

Now, Toronto is but one of the many growing Cities and Towns of Upper Canada. Drooping, decaying commerce will not build "about the finest street in America," nor adorn it with shops comparable with those of the Regent Street of the British metropolis—the greatest of the great imperial cities of Europe. If the agriculture of young Canada advantageously compares with that of the older United States; and if the new commercial City of Toronto (whose population has quintupled during the last twenty years,) shrinks not from comparison with older cities on either side of the Atlantic, have we more reason to be proud, or to be ashamed—to rejoice, or to lament—to build upon the past, or to uproot it—to proceed in the career of advancement, or to commence the career of revolution?

I insist strongly on this point, not only upon the grounds of allegiance and civil obligation, but as involving what is essential to be settled in order to the social advancement of Canada. No community, civil or religious, can advance while the fundamental principles and relations on which it is founded, are in a chaotic state. But I do injustice to our common country in imagining for a moment that its institutions and relations are unsettled. A renewed attempt is indeed making to unsettle them; but though more specious and cautious than that of 1837, I doubt not but it will share the same result. The sincere and disinterested who, without reflection, may have countenanced it as a novel and dazzling theory, will, on calm consideration, shrink back from its lawless disaffection and its disorganizing revolution, and return to the old paths and the good way of fearing God, honoring the King, and meddling not with them that are given to change.*

I desire also to observe, that in maintaining our own civil institutions and relations as the basis of our social progress, those of our American neighbours may be courteously and sincerely respected. To blacken their character as the enemies of liberty, and to assail their institutions as unfriendly to civilization, is not, in my opinion,

* Previously to meditating the subject of this lecture, the Author had intended to observe a studied silence, and, as far as possible, cultivate a feeling of indifference in regard to the external relations of Canada—striving to concentrate his thoughts and exertions upon the educational improvement of the country, without regard to local parties, forms of government or foreign relations; but a careful analysis of the fundamental principles and essential elements of our social advancement, so deeply impressed him with the degenerate feelings and tendencies involved in the project of withdrawing our plighted faith from a power whose prolific expenditures upon us (whatever may have been the errors of some of its acts) have excited the astonishment of Americans themselves, as I have often heard them express; and then not proposing to place the dignity of supremacy upon Canada itself by the erection of a Canadian Republic, (in which there would at least be self-respect and a dignified ambition) but proposing to transfer that broken faith to another power which does not even profess any particular regard for Canada, and which looks on with silent indifference, if not sovereign contempt. Indeed the very idea of Canada selling her birthright for a mess of pottage at Washington, cannot fail to excite the unmingled contempt of every intelligent and thoughtful American, as it must produce a consciousness of meanness in the mind of any Canadian who indulges it, and must deflower whatever feelings it ensnares.

It would be easy to show how gross are the errors, and fallacious the expectations, (beyond the hopes of individual speculation) held forth on this subject; but that would be foreign to the object of these remarks. Modern Europe presents no instance of the annexation of a province to a large power without loss and degeneracy to the annexed; though it furnishes several examples of independent governments less in population and territorial extent than Canada, more prosperous, intellectually and materially in proportion, than extensive Empires, Kingdoms and Republics. We cannot believe that Providence ever designed that the proceeds of any part of the commerce of our magnificent rivers, lakes and forests should be sent to Washington; nor that if Canada ever cease to be an integral part of the British Empire, it is destined to be a State of the American Republic.

We make these remarks with feelings of respect, friendship and admiration toward the people of the Northern and Eastern United States second to those of no man not an American citizen; and everything noble in their intellectual and moral example we shall (as we have hitherto done) commend to Canadian notice and imitation. But it is not necessary to the friendship, or interest or happiness of either of two neighbouring farmers, that one of them annex himself to the other. The individual independence of each is perfectly consistent with, and perhaps the best means of promoting, the mutual friendship, happiness and interests of both.

the true, much less the christian, way of strengthening our own institutions, or of promoting the social advancement of our own country. May we not believe that their institutions, upon the whole, are adapted to their habits and circumstances as our's are to our habits and circumstances? May we not admire their intelligence, patriotism and energy, and rejoice in their prosperity? May we not deprecate the calamity of revolution among them as well as among ourselves? I cannot but think, that while loyal with all our hearts to the laws and institutions of our own country, our social feelings will be rather improved than impaired, if, instead of endeavouring to excite hostile feelings toward our American brethren, we cherish toward them the generous sentiments and feelings of the eloquent MACAULAY, when he said, (referring to the people of the United States) "It is scarcely possible that an Englishman of sensibility and imagination should look without pleasure and national pride on the vigorous and splendid youth of a great people, whose veins are filled with our blood, whose minds are nourished with our literature, and on whom is entailed the rich inheritance of our civilization, our freedom, and our glory."*

II. I remark, that a second condition essential to the social advancement of Canada relates to the *System of Legislation and Administrative Government*. For the sake of brevity, I include under one head two subjects, each of which, from both its intrinsic and relative importance, deserves an extended consideration; and the more so, as I am not aware that either of them has ever been discussed among us in their relation to the progress of Society.

It has pleased the Almighty Creator to place us under law. There is not a single object or being in nature which is not under the control of "the ordinances of heaven;" and it is the operation of these "ordinances" or laws which gives harmony to the universe, in all the movements of the heavenly bodies, and in the forces, attractions, and repulsions which mysteriously appertain to each of their minutest particles. But man is constituted as the proper subject of *moral*, as well as of physical laws; these moral laws invest him with peculiar obligations and responsibilities; and it is on his harmony with these laws that his happiness and well-being depend. "Of law, (says the venerable HOOKER) there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the very greatest as not exempted from her power; both angels and men and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent admiring her as the author of their peace and joy."

The Nineteenth Psalm vividly portrays the influence which the law of God is adapted to exert upon the character and happiness of man. But among other ordinances of Divine appointment, is that of Civil Government—designed every where to be "a minister of God for good" to its subjects, and therefore to exert a potent influence upon their social condition;—its authority and moral attributes proclaimed in the Sacred Scriptures, but its forms and details left to human choice and arrangement. Now, what we are accustomed to call free or constitutional government, is a government of *law*, in contradistinction to a despotism, which is a government of individual *will*. Our's is a government of *Law*; and therefore *loyalty* with us is not a mere personal affection, though that has produced prodigies of noble chivalry and heroism in different ages; and though, thank God, we have strong reason to cherish that affection towards the person of our virtuous and noble QUEEN; but loyalty with us is a homage to *law*—a homage to the Constitution of government under which it is our privilege to live—a homage to the claims of our country upon our affection and service. Our Chief Magistrate is the official representative of the law, and as such claims our respect and reverence; and true loyalty will not

"baste
The place its honour for the holder's sake."

But what is the end of law, and what is the true principle of legislation, demanded for the social advancement of the country? The Roman Blackstone, JUSTINIAN, reduced the whole doctrine of law to three general principles:—"Live honestly; harm no one; render to every man his due." "Of the Cretan laws, (says PLATO) because they were established with a view to *virtue*, they were well

* *Miscellaneous Writings—Review of Southey's Colloquies on Society.*