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Nec aranearum sane textus ideo melior, quia ex se fila gignunt, nec noster vilior quia ex alienis libamus ut apes.

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MR. HOWE'S SECOND LETTER TO
EARL GREY.

5, Sloane Street, January 16, 1851.

MY LORD,

In the letter which I had the honor to address to your Lordship on the 25th November, I argued the case of Nova Scotia on its own merits, and ventured to claim the guarantee of the Imperial Government in aid of her public works, upon grounds which affected her material interests, her pride, her enterprise, and stedfast loyalty to the British Crown.

The immediate consideration of that letter I did not desire, because, while preparing it, I was quite conscious that if the single issue raised, were to be decided by Her Majesty's Government upon the merits or claims of Nova Scotia alone, the Cabinet would have but a very inadequate statement of the reasons which ought to secure, and the province I represent but a slender chance of obtaining a favorable decision.

The interest which the mother country has in the elevation of North America, in the increase of her population, the development of her resources, the occupation of her wild lands, the extension of her commerce, and of her means of easy internal and external communication, I believe too far transcend the interest, great as that is, which the several provinces feel in these very important questions.

Should the aid of the parent State be refused, the Northern provinces would still, but with less rapidity complete their public works. Though not an emigrant landed on their shores, the population they have would live in plenty and double every 20 years. Should they change their political relations, the worst that could befall them, would be association with their Anglo-Saxon neighbors, or an independent position, moderately secure, and full of future promise.

But England cannot afford to descend from the high position which she occupies among the nations of the earth. Having lost one-half of a mighty continent, won by the valor and enterprise of a noble ancestry, she can as little afford to confess, in the presence of all the world, her inability to wisely rule the other half, and preserve the attachment of its inhabitants. Besides, there are within her own populous cities, and upon the surface of her highly-cultivated rural districts, certain evils, disorders and burthens, with which it behoves her, as a good economist, and as a wise enterprising, and Christian nation, energetically to deal.

For more than a month I have surveyed, with intense earnestness, the wide circle of her colonial dependencies, and studied in parliamentary and official papers, for some assured prospect of relief from those evils and disorders. I have examined with care the policy of the present and of past Governments, and the plans and suggestions of public writers, and associations; and have invariably turned to the North American provinces with the conviction that they present, at this moment, the most available and diversified resources for the relief of England; the noblest field for the further development of her industry, philanthropy, and power.

In offering suggestions to the Minister of the Crown, I feel, my Lord, the distance which divides me, in rank and intelligence, from those I would presume to counsel; and yet I am not without a hope that they will give some weight to the position I occupy and to the training which my mind has received.

If I understand the questions to be approached better than many persons of far higher attainments—if I feel more acutely their commanding importance, it is because, being a native of North America, I have travelled much over the provinces, and mingled

familiarly, and for many years, with all classes of their inhabitants; and being a member of her Majesty's Council in the province I represent, I am bound by my oath to offer my advice, through the Channels established by the Constitution, to my Sovereign, in matters of State, which I believe to involve the honor of the Crown and the integrity and prosperity of the empire.

To provide employment for her surplus capital and labor—to extend her home markets—to relieve her poor rates—to empty her poor houses—to reform her convicts—to diminish crime—to fill up the waste places of the empire, and to give the great mass of her population a share of real estate, and an interest in property, I believe it to be pre-eminently the mission and the duty of this great country at the present time.

The period is favorable. The removal of impolitic restrictions has lessened to some extent the pressure upon the public finances, and given to the people that measure of relief which affords time for reflection upon the means by which the still existing pressure upon industry may be further relieved. In a colonial point of view, the period is also favorable. Thanks to the policy which the present Cabinet have carried out, the North American Provinces are relieved, so far as free countries ever can be, from internal dissensions. Invested with control over their own affairs and resources, they have now the leisure, as they assuredly have a sincere desire, to consult with their brethren on this side of the Atlantic on common measures of mutual advantage. I think I may say that while they anticipate great benefit from the co-operation and aid of the mother country in promoting their public works, they are not unmindful of their duty to consider the peculiar questions in which this country feels an interest; and to take care that while availing themselves of the credit of England, no permanent addition is made to her public burthens.

The subjects of Colonization and Emigration have been most elaborately discussed. I pass over the points on which writers and speakers differ; in this they all agree, that the British Islands have an interest in these subjects second to none that has ever been felt by any nation in ancient or modern times. The enumeration of a few facts will be sufficient to exhibit the grounds of this belief. The statistical returns of 1850 will, I have no doubt, show a state of things much more favorable, but still I fear not so favorable as to shake the general conclusions at which I have arrived. These are founded upon facts, as I find them stated in official documents and works of approved authority.

In Ireland the lives of the population have for years been dependent upon the growth of a single vegetable. But when it grew, as was stated by the late Charles Buller, uncontradicted, in the House of Commons, on an average there were 2,000,000 persons who, in that island, were unemployed for thirty weeks in the year. To what extent famine and emigration have since diminished the numbers, I have no means of accurately judging; but it appears that in 1848, besides the £10,000,000 granted by Parliament for the relief of Irish distress, and provisions sent from other countries, £1,216,679 were raised in Ireland for the support of the poor, and that 1,457,194, or nearly 1 out of 5 of the entire population, received relief.

In Scotland, where the population is only 2,620,000, a fifth more than that of British America, £545,334 were expended for the relief of the poor in 1848, more than was spent by the four British Provinces on their civil government, roads, education, lights, interest on debts, and all other services put together; 227,647 persons were relieved, the amount expended on each being £2 7s. 9d., a sum quite sufficient to have paid, in a regularly appointed steamboat, the passage of each recipient to British America.

In England, in the same year, £6,180,765 were raised for the relief of the poor, or 1s. 10d. in the pound on £67,300,587. The number aided was 1,176,541, or about 1 out of every 11 persons occupying this garden of the world. The sum paid for each was even higher than in Scotland, being £3 3s. 10d. per head, more than sufficient to have paid the passage to North America from Liverpool or Southampton.

I turn to the workhouses of England, and find that in 1849 there were in these receptacles, 30,158 boys and 26,155 girls, of whom 8,264 were fit for service. In Ireland, under 18, there were 60,514 boys and 66,285 girls, the aggregate in the two countries being 185,122.

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

I find that in 1849 you maintained in Ireland a constabulary of 12,828 men, besides horses, at a cost, taking the preceding year as a guide, of £532,506 10s. In England and Wales you employed 9,829 policemen, (including the London police), at a cost of £579,327 4s. 8d. From Scotland I have no return. But taking the above facts to guide us, it appears that, for mere purposes of internal repression, and arrest of criminals, to say nothing of beaules and innumerable parish officers, you maintained, in addition to your army, a civic force double in number the entire army of the United States, at a cost (Scotland not being included) of £1,141,833 14s. 8d.

Think you, my Lord, that when a Republican points exultingly to the returns, and contrasts these statistics of poverty and crime with the comparative abundance and innocence of his own country, and which he attributes to his own peculiar institutions, that a British colonist does not turn, with astonishment at the apathy of England, to the millions of square miles of fertile territory that surround him; to the noble rivers, and lakes, and forests by which the scenery is diversified; to the exhaustless fisheries; and to the motive power, rushing from a thousand hills into the sea, and which all the steam engines of Britain cannot compete?

Driven to attribute to British and Irish statesmen a want of courage and forecast to make these great resources available to maintain our brethren and protect their morals, or to suspect the latter of being more idle, degraded or criminal, than their conduct abroad would warrant, we gladly escape from the apprehension of doing general injustice, by laying the blame on our rulers. May it be the elevated determination of her Majesty's advisers to relieve us from the dilemma, by wiping out this national reproach.

One set of economists propose to remedy this state of things by restraints upon nature, which are simply impossible, and would be wicked if they were not; another large political party desire to feed the people by a return to protection and the revival of class interests with all their delusions and hostilities; a third look hopefully forward to the further development of domestic industry in accordance with the principles of free trade.

All my sympathies are with the latter; but while hostile tariffs exist in most of the populous States of Europe and America, I would aid them by the creation of new markets within the Queen's dominions, by the judicious location of those who are a burden upon the fertile lands of the empire, that they may become customers to those who remain at home.

One writer, whose book I have read recently, objects to this, because he says that if any part of the population is displaced, young people will marry, and increase the numbers until the vacuum is filled up. The young ought certainly not to object to this, or the old ei-

ther. If his theory be sound, it answers the objection of those who fear too great diminution of numbers by emigration; and colonization would still have this advantage, that it would strengthen the transatlantic provinces and make more customers for Britain and Ireland, even should their population remain the same.

But it may be said there is but one enlightened mode of colonization, and under the patronage of the Government and of associated companies, that is being very extensively tried in our southern and eastern possessions.

Of the Wakefield theory I would speak with all respect; of the combined efforts of public spirited individuals, I would be the last to disapprove; the judicious arrangements made by the Government commissioners, for the selection of emigrants, the ventilation and security of ships, and the distribution of labor, and which I have carefully examined challenge in most of their details, my entire sanction.

I do not wish to check the progress, in these valuable colonies, of associated enterprise; I do not desire to restrict the growth of population within them, or to supersede the functions of the Board of Land and emigration; I wish these rising communities God speed, and success to all those who take an interest in them.

But I turn from them to the North American field, perhaps because I know it best, but assuredly because I believe that to people and strengthen it will secure political advantages of the very highest importance, and because I apprehend that the Eastern Colonies, however they may prosper and improve, will offer but homœopathic remedies for the internal maladies of England.

In twenty two years, from 1825 to 1846 inclusive, only 124,272 persons went from the United Kingdom to the Australian Colonies and New Zealand. In the same period 710,410 went to the United States, to strengthen a foreign and a rival Power, to entrench themselves behind a hostile tariff, and to become consumers of American manufactures, and of foreign productions, seaborne in American bottoms; they and the countless generation that has already sprung from their loins, unconscious of regard for British interests and of allegiance to the Crown of England.

In twenty two years 124,272 settlers have gone to Australia and New Zealand; about half the number on the poor rate of Scotland in 1848, not a tenth part of the paupers relieved in Ireland, or one in fourteen of those who were supported by England's heavily taxed industry in that single year: not more, I apprehend, than died of famine in a single county of Ireland from 1846 to 1850; and less, by 60,000, than the number of the young people who were in the workhouses of England and Ireland in 1849.

Valuable as these Eastern Colonies may be respectable as may have been the efforts to improve them, it is manifest that whether we regard them as extensive fields for colonization, or as industrial aids for the removal of pressure on the resources of the United Kingdom, the belief, however fondly indulged, is but a delusion and a snare. Were I to go into a calculation of the expense, to show what this emigration has cost the Government and people of England, I could prove this y pregnant illustrations. But two or three simple facts are patent and lie upon the surface.

Australia and New Zealand are 14,000 miles from the shores of England. The British provinces of North America but 2,500.—Every Englishman, Irishman, or Scotchman, who embarks for the Eastern Colonies, must be maintained by somebody for 110 or 150 days, while he is tossing about in idleness on the sea. The average passage to North America is about 40; and when the arrangements are complete to which I hope to have your Lordship's countenance and support, emigrants embarking for the North American