

Appendix  
(N.)  
9th June.

Appendix  
(N.)  
9th June.

its work, as it will ever do, and in physical endurance and intellectual energy, the north asserted the superiority which to this hour it maintains.

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

But they are not and never have been equal. The first British emigration all went to the southern half of the continent, the northern portion, for 150 years, being occupied by French hunters, traders, and Indians. The British did not begin to settle in Nova Scotia till 1749, nor in Canada till 1763. Prior to the former period, Massachusetts had a population of 160,000, Connecticut 100,000. The city of Philadelphia had 18,000 inhabitants before an Englishman had built a house in Halifax; Maine had 2,485 enrolled militiamen before a British settlement was formed in the Province of New Brunswick. The other States were proportionally advanced, before Englishmen turned their attention to the northern Provinces at all.

The permanent occupation of Halifax, and the Loyalist emigration from the older Provinces, gave them their first impetus. But your Lordship will perceive that in the race of improvement, the old thirteen States had a long start. They had three millions of Britons and their descendants to begin with, at the Revolution. But a few hundreds occupied the Provinces, to which I wish to call attention, at the commencement of the war, only a few thousands at its close. Your Lordship will I trust, readily perceive that had both portions of the American Continent enjoyed the same advantages from the period when the Treaty of Paris was signed, down to the present hour, the southern half must have improved and increased its numbers much faster than the northern, because it had a numerous population, a flourishing commerce, and much wealth to begin with. But the advantages have not been equal. The excitement and the necessities of the War of Independence inspired the people of the South with enterprise and self-confidence. Besides, my Lord, they had free trade with each other, and, so far as they chose to have, or could obtain it by their own diplomacy, with all the world. The Northern Provinces had separate Governments, half paternal despotisms, which repressed rather than encouraged enterprise. They had often hostile tariffs, no bond of union, and, down to the advent of Mr. Huskisson, and from thence to the final repeal of the navigation laws, were cramped in all their commercial enterprises by the restrictive policy of England.

In other respects, the Southern States had the advantage. From the moment that their independence was recognized, they enjoyed the absolute control over their internal affairs. Your Lordship, who has had the most ample opportunity of estimating the repressing influence of the old colonial system, and, happily for us, have swept it away, can readily fancy what advantages our neighbours derived from exemption from its trammels. On reflection you will think it less remarkable that the southern half of the continent has improved faster than the northern, than that the latter should have improved at all.

But I have not enumerated all the sources of disparity. The national Government of the United States early saw the value and importance of emigration. They bought up Indian lands, extended their

acknowledged frontiers, by purchase or successful diplomacy, surveyed their territory, and prepared for colonization. The States, or public associations within them, borrowed millions from England, opened roads, laid off lots, and advertised them in every part of Europe by every fair and often by the unfair means of puffing and exaggeration. The General Government skillfully seconded, or rather suggested, this policy. They framed constitutions suited to those new settlements; invested them with modified forms of self-government from the moment that the most simple materials for organization were accumulated; and formed them into new States, with representation in the National Councils, whenever they numbered 40,000 inhabitants.

What did England do during all this time? Almost nothing; she was too much occupied with European wars and diplomacy. Wasting millions in subsidizing foreign Princes, many of whose petty dominions if flung into a Canadian lake would scarcely raise the tide. What did we do in the Provinces to fill up the northern territory? What could we do? Down to 1815 we were engrossed by the wars of England, our commerce being cramped by the insecurity of our coasts and harbours. Down to the promulgation of Lord John Russell's memorable despatch of the 16th of October, 1839, and to which I allude, has been given in the continental provinces by the present Cabinet, we were engaged in harassing contests with successive Governors and Secretaries of State, for the right to manage our internal affairs.

This struggle is over, and we now have the leisure and the means to devote to the great questions of colonization and internal improvement—to examine our external relations with the rest of the empire and with the rest of the world—to consult with our British brethren on the imperfect state of those relations, and of the best appropriation that can be made of their surplus labour, and of our surplus land, for our mutual advantage, that the poor may be fed, the waste places filled up, and this great empire strengthened and preserved.

But it may be asked, What interest have the people of England in this inquiry? I may be mistaken, but, in my judgment, they have an interest far more important and profound than even the colonists themselves.

The contrast between the two sides of the American frontier is a national disgrace to England. It has been so recorded in her parliamentary papers, by Lord Durham, by Lord Sydenham, and by other Governors and Commissioners.

There is not a traveller, from Hall to Buckingham, but has impressed this conviction on her literature. We do not blush at the contrast on our own account; we could not relieve it by a single shade beyond what has been accomplished. We have done our best, under the circumstances in which we have been placed, as I have already shown by reference to our social and commercial progress; but we regret it, because it subjects us to the imputation of an inferiority that we do not feel, and makes us doubt whether British statesmen will, in the time to come, deal with our half of the American Continent more wisely than they have in times past.

It is clearly then the interest and the duty of England to wipe out this national stain, and to reassure her friends in North America, by removing the disadvantages under which they labour, and redressing the inequalities which they feel.

Having, however imperfectly, endeavoured to show that as a mere question of economy, of relief to her municipal and national finances, no less than of religious obligation, it is the duty of England to turn her attention to North America, permit me now for a moment to direct your Lordship's attention to the territory which it behoves the people of these United Kingdoms to occupy, organize, and retain.

Appendix  
(N.)  
9th June.