

"volved, that the American continents, by the free and independent positions, which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power."

"With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power," continues the message, "we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

Congress took no action upon this; but the spirit of that body and of the nation was in favour of the Monroe doctrine. Lord Brougham, in referring to the President's declaration, stated that it had diffused joy over all free men in Europe; and Sir J. Macintosh spoke of it in the following terms: "This wise Government, in grave but determined language, and with that reasonable and deliberate tone which becomes true courage, proclaims the principles of her policy, and makes known the cases in which the care of her own safety will compel her to take up arms for the defence of other States. I have already observed its coincidence with the declarations of England, which indeed is perfect, if allowance be made for the deeper, or at least more immediate interest in the independence of South America, which near neighbourhood gives to the United States. This coincidence of the two great English commonwealths—for so I delight to call them, and I heartily pray that they may be forever united in the cause of justice and liberty—cannot be contemplated without the utmost pleasure by every enlightened citizen of the earth." Thus it will be seen that the real Monroe doctrine differs entirely from the popular version of it, that it was suggested and heartily endorsed by England, and that it conveys no warning or menace to us. I entertain no doubt that the American Government and people would promote by all convenient means, the independence of this country, and the intimate commercial relations I have suggested, and as will have been seen, my doubts are as few, that England would encourage the arrangement and promote it to every reasonable extent. But even if improved trade relations with our neighbours were impossible, the safest way out of our commercial difficulties is to throw off the restraints of the colonial state. It is conceivable that the tide of European emigration might to some extent be diverted from the American States, to our own rich and extensive valleys of the North West, but for

the European prejudice against dependent States; and especially the Irish prejudice against British Sovereignty. Disguise it as we may, these are serious drawbacks to our immigration policy, and account in some measure for its practical failure. With the North West peopled, and with facilities of access to it, an important market will be opened to us and a corresponding growth of our manufactures will follow. And as we have already seen, independence would contribute to the establishment of an assured and permanent commercial policy; without which capital will continue to distrust us, and refuse to play its legitimate part in the development of our resources. Independence moreover, would create among us that spirit of self confidence and enterprise which prevails so largely among our neighbours, which has contributed so much to their greatness and which grew out of the national Independence they established. From such a point of view, I have no doubt that here, similar results would flow from similar causes, and that our powers of expansion would be immensely increased, by the higher responsibilities of the position; and though, as I have shown, our natural market is with our neighbours; and our exclusion from them would make our progress towards greatness, comparatively toilsome;—having exhausted all means to establish fair intercourse,—I should by no means despair of my country, if, as I am sure will not happen, that intercourse were refused. But even in that case as in the other, Independence would multiply and accelerate our successes; so that in any way, the gain to us, is in proportion to our growth in manhood and self-reliance. I have already considered the probable influence of Independence upon the character of the people of this country. I have always lamented the want of a Canadian national spirit. I regard it as an elementary truth, that no people can respect themselves or command the respect of others, who have among them no common sentiment of national pride and devotion. It bears to national life a relation, similar to the filial attachment of the domestic circle; and is, at the same time, the glory and the safe guard of a free people. It is painful to remark its absence in this country. You will find national pride here, but, it is an exotic, an importation. It is English or Scotch, Irish French or American; and the disposition to magnify a real Canadian nationality, is too often and unhappily confined to the official, the placeman, whose duty and whose interest it is, to make a proper display before the people. In how many promiscuous gatherings, you might sneer the nationality of the Dominion without exciting an apologist or provoking an avenger. But the subject is vast, and grows upon us in the contemplation of it. A full discussion would fill a book instead of a lecture. Time hurries me to a conclusion. This is a great