

victions, after the last decision of Parliament, that in England our case is hopeless. I at first clung to the belief, as a great many people here do yet, that a new House of Commons, elected on a wider franchise, might be approached with better prospects of success. But I put the question squarely to Mr. Bright, and his answer was decisive. Unless the circumstances materially changed, Nova Scotia could not expect Mr. Gladstone and the leading men who formed his cabinet, if they got a majority, to reverse a policy which they claimed as their own, and which the Conservatives had adopted under their pledge that it should be maintained.

There was some hope in another direction.—A Union of the Maritime Provinces might yet be formed. The subject was discussed with Mr. Bright, and he frankly admitted that if such a Union could be accomplished, the question would assume a new and much more hopeful aspect.—Immediately I wrote to Mr. Robertson to have the subject considered here, and to send discreet friends into the other Colonies. To this hope I clung till we landed in Halifax; but it was dissipated by the information brought back from Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick.

A Convention was then called, early in August to consider the state of affairs. It deliberated for four or five days, when the whole subject was discussed. I have ever since regretted that that body sat with closed doors. If the debates had been open to the public we would perhaps have been spared the miserable tales and slanders which have been whispered about the corners and scattered broadcast over the country ever since. Partly because I could only trace those stories from a quarter from whence it seemed incredible that they could emanate, and partly because, wherever they came from, I had no desire to volunteer premature disclosures, I have for three months allowed them to circulate in silence. But, when a gentleman of Judge Marshall's character and standing desires information, I give it with infinite pleasure.

Judge Marshall states the case correctly when he assumes that for two years I was the recognized leader of the anti-Confederate and Repeal party. In the Spring of 1865, finding a body of old friends, no one of whom could afford to give his entire time to the contest, fighting our country's battle, and other gentlemen, to whom I had often been politically opposed, ranged beside them, I volunteered my aid. These men honored me with their confidence, and, working together, we contrived to invest Nova Scotia's case with a dignity and intellectual life that was acknowledged even by our opponents on both sides of the Atlantic.

I have explained the reasons why, on returning from England, I was hopeless of success in that direction; and how, on my landing here, a Union of the Maritime Provinces appeared impracticable. I was still, however, willing to struggle on, if any body could show me any thing to be done or any probable termination to the contest. Nobody could. Of my own feelings and opinions I made no secret. They were explained to a private meeting of our friends the day after I landed, and they were explained to the Convention with the same frankness that they are now given to Judge Marshall.

There is one thing that never has been explained, but it is time the country knew it. On the second day that the Convention met, and after my explanations had been made, this question was put by a member, for whom I have a very high personal respect, "But cannot Mr. Howe tell us what we can now do?" As nearly as I can remember, my answer was—"There are two things. You can declare your independence; but if that is to be done (and I do not advise it) come up to the table here, and sign a declaration, pledging your lives, your fortunes and your sacred honor to maintain it. If the people respond be prepared to head them, and history will record your martyrdom, it not your achievements." Nobody seemed inclined to try this experiment, and I then said, "there is one other thing that neither involves your lives nor allegiance. It is clear to me that unless something is done on this side of the water besides talking and passing resolutions, you can make no change on the other. But if you wish to startle England and Canada, and play your last peaceful card before you negotiate, let the Executive Council go up to General Doyle tomorrow morning and say, 'From no disrespect to your Excellency—for we all respect you—from no desire to embarrass, for under other circumstances we would rather assist you; but in order to give the most emphatic answer to the Duke of Buckingham's despatch and speech, and to show the unanimity and strength of public feeling in favour of Repeal, we come to tender our resignations, and to inform your Excellency that we will not work for or under you so long as you hold a commission from Lord Monck, and not from the Queen.'" In offering this suggestion I pledged myself that, if it was adopted, I and every member of the House of Commons that I could influence, would back the Council, resign our seats if there was a dissolution, and pile up such a majority as could not be misrepresented in England.

When this proposal was made I looked along the Treasury Bench with curiosity and interest. Not a man rose to second it, or to give to Nova Scotia her last chance of a peaceful and loyal repeal of the Union. From that moment I have taken no part in repeal movements in which I have no faith. I have cheerfully made way for others who seemed anxious to air their projects and assume the lead; and, except when some person has attacked me in an unjust and ungenerous manner, I have amused myself in my own quiet way, smiling at blunders that I could not prevent, and attending to my own affairs. My opinions I have never disguised; and, as respects the flourishes made about repeal for the last three months, they have hardly amused me

so much as did the screams of the sea-gulls round the grave of a dead Indian on the coast of Labrador.

But Judge Marshall has heard of some negotiations, and on this branch of the subject he desires information. He shall have it without reserve. The Duke of Buckingham, in his despatch and speech, threw upon the Canadian Ministers the responsibility of opening negotiations with Nova Scotia. When those gentlemen addressed themselves to this task, I claimed for them courteous treatment and a fair hearing. They had both; but, for reasons which were explained, they were not prepared to assume the responsibility of action, as but three or four of them were here, and it was proper that Lord Monck and their colleagues should be consulted.

On the 6th of October, Sir John A. MacDonald addressed to me a letter, which was answered on the 21st, and it is my intention to continue the correspondence, on my own responsibility as a gentleman and a member of the Legislature, until satisfied that it ought to close. I desire to give the Canadian ministers the most ample opportunities to make reparation if they can—to show to the Imperial government that they have not failed from any absence of fair discussion; and to satisfy my own mind, not very hopeful, for the reasons I have explained, of success in any other direction, whether we can recover so much of what we have lost, as to make the system less burdensome and distasteful if we are to live under it.

Others can try their experiments in the meantime. "Acadia" can try forcible annexation. "One of the people" may be able to negotiate a bargain for the sale by Great Britain of a British Colony to a Foreign State. The Local Government can try the effect of more Resolutions and Minutes of Council, and failing these, of seizing Revenue officers and collecting duties without law; and Judge Marshall can keep on writing letters informing us that he will accept nothing but repeal, without being able to show anybody how he is to get it. For these pastimes I have neither inclination nor leisure, and shall therefore endeavor to employ my spare time to more advantage.

But Judge Marshall seems to be afraid to trust me to conduct this correspondence. The people of Nova Scotia, or I am mistaken, will not be much afraid. He thinks I am possessed of some "secret," but he is mistaken. The correspondence has been shown to twenty of my most valued friends, and will be shown to others, as they drop in to my dwelling. There is nothing in it which restrains me from advocating or accepting repeal, if any body can show me how to get it.

I pass over a great deal in this and in other letters of Judge Marshall's, which he will by and bye regret. Upon some points we perhaps may never agree, but I respect his sincerity, his zeal and his services, and while giving him the information he requires, I trust that I have said nothing to give personal offence.

Believe me,
Yours truly,
JOSEPH HOWE.

In the same issue of the *Morning Chronicle* an editorial, in alluding to Mr. Howe's Letter, says:

"It is well that Mr. Howe has expressed his views. We would have had him speak otherwise, but prefer his unwelcome letter to his continued and mysterious silence on the policy affecting the people of Nova Scotia. Why entertaining the view that he has expressed, he has not spoken out before, we may never know. Was it because the arguments which impel Mr. Howe in his present course never presented themselves to his busy brain until now? Was it because of a well founded and natural reluctance to falsify the records of two eventful years, to place between the people of Nova Scotia and himself an insurmountable barrier? To present to a wondering world the unwonted spectacle of a captain being the first man to desert the ship which he imagined to be in danger? Was it that, immersed in all important communication with Sir John A. MacDonald, he had no time or thought to give to the people of Nova Scotia? To these questions we can conjecture no answer and Mr. Howe has not told us the "reason why."

The important bearing these developments may have upon the future welfare of the province must be our apology for occupying so much space with them. We leave our intelligent readers to draw their own conclusions as to what is meant by the respective parties concerned, and what is the proper course to pursue under the circumstances.

The *Citizen* copies Mr. Howe's letter without expressing an opinion, making on the following remark:

"A letter from Mr. Howe, on the political position of the Province, in answer to one from Judge Marshall that appeared in the *Chronicle* of Wednesday last, is copied from that paper into our columns to-day."

What it all means will probably appear by future developments.

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E. C. BANKS,
Secretary to Trustees.
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WE HAVE MUCH PLEASURE IN ANNOUNCING THE ARRIVAL OF OUR
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THE BEST.
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manufacture not only the best and cheapest instruments in the greatest variety as to capacity and style, from plain to very elegant, and in general excellence second only to the Mason & Hamlin Cabinet Organs. Each one has the trade mark, "METROPOLITAN ORGAN."

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And excels every other attachment of this general class in the beauty of its effects, the perfect ease with which it is operated, its durability and freedom from liability to get out of order.

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Oct. 21.

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R. S. M. BOUCHETTE,
Commissioner of Customs.

Oct. 14.

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Bedding of every description,
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