2nd Victoria, 1839.] Earl Durham's Report.

But the period of gradual transition is past in Lower Canada. In the present state of feeling among the French population, I cannot doubt that any power which they might possess would be used against the policy and the very existence of any form of British government. I cannot doubt that any French assembly that shall again meet in Lower Canada, will use whatever power, be it more or less limited, it may have to obstruct the government, and undo whatever has been done by it. Time, and the honest co-operation of the various parties, would be required to aid the action of a federal constitution; and time is not allowed, in the present state of Lower Canada, nor co-operation to be expected from a legislature of which the majority shall represent its French inhabitants. I believe that tranquillity can only be restored, by subjecting the province to the vigorous rule of an English majority; and that the only efficacious government would be that formed by a legislative union.

If the population of Upper Canada is rightly estimated at 400,000, the English inhabitants of Lower Canada at 150,000, and the French at 450,000, the union of the two provinces would not only give a clear English majority, but one which would be increased every year by the influence of English emigration; and I have little doubt that the French, when once placed, by the legitimate course of events and the working of natural causes, in a minority, would abandon their vain hopes of nationality. I do not mean that they would immediately give up their present animosities, or instantly renounce the hope of attaining their end by But the experience of the two unions in the British Isles may teach us how violent means. effectually the strong arm of a popular legislature would compel the obedience of the refractory population; and the hopelessness of success would gradually subdue the existing animosities, and incline the French Canadian population to acquiesce in their new state of political I certainly should not like to subject the French Canadians to the rule of the existence. identical English minority with which they have so long been contending; but from a majority emanating from so much more extended a source, I do not think they would have any oppression or injustice to fear; and in this case the far greater part of the majority never having been brought into previous collision, would regard them with no animosity that could warp their The endowments of the catholic church in Lower Canada, and the natural sense of equity. existence of all its present laws, until altered by the United Legislature, might be secured by stipulations similar to those adopted in the union between England and Scotland. I do not think that the subsequent history of British legislation need incline us to believe, that the nation which has a majority in a popular legislature is likely to use its power to tamper very hastily with the laws of the people to which it is united.

The union of the two provinces would secure to Upper Canada the present great objects of its desire. All disputes as to the division or amount of the revenue would cease. The surplus revenue of Lower Canada would supply the deficiency of that part of the Upper Province; and the province thus placed beyond the possibility of locally jobbing the surplus revenue, which it cannot reduce, would, I think, gain as much by the arrangement as the province which would thus find a means of paying the interest of its debt. Indeed, it would be by no means unjust to place this burden on Lower Canada, inasmuch as the great public works for which the debt was contracted are as much the concern of one province as of the other. Nor is it to be supposed that, whatever may have been the mismanagement in which a great part of the debt originated, the canals of Upper Canada will always be a source of loss instead of profit. The completion of the projected and necessary line of public works would be promoted by such an union. The access to the sea would be secured to Upper Canada. The saving of public money, which would be insured by the union of various establishments in the two provinces, would supply the means of conducting the general government on a more efficient scale than it has yet been carried on; and the responsibility of the executive would be secured by the increased weight which the representative body of the United Province would bring to bear on the Imperial government and legislature.

But while I convince myself that such desirable ends would be secured by the legislative union of the two provinces, I am inclined to go further, and inquire whether all these objects would not more surely be attained by extending this legislative union over all the British provinces in North America; and whether the advantages which I anticipate for two of them, might not, and should not in justice, be extended over all. Such an union would at once decisively settle the question of races; it would enable all the provinces to co-operate for all common purposes; and, above all, it would form a great and powerful people, possessing the means of securing good and responsible government for itself, and which, under the protection of the British empire, might in some measure counterbalance the preponderant and increasing influence of the United States on the American continent. I do not anticipate that a colonial