THE
NEW-BRUNSWICK COURIER
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WEEKLY ALMANACK.

1851. JUNE.	SUN Rises	SUN Sets.	MOON Sets	High Water
15 Sunday . . .	4 17	7 43	9 29 *a*	0 30
16 Monday . . .	4 16	7 44	10 12	1 10
17 Tuesday . . .	4 16	7 44	10 51	1 50
18 Wednesday . .	4 16	7 45	11 21	2 30
19 Thursday . . .	4 17	7 46	11 48	3 9
20 Friday	4 17	7 45	- - -	3 53
21 Saturday . . .	4 17	7 45	0 13 *m*	4 37

Last Quarter 21st, 2 h. 10 m. afternoon.—N.W.

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SPEECHES

Delivered at the Public Meeting at the Mechanics' Institute, on Wednesday, June 4th, 1851,

RELATING TO THE

Proposition of the British Government,

ON THE SUBJECT OF

RAILROADS IN THESE PROVINCES.

[*Reported by* G. BLATCH, *Esq., Barrister-at-Law.*]

The Chairman (CHAS. JOHNSTON, Esq., High Sheriff,) having introduced to the meeting the Hon. JOSEPH HOWE, a Member of the Government of Nova Scotia, and lately the delegate from that Province to the Mother Country, instructed to negotiate with Her Majesty's Government on the subject of Provincial Railroads, the Hon. Gentleman immediately addressed the meeting as follows:—

Mr. Chairman and Genttlemen,—Allow me to say, that on rising, in the City of St. John, for the first time in my life, to address a public audience, you may naturally suppose that I wish for the aid of all the powers of nature and of eloquence, to enable me to do so satisfactorily; but as I have been suffering for the last twenty-four hours from a sore eye and a bad cold, I must invite your patience and indulgence to an extent beyond what I would care to ask for in other circumstances. I feel that the subject that has brought us together here will plead my excuse for personal defects in discussing it; and I am quite sure that the hospitality and consideration that a stranger ever experiences, in every part of the British Provinces, will warrant me in feeling, that however short I may fall of your expectations on this occasion, you will attribute it to the weakness and imperfection of the flesh, and not to any unwillingness on the part of the spirit. The subject for our consideration is, the proposition made by the Imperial Government to the North American Provinces, on the subject of railroads; and the desire of all parties, if possible, to come to a common agreement, by which the internal communications of the Provinces with each other may be completed, either by the proposed plan or by some other. I have felt from the very first, and have expressed it in your Province, that if improvements of this kind are to be made, all party feeling and faction must be thrown aside, and there must be a common feeling and unanimity, to render any such scheme practicable. To carry on the grand scheme we have in view will require a union of all parties and interests. It is forced upon my mind every hour, that without union we cannot succeed; and I believe the same impression is felt in New Brunswick by all thinking minds. There are one or two explanations due to this audience, which I will now make, in all good humour and good part. I regret that for some time past, some persons in this Province have scarcely dealt fairly with me on this subject. My back was hardly turned for England, before I saw in the public papers a very unfair and unjust imputation on me, with regard to my mission; and I have not yet seen in those papers the explanation which I felt it my duty to give to the public in reply, though I am aware it is in print elsewhere. Another observation or two, and I will pass on to the general subject for our consideration. I have noticed, even since I came here, that it has been asserted, that the aristocratic people of Halifax wish to dictate to the traders of St. John. The persons who attempt to settle great public questions by such arguments can never succeed, because such arguments are absurd. I belong to no aristocratic body; I have laboured during the greatest part of my life with my own hands; and I have laboured both with heart and hands for the establishment of the principles which now govern all these provinces. It has been said that the people of Nova Scotia have broken faith with New Brunswick, and with Portland, beyond the boundary. How have they so? The people of Portland either invited the people of Nova Scotia to their Convention last year, or they did not. It has been said that the Government of Nova Scotia was represented at that Convention; I say, that it was not. The question was put to that Government, whether they would send such a representative; and their answer was, that they would not. Certainly, a Member of the Government of Nova Scotia went to the Convention, but not to represent his Government; he went there merely as a private individual. What were those delegates called there for? Why, to decide upon building a Railroad. Could we suppose that we were to pledge Nova Scotia to any particular measure, merely by the attendance of representatives at that Convention? Did we, while we united with those men to build a railroad, pledge our honour, or compromise our faith, as to the mode in which such railroad was to be built? No. But I shall show that Nova Scotia has fully and honourably redeemed every pledge made by her in regard to this matter. We at once dispatched a delegate to England, to ascertain how and on what terms the work would be done for us. Neither Maine nor this Province has yet done what we of Nova Scotia have done in this respect; therefore I stand here without feeling that Nova Scotia has failed in her pledges in any way. Another charge has been circulated freely against us—that the proposition which we now advocate is calculated to enslave the men of New Brunswick, and that that is the idea with which the British Government have made the proposition to us. Those who make such a charge should remember that only a few years ago, Great Britain paid twenty millions of money, in order that a slave should not exist in her empire; therefore, can it be supposed that she is about now to drive a hard bargain, and to bring us into slavery? Any man that says so, has not read the modern history of the public mind of Great Britain to any good effect. But it is also said that the Nova Scotians want to bear you down. We don't want to interfere in any of your affairs in any way. I, for one, have never thrusted myself into any of them; and it is only by invitation from yourselves that I now address you; and let me tell those who say such things, that the only time we ever interfered with your Provincial affairs was a few years ago, when we pledged every pound in our treasury and every bayonet on our soil, to aid in the defence of your Province, if required. I will now explain as succinctly and simply as I can, how my mind arrived at the conclusion to which I would gladly bring your minds. About six years since, these great projects were first agitated; I left those subjects, and the leadership in their agitation, in the hands of my political enemies, and did not attempt to interfere with them, as my hands were full of other objects. Now, what took place? Six years ago, out came a friend of mine from England, with printed prospectuses and proposals of a project to cut a railroad from Halifax to the St. Lawrence, with the whole machinery of a great Company to cut this great railroad. They asked only for our co-operation, and we did co-operate—the whole City of Halifax moved in it; men of the greatest influence came forward, and were appointed a local committee to forward the scheme. I was one of that committee; we wasted five or six years in meetings, discussions, conferences, correspondence, and such matters; and we had a fair share of the jealousies, rivalries, and disputings usually attendant on great companies and their projects. Six years passed away, and what has been done? I think we published as many circulars, reports, and other papers, as ever were got together by any colonial committee; and what did we do? We got an old gentleman to measure the route for the railroad, and I believe he has never been paid yet. The whole pecuniary resources raised never amounted to as much as would pay old Sam Moore's bill for surveying the ground. The experience derived from personal observation in that case did not strengthen my belief in great English Companies, or Colonial Companies, for building railroads; and I look back now with some interest on my experience in that case. But I have another illustration to give you. About ten years ago, I suggested that a railroad from Halifax to Windsor would be a very good thing; but after much consideration, I was at last satisfied that jt would then be premature. The matter rested there, till the great excitement about a railroad from Halifax to Quebec commenced. Our people soon got up to fever heat about railroads; they said, "We can't get on without them; we must have one somewhere." I said, "Well, come, then; there is my little railroad to Windsor, only 45 miles long; make that first, and see what will be the result; and if that proves successful, then go to work and make more." And how did I propose to make it? By a company? By a private association? No; I was satisfied that that was not the principle for our colonial roads, unless we were driven to it. Would I hand a high road, belonging to the public at large, over to a private company, to job it as they might please, and to make money of it? No. The Windsor Road is one of our public highways. The people of Nova Scotia have had free roads and highways all their lives, and they should continue to have a free road from Halifax to Windsor, if they had a spark of public spirit. I went to the House of Assembly, and said we wanted £330,000, to make our 45 miles of railroad; I asked them to give us the whole money; to pass a law to enable us to raise the money, and to pledge the public resources as a guarantee for its repayment. What took place? I went on the floor of the House with this project; and to the astonishment of my political friends, I broadly announced the principle, that it is impolitic and unwise to hand over the public roads of the country to the control of private companies; and I convinced the majority of the Government of the correctness of my position. Some personal friends of mine, however, who were opposed to that view of the matter, came to me, and advised me to take half what I asked for, which they were willing to give; and that I should form a company, and get the other half in some other way; and at last, rather than carry an important vote like that by a small majority, I consented to their proposition, and the House accordingly gave me the £165,000. I had then to exert myself to get the other half of the sum required, by other means. I told the people of Halifax that they had a deep interest in the matter, and that they must pledge the public stock. The people behaved creditably, and authorised the City Council to pledge their stock to the amount of £100,000; and then I wanted but £65,000 more, to complete the whole. I went up to the County of Hants, where I met Mr. Johnston and Mr. Fraser, members of the Opposition; by their combined efforts they got up a public meeting, but to little purpose. The whole summer passed away; and after trying the Counties of Hants, King's, Annapolis, and Colchester, only £6,000 could be raised among them. This amount was subscribed by Hants alone; the other Counties subscribed nothing; and no money was paid up. This failure disheartened me; and when the delegates came back from Portland last summer, I did not feel disposed to embark again in such scenes and speculations. I was not disposed to abandon the people of Maine or of Nova Scotia in their project; but I felt that to hold out the idea that such a portion of stock would be subscribed in Nova Scotia, as seemed to be expected, would be deceiving the projectors of the Portland line; and therefore I held out no such idea to them. But I did not go on in the matter, without asking the capitalists of Nova Scotia what they would give in aid of the project; and I could never find one who would say, that Nova Scotia could undertake what the Portland Convention expected her to undertake. What, then, was the policy to be pursued? The policy I recommend is simply to borrow the money, with the aid of the British Government, in the cheapest market in the world where money can be had; to make the works in the Provinces with that money, on the pledge and security of the provincial revenues and lands; and thus to effect those works completely in four or five years, which would never be effected by mere private speculation. I have been also influenced by a desire to keep these Provinces in the hands of the people to whom, in all time coming, I believe that they ought to belong. Even if we could effect these great works ourselves, I believe that if we were to withdraw such large sums of money from the industrious pursuits of the country, we should produce here the very same evils which were formerly produced by similar causes in England. It is a common thing, in discussing such projects as these, for men in humble positions in society to ask, what are the great capitalists going to do? Let us enquire into what the great capitalists are doing. Take the wealthiest man that we can see around us. If he is a shrewd, clear-headed man, and of business habits, and alive to his own interest, where is his money? Is it hid in an iron chest, or stowed away in an old bureau? No. Then where is it? In the hands of the industrious, and circulating all over the country; it is in the mortgage of the farmer and the trader; in the notes-of-hand of business men, and in every form and shape of commercial operation; earning not only 6 per cent. to the man who lent it, but also profits to the man who employs it. That is where the money of Nova Scotia is, to my certain knowledge. Suppose, then, we draw two millions and a half of this money out of such circulation. It is all very well for the poor man to say, "Let the rich build the railroad;" but where are the rich to get the money from? The rich man must come down on Tom; he must come down on Dick, to get his money back from them: somebody's ship must be a long while before it can be launched; another's must be a long time before it can get out to sea; business must be impeded, everything must be cramped, and the whole business of the country must be far more deranged and injured, than would be counterbalanced by all the benefits of the railroad, even if it were made. What happened in England in this respect? I believe, that if all the railroads of England had been made by the Government, it would have saved millions of pounds to the country. The railroads drew from general circulation more than even rich England could afford; and hence came difficulty and distress. In the fall of 1847, bankruptcy was prevailing everywhere throughout England, Ireland, and Scotland; and Willmer and Smith's paper came out by every mail, with lists of bankrupts almost as long as my arm. This was the effect of private companies, and of railroads constructed by private associations, even in wealthy England. Suppose, then, we withdraw half a million or a whole million of money from our commercial resources; why, the whole country would feel the pressure, and general distress would be the result. Then my policy is the most beneficial for us, because I wish to keep the money in the hands of the people, for their own ordinary pursuits; while its withdrawal from them would cramp the whole business of the country, and produce universal commercial distress. But there is another reason to be urged; which is, because I believe that no company or private association in these Provinces, with all their efforts, can in any reasonable time raise the funds necessary to cut the Quebec and Halifax Railroad. I was satisfied of this, before I went to England, and I am more than ever satisfied of it now. It may be said, that a private company is the best mode of going to work, because it will only cost a little outlay to every Province. But I will give you a little more of my Nova Scotia experience; and if we even think ourselves a little wiser in such matters than you, it is because our wisdom is derived from personal experience. A few years ago the scheme of the Shubenacadie Canal was started. Halifax boiled like a pot; the enthusiasm now displayed as to the Railroad is nothing to what it was then, in Nova Scotia, on the Canal scheme. The people there were going to do all sorts of things in a hurry; a Company was formed, and a President and Secretary chosen. Poor Treasurer! I can scarcely now refrain a tear to his memory; for it *killed* him; he actually died of it; and in him Nova-Scotia lost a splendid intellect and a valuable member of society. The people were too much excited in the matter to wait till they could get all the money required. They raised about £25,000. Of course, the opinion of people is, that Governments never do anything right in such matters; but what did this Company do? Why, they dug great ditches, they built great locks, and spent the £25,000; and then they came to a stand. Then there was a cry for greater public exertions; they came before the Legislature and demanded a facility bill; and they got it. The House voted them a large sum of money, and they spent it; the ditches were made a little wider; they built locks a little farther on the line; and still they did nothing that would enable an Indian canoe to navigate through the canal. Then they said there was plenty of money in England; why not send and borrow some there: but every body felt at once, that there was no chance of England lending one stiver of it without security. So they went to the Legislature again; and our experience informs us, that although people will not trust the Legislature to do the works for them, they will always trust the Legislature to lend the money; the good-natured House of Assembly is always called upon in such cases. Our Assembly did as they were asked; they passed an Act to guarantee the payment of the interest for fifteen years to any body who would lend the money in England. Home went the Secretary with the loan; and when he returned he brought out with him £25,000 or £26,000. Well, the Legislature paid the interest punctually; the money was all spent on the works; but not a single lock was finished, or any portion of the canal made, that any body could get through with a boat. The fifteen years expired, and no thing effectual was done; the people who lent the money were cheated out of it; we never got a canal; and we had nothing but a Shubenacadie Canal Company, which did nothing of any use. I give you these facts, because they have accumulated under my own eye. If people want a railroad here, there is only one way to get it usefully, speedily, and effectually; it can only be got by the aid of the British Government. The Government of Nova Scotia did, in the first instance, apply to the British Government for aid to build their portion of the Halifax and Quebec Railroad (about 130 miles), but the answer to their application was unfavorable. Then a Delegation was resolved upon, and the Government did me the honor to select me as the Delegate to go home on that mission; and here there is an explanation due to the people of New Brunswick, because there may otherwise be some misconception on that point. When I was selected to go to England I would gladly have had the company and assistance, in my mission, of a Delegate from New Brunswick. But this Province had recently had a general election; the people were divided in opinion; the result of the elections, with regard to future policy, was doubtful; the Government appeared likely to be overturned; and therefore we did not suppose Sir Edmund Head was then in a position to assume the responsibility that we had undertaken; as he had no settled or stable Government to advise him, and to sustain him afterwards in the Legislature. Therefore, it was that we did not ask New Brunswick to send a Delegate to co operate with us, because this Province was not at that time in the same settled position as we were. I will not disguise the fact, that I left home for England, feeling the weight of all the difficulties attending the object I had in view; and let any body who does not appreciate such a position, go on a similar mission, and try for himself what such difficulties are. I trust I approached the subject in a proper spirit; and I hope that in no single instance did I assume to represent either New Brunswick or Canada, or to exceed the legitimate limits of my mission; which was, to borrow money for the public works of Nova Scotia, either with or without the guarantee of the British Government. But I felt it my duty to state frankly what I felt to be the public opinion, not only of my own country, but of New Brunswick and of Canada also; and I trust that, in doing so, I have in nothing misrepresented you, nor offended the public sentiment of this Province; though I must say frankly, that I could not urge my own cause without also urging yours. I first wrote to Earl Grey, setting forth the value of these Provinces—the importance of free and speedy communications between them and with them and the mother country; and the importance of building up large seaports and cities in these Colonies, as rivals to those beyond the frontier; and I did not hesitate to express what I believed to be the views of public men in the Provinces. I assumed that we wished the aid of England; that we desired to continue the connexion with England, and to raise ourselves to a higher *status* as a people, imposing higher obligations as a nation than we at present occupied; and in doing this, I am sure that I did not offend the public sense of New Brunswick; I am sure that no man will say that I betrayed the trust reposed in me, as the advocate of the Railroad from Nova Scotia to Portland. It has been said that I have betrayed my trust, and that I was sent to England to represent the Portland Convention. Now, the plain truth is, that I never represented any Convention, but the Government of Nova Scotia, which was not represented at that Convention. I did not abandon the Portland line; I placed it before the British Government in every light that my imagination could conceive; and urged it on their consideration as honestly and favourably, as any man [illegible] could have done. But that was not the whole of my mission; we had other objects of equal importance to discuss. Suppose, for instance, that like our Provinces a thoroughfare for strangers and foreigners; do we want nothing more for years past, ever since the Cunard Steamers were established; such great advantages as those but as for any case from the transit caused by the supposed to

Cunard steamers, I would back a dozen clippers employed in our fisheries against all the Cunard steamers that can be built. I thought it was now full time that we had higher objects in view, than a mere transit traffic; something beyond that; and therefore I urged the general aspects and views of these Provinces, for the purpose of preparing the public mind of England in our favour; to induce it to promote my advocating the elevation of these Provinces to a far higher *status* in the scale of nations. My habits and pursuits in life bring me into frequent contact with clever men and public men, not only of Nova Scotia, but also from the other Provinces; and I also mix freely with the people at large in my own Province; and therefore I know that there exists a longing in every man's mind, to establish a railroad through the country to the border of the United States. But there is also a feeling beyond this; and what is it? When I arrived at Liverpool by the steamer, the Custom House Officer who came on board to examine the luggage, paid immediate attention to a respectable looking gentleman from a foreign country, who exhibited a carpet bag full of dispatches, and claimed to be immediately carried ashore, because he was the bearer of Government credentials. I thought I would try the effect of Colonial importance, and see whether it would be treated with as much respect as foreign importance. I told them I had a bag of dispatches too from *my* Government, and that I came from a British colony, on public business. The officer asked me where my Government was; and I told him it was Nova Scotia; but I was politely told that he had no information or orders respecting me; and therefore I could only get ashore in the ordinary way with other passengers. I found my colonial embassage of no advantage to me; while the mission of the foreigner had been duly announced by his Government, and every care taken to secure importance and consideration for him. So it was, also, at the House of Lords, when I sought admission to it: I saw there a respectable old gentleman, representing the United States, receiving every attention and respect: he was not a bit better then 500 men that might be found in either of these Provinces; but he represented a great country; he was therefore a man of importance and influence, and met with every courtesy, while I had to get along in the best way I could. What did I feel on these occasions? Why, I felt that I was only a colonist after all. However important was my mission to those whom it concerned, I only represented Nova Scotia, and nobody cared much about me or my country. Suppose, now, either of the Hon. Members of the Government of this Province, whom I see sitting near me, had gone home on a similar mission, and had experienced similar treatment, how would they have felt? Why, just exactly as I did; they would have felt that their importance was very little estimated at home. But how do we feel every day on this subject? Take the Hon. Mr. Chandler for instance; he is a gentleman well known in this Province, and every way qualified to adorn the judicial bench of his native country. But I believe that he thinks his own fireside, and the quiet comforts of his own rural retirement, quite equal to the honour and dignity of a Provincial judgeship; and therefore the public cannot obtain the benefit of his services in that capacity. Look, again, at Judge Wilmot, who now worthily occupies a seat on the Bench of N. B.—Nobody was more delighted than I was, to hear that he (when Attorney General) had gone to the Portland Convention to represent this Province; because I well knew the impression his talents would make on that great Assembly. But where is Wilmot now? He is a young man, in the flower of his age; his mental powers only beginning to ripen; and he is shelved on the Bench of this small and thinly peopled Province, hidden and unknown. Take, again, Moses Perley; I do not know whether he is present here or not; but I will say, that you, perhaps, do not know his value; perhaps he hardly knows it himself. But I can tell you, that a man of his industry; of his capacity to explain his ideas, whether verbally or in writing; of his accurate knowledge of the country to which he belongs; of his general pliability of mind, and adaptation to almost any pursuit; would, in a larger country and wider spere, distinguish himself prominently. If the sphere were wide enough here, what would you do with such men? You would send Judge Wilmot to administer justice, where? To a small Province? No: but to an American Empire. You would place Mr. Chandler on the Bench of the United Provinces; you would hold out to the young men of your country a sphere and a field for their exertions and their ambition, which none of them have open to them now. How? By violence? By rebellion? By bloodshed? No. You would seek to live under the old flag; you would seek, not separation from the Mother Country; that would be madness, folly, and bad faith; but, with the consent of the Sovereign and the acquiescence of the imperial authorities; by the united action and good sense of all these Provinces, you would seek by union to elevate them all to a higher *status* than any of them separately can ever occupy. I am looking to these great railroads after all: for what? To make money out of them? No. Make those railroads to-morrow: some persons, perhaps, in Halifax, might make thousands of pounds out of them; I shall make nothing by them. When I moved the Resolution in the Assembly on this subject, I staked upon it my office, the living of my family, my public situation and influence; and on the result of the approaching elections I stake all that a public man, in a situation such as mine, can stake. But I have never shrunk from the risk, and I shall continue to follow the same line of conduct. I have seen it somewhere stated, since I came here, that there is some division of opinion among the people in the other Province on this subject. There may, perhaps, be some small symptoms of such difference of opinion; the telegraphic wires may have been at work to produce it, and may have done something in that way; but if so, I am sure it can be but very trifling. I believe that the people of Halifax are united as one man; and so also are the inhabitants of the whole Metropolitan County, and that no man could hold up his head who would not go for this great railroad to Quebec. I tried an experiment the other day, when I was in the County of Cumberland. There was very little excitement there; you can't get up an excitement where people are all of one mind. What are the facts? Mr. Dickie had been, all through the winter, pressing the Legislature to pass a bill to incorporate his Railroad Company; but the House would not pass it. If they had passed it, the Government at home would have told me, that the Legislature of my own country had passed a bill to make the very road for which I was soliciting their aid and influence; and that would have destroyed my mission altogether. The project was fairly tried in Cumberland the other day: a public meeting was called to discuss the subject; Mr. Dickie did all he could to persuade the people: and after all, the people were unanimous in favour of the other project; and I think that since that, he has tendered his resignation as a member of the Convention at Portland. I believe that railroads will be of very great use to these Provinces; but I believe also that it is necessary, nay, almost indispensable, to produce a social and political organization of the people, to raise these Provinces to a *higher* position than they can ever singly attain. Most of you, I suppose, are acquainted with the proposition made through Mr. Hawes; but on some points I believe there has been great misconception. It is said that we want to pledge the whole Provincial revenues permanently, and to hand them over to the irresponsible control of Imperial Commissioners. Some years ago, the Legislature of our Province actually voted both money and lands, and handed them over to Imperial Commissioners, for the effecting of such public projects. Have you done that? No. It took me three days to argue that question with the Home Government; and I gave them expressly to understand that unless the Provinces were to be made secure, as to the objects for which they were to pledge their revenues, and as to the faithful expenditure of the money, I, for one, did not want railroads at all. Now, the Imperial Commissioners are only to superintend the application of the money to its legitimate purposes; not to make ducks and drakes of it at their will; and the members of the Government will be responsible to the people for every shilling of it. Another point must be noticed. It has been said that we have consented to make a road, which will be a burthen to New Brunswick, and that therefore Nova Scotia ought to bear a portion of the burden. I will not deceive you on this point. Suppose the Hon. Mr. Partelow should move in the Assembly of this Province for £500, to build a bridge in Nova Scotia. Now, Mr. Partelow is said to be a pretty clever financier, and to be so influential in the House in money matters, that he can carry almost anything through; but I am sure he could not carry such a vote as that; no man could carry such a vote through the New Brunswick Legislature. So neither could I carry, or any other Member carry, a vote, in the Nova Scotia Legislature, to expend money on public works in New Brunswick. I saw that difficulty; and how did I seek to avert it? I saw that if New Brunswick was called upon to make 200 miles of railroad with money borrowed at 6 per cent. interest, it would be no great hardship for her to make 400 miles, with money at 3½ per cent. But look also at the territory of New Brunswick. I believe that your territory, in proportion to ours, is 30,000 square miles to 18,000 square miles: therefore, New Brunswick has 12,000 square miles more than Nova Scotia. The natural inference is, that your Province will hold a great many more people than ours, and that it will ultimately be inhabited by a great many more people. Professor Johnston, you know, calculates that New Brunswick will support five millions of inhabitants; and population produces revenue. How, then, can you best incur this obligation? I believe Nova Scotia is quite ready to do her part; and the question is, how can you undertake yours? By this mode. I believe that to make the Portland line, the money to be borrowed will not only cost 6 per cent., but will eventually cost from 6 to 8 per cent. But it is said that that line will pay and yield a profit. Then my answer is, that if it will pay the people who make it on speculation, at 6 or 8 per cent., it will pay the Government for making it at 3½ per cent. But then it is said, there is a wide difference between making it in the way that you propose, and in the way that we propose. Suppose that the company be found, and the money raised to-morrow. If the money be raised in the Province, it must be borrowed at 6 per cent. interest at least. Does any man in the Province buy stock that will not yield 6 per cent.? No; no man in New Brunswick would lend his money under 6 per cent. Will anybody in England do it? When I was there, a person came to me (a gentleman of high standing and agent for a number of foreign noblemen, who had money to invest,) and offered me the loan of £100,000, at 6 per cent. interest. I declined the offer, and said that I could get it at 3½ per cent. elsewhere; and I heard nothing more of him for a month or six weeks. No doubt, if English capitalists were to go into the State of Maine or New Hampshire, and offer to lend the people plenty of money, at 3½ per cent. interest, they would take it most readily; they would make bonfires, and eat I do not know what quantity of pumpkin-pies, in honour of the event. But strange things do happen; and I never thought, that after the British Government had offered us so large an amount of money, it would be so difficult to persuade our people to take it. I said, on a subsequent occasion, to the friend I just alluded to, "Suppose I want £100,000 for a railroad in the British American Provinces, on what terms could I get the loan of it in England?" He replied, that I could not have it at all; that there were plenty of Railroad Companies in England that wanted [illegible] were then in rather bad odour; that English capitalists did not like investing in Railroad Companies so far away from home; and that I should have to give a bonus of £20,000, even to obtain the loan at 6 per cent. This shews the difference between a private company getting money on its own credit, and getting it on the guarantee of the British Government. Therefore, before engaging in any scheme to make a railroad by means of a private company, I should like to see the means actually obtained; I should like to see the money all piled up first. But will not the people pay the expense, in the end, even if a private company makes the road? I think they will. Who is going to make the road from Halifax to Windsor, if it is ever made? Who is going to make the road to Portland? Is it the few people who may transiently travel over it with their persons and their goods? No; but it will be the farmers and the agriculturists, who may settle along the line, that will make it profitable. The history of all railroads illustrates the fact, that it is the local traffic, and not the through traffic, that pays. Who, then, is virtually to pay the through traffic? Why, the people of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. What will they have to pay in the first instance? Six per cent. on the amount that the road will cost. What will they have to pay ultimately? A great cry is made about the supposed design of Great Britain to enslave the people of these Provinces, by lending them this money, and making them pay for ever the cost and penalty of the loan; but they will only be required to pay the low rate of 3½ per cent. interest for its use; while if the road be made by a private company, they must at least pay 6 per cent., with no better resources, and less probability of the work being speedily completed. Where, then, is the necessity of borrowing at 6 per cent., and trusting to a private company? If we accept the proposition of the British Government, we may have the money at 3½ per cent., and get the work certainly and surely done in three or four years. I have never been at St. Andrews; but I have watched the progress of their railroad; I admire the public spirit and energy of the people of St. Andrews, in pressing on so vigorously with their project; I believe they have done the best they could in pushing on the short line which they have commenced; but their operation has now been fairly under weigh for five or six years, and I believe they have not yet more than ten miles of their road made. I do not want to have the next six years slip away in the same way with our projects. I want to put the Portland line through as speedily as possible. But it is said that I want to clog it with another line, that nobody wants, and that will not pay. I was not authorised to say to the British Government that the Provinces did not want that other line. Each of the Provinces had pledged their money and lands to secure its construction; therefore I had a right to assume, that that line was very near and dear to the people of all the Provinces. It has also been said, that we want to array the North against the South. How? We have done nothing of the kind. I, for my part, have not held any communications with any parties for any such purpose; I have not written or published anything in any of the public papers, having any such a tendency. But I cannot shut my eyes to the fact, that any Government, having excited the hostility of northern New-Brunswick, would have serious difficulties to contend with, in carrying on any scheme objectionable to that part of the Province. Are Restigouche, Gloucester, Northumberland, and the other counties in the Northern and Eastern districts, going to be satisfied with the arrangements, which, up to the present time, appear to be made, with regard to the Portland line? It is not at all likely. What are the apparent resources at present? Massachusetts has pledged itself to the amount of $500,000; Maine has guaranteed the same amount; and New-Brunswick the sum of £250,000; making a total of half a million of money, (not yet granted and paid up, but only promised,) to build a railroad that will cost two millions and a half. Where will you get the rest of the money? You can't get it in the Provinces; you can't get it in England, except on the terms which I have already stated to you. Then your only source of safety and certainty will be, by accepting in good faith the terms offered by the British Government, and adopting the Quebec line as well as the other. But then it is said, that will be running too great a risk. You say, the Portland line will pay; there will be no risk there; but the whole risk will be in building the other line; and you state as an objection, that the terminus will be at Halifax. But suppose the line comes down from Quebec to the isthmus between the two Provinces; that station will be at about an equal distance from St. John and from Halifax; then a man coming from Canada to St. John will stop there, and take the other line from thence to St. John; a barrel of flour coming from Quebec to St. John will take the same route; they will neither of them go on to Halifax; therefore, the idea that Halifax is to gain something by the Northern line that St. John does not, is utterly fallacious. But how are you to make the line pay? I will not now weary the audience with papers and documents; but I may say, that while I was in England I was not idle; and the subject of peopling the Northern line engaged much of my attention. I found that there were thousands of the mechanics and traders of England, who were ready and willing to effect that object, in this way. The Province could sell them tracts of land on the line of the railroad, at a moderate price and reasonable credit: they would make the line running through their own settlements; they would bring their families and friends out with them; they would lay off and cultivate the lands on both sides of the line, and thus bring them rapidly into a productive state. It would be to the interest of all parties to people the land as fast as possible; and in this way it might be done so fast that by the time the line of railroad was finished, there would be almost as many settlers on it, as the present whole population of the Province. I assume that you have at present about 200,000 people in New-Brunswick. What is your ordinary Provincial Revenue? About £100,000; or, by a simple calculation, about 10s. per head per annum. Suppose the Portland line will pay when constructed; and suppose you also incur the responsibility of the other line; the whole amount of annual interest required to be paid, will be made up by the additional revenue, raised from the additional population thus settled in the Province. I believe you have eleven millions of acres of land now unpeopled; what revenue do you get from that immense tract? Very little, I believe. But pour the stream of emigration into the Province, and the result will be that the real estate of every one of its inhabitants will be improved in value, and the public resources of the country will be largely bettered and enhanced. To go into the subject of emigration generally would be a needless waste of your time; but I will say, that I have no doubt, that if the people of New-Brunswick are prepared to assume the responsibility of their share of this work, there will be means exhibited, by which you will be able to bear the burthen. I was asked the other day, whether we of Nova Scotia would share the burthen with you. I am looking at the benefit to all the Provinces which this work must produce; and I would therefore say, make it common property, and we will incur the debt to-morrow, and take all the risk. But I am afraid of the ability of either of the Provinces to pay the debt. Suppose Earl Grey should say to us, we will give you another million on the same terms as the first offer, (and I only wish he would,) our people would take it at once and be thankful. We should then complete our public works, at a much lower rate than any works ever yet executed in these Provinces; and we should raise our country to such a state of improvement and prosperity, as would enable us promptly to meet our obligations, and to repay the loan. Every day shews me the necessity of our taking steps to raise the organization and condition of our country. The institutions and policy of the United States are such and so influential, as to make it obligatory on these British Provinces to have institutions and a policy of their own. Mr. Dickie said the other day, that he would have liked to see Mr. Howe at the head of affairs, and the two national flags floating and intertwining together. But I asked Mr. Dickie whether he would not have liked to see the two mackarel there; the mackarel of the United States and of Nova Scotia hung up side by side? But the mackarel of Nova Scotia would have had to pay twenty per cent. duty before it could have got admission to the Convention at all. So it is with our lumber, our hay, our coal, our cattle, our potatoes, and everything we produce; so that, in fact, there is not a single thing that could enter the United States duty free, excepting the Delegates who went to the Convention. This is a state of things to be submitted to only if we can't help it; but not if we can help it. My remedy for it is this: let us open both lines: let us attract the stream of emigration to these Provinces. What then will be the result? A barrel of shad put down at the Bend of Petitcodiac will immediately find its way into the backwoods; and the produce of the interior will quickly reach the seaports; we shall have an internal home market for our produce; a much larger and more productive population, increased revenues, and we shall become relatively of more importance in the estimation of the Mother Country. There will be the means of rapid communication between the public men of the different Provinces; and thus a united and great influence will be brought to bear on the Mother Country, in regard to all our Provincial affairs. I regret to see that occasionally an impression is sought to be propagated in these Provinces, that the people of England care little or nothing about us. My experience has taught me, that we do not fairly estimate the powers of mind of the public men dealing with us, and concerned in our affairs at the Colonial Office. What did I find there? One of the clearest-headed, one of the most able statesmen, that ever has been known in England. Lord Grey may perhaps fail to make himself appear as universally amiable and popular, as many in his position would strive to be considered; but he is a laborious student, an indefatigable investigator of every public question and principle in which he is concerned; anxious to do right in everything; and the best proof that he is not impracticable, and that he is well-disposed towards us is, that he has shewn New Brunswick that he is able to change his mind. He had previously pledged himself not to give us anything for our railroads; but he had the magnanimity, on more mature reflection, to throw overboard his previously expressed opinion, and to give me what I required for the promotion of our great object. We also undervalue the subordinate men in that department: Mr. Hawes, Mr. Merivale, and others, in the Colonial Office, are neither known nor appreciated by us; their talents and their services are not sufficiently estimated; and I can safely say, that I can find none of our own public men equal to them in those respects, or who manifest a more ardent desire to serve these Colonies. But we cannot appreciate or understand how much they have to contend with. One great defect in the whole machinery of the Colonial system is, our not being represented in the Imperial Parliament. I believe that before many years pass away, these Provinces must all claim to be so represented. The people of England admit our right to such representation, and I believe it will without difficulty be conceded. I believe that not only official public men, but public men out of office, will advocate and promote our claims; and here I must allude to Lord Stanley, the present head of the Opposition; and must remark, that the courtesy, the attention, the kindly and earnest interest in our affairs, which I experienced from Lord Stanley during my stay in England, were such as I never can forget. So unanimous, indeed, are the public men of both parties at home in their desire to forward our interests, that I was proud and happy to put this great boon to these Colonies on a correct footing, and to treat it entirely as a national, and not in any degree a party question. It was not offered to the Provinces by a party, but by all parties. If the present Government continue in office, their honour is pledged to carry out the measure; and if they go out of office, no man can come in at the head of affairs who is not equally pledged to carry it out. I have trespassed, perhaps, too long on your patience, though I have but imperfectly explained my views; and will now only say briefly, that I wish the people of New Brunswick may come to a common sentiment on the subject. I neither se