canada and the corresponding class in the United States. Here vaunting and the mere glitter of playing at soldiers are avoided; fancy dresses for display are discountenanced; the Government recognize only the uniforms of the British army; and there is a most sensible disposition prevailing among the Volunteers to forego everything in the way of electing their officers which might interfere with the efficiency of the force in the field. Indeed, every other consideration is made subservient to this. The men in every district, from Sarnia to Quebec, act as if they were engaged in a serious and solemn business; not in a mere gaudy pastime. Submission to discipline and the dignity of obedience are both understood and practised here, and the enemy that attempts the subjugation of Canada undertakes a work for which greater resources and military power are needed than this continent has yet seen displayed.

It cannot be denied that the determination evinced by Great Britain to put forth the whole strength of the empire and the succour which has been so promptly dispatched from England have had an encouraging effect on the population. The news that steamships had sailed with arms and military supplies, that a judicious selection of officers acquainted with the country had been dispatched to train the militia, and carry out an organized system of defence, had a most cheering influence on the public mind. It ought not to be concealed that the situation was a most critical one. With no access at this season by rail or water to the ocean, except through an enemy's country, with a small force of regular troops, and with a scanty supply of arms and ammunition for a militia force proportionate to the defence of such a frontier if hostilities *had* suddenly broken out, the enemy might have obtained most important advantages, and done irreparable mischief. It is felt in the province that, if Canada is to be preserved, a means of access to the ocean through British territory in winter, either by way of Halifax or St. John's, must be provided. The colonies offer to bear one half the interest on the necessary capital, and ask Great Britain to assume the other. Unless this road is built, an imperial

force, capable, in conjunction with the militia, of resisting an attack for at least five months during winter, must be constantly quartered in the country. The past lesson is instructive. The Canadians profess themselves quite ready to contribute any fair share for such a work of defence, but they say that they have already gone to the full measure that prudence justifies in aid of their internal communications.

The *Persia* succeeded in getting up as far as Bic, a point about 150 miles below Quebec, on the 27th inst. The present season has been unusually open and mild, and during ordinary weather a ship could not have ascended the St. Lawrence so far. Snow-storms come on with remarkable suddenness in these lower regions, and ice will form or collect in a few hours sufficient to prevent all communication with the shore, if not seriously to endanger the safety of the ship. The case of the *Persia* was an illustration of this. The ice came down on Saturday at Bic, when she was engaged in landing the 16th Regiment; several of her boats were crushed, and she was obliged to slip her anchors and run for sea, carrying with her the remainder of the regiment, the heavy baggage, &c., and leaving behind a considerable number of her own crew. She would probably make for Halifax, and thence go to St. John's, New Brunswick, from which the force will be forwarded up the St. John's Valley, *via* Frederickton and Grand Falls to Rivière du Loup on the St. Lawrence, whence there is communication by rail direct to Montreal. The *Australasian* (with the 2nd Battalion, 20th Regiment, and a Battalion of the Rifle Brigade, as is supposed) attempted an ascent of the St. Lawrence, but was driven back by the ice. She is probably already at St. John's, and the troops may be looked for here in ten days. The first division of the 16th Regiment arrived yesterday afternoon, having come through direct from Rivière du Loup in eighteen hours.

The *Melbourne* arrived this morning at Cape Breton, and is coaling there; she will probably be ordered back to Halifax, as her stores cannot be safely landed at Bic.

From the Morning Advertiser, January 20, 1862.

If we had a moment's fear for the result of hostilities between this country and America, it was for the fate of Canada. At the first note of warning our anxieties turned immediately in that direction, and all the energies of the War-Office and the Admiralty were directed to the reinforcement of the small regular army, on which the defence of Canada would mainly have rested. Even then, though the Canadians had not had time to declare the loyalty that was in them, we felt that if we had not secured their

attachment to this country, we had at least deserved it. But though we felt that we also possessed it, we were hardly prepared for that genuine outburst of loyalty which displayed itself in the least-expected quarters.

That determined rallying to the British standard, which left no doubt in our minds that the volunteers of Canada would be at least an equal match for any number of raw levies which Mr. Lincoln might send against them, till the return of spring enabled us to cover the Canadian lakes with gunboats, and add ten thousand men, if necessary, to the little band of heroes who were shielding Canada from the blessings of Republican despotism. These speculations and anxiety have happily been superseded.

But though the mind of American sentiment is now fair for peace, we know how little appearances are to be relied upon, how deep is the hatred and how keen the sense of humiliation which await only an opportunity to revenge the treble wrong of having been compelled to be just to the "Britishers." Like Macbeth "we have scotched the snake not killed it." The worm will breed new venom in time; and it would therefore be an act of wilful blindness on our part were we to put altogether out of sight those points of interest connected with Canada which of late have so much occupied our attention. The storm has blown over, but only for a time. Such an eventuality may indeed come to pass as that the United States, rent in twain by secession, mortified by defeat and humiliation, and overwhelmed with bankruptcy, may gradually subside into a state of anarchy, upon a level with that of Mexico. If so we need not trouble ourselves for the defence of Canada against a congeries of States possessing only vitality enough to afflict each other. But grant that order and strength should ever issue from the present chaos of disaster and bankruptcy, we may rely upon it that the Yankees will not be so merciful to us, should they find us in a difficulty, as we have been to them.

The defence of Canada, then, is a question which ought still to command our liveliest sympathies, for on her frontier we have not only to defend our own honour, but to protect a virtuous and prosperous population from the corruption of Yankee morals and Yankee politics. And in viewing this question, the first thing that strikes us is the difficulty of bringing troops to bear upon that point where a necessity may arise for them. It is obvious that we can never maintain habitually a large force of regular troops in the colony; and it is equally so that the presence of regular troops is of invaluable importance in imparting confidence even to the most efficient body of volunteers.

In proportion, then, as the number of regular troops must at the best be small, the means for transporting them quickly from point to point ought to be ample. This becomes especially true when we consider that Canada is practically inaccessible to military succour for half the year. During the winter months we can transport troops from Halifax to Rivière du Loup by a road about

seven feet wide and 465 miles long, a hundred of those miles traversing a wilderness with a depth of snow varying from four to eight feet, and the thermometer with the mercury frozen. Along this route it would be impossible to move troops in bodies of more than 100 from one station to another. Supposing, then, that they travelled thirty miles a day, it would take twenty-five days from the time when the first hundred men of a regiment started from Truro, the terminus of the Nova Scotia railway, to the time when the last hundred would arrive at Rivière du Loup.

Here we speak only of the expense of time ; but the expense of money, though a question of inferior importance in presence of hostilities, is not unimportant ; and it is obvious that every day which is unnecessarily spent before bringing the soldiers face to face to the enemy is so much money, as well as time, thrown away. Look at what occurred only recently. The *Persia* was enabled to get up the Gulf of St. Lawrence owing to the unusually mild character of the season. But the *Melbourne*, the *Australasian*, the *Adriatic*, and *Parana*, have probably been turned aside and sent to Halifax. It matters not now, as, for the present, there is to be no war, whether the troops and munitions which these ships have taken out are garrisoned in the fortifications in the neighbourhood of Halifax, or wait for the breaking up of the ice to be transported by sea to the St. Lawrence. But if Mr. Seward had not given up the Commissioners, and if we had now been at war with the United States, we should with one voice have cried "Shame !" on the indolence which has left the railway from Halifax to Quebec uncompleted.

We have shown that a regiment would consume twenty-five days in traversing the road from Truro to Rivière du Loup. By railway, 5,000 men might be transported from Halifax to Quebec in twenty hours. But we need not wait for war to test the value of such a railway. Lord Durham, Earl Grey, and Lord Elgin have declared its importance for the interests of peace as well as of war. To note a single fact, such a railway would bring communication with the whole of North America two days nearer to Europe. Again, it would expedite the delivery of the Canadian mails by more than thirty-six hours ; it would free our trade and correspondence from the fiscal enactments of the United States, and open up railway communication from Halifax to Lake Huron, a distance of 1,400 miles through British territory, and render the capricious and onerous tariffs of the United States impracticable. These advantages lie on the surface. They are those which most immediately claim our attention. But let us look further, and we see that such a line of railway would re-invigorate the whole social system of Canada ; and, by raising its commercial and social importance to a level, as far as possible, with its territory, would exercise a beneficial influence on the world-wide commonwealth of progress and prosperity.

And what is necessary to achieve this obvious good ? The

mother country is asked to guarantee to the line the sum of £60,000 a year, in return for which its mails, military stores, and troops would be conveyed free of charge. What we have to consider is this—Is the service proposed an equivalent for the sum demanded? To answer this question we must view the advantages of the railway both in time of peace and in time of war. Before there was even the shadow of fear that our relations with the United States might be embarrassed, before we sent out the 3,000 men to Canada last summer whose arrival gave such pain to the American public, the cost of maintaining the small body of Queen's troops in Canada was £420,000, close upon half a million. The addition of last summer, and those which have been added since the *Trent* affair, will probably double this sum. But what is all this to the expense of sending troops from Truro to Rivière du Loup, a distance of 465 miles, on foot or by sleigh? Now in all probability it will be long before we can lay aside the fear of having to transport troops to the Canadian frontier, and our mails must be transported either by rail, when we get it, or, till then, by road. We cannot doubt that the subsidy demanded would be more than repaid by the saving that railway transit would enable us to effect. And when we consider that Government pays the Cunard Company £184,000, and that the military expenditure will probably reach a million per annum for some time to come, we cannot doubt that the £60,000 per annum for the completion of the Halifax and Quebec Railway would be an act on the part of the Government, not only of policy, but of economy.

SALT TRAFFIC IN CANADA.

(From the *Liverpool Albion*, 25th November, 1861.)

THE following is a copy of a memorial addressed by the Salt Chamber of Commerce to the Duke of Newcastle, upon the very important subject of completing the railway tracks required to render Canada independent of the United States; a matter which becomes daily more necessary to the colony and to ourselves. The memorial is sent through Mr. Tollemache, M.P., with a request that he will support the prayer of it:—"To his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, &c. The Memorial of the Liverpool Salt Chamber of Commerce. Respectfully sheweth,—That the trade with the British colonies of North America is of vital importance to this country, and its full development can only be effected by means of ocean steam navigation, and internal railways. That British capital, assisted by the local legislature of Canada, has been largely employed in the promotion of railway enterprise; but owing to the expensive

nature of the works, and the comparatively sparse population, such railways are not at present remunerative to the shareholders, though highly beneficial to the colony. That the severity of the climate during several months of the year closes the navigation of the St. Lawrence, and communication with the seaboard is then kept up by means of ports in the United States, such as Portland and New York. That large subsidies are paid to steam companies for conveying mails to Canada *viâ* the United States. That your memorialists are informed there is a project submitted to her Majesty's Government for assisting in the construction of a railway from the Rivière du Loup, on the St. Lawrence, through New Brunswick, to join the Nova Scotian Railway at Truro, which would form a complete chain of railway communication from Halifax to the existing Grand Trunk Railway, and thus place the whole of the British possessions on the American continent in easy and rapid communication with Great Britain at all seasons of the year, and render our colonies quite independent of the United States. That the numerous bays and inlets about New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, as well as the coast line of the lakes, are capable of carrying on an enormous fishing trade, which would augment the consumption of English salt, which already forms a large item in our exports to these colonies, where the annual shipment of salt amounts to 80,000 tons; and, with direct railway access into Canada, this trade may be greatly increased, besides the traffic in manufactured goods and articles of produce, which have to be sent *viâ* the United States, when the navigation of the St. Lawrence is closed. Your memorialists, therefore, pray that this project of a railway through New Brunswick to Canada may receive the favourable consideration of her Majesty's Government, as conducive to the best interests of those important colonies, as well as to the prosperity of the British Empire. (Signed) JAMES BLACKWELL, Chairman of the Salt Chamber of Commerce."

THE SEABOARD OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.

(From Colburn's New Monthly Magazine, February, 1862.)

THE remote prospect of incorporating all British North America into the United States is a vista of halcyon days never absent from the true Yankee mind. It oozes out of every writing, every speech, every sentence, uttered in connexion with the overlapping lands of a loyal constitutionalism, and moral and intellectual independence. The menace hangs over our heads and the heads of our brave colonists like the sword of Damocles, the suspending thread of which is always to be severed at the very first frown of Yankee arrogance. The disruption of the Union into the inconvenient category of Federal and of Confederate States—a distinction with a difference (the one abiding by the rule of despotic aggregations, while the other asserts the fundamental principle of State Independence)—has warded off for a time this fixed spirit of aggression towards the North; but the independence or the subjection of the South once determined—the civil war concluded by a declaration of peace, or from sheer exhaustion, physical and pecuniary—it is much to be apprehended that work will at once be cut out for the unemployed men in arms by an invasion of the coveted regions on the lakes and rivers of the North. The intention is never disguised; it is openly proclaimed in almost every organ of publicity in Yankeeland as a mere question of time and convenience. The principle was propounded with true transatlantic taste in the presence of his royal highness the Prince of Wales when a guest and a visitor; it is discussed as an accepted topic in both houses of legislature; the necessity for arming the frontier, and the construction of strong places and of armed flotillas for aggressive purposes, have, indeed, been quite recently not only advocated but put in force in opposition to the treaty of Utrecht, by which the two countries bound themselves to abstain from the ruinous competition of building gunboat against gunboat and corvette against corvette, and that before any temporary misunderstanding had arisen between the two countries. It would be worse than blindness, then; it would be the indifference of imbecility and impotence, to pretend to ignore this state of things, and not to prepare for the worst beforehand. Luckily, the putting aside of any cause for quarrel for a brief time, while it enables the hostile Yankee faction to place greater trust in successful aggressive eventualities, so it also enables us to prepare for such with greater composure and effectiveness. The unarmed condition of the militia and volunteers, the deficiency of ammunition; the unprotected condition of Upper Canada, more especially of the important towns situated on the shores of lakes Huron, Saint Clair, Erie, and Ontario; the exposed Cornwall, Welland,

and Chambly canals ; the almost unprotected approaches to Montreal ; the ascendancy of the Yankees on the waters of all the great lakes ; the recent establishment of new naval stations and naval yards, while Canada remains a listless and indifferent spectator ; the tenfold railway connection with Canadian lakes and rivers, while there is not one such from any permanently open British port, Halifax or Liverpool in Nova Scotia, or St. John's in New Brunswick, and the necessity for defending the approaches to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the gut of Canso, the Magdalen islands, or other points in the central passage and the Strait of Belle Isle, with a hundred other details, some of greater and some of lesser importance, but all highly deserving of consideration, not to lose sight of the ultimate revision of the Maine and Oregon treaties, and a general rectification of the boundary, upon principles likely to secure a prolonged peace, should be now made to supersede the hasty transmission of troops in mid-winter and the hurried despatch of vessels scarcely yet perfected by the hands of the shipwright. The number, variety, and interest of these details cannot be either understood or appreciated without some preliminary acquaintance with the regions in question. All educated persons possess, more or less, well or ill-defined notions regarding British North America ; all have, more or less, vague ideas of a vast river, of great inland expanses of water, of boundless forests of fir and pine, of furbearing animals, and of feathered Indians hunting the same, of wild, rocky, iron and ice-bound coasts, of inexhaustible fisheries, and hardy sailors of all races toiling in the deep for their finny prey, and of autumnal fogs followed by clear brisk frosts, and enlivened by sleigh excursions, and new-year festivities. But there is a curious amount of detail in the rear of these prominent features—a detail that varies in every locality, and presents in each of such some new and more or less important subject for consideration, more especially in connection with the prosperity and permanency of existing institutions, and of established or growing sources of wealth and power. Now is the breathing-time for such considerations, and we propose to take them up with the full weight of apprehension for the future before us, beginning, in the first place, with the seaboard, and advancing thence to the interior.

* * * * *

The frontier line between Canada, New Brunswick, and Maine, used to run from the St. Lawrence in the parallel of 45 deg. across Lake Champlain, to near the sources of the Connecticut River, between 71 deg. and 72 deg. W. long. ; and then it followed in a winding line the course of the mountains, which separate the water-courses falling into the St. Lawrence and St. John rivers from those that, by a southerly course, run through the State of Maine. The boundary-line then terminated at Mars Hill in 46 deg. 30 min. N. lat. and 67 deg. 10 min. W. long. ; but the United States having put in a claim to a considerable tract to the north of this boundary-line, a lengthened discussion ensued, which was terminated by a

treaty ratified in 1842, and which was justly stigmatized by Lord Palmerston as the "Ashburton capitulation," by which Fort Montgomery on Lake Champlain, which commands the inlet of Chambly canal, connecting the lake with the St. Lawrence, and the bridge which unites the Northern New York Railway with the network of railways to Troy, Boston, and New York, was ceded to the Yankees. Congress has recently voted 150,000 dollars for additional works to this fort. To the east of this the frontier was made to run northwards, so as to include the upper portion of the St. John River, and to stretch downwards at St. Anne's to nigh the very banks of the river St. Lawrence, thus enabling the Yankees to intercept at their will all land communication between Canada and New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and in winter-time, when all communication by water is closed with ice, to shut up all Central British America from the outer world. The total carelessness of consequences which has marked British diplomacy in all boundary questions with the Yankees is far more keenly felt in British America than with us. Their safety and their prosperity—indeed, their very existence—are threatened by the want of geographical acuteness on the part of diplomatists. Between jobbery, folly, and the blunders of diplomacy, they say, their communications with the east and west alike (as we shall afterwards show with regard to the latter) are most precarious, and can, in time of war, only be maintained by better artillery, and a more skilful use of it than the Yankees could command. Such errors will inevitably bring about, some day, either a rupture or a rectification of frontier. As it is, if railway communication was attempted to be established between Halifax and St. John's, or St. Andrew's and Quebec, it would infallibly lead to discussion, and all know what that means with the Yankees.* If it does not occur in our time, it will ever remain a bone of contention left for the Canadians, New Brunswickers, and Nova Scotians, to settle with the people of Maine. It is notorious that a distant government will pass over what a local power would never submit to. Yet it is the wisest and best policy of a distant rule so to ordain matters that they shall be most conducive to the permanent prosperity and security of even her most remote dominions. Untimely and unwise concessions made to clamour and arrogance never ensure either the one or the other. Yet all considerations of either military, political, or commercial interests, of even geographical fitness of things, and of the most common and ordinary means of communication, appear to have

* This has already shown itself in a remarkable manner in the condemnation of the existing treaty by the Yankees on their side as not enabling them, by the narrow band left between Maine and the St. Lawrence, to entirely close up Canada from the seaboard in winter. The idea of isolating a whole empire from the rest of the world is as peculiarly Yankee as is the unnatural and spiteful notion of destroying harbours created by Providence, and the extinction of which, if they are fighting for union, can only be to their own ultimate loss and confusion.

been entirely overlooked in the fatal Ashburton treaty. Even George III. knew better in his time—albeit, he lost the once United States to us—for Mr. Webster produced before the Senate, at the time of the Ashburton treaty, a map, in which the boundary-line was marked in the handwriting of the king, to prove how bravely he had duped the British diplomatist ! The treaty is, in reality, nothing but a legacy of strife to future generations, if not settled at some earlier period.

THE AMERICAN CRISIS.

(From the Quarterly Review, January, 1862.)

IN the progress of the war there has been unmistakeable evidence of a desire to tempt the South back by the prospect of the annexation of Canada to the Union. It was conceived just possible that the Confederate States might be reconciled by the hope of sharing in such a prize, or, at all events, that a foreign war might have the effect of healing the domestic quarrel. Canada has made her response by calling out her militia and fortifying her frontier, and in any event we have no fears for her. She has no wish to sink into the position of a satellite of a shattered republic. We earnestly hope that immediate steps will be taken to place Canada in such a state of permanent defence as to relieve both her and ourselves from anxiety in case of sudden attack from her restless neighbours. As she has no winter port, and the St. Lawrence is impassable from ice during several months of the year, no time should be lost in constructing a line of railway to connect Halifax with Quebec and Montreal. It is only necessary to continue the line of the Halifax and Truro Railway to the St. John and Shediac Railway, and to fill up the gap between there and Rivière du Loup, and the communication will be then complete.

* It is an error to suppose that pauperism does not exist in the United States. The largest cities of that country have long contained a numerous population plunged in abject poverty and destitution. The people must henceforth be highly taxed ; and, unless grossly misinformed and deluded (which need not be the case if our Government does its duty), our emigrants will surely betake themselves in preference to the far more thriving and prosperous colony of Canada.

THE COST OF THE ARMY.

(*From the Saturday Review, March 8, 1862.*)

THE despatch of the recent reinforcements to the North American Colonies was so entirely approved, even by the most rigid economists, that it was difficult, at such a juncture, to press the arguments which may be urged in favour of the principle of leaving the colonies to support in ordinary times the burden of their own land defences, and the duty of maintaining order within their own limits. The almost unanimous assent given to Mr. Mills' resolution on the subject gives very little real hope of any considerable or speedy saving being effected in this way. We may not quite agree with Mr. Haliburton that, instead of economizing troops, we should do without Colonial Governors ; though it is undoubtedly true that some of the appointments recently made seem to imply an opinion that there is nothing of importance for the Governor of a colony to do. Neither, perhaps, would it be safe to act upon another suggestion of the same honourable member, that by completing the trunk line of railway, the necessity for garrisoning the British possessions in North America would entirely disappear. It is impossible to exaggerate the value of the proposed communications, but we hope that few Canadians would think the comparative facility of access from England a sufficient reason for discontinuing all provision for the defences of the frontier.

THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

(*From the Canadian News, February 13, 1862.*)

WE learn that memorials pointing out the absolute necessity of this railway are coming in "fast and furious" from all the chief cities of the kingdom for presentation at Downing-street. The memorial from the city of London was yesterday presented to Lord Palmerston by Mr. R. W. Crawford, the member for the city.

It is not necessary, in view of our recent information, regarding the hazardous marches of our troops through New Brunswick, to go over the ground we have so often traversed in these columns in pointing out the advantages this proposed line would confer in a military point of view. The tract of country at present being

travelled by our soldiers was, prior to their departure thence, all but a *terra incognita* to nineteen-twentieths of our population, but now the route and all its difficulties are as familiar to the English public as is the line of intercommunication between London and Dublin *via* Holyhead. The advantages possessed by the Halifax and Quebec Railway, looking at it from an Imperial standpoint in relation to its military importance, are now so thoroughly appreciated, especially when taken in connection with the jocose offer of Mr. Seward to *permit* us to transport our men through the United States territory, that the early completion of this link in the Intercolonial Railway system will be demanded on this ground, if on no other, by the almost unanimous voice of the nation. There are, however, many other considerations of nearly equal importance to be advanced for the immediate prosecution of this national work.

The Imperial Government is asked, in order to secure the completion of the line, to guarantee £60,000 a year, but this sum will be reduced by the amount of direct saving which will be effected in the present expenditure of the Post-office, and estimated, including the additional postages which it will receive, to exceed £30,000 per annum, or more than 50 per cent. of the guarantee for which application is made! Again, the delivery of the Canadian mails and those destined for the Western States of the Union would be expedited from six-and-thirty to eight-and-forty hours, and the opening up of this continuous line of railway from Halifax to Lake Huron—a distance of nearly 1,400 miles—would, as stated by the Hon. Mr. Van Koughnet at the recent meeting held at the London Tavern, free the Imperial and colonial trades from the existing onerous fiscal enactments of the United States, and render impracticable the Morrill and such-like tariffs.

Nor must the advantages which would be secured by throwing open to emigration the vast and as yet unpeopled territories of New Brunswick and Canada be forgotten. With such a line of intercommunication as that proposed, linking Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, and completing the eastern section of the Pacific Railway—a railway destined, we believe, before another decade shall have passed away, to be a reality, a British power is secured on the American continent which will be able to hold its own against all adversaries, come from what quarter they may.

Our fellow-subjects across the Atlantic have conclusively shown their preference for monarchical institutions, and testified their attachment to the Crown in a manner which will not soon be forgotten on this side. They tell us that in offering to find one-half of the money required to complete the railway and the land for the right of way they have gone to the utmost limits of their ability, and that they can do no more. Had they been able to

do the work themselves, they would, we know, have never presented any application to the English Government for assistance. But they, nevertheless, feel, and properly so, that the British Government is as much interested in the completion of this work as they are themselves. The undertaking is one of mutual interest, whether regarded in a military or commercial point of view, and we cannot but think that the Imperial Government, in whose hands the destiny of the concern is now placed, will so look at it and unhesitatingly guarantee the sum named. A prompt answer now given would be a gracious acknowledgment on the part of England of her appreciation of the recent display of loyalty in the provinces, and would further prove how deep is her interest in the prosperity of her Transatlantic colonies.

January 24th, 1862.

Memorial to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury.

THE MEMORIAL OF THE UNDERSIGNED MERCHANTS, BANKERS, AND OTHERS OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

SH EWETH—

That for six months of the year we are dependent on the United States of America for our communication with Canada.

That in case of an interruption of our friendly relations with the United States, our intercommunication with Canada, during that period, is liable to be cut off at a moment's notice, and an important portion of the British Empire placed in great jeopardy.

That the completion of a line of Railway from Halifax to Quebec would render us perfectly independent of the United States; at present our trade and correspondence with our own province of Canada, and the local trade and correspondence between the lower British provinces and foreign countries is, for half the year, subject to the will and fiscal enactments of the United States.

By the completion of the proposed Line, direct Railway communication will be established through British territory from Halifax to Lake Huron, a distance of 1,400 miles, accessible at all seasons, and thereby accelerate the delivery of the Canadian Mails and Despatches at least thirty-six hours in advance of the present route through the United States; and it would open up for colonization and settlement by emigrants from the mother country upwards of 14,000,000 acres of ungranted lands within a journey of ten days from our own shores.

That the present cost of conveying the British North-American Mails through the United States will be saved to the Imperial Treasury.

That the completion of this line of Railway would effect a great saving in military expenditure on the one hand, and render Canada much more easy of defence on the other, as she would be accessible within ten days at all seasons, whilst at the present time she is, in a military point of view, excluded from communication with the mother country for six months of the year.

That your Memorialists believe that the immediate completion of a line of Railway from Halifax to Quebec is essential to the preservation and integrity of the British Empire in North America.

That your Memorialists believe, that, in addition to its adding to the security and permanence of the British Empire in North America, accelerating the communication with the mother country, reviving that identity of interest with her which has been too long engrossed by the United States, the proposed Railway would also effect a saving to the Imperial Treasury far exceeding any assistance that may be required for its completion.

Your Memorialists therefore humbly pray that Her Majesty's Government will be pleased to grant such aid and assistance, in conjunction with the Provincial Governments of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, as will bring to a successful completion this great national undertaking.

And your Memorialists will ever pray.

Alex. Gillespie,
Jas. J. Cummins,
R. Carter,
W. R. Chapman,
John B. Elin,
T. H. Milner,
William Chapman,
Thos. H. Brooking,
John Ranking.

Directors of the Bank of British North America.

James Hutchinson,
C. Morison,
T. M. Weguelin,
Wm. Gordon Thomson.
Baring, Brothers, and Co.
S. Cunard.

Directors of the Trust and Loan Company of Upper Canada.

D. Dunbar and Sons.
Phillipps, S. Law, and Lowther.
Glyn, Mills, and Co.
H. Wollaston Blake.
Finlay, Hodgson, and Co.
N. M. Rothschild and Sons.
Charles Franks, *Governor of the Canada Company.*

Robert W. Carden,
S. J. Bosanquet,
W. T. Hibbert,
F. H. Mitchell,

Directors of the Canada Company.

McCahmont, Brothers, and Co.

Robert Benson and Co.

John Chapman.

Charles Morris.

Thomas Hughes.

Charles Lewis Meryon.

John Dawson Lowden.

Thomas Allason.

Charles Hill.

George Marshall.

Thomas Chapman.

George Alorman Tyser,

Robert Bradford,

William Wilson Sanders,

John Henry Steinmitz,

Charles Richard Harford, Jun.,

W. C. Harnett,

William Simpson,

Gillespies, Moffatt, and Co.

Janvrin, Grassie, and Delisle.

Gilmour, Rankin, Strang, and Co.

Martins and Co., Lombard-street.

Spooner, Attwoods, and Co.

Morrison, Dillon, and Co.

Dent, Allcroft, Lyatt, and Co.

Copestake, Moore, Crampton, and Co.

Leaf, Sons, and Co., Old Change.

J. F. Pawson and Co., St. Paul's Churchyard.

Ellis, Everington, and Co., St. Paul's Churchyard.

Wm. Forman and Co., Queen-street, Cheapside.

The Union Bank of London.—W. W. Scrimgeour, *Manager*.

The London Joint-Stock Bank.—F. Hewitt, *Manager*.

The City Bank, London.—J. White, *Manager*.

Boyson, Hoyer, and Tagart, 19, St. Helen's-place.

London and County Bank.—W. M'Kewan, *General Manager*.

Heywood, Kennards, and Co., 4, Lombard-street.

Thomas Hankey, 7, Fenchurch-street.

T. W. Berens, *Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company*.

Crawford, Colvin, and Co.

Alfred Charles Bridge, *Chairman of General Mining Association*.

Robert Grimston, *Chairman of the Electric and International
Telegraph Company*.

Mark Huish, *Deputy Chairman, ditto*.

F. N. Micklethwait, *Director, ditto*.

Geo. P. Bidder, *ditto*.

William H. Smith, Jun., *ditto*.

Richard Till, *ditto*.

Tho. Critchley.

Wm. Fothergill Cooke.

*Members of the Committee at
Lloyds.*

Alfred Paget.

J. R. Carmichael, *Chairman of the Submarine Telegraph Company.*

Wm. Newmarsh, 7, Cornhill.

Thos. Stirling Begbie, 4, Mansion House Place.

Laurence, Son, and Pearce, Auction Mart.

Smith, Payne, and Smiths.

Wm. Hartridge.

Bischoff, Cox, and Bompas.

Dinsdale, Drewett, and Co.

A. M. Wier, 28, Threadneedle-street.

James Capel, Norbury, Trotter, and Co.

Brown, Janson, and Co.

Burges and Stock,

Holmewood, Rowe, and Co.,

George Lawrence,

J. L. M. Farquhar,

Wm. Elliott.

Fred. Melhuish.

John Melhuish.

Leonard C. Wakefield.

Walter Hyslop.

Francis E. Fox.

Arthur Oldfield Hammond.

John Sercome,

Josh. Street,

Charles A. Hardman,

Arthur Burnaud,

George Allfrey, junr.,

J. C. Haliburton,

H. E. Montgomerie,

P. C. Glyn,

Joseph Fay,

William Hazlitt,

Churchill and Sim.

Barker, Brothers.

John Gladstone and Co.

H. Winfield Cruce.

Sewell, Brothers.

Henry Paull.

John Hackblock.

Henry Sewell.

H. P. Roche.

Bradbury, Greateorex, and Beall, Aldermanbury.]

J. and R. Morley, 18, Wood-street.

Robert Curling, Old Jewry.

John Wreford and Co., 17, Aldermanbury.

Thos. Tapling and Co., 1 to 8, Gresham-street.

Forster, Porter, and Co., Wood-street.

Cook, Son, and Co., St. Paul's.

Lloyd's.

*Directors of the Canada Agency
Association.*

Fownes Brothers, Cheapside.
Jones, Randall, & Way, Cheapside.
Charles Candy & Co., Watling Street.
J. Sewell, Gresham House.
Wm. Evans, Gresham House.
Robertson & Macnicoll, Crown Court.
Ellis, Everington & Co., Cheapside.

(In course of Signature.)

January, 1862.

The following Memorial was presented to Lord Palmerston during the present month.

*To the Right Honourable the Viscount Palmerston, K.G. &c.
Her Majesty's First Lord of the Treasury.*

THE MEMORIAL OF THE MAYOR, ALDERMEN
AND CITIZENS OF THE CITY OF MANCHESTER,
IN THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER, UNDER THEIR
COMMON SEAL :

RESPECTIVELY SHOWETH,--

That the recent discussions with the United States have naturally caused great anxiety as to the means possessed for the efficient defence, both of the territory, and the commerce of the British North American provinces, and more especially of Canada.

That independent access to the immense territory on the North American continent belonging to the British Crown, and to 3,000,000 of British subjects, is, from the want of internal communication, virtually closed for nearly five months of the year, during which period it is, in case of need, matter of extreme difficulty, cost, and danger, to send military succour to the provinces ; whilst, under the circumstances, and at all times British goods for Canada and the territories beyond, and all food or other produce therefrom destined for Great Britain, have to pass through the territory of the United States.

That, in the opinion of your memorialists, it is essential to the safety not less than to the secure possession of the British North American provinces, that they should possess within themselves an internal communication (which shall be at all times open, and secure from stoppage in winter) with Halifax, the best open harbour on the Atlantic.

That the outlet to the Atlantic for the vast British possessions in North America, formerly possessed, was given up by the cessions of territory under treaties of doubtful wisdom : whilst as your memorialists believe, the construction of a railway of 350 miles, which would complete the chain of railway communication, about 1,400 miles in length, from the Atlantic at Halifax to the extreme western boundary of Canada, would go far to restore the position sacrificed.

That in case this important route be ever completed, the British would be able to reasonably anticipate that considerable reduction in the military expenses now incurred for the defence and preservation of the British North American provinces would result ; that the necessity for postal steamers to the ports of the United States as no longer either necessary or defensible, would cease ; whilst the manufactures of this country would pass all the year round, without impediment or danger, through British territory into our North American possessions.

That with such a complete and unbroken railway communication it would be in the power of the British government, by arrangement for low tariffs with the provincial governments of North America, effectively to discourage any attempt on the part of the government of the United States, by high protection tariffs to exclude or limit the importation of British manufactures into their country, inasmuch as such high duties would become comparatively unavailing in the face of low duties extending in and over a country possessing a frontier of 1,400 miles alongside the territory of the United States.

Your memorialists, therefore respectfully pray Her Majesty's government to co-operate with the governments of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, in affording such aid and encouragement as may be necessary to secure the formation, as early as may be practicable, of a railway communication between Quebec and Halifax, which, upon general grounds, and for the reasons, amongst many others, now respectively submitted, is, in the opinion of your memorialists, a work of great national value and importance.

And your memorialists will ever pray, &c.

*Memorial to the Right Honourable Viscount Palmerston, First Lord
of the Treasury, &c., &c.*

THE MEMORIAL OF THE UNDERSIGNED MER-
CHANTS, BANKERS, SHIPOWNERS, AND
TRADESMEN OF LIVERPOOL.

RESPECTFULLY SHOWETH,

That for at least five months of the entire year, efficient access to Canada and the entire British territory beyond, for purposes of both commerce and defence, is dependent upon the permission of the United States.

That imperial interests in the possession of one half the entire North American continent demand that this dependence upon the sufferance of a foreign power should cease.

That, in 1838, Lord Durham, then Governor-General of British North America, reported in favour of the construction, as an imperial work, of a Railway from Halifax to Quebec, and that the subject has frequently engaged the attention of various Governments, but nothing has been done; while recent events, and then threatened termination by the United States of the Reciprocity Treaty with Canada, and the transit of goods from England to the West Indies, demonstrates the soundness of Lord Durham's recommendation.

That British capitalists with provincial aid, have constructed and opened all but 370 miles of the proposed route, and therefore the undersigned urge upon Government to take such measures in concert and joint action with the British North American provinces, as will enable troops and munitions of war to be conveyed during the whole of the year, freely and expeditiously, between the mother country and the British territories of North America.

NAMES OF PRINCIPAL SIGNATURES TO MEMO-
RIAL IN FAVOUR OF A RAILWAY FROM
HALIFAX TO QUEBEC.

Kenneth, Dowie, & Co.
Rankin, Gilmour, & Co.
Fielden, Brothers, & Co.

Leech, Harrison, & Forwood
Malcomson & Co.
Richardson, Spence, & Co.

H. Littledale	David Stuart & Co.
Ferne, Brothors, & Co.	Taylor, Tipper, & Co.
Thomas Edwards Moss	Wakefield, Nash, & Co.
Gibbs, Bright, & Co.	Zuilchenbart & Co.
D. Cannon, Sons, & Co.	Wm. Blain & Son
John Barbour & Co.	Halhead, Fletcher & Co.
Robert Benn.	James Bland & Co.
Farnworth & Jardine	Massey & Molyneux
A. E. Byrne, & Co.	Anthony Harrison
S. R. Graves	Wilfred, Cater, & Co.
Holderness & Chilton	Lloyd, Jones, & Co.
Edward Johnston, Son, & Co.	MacNurdo & Co.
W. Coltart, Son, & Co.	Sharples, Jones, & Co.
H. de Wolf, & Co.	W. Rutherford & Co.
Thomas Earle	Williamson, Son, & Co.
H. E. Folk	W. Paton & Co.
Samuel Johnson & Co.	Hallsall & Son
Lodge, Pritchard, & Co.	Segar & Tunycliffe
James Napier	Hugh Pierce
W. Horner	Chas. B. Beam
Naylor, Vickers, & Co.	Union Bank, per Jas. Lister
C. W. & F. Shaw	Royal Bank, per Henry H.
F. Huth & Co.	Witheres
Ridyard, Daly, & Co.	District Bank per
James Scott & Son	B. Hewhood Jones
R. & J. Woodward & Co.	Hugh Hornby
Peter Marrow, Son, & Co.	Edward Moon
Gillespie, Brotherick, & Co.	James Aikin
J. O. Johnson	H. C. Chapman
	&c. &c. &c.

To the Right Honourable Viscount Palmerston, First Lord of the Treasury, &c., &c.

THE MEMORIAL OF THE MERCHANTS, BANKERS,
AND OTHERS, OF THE CITY OF BRISTOL, IN
PUBLIC MEETING ASSEMBLED.

SHOWETH—

That your memorialists are deeply impressed with the very great importance, both to this country and to the British North American colonies, of the establishment of a line of communication by railway between the port of Halifax and the city of Quebec, in order that access may be obtained to those important

British possessions at all seasons of the year, and without the necessity of traversing a portion of a foreign country.

That your memorialists believe plans for this purpose have been under the consideration of the Government in this country for some years past, and that the colonists of the Canadas, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick have made liberal proposals for assisting in the promotion of the object, and are most anxious for its accomplishment.

That your memorialists are informed that the only impediment to the completion of the undertaking is the want of guarantee from the Home Government, which will enable the necessary capital to be raised on the most favourable terms, and that the benefits to be derived from the accomplishment of this work would much more than counterbalance any risk which would be required to be undertaken by the Government in the matter.

That recent events have tended to exhibit the great disadvantage which this country and the colonies might labour under in case of disagreement with the United States of America, and that, under any circumstances, and at all times, the national and commercial benefits which would flow from the completion of the said undertaking are such, that, in the opinion of the your memorialists, no time should be lost in according the aid from the Imperial Government which the case so strongly demands.

Your memorialists therefore humbly pray that your Lordship and the Government will be pleased to take the premises into your early and favourable consideration, with the view of rendering such assistance towards the Halifax and Quebec Railway as you in your wisdom may deem fit.

Signed on behalf of and at the request of the said public meeting which was holden in the City of Bristol, on Tuesday, the 7th January, 1862.

JOHN BATES,

CHAIRMAN.

A memorial to the same effect has also been sent from the Chamber of Commerce, of Bristol.

A SIMILAR MEMORIAL FROM THE UNDERSIGNED
MERCHANTS, BANKERS, AND OTHERS OF THE
CITY OF BELFAST.

Edward Coey, J.P.
Henry H. McNeile, J.P.
John Thomson, J.P.
Samuel Gelston
Thomas Hamilton Jones, J.P.
R. W. Bland, J.P.
J. H. Smythe, Clerk
Johnston & Carlisle
John Herdman
Charles Lanyon, Mayor of
Belfast
George J. Clarke, J.P.
John Young, J.P.
Edmund McNeill, J.P.
George Gray, J.P.
Godfrey Lyle, J.P.
James Torrens
James Bristow, Director
Northern Bank
H. Montgomery, Banker
Northern Bank
W. Sharman Crawford, Direc-
tor Northern Bank
William Valentine
James T. Bristow
T. Bushel, J.P.
John Charters
C. B. Grimshaw
John Sharman Crawford, J.P.
Thomas McCammon
Henry Murney
Gustavus Heyn
Thomas McClure, J.P.
William Carson
William Bell
George C. Pim
Joseph Clarke
William McCullough
C. Duffin

William Campbell
J. J. Weinberg
N. D. Crummelin, Jun., J.P.
James Macaulay
Houston Russell
John Potts
Henry Russell, Solicitor
J. Greenhill
N. D. Finlay & Son
William Boyd
William Bruce
E. Walkington & Son
James Burns & Co.
James Holden & Co.
J. Scott Porter, Dissenting
Minister
Henry Milford
James Carlisle
Robert Henderson & Son,
Shipping Merchants
Edward H. Clarke, Director
Belfast Bank
Thomas Mulligan
Francis McCracken
John Davidson
John G. McGee
James M. Darbshire
William Langtry
Thomas Price, Notary Public
John Currell, J.P.
Bernard Hughes
William Ewart & Son
John Savage
James Lemon
Thomas O'Brien
Robert Atkinson
Samuel Andrews
W. Bottomley
William Laird Finlay

D. R. Brannigan	Jonathan Cordukes
John Charley & Co., Shipping Merchants	Henry Nichol
Gilbert Vance	William Girdwood
David Dunlop	George K. Smith
William Crawford	R. Megaw
R. Grimshaw, D.L., J.P.	Joshua Pim
William McGee, J.P.	S. Carson
John Alexander & Co.	Edward Geoghegan
A. Sharman Crawford	R. J. McEntire
James Moncrieffe & Co.	Thomas Turner
Robert Boyd	John Hamill
John Lytle	J. M. Perrie, M.D.
John Boyd & Son	John Oulton
Thomas Gaussen	G. S. Wilson
John Rowan	Robert D. Filson
William Horne, retired Officer, H.M.'s Military Service.	Atkinson & Johnston
John V. Boyd	T. B. Johnston
Thomas Tripp	Robert Henderson
Charles Peyton	Samuel McCausland
E. J. Bristow & Co.	James Hamilton
John Hunter, Jun.	George McTier
A. Bernard & Koch	Charles W. Lepper
David Taylor	Robert Patterson, F.R.S.
Charles Gaussen	George Murney
Andrew Lyle	James Coleman
George Fitzsimons	Robert McBride
Purden & Caughey	William Emerson
Thomas C. Hamilton	James Guthrie
Henry Reid	Henry Campbell
William Ewart, Jun., Vice Pre- sident, Chamber Commerce	James H. McEntire
H. H. Boyd	James P. Corry & Co.
Thomas Coleman	Alfred Wigglesworth
Henry Matier	Orr & Co.
Philip Johnston & Son	Thomson C. Robinson
Alexander Clarke	Thomas Hughes
Thomas Greer	McAdam Brothers & Co.
Archibald McCollum	Charley & Malcolm
Thomas Chermiside	Charles H. Brett
	James Tilley
	W. M. Collins
	H. J. & F. McCance

Memorials to the same effect have also been sent from the Chamber of Commerce and the Harbour Commissioners of Belfast.

*To the Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's
Treasury.*

THE MEMORIAL OF THE MASTER, WARDENS,
SEARCHERS, ASSISTANTS, AND COMMONALITY
OF THE CORPORATION OF CUTLERS, IN HAL-
LAMSHIRE, IN THE COUNTY OF YORK.

SHOWETH—

That in conjunction with many other commercial and municipal corporations, and principal manufacturers and merchants in this country, your memorialists solicit the assistance of Her Majesty's government to the development of a perfect system of connection with our North American colonies by the completion of the railway from Halifax to Quebec.

That for this important object the several provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, have agreed to contribute a guarantee upon one moiety of the cost of the railway, and it is confidently submitted that the contribution of the other moiety by this country would be well repaid by the readier means of transporting troops and stores at any period of the year to Canada, thereby considerably reducing to this country the expense of our military force there, by greatly accelerating the postal correspondence with British North America and a considerable portion of the United States, and by the increased facilities to the exchange of British manufactures for the very valuable agricultural and mineral productions of the Western World.

Your Memorialists, therefore, do most earnestly press upon your Lordships the consideration of the matters referred to, and the importance of taking steps without delay for helping forward the completion of the Railway from Halifax to Quebec.

By order of the Master, Wardens, Searchers, Assistants, and Commonality of the Corporation of Cutlers in Hallamshire, in the County of York, at their Common Hall in Sheffield assembled,

(L.S.) GEORGE WILKINSON,

MASTER CUTLER.

A similar memorial has been sent from the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce.

A Memorial, as follows, has been sent from the City of Chester.

*To the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Palmerston, First
Commissioner of Her Majesty's Treasury.*

THE MEMORIAL OF THE CITIZENS OF CHESTER
IN PUBLIC MEETING ASSEMBLED.

SHOWETH—

That the British possessions in North America are valuable appendages to the British Crown, and our fellow subjects in those possessions, from the remarkable loyalty they have always shown, particularly in the late difficulty with the United States, are entitled to the support and protection of the British Government.

That the most important way of which Imperial aid can be given is to provide the means of access between the two countries, without touching upon or being dependant upon the territory of the United States ; and so that direct and uninterrupted communication may be available for commercial and military intercourse at all seasons of the year.

Your memorialists, therefore, pray that this important question shall be at once considered by the Government, and some comprehensible and practical project be adopted and carried out, which shall free the means of access between the two countries from the control of any foreign government, and make it direct, safe, and available through British territory alone, and at all seasons of the year.

Signed on behalf of the said meeting,

JOHN TREVOR,

MAYOR.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury.

THE MEMORIAL OF THE NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE
AND GATESHEAD CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

SHOWETH—

That a project has been submitted to this Chamber for the completion of a line of Railway from Halifax to Quebec.

That your Memorialists consider that politically, as well as commercially, such a line of communication would confer great advantages upon both this country and Canada.

Your Memorialists therefore pray that Her Majesty's Government will be pleased to extend such assistance and afford such facilities as may be deemed desirable in furtherance of this important undertaking.

Signed on behalf of the Chamber, this 3rd March, 1862.

GEORGE RIDLEY,

PRESIDENT.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury.

THE MEMORIAL OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE LORD MAYOR, ALDERMEN, AND BUR-
GESSES OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN

SHOWETH—

That the rapid progress made by the Canadian provinces since the granting of the Constitution, which guarantees to the colonists a free local Legislature and a responsible Ministry, has

vastly increased the importance of the Canadas as a market for the manufactured products of those countries, and as a field for emigration.

That large numbers of the emigrant population of Ireland, England, and Scotland have become permanent residents in Canada, and that a considerable amount of trade is carried on between the colonists and the mother-country, which would have increased much more rapidly, to the great advantage of both, if facility existed for direct communication, at all seasons of the year, between the leading commercial centres and the two countries.

That, during several months of the year, the principal parts of Canada (with the exception of the port of Halifax) are sealed up by the severe frosts which prevail in the winter; and, there being no means of transit from Halifax to the commercial centres, the advantages offered by that port are practically unavailed of, and all intercourse with the colonies is interrupted, save such as takes place through the territory of the United States—a necessity which acts injuriously in time of peace and which, in time of war, would leave the commerce, and perhaps property of the colony, at the mercy of a foreign power.

That the recent experience of the Government, as to the difficulty of transporting troops from the coast to the interior, painfully illustrated the want of proper means of communication between the open winter parts and the interior, and must have impressed on the Government, as it has on memorialists, the wisdom of the long neglected advice of Lord Durham, who recommended that a direct line of railroad be opened from Halifax to Quebec—whereby direct communication between these centres and the chief towns and the seat of the colonial Government would be considerably facilitated in summer, and rendered, not only practicable, but facile at all seasons of the year.

That the formation of such a line was earnestly recommended to the Government of Lord Melbourne, in 1839, by Lord Durham, the then Governor of Canada, and approved of by almost every succeeding Government, but never carried out.

That the Colonial Government has already made portions of the line projected by Lord Durham, in the confident assurance that the promise of the Home Government to complete the communication would have been realized; and are prepared still further to aid by the granting of large tracts of land, and a large annual sum, to aid as a guarantee for the payment of the interest on the capital required for constructing the remainder of the line.

In the report of Lord Durham, a promise was held out that

direct steam communication would be established between *Ireland* and *Halifax*, as the shortest route, not only to Canada, but to the United States ; and your memorialists confidently believe that, if a railroad were constructed which would connect the magnificent and always open port of Halifax with Quebec and with the lines of communication that connect that city with the chief towns of North America, Halifax would be the centre of communication between the Old and the New World ; and, to use the words of Lord Durham, “ would not only be the great port by which a large portion of the trade, and all the conveyance of passengers to the whole of British America, would be carried on,” but would influence the tide of emigration, and send, even into American ports in time of peace, a large portion of the mercantile and passenger traffic.

Your Memorialists do therefore earnestly press upon your Lordships’ consideration the importance of taking prompt and effective measures for the completion of the line of railway, now partially opened between Halifax and Quebec.

To the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Palmerston, K.G., Her Majesty’s First Lord of the Treasury.

THE MEMORIAL OF THE MAYOR, ALDERMEN,
AND BURGESSES OF THE BOROUGH OF BEL-
FAST, UNDER THEIR COMMON SEAL,

RESPECTFULLY SHOWETH—

That for nearly half the year, we are virtually dependant on the United States of America for communication with Canada.

That the completion of railway from Halifax to Quebec is essential towards establishing a connection between Great Britain and her North American possessions, independent of the will and fiscal enactments of the United States.

That by the proposed line, unbroken railway communication through British territory will be at once consummated to a distance of 1,400 miles from the ocean, accessible at all seasons, with a certainty of its extension further westward at no distant day.

That a large area of fertile land, within the British dominions

will be made very accessible, thus diminishing the temptation to emigrants from the mother country transferring themselves and their allegiance to the United States.

That the proposed railway communication, besides facilitating military aid to the British provinces in emergencies, will give a corresponding facility for the prompt and economical recall of troops in the event of their services being unexpectedly required in Europe, or elsewhere, in the winter.

That the concentration of the ocean mails at Halifax—the short sea-passage terminus of America—will combine economy with vastly-increased celerity in the transmission of ocean mails.

That intercourse between the British North American provinces and Her Majesty's West India possessions, and with the rest of the world, will be greatly promoted.

That intercourse between Europe and the Western and South-Western States of the present American Union will, from the geographical conditions, be much more rapid by this route than by any that can exist through the seaboard of the United States, and that additional postage-receipts will thus accrue to Great Britain to an extent probably sufficient to reimburse a great part of the aid required from the imperial treasury.

That your Memorialists believe that the immediate completion of the line of railway from Halifax to Quebec is essential to the preservation and integrity of the British empire in North America.

Your Memorialists, therefore, humbly pray that her Majesty's Government will be pleased to grant such aid and assistance, in conjunction with the Provincial Governments of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, as will bring to a successful issue this great national undertaking.

And your Memorialists will ever pray.

Signed on behalf of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the borough of Belfast, this 8th day of March, 1862.



CHARLES LANYON,

MAYOR.

JAMES GUTHRIE,

TOWN CLERK.

*Memorial to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of
Her Majesty's Treasury.*

THE MEMORIAL OF THE CHAMBER OF COM-
MERCE AND MANUFACTURES OF THE CITY
OF GLASGOW

SHOWETH—

That, for six months of the year, we are dependent on the United States of America for our communication with Canada.

That, in case of an interruption of our friendly relations with the United States, our intercommunication with Canada, during that period, is liable to be cut off at a moment's notice, and an important portion of the British empire placed in great jeopardy.

That the completion of a line of railway from Halifax to Quebec would render us perfectly independent of the United States. At present our trade and correspondence with our own province of Canada, and the local trade and correspondence between the lower British provinces and foreign countries, is, for half the year, subject to the will and fiscal enactments of the United States. By the completion of the proposed line, direct railway communication will be established through British territory from Halifax to Lake Huron, a distance of 1,400 miles, accessible at all seasons, and thereby accelerate the delivery of the Canadian mails and despatches at least thirty-six hours in advance of the present route through the United States; and it would open up colonization and settlement by emigrants from the mother-country upwards of 14,000,000 acres of ungranted lands, within a journey of ten days from our own shores.

That the present cost of conveying the British North American mails through the United States will be saved to the Imperial Treasury.

That the completion of this line of railway would effect a great saving in military expenditure, on the one hand, and render Canada much more easy of defence, on the other; as she would be accessible within ten days, at all seasons; whilst, at the present time, she is, in a military point of view, excluded from communication with the mother-country for six months of the year.

That your memorialists believe that the immediate completion of a line of railway from Halifax to Quebec is essential to the preservation and integrity of the British empire in North America.

That your memorialists believe that, in addition to its adding to the security and permanence of the British empire in North America, accelerating the communication with the mother-country, reviving that identity of interest with her, which has been too long engrossed by the United States, the proposed railway would also effect a saving to the Imperial Treasury far exceeding any assistance that may be required for its completion

Your Memorialists therefore humbly pray that Her Majesty's Government will be pleased to grant such aid and assistance, in conjunction with the Provincial Governments of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, as will bring to a successful completion this great national undertaking.

And your Memorialists will ever pray.

Signed on behalf of the Chamber,



CHAIRMAN.

Copy of a Letter from His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, to the late Chief Justice Sewell, of Quebec, on the Union of the British North American Provinces.

"Kensington Palace, 30th Nov. 1814.

"MY DEAR SEWELL,

"I have this day had the pleasure of receiving your note of yesterday, with its interesting inclosure. Nothing can be better arranged than the whole thing is, or more perfectly I cannot wish; and when I see an opening, it is fully my intention to hint the matter to Lord Bathurst and put the paper into his hands,—without, however, telling him from whom I have it, though I shall urge him to have some conversation with you relative to it. Permit me, however, just to ask you whether it was not an oversight in you to state that there are five Houses of Assembly in the British Colonies in North America—for, if I am not under an error, there are six, viz., Upper and Lower Canada Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, the islands of Prince Edward and Cape Breton. Allow me also to beg of you to put down the proportions in which you think the thirty members of the representative assembly ought to be furnished by each province; and finally, to suggest whether you would not think two Lieutenant-Governors, with two executive councils, sufficient for the executive government of the whole, viz., one for the two Canadas, and one for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, comprehending the small dependencies of Cape Breton and Prince Edward's Island, the former to reside at Montreal, and the latter at whichever of the two situations may be considered most central for the two provinces, whether Annapolis Royal or Windsor. But, at all events, should you even consider four executive governments and four executive councils requisite, I presume there cannot be a question of the expediency of comprehending the two small islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence with Nova Scotia.

"Believe me ever to remain, with the most friendly regard,

"My dear Sewell, yours faithfully,

(Signed) "EDWARD."

INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

A meeting, convened for the purpose of considering and determining on the necessary steps to be taken in connection with this subject, was held at the London Tavern on the 30th January, 1862.

R. W. CRAWFORD, Esq., M.P., occupied the chair.

There were present :—

Thomas Baring, Esq., M.P.
 Hon. P. M. Vankoughnet.
 Alexander Gillespie, Esq.
 Robert Benson, Esq.
 Sir James Fergusson, 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. Weguelin, Esq., M.P.
 H. C. Childers, Esq., M.P.
 James J. Cummins, Esq.
 P. Glyn, Esq.
 William Chapman, Esq.
 H. Montgomerie, Esq.
 W. Hartridge, Esq.
 R. Jones, Esq.
 Charles Hill, Esq.
 Thomas Hughes, Esq.
 Charles Bischoff, Esq., M.P.
 P. Rose, 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 then 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 assistance from the Imperial
 “ Government for this purpose.”

The Honourable M. P. 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 negotiation with the Imperial and Colonial Govern-
 “ ments, and that they be authorized to take such other steps
 “ as may seem necessary for securing the objects in view : ”—

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

Sir Edmund Head, Bart.

Robert Benson, Esq.

Robert McCalmont, Esq.

Sir James Fergusson, Bart., M.P.

Alexander Gillespie, Esq.

Robert Carter, Esq.

John Chapman, Esq.

Samuel Gurney, Esq., M.P.

Hon. Robert Bourke.

H. Danby Seymour, Esq., M.P.

Hon. C. W. W. Fitzwilliam, M.P.

Edward W. Watkin, Esq.

William Scholefield, Esq., M.P.

Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P.

H. C. Childers, Esq., M.P.

H. Paull, Esq., M.P.

The question of Secretaryship having been mentioned, it was proposed by JOHN CHAPMAN, Esq., seconded by W. HARTRIDGE, Esq., and carried unanimously—

“ That Mr. JOSEPH NELSON be appointed Secretary to
 “ such Committee.”

The meeting then adjourned.

(Signed)

R. W. CRAWFORD,

Chairman.

This is a detailed historical map of Canada, specifically focusing on the eastern half of the country. The title "Map of CANADA" is prominently displayed at the top left, followed by the subtitle "WITH PART OF NEW BRUNSWICK & NOVA SCOTIA." Below this, it states "Showing the Line of the HALIFAX & QUEBEC RAILWAY, AND ITS CONNECTIONS WITH THE GRAND TRUNK and other CANADIAN RAILWAYS." The author's name, "BY KEITH JOHNSTON, F.R.S.E.", is also present. The map shows the coastline of Canada from the Gulf of St. Lawrence down to the Chesapeake Bay area. Major bodies of water are labeled, including Lake Superior, Lake Huron, Lake Erie, and Lake Ontario. Numerous cities and towns are marked, such as Montreal, Quebec, Toronto, Ottawa, Kingston, and Halifax. A network of red lines represents existing railways, while yellow lines indicate the proposed route of the Halifax & Quebec Railway. The map includes a scale bar at the bottom right, showing distances in miles and kilometers. It also features a compass rose and various geographical details like rivers, mountains, and islands. The overall style is characteristic of late 19th-century cartography, with fine lines and extensive labeling.

Map of CANADA.
WITH PART OF NEW BRUNSWICK & NOVA SCOTIA.
Showing the Line of the
HALIFAX & QUEBEC RAILWAY,
AND ITS CONNECTIONS WITH THE
GRAND TRUNK and other CANADIAN RAILWAYS.
BY KEITH JOHNSTON, F.R.S.E.

Legend:
Railways completed marked red.
Halifax and Quebec Railway marked yellow.

Scale:
Natural Scale 1:206,500 (324 miles to an inch).
English Statute Miles 69 = 1 degree.
French Terrestrial Leagues 25 = 1 degree.

Geographical Features:
Lakes: Superior, Huron, Erie, Ontario, St. Lawrence, Champlain, George, etc.
Rivers: St. Lawrence, Saguenay, Ottawa, etc.
Coastal Features: Bay of Fundy, Strait of Bellefleur, etc.
Islands: Anticosti, etc.

Political Boundaries:
Canada (Provinces: New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, etc.)
United States (States: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, etc.)
Hudson Bay Territory

Map Details:
The map shows a dense network of railway lines across Canada. The Halifax & Quebec Railway is highlighted in yellow, running from Halifax, Nova Scotia, through New Brunswick, and ending in Quebec, Canada. Other major railway lines, including the Grand Trunk Railway, are shown in red. The map also depicts the Great Lakes, the St. Lawrence River, and the Atlantic Ocean. Major cities and towns are labeled throughout the region.

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