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THE
MONTHLY REVIEW:
DEVOTED TO THE
CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF CANADA.

Vol. I.]

FEBRUARY, 1841.

[No. II.

POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

No. II.

Our former article on this subject, in the first number, gave a general view of the leading principles by which the Government is guided, and answered the chief objections which have been made to its administration. There are still other matters that have been scarcely touched, but which contribute to form the character of the Government, and will in some degree impress the same character upon the people. The latter are not so plastic as to receive any impression, nor can they be moulded into any form at the pleasure of a superior; but deference is paid to the voice of enlightened reason, especially when it is found to be studious of their interests, observant of their opinions and feelings, and more solicitous to benefit than to govern, making the latter but a means to the former. The exercise of reason in such a spirit will inspire confidence, and confidence will lead to a cheerful adoption of such principles, and co-operation in such measures, as are designed to promote the common end, and subserve the common weal. In this manner, though the Government cannot alto-

gether change the character of the people, it may to some extent modify that character, and lead them to such a course of thought and action as shall produce a general agreement between it and the community at large. There will then be a mutual reaction. The people will be the mirror in which the properties that distinguish their rulers will be reflected, and in which the latter will see the best illustration of their principles; and these in their turn will be acted upon by the people in all that constitutes their general character, lines which no agency can erase or modify. By this blending and mutual action of the whole, as the primary colours are blended in light, a degree of intelligence, harmony, and prosperity will be produced, such as can never arise from a system in which the different parties are led into continual opposition to each other, resembling more the realm of Chaos and old night than the reign of wisdom and order, glory and strength, peace and prosperity.

Union is strength. A divided people must necessarily be weak. The fable of the bundle

of sticks is as applicable to states as to families. If we would enjoy the full advantages of our situation, we must desist from obstructing each other whilst endeavouring to turn those advantages to account. If one pull down as fast as another builds up, how can the structure ascend to the skies, or become the abiding home of the thousands who would press into it for rest? These obstructives will justly be condemned to the toils of Sisyphus in the infernal regions. They have caused others years of tantalizing disappointment, and they must expiate their offence by ages of ever-rolling labour and pain. In a small community like ours, this division and strife are most injurious. Our strength at best is but feeble, and yet it is divided into parts, each striving to overcome the other, instead of joining their forces against the common foe, and for a common benefit. If a tenth of the energy that has been expended in thwarting each other, had been employed in mutual help, what a different scene Canada would have presented. "Man was made to mourn," says the poet. In good truth men have made each other mourn, but they were intended for better things. Why should the whole community be disturbed by the ravings of a few unquiet spirits? Why should the country's onward march be delayed by the antics of a fool, the wailings of a defeated partizan, or the muttered threats of a selfish clan, pilloried for their offences? Nobler objects are before us; nobler pleasures and rewards await us. From every lake and river, from every plain and forest, from every field and cottage, from Ontario's ceaseless murmur, and Niagara's eternal roar, ascends the loud impressive demand for peace and unity, and a thousand trumpet-voices rejoice in the prospect of harmony and repose for the country. Shall this joyous prospect be blasted? Shall ruinous disorder go forth like the spirit of the storm, strewing his path with the wrecks of a people's peace and power, that he may erect his hateful throne in desolate solitudes, haunted by the spectres of departed joys, and cursed with an utter abandonment of peace and wealth for the future? Must party strife eternally rage, and the fiend's watchword continue to be—"Divide and Destroy?"

But what union can there be among such discordant materials? and what hope of peace when the most inflammable elements of contention lie scattered around? Can rocks be

united on their craggy points, or gunpowder lie quiescent under the torch? Can opposites agree, or the poles melt like the equator? Can rivalry become friendship, or hate be converted into love? Why not? Party rage is like the Circean cup, which reduced men to brutes; but there is a mightier power presiding, whose voice will dissolve the enchantment, and raise the rational nature to a proper sense of its exalted dignity and higher destiny. Reason declares that the people in general have higher objects to pursue than in becoming the tools of a party, in which they sustain the brunt of the conflict, whilst others take the lion's share of the reward, if, indeed, they do not take the whole. Party spirit has been defined—"The madness of the many for the gain of the few." If this be somewhat of a satire, it may nevertheless suggest the enquiry, whether the people can derive any benefit from the strife of party equal to the sacrifices it exacts from them. And if they find, as they certainly will find, that this is impossible,—that many of the objects for which party is most clamorous are not worth the cost and labour of obtaining them, or if worth this to any, only to very few, with whom the body of the people have but little in common, and can only be stepping-stones to their advancement,—then, the question will arise of how this excessive nuisance may be abated, and how the people may unite their efforts on objects, not visionary, or worthless, or limited in their benefits to a very few, but comprehensive, of the deepest importance to all, and leading to the wide-spread, practical result of greatly increased public prosperity.—This result the strife of party may hinder, but cannot promote. The people's whole energies are required for measures of general benefit, leaving the owls to mope in the thicket, and the bears to growl in their dens, the wolf to howl round the fold which he cannot enter, and the eagle to scream on the blasted pine for the loss of his expected prey.

To establish this peace and union, it is necessary to cultivate a spirit of *moderation*, both in our measures, and in the manner of seeking and enforcing them. We must take the "golden mean," if we would re-produce the "golden age." If this mean be *golden*, it is worth seeking after, and worth keeping when found. If we vary from it, we shall rush on the "age of brass" on the one hand, and the "iron age" on the other. Under the latter

we have groaned too long : cannot we retrace our steps ? Is it not possible to persuade the people that violent extremes are as unnatural and destructive in political affairs, as they are in man's physical condition ? A man who is alternately shivering with cold, and parched with fever, is not in a healthy state : and a people who are convulsed with similar political extremes need no sage professor of the healing art to decide, with many a solemn nod and professional shake of his heavy head, laden with loads of learned lumber, that they are in a morbid condition, and must take "*quantum suff.*" of common sense and balmy moderation to restore them to cheerful and vigorous health. Milton's description of the fallen angels' torment, in being hurled from the sea of fire to regions of "thick-ribbed ice," may well apply to a people suffering under the violence of party rage. All war is in its very nature destructive, and whatever approaches to war proportionably approaches destruction. To avert these fearful consequences, and produce union, quietness and peace, we must take the position of mediator between contending parties, and endeavour to assuage the storm, and bring all to a better conception of their true interests. We pretend not to any power of saying with authority—"Peace ;—be still : " but if reason have not lost its power ;—if interest have not lost its charm ;—if patriotism have not become an empty name, their united voice will be heard and obeyed ; light will dispense the gloom, order will triumph over confusion, divided weakness will be succeeded by united power, prosperous peace will restore what destructive strife has ruined, joyous songs will resound from every hill and vale, and the violent passions will be subdued by the softer emotions of the mind, as feminine dignity and loveliness subdue the rough and stormy nature of man. To diffuse throughout the land a spirit of moderation, is one part of the *policy of the Government*. Its measures are of this character. It has not taken an extreme course even with the guilty who deserved it, still less can it do so with those who were faithful in the day of trial. We have in our former article proved that the principles which guide our public policy will secure all the ends of good government ; and we now add, that moderation on the part of the people is equally necessary to attain those ends. To remove the hindrances to this mutual co-operation, and prepare

the public mind for the important business of legislation worthy of an enlightened people, is now our design.

There is a class of men, and an extensive one it is, who are nearly incapable of receiving instruction. The rapid succession of great events which are connected as cause and effect, and which read out in living light and mighty power the most important lessons to the observant eye and reflecting mind,—marches on without improvement or intelligent notice by the class of which we speak. They see and hear these events, it is true, but only as so many barren facts, the causes and relations of which they cannot explain, and desire not to understand. Hence, these events add nothing to their practical knowledge, though fraught with instruction to others. And the truths which they are incapable of discovering for themselves, they are unwilling to receive from those who can both learn and teach. These may investigate the facts that occur in moral or political history as closely as they would any fact in natural history, or any proposition in mathematics, and may render their conclusions therefrom as evident and sure as are the deductions of the experimental philosophy, yet the other class are not convinced : they often refuse to listen, always to believe. A native narrowness of mind renders them unable to burst through the prejudices of early education or subsequent connexion, and they are content to pursue the very path their fathers trod.—Perhaps the most remarkable examples of this class are to be found in James II. of England ; and the elder branch of the Bourbons in France, as in both cases a kingdom was lost by an obstinate adherence to antiquated notions, and an apparent total incapacity of learning any thing from the most momentous events. Of the Bourbons it has been emphatically remarked that they lived twenty years, and learned nothing, not even from the French revolution, which had convulsed the world through all its states as by an earthquake. Louis XVIII. might have slept for that twenty years, as in the fictions of eastern romance, so little had he profited by the tremendous strife of mighty principles and races, which had filled the earth with desolation and death, and ended by restoring him to the throne of his ancestors. He could not see that, notwithstanding this termination of the strife, it had developed and established certain principles, which would

render it necessary for him to rule by other maxims than those which swayed his predecessors. He knew not what a marvellous leap his people had taken whilst he slept. He looked at the surface of things only, unable to penetrate deeper. A new generation of men had arisen, who had been trained in a remarkable school, which had led them by a "royal road" to equal rights and privileges, and restrained Executive power; yet their monarch knew not the change, but dreamed that his people were the same as in a former century. His successor acted on this supposition, and lost his crown. Similar blindness to the "signs of the times," and a refusal to learn wisdom by experience, will still produce similar results, though on a less extensive scale.

Moreover, as the class of which we speak are unable to learn from the past, so they are incompetent to foresee and calculate the future. The past and the present are laying the foundations and collecting materials for the future, and on these premises the acute statesman will take his stand, and judge of what will be from what is. He will see that the spirit which sets existing energies in motion will continue to operate, and lead them on to a defined and expected end of mighty import. It becomes therefore a weighty question with him, whether he is to press this power into his service, or raise up an antagonist principle of superior energy. If the latter method be possible, it would at all events ensure a severe and protracted strife, in which good and evil would be destroyed together; whilst the former mode becomes instantly available and effective, if it be used in time and used aright. The statesman's object is not to destroy existing powers because they have sometimes spurned control, but to guide them into a right channel, and exercise over them that fixed and full command which belongs of right and by prescription to superior minds. The control which mind exerts over matter is not greater than that which one mind may exercise over another, and over many, when the right mode of wielding that power is possessed. In this way we may command the future, by bringing the present under our control; and if we grasp the main springs of the social movement, we may regulate it at our pleasure. But this estimate of what is, and what will be, is not to be found in the men of whom we speak. Their minds are chained down to one plodding routine,

unable to comprehend facts that do not square with their preconceived opinions, as well as unable to adopt any new principle to solve the difficulties that arise in even the ordinary course of events.

There are two extremes in the conduct of political affairs, through both of which Canada passed in a very short time. The one is when political controversies rage uncontrolled, with great violence and bitterness; and the other, when all controversy is stifled, and every differing expression of opinion is suppressed.—The first extreme produces a deep personal hostility, bordering on war; the other spreads around an unnatural stupor, bordering on death. These states of political existence may be agreeable to the men of extremes, who live and riot on the spoils of war, or gorge themselves on a putrifying body; but to the public in general they are both offensive and destructive. It matters not that in both cases the ostensible motive and plea is the public good, for a host of facts declare but too plainly, that, in each case, the public weal is sacrificed to the selfish interests of a few leaders of parties. In the first place, the public mind requires repose; in the second, action. In the first it is goaded into unnatural strife, in the second it is coerced into unnatural silence and passiveness. In the first case, the volcano is active, and pours its burning lava on all the works and ways of men; in the second case, the same destructive materials may be in full commotion below the surface, gathering concentrated strength for another eruption, though the actual outburst be temporarily subdued. To preserve the public mind in a healthy and vigorous state, full scope must be given for the exercise of intelligence and action on every matter that affects the general interest, while care must at the same time be taken to preserve that exercise within rational bounds.

How much political controversy exceeded all moderation before the late rebellion is well known, and the natural, if not necessary, consequence was, that political opposition degenerated into bitter personal hostility in many cases. Differing parties became not only rivals but enemies, and were so far from co-operating in plans for the public benefit, that every scheme suggested by one was surely rejected by the other, and personal enmity mingled more or less in every contest. Under any circumstances, and among any people it is a

great evil to have the state divided into two hostile parties, totally alienated from each other both in thought and action; but the evil is much greater in a country like this, in which our undivided strength would be but weakness compared to others. The fewer our number, the greater necessity exists for unanimity, or as near an approach to it as possible; but instead of this we have two small parties drawn up in battle array, denouncing each other as fools and knaves, and doing their utmost to bring their antagonists into contempt. If a stranger had seen and heard and believed both parties, he would have placed them very low in the intellectual and moral scale, and have been apt to suppose that they should both give place to wiser and better men. If he had known enough of human nature to be aware that much of this mutual abuse was designed for effect among the ignorant and unthinking, he would not have esteemed the actors one whit the more on this account, but would at once have decided that no good cause would resort to such methods of warfare, or rest on such frail pillars of support. One effect of this unscrupulous abuse was to degrade the parties and the positions they would establish. And besides this, it undoubtedly had an influence in producing the insurrection. It was not the direct or immediate cause, but it was one of the predisposing causes, bringing men's minds into a state in which they are "ripe for mischief." When men have been long taught to regard others as their natural enemies, and have long had their passions inflamed by the most inflammatory language, the next step is to add violent deeds to violent words, treat their opponents really as enemies, and endeavour to effect their expulsion or destruction by force of arms. To blind party rage must be ascribed a large part of the guilt and misery of the rebellion.

Well, after the rebellion had been suppressed, there was a change. The advocates of reform were silenced, or uttered a feeble voice only in three or four places. The previous war of words was hushed, and public measures were proposed and carried without opposition. There was not only no enemy, but no rival to interfere and check the smooth and onward course of affairs. The struggles of faction were felt no more, nor did one "animated no" break the calm of the late political arena. Some persons regarded this state of things with complacency, and spoke as if there were no

political parties, but the Province enjoyed perfect tranquillity. How shallow and ridiculous was such an estimate! Had they looked deeper than the surface, they would have found that political parties were as much in being as they ever were. They would have found that men both thought and felt on all that had passed or was passing, and their thoughts and feelings were not less powerful because they were denied utterance. They would have found that the state which pleased them so much was unnatural and ominous,—was so far from being a token of prosperity, that it was a symptom of disease, disruption, and tempest—a pause in the storm, instead of a settled, invigorating calm. They would have known that the peace in which they rejoiced was hollow and suspicious, inasmuch as it was consistent only with despotism; and it was impossible that a large political party could have so suddenly changed their principles and nature, and from resolute assertors of liberty have become the unresisting puppets of arbitrary power. Yet so it is. Superficial thinkers survey the calm surface of society, and never reflect how deep and strong the current is running below. They seem to be totally unaware that men's opinions and feelings must have vent in some direction, and it is the statesman's object to turn them into a right channel, and keep them within proper bounds.

If then, we denounce the virulence of political controversy, it is not because we are averse to free discussion, or would limit it to a mere frigid, unimpressive statement of facts or arguments. No. The circulation of thought by free discussion, is as essential to liberty, as the circulation of the blood is to the life of the body; and the expression of thought must be striking to have any effect. It is not this that we oppose, but the pampering of a false taste, and the fomenting of bad passions by vulgar abuse. As wherever there is life there will be action, so wherever there is liberty there will be free discussion. And bad indeed must be the state of that Government which is not made better by it. If unable to learn, it is unable to govern; for man is ever increasing in knowledge, and government should at least keep pace with that increase. Discussion benefits the state by eliciting truth and talent, sharpening wit and wisdom, enforcing frugality, and compelling the useless drone to give place to the working bee. It causes economy,

vigilance, activity, and prudent, well-digested plans. The philosopher said, he was more indebted to his enemies than to his friends, and government may derive benefit from opposition. This may be captious and unprincipled, and be mixed up with no little ill temper; but it puts the Government on its mettle, and brings out its principles in high and continued exertion. In every free state there will and must be opposition. Competition is the life of trade, and there must be competition for the honours, powers and emoluments of Government, as much as for the profits of trade. The party competing with the possessors of Government places and authority, must, of course, do so by proposing other plans, professedly better than those of their opponents, and thus the State is served. The discussions thus raised may be warm, but that is no reason for wishing to suppress them altogether, in order to reduce civil society to the state of a stagnant pool.—We pity the purblind vision which cannot endure the light of day; and we pity still more the moral and political weakness which is afraid of discussion, and looks back with regret to the day when none durst question their decisions. That feverish irritation which is ruffled by every adverse breeze, is a sure indication of disorder and weakness. If a party would not spread abroad a suspicion, that it has reached a state of dotage, it must avoid all symptoms of irritable weakness, and maintain that self-possession which is no less necessary in political conduct than in personal behaviour. Are they so feeble and so ill-established, that they are unable to bear opposition? Are they so ill-armed, that the push of a grey goose quill can wound them, and so weak, that a breath will blow them down? Where is the intellectual and moral dignity which should be maintained by every man who aspires to govern his fellow-men? Is there not strength of mind sufficient to despise petty assaults, and to overcome in more important contests? Will the lion lash himself into madness, and lacerate his limbs on the rocks, for the buzzing of flies and the barking of curs? Will the elephant tear his own flesh because a tribe of monkeys chatter in the forest over his head, and sometimes toss a cocoa nut on his broad back? A Government, or party, must know and show its strength, and then repose in the conscious rectitude of its intentions and proceedings, unmoved by the assaults of ignorant and mali-

icious men. We do not, then, advocate moderation of manner because we fear argument or wit, but because we detest that vulgar abuse which is so often substituted for both, and which has had a deadly influence on the prosperity of the Province.

It may be asked if political controversy, verbal or written, can be kept within the bounds of moderation. Is there not a natural tendency in the subject to run into extremes, and a licentiousness in many minds which leads them to overleap every barrier, and riot uncontrolled? If this were admitted, the evils which have been occasioned by violent men and measures, have been so extensive and extreme, that we might rationally have expected that we had entered on a better state of things. There has been some improvement, but the old spirit still appears. There are still writers who make a display of what they suppose to be their wit, but which is in truth their vulgarity. Yet the different parties must have learnt that they are not natural enemies because they differ on some speculative or practical questions. Is it still necessary to enforce moderation, when violence has filled the land with ruin and blood? If this will not teach men wisdom, other admonitions will be heard in vain. There is nothing to be gained by violence, but much to be lost. It will be found by those who know it not, that whether to direct the public mind, or to gain attention from Government here or at home, moderation of manner and object will be the most successful. Can the man expect a patient hearing whose whole address, if not a positive insult, yet declares that he is not in a fit state for discussing public questions, if indeed for any thing but Bedlam? The few who may be pleased with such an address, are not the men to guide the State,—not the men to plan or conduct very important measures,—not the class whom a public writer should be most wishful to attract. He must aim higher than to “split the ears of the groundlings,” assuming, of course, that he is really desirous of influencing public affairs; for as to the writers whose sole care is to pander to a corrupted taste, they are beneath notice. The past evils of party violence; the growing advantages of moderation; the important public questions that demand grave consideration, with calm and candid discussion; the dignity of our common nature and common country; the increased respect and influence that we shall attain at

home and abroad; and the greater success of the measures that are thus advocated,—all unite to impress upon the people the necessity of cultivating a spirit of moderation, and discountenancing all who offend against its rules. To return to the point from which we started, if we would reproduce the “golden age,” we must take the “golden mean,” both in matter and in manner.

Another point that requires notice in the *policy of the Government* is, that it is comprehensive and impartial. It does not contemplate the exclusion from favour of any class or party *as such*. It requires strict obedience, and a faithful discharge of public duties by public servants, but it does not commit to them the choice or direction of its policy. They have merely to execute it, whether it accord with their private opinions or not. If they cannot do this, they must resign. Thus, as public officers do not administer their own policy, but that of the Government, their individual opinions cannot influence it. They do not form the character of the Government, but take their public character from it, and with their private notions Government does not interfere, provided it be honestly served. It seeks information and advice from all quarters, and forms its policy on the sum total thus obtained, not upon the opinion of three or four public officers merely. The Government thus comprehends the whole, and becomes the Government of *the people*, instead of a party, and rules, instead of being ruled. Its principles are its own, not borrowed from its servants; and it is thus enabled to enforce obedience by having a fixed standard of reference, and fixed principles for its guidance. It is not to be inferred from this, that the Government is indifferent to the opinions of its servants, but merely that it does not reject a competent servant because his opinions on some few points may differ more or less from those of his official superiors. They take him as a servant, not as a ruler. They are capable of forming their own plans, and willing to seek in all quarters for the means of doing so.

Under every system of Government that is compatible with liberty, the administration of its various offices, and the adaptation of its parts and functions to different circumstances as they arise, will always be difficult duties.—The easiest form of Government to administer

is a perfect despotism, provided that it possesses sufficient power to enforce its arbitrary will; for, in that case, every opposing power is crushed, like twigs under the tread of an elephant, until it is soon found that opposition is ruinous to the opposer alone, and it therefore expires. But wherever liberty is enjoyed, government becomes a difficult task. For liberty consists in the free exercise of individual opinion, will, and action; and where these are allowed free play, each man will contend for his own plans, his own interest, or that of his party, and contend in proportion to the importance attached to the subject in debate, until the whole community is moved and swayed like the forest in a gale, or agitated like the meeting of the waters. To regulate these various and opposing forces, reduce them to one general rule, and render them subservient to one general design and action,—the welfare of the whole,—is the grand end for which government exists, and to attain which its powers should be directed. Where the differences are inconsiderable, this end may be attained without much difficulty; but where different opinions create antagonist parties of nearly equal strength, the case becomes perplexing, and the usual rule is for the Government to attach itself to one party, and disregard the other, thus cutting the knot they cannot untie. We think that a mind of superior power might surmount this difficulty, and render all the talent, virtue, and energy within the scope of its dominion, subservient to its wise designs for the general good. But where this union of the best materials for exercising the powers of government cannot be formed, as near an approach as is possible should be made to it, and the whole scheme and action of the Government should still comprehend and benefit the whole of its people. A Government of mere party is always feeble, unless the party be an immense majority of the whole, when it proportionably loses its character of mere party.—If there be a necessity for adopting the name or using the agency of a party in Government measures, still as little of party exclusion, or the appearance of it, should be manifested as possible, or the excluded party will resent the wrong. Government should strengthen itself from every quarter, and like its appropriate emblem, England's immortal oak, spread its roots and branches fair on every side. It is safer to rest on a broad and mighty base, like

Egypt's eternal pyramids, than to erect the superstructure of Government on a narrow foundation. Acting on this principle, the Government cannot be charged with neglect by its opponents. If they would confine public favour to themselves or their party, the Government cannot accept their services on such terms. Its policy binds it to care for the whole people,—to shew “equal justice to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects,”—and those who cannot support that policy exclude themselves from the favours they would otherwise share, by rejecting the condition on which those favours can be attained. A true knowledge of the character and state of the people requires this condition. No Government can be of much benefit to the people without a thorough knowledge of their state and general character, together with its special exceptions and peculiarities. Without this knowledge, even such measures as are beneficial will lose much of their virtue, by being ill-timed, ill-adjusted, or mixed up with much that is injurious. To adapt the action of the Government to the state of the governed, requires a clear perception of the latter in all its length and breadth, all its innate and acquired peculiarities. That action then becomes intelligent, uniform and strong, gains its ends by the most direct and effectual means, and gives such proofs of unceasing care for the people's interests, that they repose under its sway with a consciousness of power, security and peace. If the great body of the people be contented and prosperous, the Government has answered its design, and gained as much of strength and glory as is consistent with human affairs. Equal causes produce equal effects; and if the Government treat all classes equally, they will equally support it. The reciprocal action will be mutual, equal, and uniform; for the slight irregular influences which more or less mingle in every community, will not be able to disturb the general calm, or break the circling chain of equal support, in return for equal justice and favour. Short of this the Government should not stop; up to this it may and will go, if the interest of the whole people be the cardinal principle of thought and action. With that master-key in his hand, the Statesman may unlock the difficulties that meet him in the Province, and settle our public affairs on a wise and permanent basis, bringing glory to himself and prosperous peace to the people.

But on the opposite plan, what evil must be incurred. Our population is of various character in many respects; there are differences of *origin*; as the Canadians of French descent, the U. E. Loyalists and their descendants, natives of the British isles in their three divisions, and also settlers from the United States. There are differences of *religion*; as the Churches of England, Scotland, Rome, Methodists, and some others. There are differences of *politics*, in all the grades from republican to ultra-tories. And if we look through these divisions, we shall find that there is none that can claim authority over the rest, or is able to do altogether without their aid. No one can put in a claim for any prescriptive or legalised advantages, as at home. The country is of too recent settlement for that, and its first inhabitants were not of a class to seek or desire any such advantages. In religious, civil and political rights, all are equal, and no one will yield any portion of its rights. An indomitable attachment to them pervades all classes. The spirit of British freedom is the presiding genius of the land, and though less active and influential in some than in others, it yet inspires in all the principles of stern resistance to every aggression, and a fixed resolution to oppose every measure that would go to imply or create any inferiority or subjection in one to another, acknowledged only as equal, or any exclusion from favours enjoyed by others. They are freemen, the descendants of freemen, and naturally expect that full inheritance of freedom to which they are entitled by their birth-right. They will no more submit to an abridgment of their privileges than they would of their estates. They regard both as being equally sacred and inalienable, and consider themselves bound to transmit them to posterity. They are lovers of freedom, as well as its inheritors. They do not regard it as a matter of little moment whether they enjoy its full benefits or not, but, knowing the value of a free exercise of individual opinion, will and action, they prize it highly, and will guard and keep the treasure thus possessed. They have shown on several occasions, that they are attached to the Constitution, but expect and claim its fullest privileges, and require their rulers to respect them also. They do not desire to pull down the glorious fabric of the Constitution, in the vain hope of being able to erect a better one in its place; but they require that the honours

and glory of that fabric should be equally accessible to all, and that the presiding genius of the temple should not abridge or fetter the benefits he is appointed to dispense, but should give to liberty its freest, fullest play, diffusing its invigorating power throughout the land, and to the meanest and most wayward therein. The system of Government for such a people must either be comprehensive and impartial, or a large part of them must be in continual opposition to the Government and its measures.

Unequal rights and privileges are contrary to the nature and fitness of things, as well as to the character of the people, and therefore cannot be permanently maintained, or incorporated into the structure and habits of society as the final state of their political existence.—The cardinal laws of nature cannot be outraged with impunity throughout the course of time. While the tempest continues, the ocean is heaved into mountain billows, with yawning gulfs between; but when the storm has passed away, the tranquil waters resume their wonted smooth and glassy surface. And as fluids in a state of rest maintain their equilibrium, so civil society, when fully under the operation of its natural laws, will assume the condition of perfect equality in all its public relations. Numerous causes have disturbed that condition, and kept the public mind in a state of prolonged agitation, but as the disturbing causes are removed the effects will cease, and the general law of nature will resume its unlimited control. The inherent rights of man cannot be destroyed by artificial combinations or violence. For a time their claims may be denied, yet they lose nothing of their original right, but at last must be discharged in full, with all their long arrears of interest. Human nature will not always submit to degradation and insult.—These will in the end provoke reflection, inquiry, and resistance, and will thus lead to a full emancipation from every unequal yoke and oppressive chain.

And while the character of our people, and the natural laws and rights of man lead to this result, it is no less sure to follow from the duties required by civil society. The most ultra stickler for unequal rights has never been willing to concede unequal duties. If a deprivation of public honours and profits were accompanied by a proportionably less share of public burdens, some minds would be content with the distinction, and be quite willing to

sacrifice fame and wealth for ease and repose. But if equal duties be exacted, the people must necessarily conclude that, being required to equally bear the burdens of the State, they are also entitled to equally share its honours and profits. Equal rights and privileges must inevitably follow from equal duties. If all persons of whatever origin, party or creed, are required equally to support the State, they are entitled to equally share its favours. Privilege must be commensurate with duty, or the first laws of society are violated, as well as the first principles of nature.

If we pass from right to interest, the same result must follow. The monopolizers of power and profit have never been able to make the excluded parties content with that monopoly. Hence, violent discussions have ensued. If the favourites have plucked the rose, they have found that it pierced them with many a thorn. Unjust distinctions naturally create ceaseless dissensions, and these have often extended themselves far beyond the original cause of strife. How much have public and private interests suffered in consequence?—How much contention and loss, and even civil war with all its expenditure of treasure and life, has been caused by the denial of equal rights? The interest of the whole is to be preferred to the interest of a few, and that plan of Government which secures the welfare of all is to be preferred to that which aims only at the benefit of a few.

The age in which we live is an age of *movement*, and in it there is much that is extravagant, absurd, and destructive. For this we have no desire, rather a great abhorrence. But all is not of this character. There is much that is excellent in the spirit of the age, and this operates on our people, imbuing them with its spirit and fire. The extension of education and knowledge, of arts and sciences, and even of liberty itself, are all great, practical benefits which exert an influence here, and require that we should not fall behind the age in which we live, but should keep our place in the front rank of the wise and free, the great and good. Let British freedom shine illustriously abroad, that her sons and the nations may see that it is a living, mighty body, and not an empty name. There is no fear of our being blasted by an excess of light. The spirit of the age and the genius of our sires require us to rejoice in the

fulness of that rational liberty which has formed and guarded the British Constitution.

It will not be expected that any course of policy can be universally acceptable, but it will be found on examination, that an impartial and comprehensive course presents but few difficulties, fewer than any other, and none that may not be easily overcome. No one will object to such policy in the abstract. No one will contend that the Government should be exclusive, and therefore unjust and illiberal. Whatever objections may be made, they will have to take a different form, and be directed, ostensibly at least, against different principles than those of strict impartiality, and the full measure of constitutional liberality. No man would venture to raise his voice directly against these at this day. This, then, is something gained, that the principles for which we contend are nominally admitted, and if objections arise, they are more against the application of those principles in certain cases, than against the principles themselves. They are admitted as a general rule, and the objections go to establish exceptions, not to maintain a different class of principles. And considered in this or any other light, the objections and the exceptions they would establish are but of small importance; for the evil which has been caused by an exclusive and foolish rule, can never be admitted as a reason for continuing that rule, or for rejecting its opposite. This would be to justify one evil by another, and render evil effects an ample apology for the evil causes from which they sprang. There are some persons who would still make the late insurrection a reason for continuing pains and penalties on large classes of the people, especially in Lower Canada, but such is not the policy of the Government, nor a more miserable or ruinous expedient could hardly be adopted. Dr. Johnson has remarked in his *Western Islands*:—"To hinder insurrection by driving away the people, and to govern peaceably by having no subjects, is an expedient that argues no great profundity of politics. To soften the obdurate, to convince the mistaken, to mollify the resentful, are worthy of a Statesman; but it affords a legislator little self-applause to consider, that where there was formerly an insurrection, there is now a wilderness."

A line of policy that was ridiculed by Dr. Johnson, ultra-Tory as he was, will not find many supporters in the present day, except

among the few who are willing to write themselves down asses rather than forego their accustomed bray.

The policy of the Government is liberal, yet moderate; comprehensive and impartial, yet discriminate and just; consistent with itself and the unity of the empire, yet adapted to local circumstances; conservative of British institutions, and therefore conservative of that essential principle of the Constitution by which the Executive is kept in harmony with the people's representatives, yet ready to reform abuses, redress "proved grievances," and render the Government a system of liberty, privilege, knowledge, and power to all, instead of being merely a system of restraint and burdens to many. It is vain to expect general attachment and support without an exhibition of those principles which are necessary to secure them. A man who would have friends must shew himself friendly; and the Government that would have general support must shew that it cares for the general interest, and is the "friend of all, the enemy of none." It is not necessary for this purpose, that it should have no opinions of its own; or be at the mercy of a cabal of selfish partizans on the one hand, or of every pretender to political science on the other. On the contrary, the Government should be the directing, controlling power,—the sun in the system, throwing its glory and diffusing its benefits over all, but retaining every orb in its allotted sphere, and binding them into an indissoluble, harmonious, and beautiful whole, of which the final end and united action shall be the general welfare of the whole people. For this, its principles must be well considered, firmly maintained, and wisely applied. There must be the vigorous control of a superior mind, thoroughly acquainted with its work, and honestly desirous of fulfilling it aright; for it is this alone that can combine individual knowledge and action into a general plan for the common good. A weak or indolent mind will devolve its duties on others, and allow them to govern for their own benefit rather than the people's. In this way a ruler may procure temporary ease and quiet for himself, but at the expense of his country's permanent peace and prosperity. It is now more than ever necessary to build on an enduring foundation, and include the whole people in every system that pretends to be for their government. The total failure of every other plan is

sufficient of itself to ensure the total rejection of them all by every Statesman. The dullest mortal that ever breathes would change his daily round if he met nothing but obstruction and defeat therein; and who that possesses only a spark of Promethean fire would not elicit new forms instinct with life from the breathing marble, address new combinations of wisdom, grace, and strength to the public mind, and render his creative genius triumphant over the difficulties that have prostrated those whose thoughts rose no higher than the clay or the bog, the narrow and selfish designs with which they began and ended their inglorious career? As one mode of government has failed, the presumption is that an opposite mode will succeed. A partial and exclusive system has been weak and ruinous; but a liberal and comprehensive scheme will be strong and prosperous. We might as well attempt to monopolize the light of the sun, or the benefits of the common air, as attempt to restrain the favours of Government to a privileged class. If we do not comprehend the whole, we shall end by excluding ourselves, through this false policy, from the benefits that we would otherwise enjoy. An exclusive rule must eventually bring its own punishment.

We have adverted to *parties*, including of course political parties therein. That such parties should exist is natural, if not necessary, and a proper understanding of their respective merits and designs is requisite in order to deal with them aright. The two leading parties are pretty well known, or if not, they never will be, for miles of paper, rivers of ink, and worlds of declamation, have been employed in stating and defending their respective merits and claims. If any uncertainty yet prevails on these subjects, it must be because all intelligible expression of thought and feeling is lost in the confounded Babel of a thousand presses, ten thousand trumpeters, and a hundred thousand tongues, each and all proclaiming in his peculiar tone, style, or slang, the transcendent excellencies of the party, or fragment of a party which he may happen to follow, as jackalls the lion. We must therefore decline discussing the merits of either party, lest we should add another discordant note to the harsh symphony in which so many performers sing or squeak, grunt or growl, rant or roar their delectable praises or censures according as one or other party happens to lead the slippery dance.

Yet, though we pass over the recognized parties, because they have organs of their own, (O that they would learn the "music of the spheres!") we may introduce that large class of the people who have never appeared as a party, never took a distinct name or action, but have adhered alternately to each party when the other passed the bounds of moderation.— That there is such a class in Upper Canada is certain, though politicians have found it convenient hitherto to overlook their existence, and have endeavoured to account for perplexing facts by another hypothesis. For several successive elections in Upper Canada, there has been an entire change in the politics of the majority of the members returned, a tory House having been succeeded by reformers, and these in their turn have given place to their opponents. These changes have been accounted for on the part of the reformers, by ascribing them to "executive influence." But this solution falls far short of meeting the whole case, because the effects produced have been far greater than could be produced by executive influence, even giving to that its utmost latitude. At the last election, for instance, the reaction in the public mind was far greater than could have been produced by executive influence. That undoubtedly had its effect, but the majority would have been the same way, though less, had no such influence been used at all. The "patent deeds" have been saddled with the result, and they of course helped to produce it so far as they went; but in counties where not more than ten votes were polled on those deeds, the majorities were from one to two hundred, and of people too who could not be influenced by any executive. The answer then leaves a large part of the case unaccounted for, and we must seek some other solution of the question how these changes can be explained. The solution is found in the fact, that there is a class of persons, large enough in many cases to turn the scale at elections, whose political principles do not entirely agree with those of either political party, a class who act with a party so long as they abide by the principles in which they agree, but leave them when they proceed to act on those in which they differ. These persons have been charged with inconsistency, but they are consistent with their own principles, and leave their party rather than violate them. They never agreed with the party in the things for which they

leave them, and therefore there can be no inconsistency in leaving, because there had been no previous consistency or agreement on these matters. And besides this class of persons who will not follow their leader into any course, there are others who though they have not left their party, are far from approving of all that was or is done in its name. Their dissent from some of the party's measures would probably lead them into inaction, ceasing to act with them, but not acting against them. We must therefore take into consideration these two classes of persons before we can fully account for the changes of public opinion in Upper Canada, and every politician who forgets this will be subjected to repeated failures. He will find that many who support him will only do so to a certain limit, and if he calculates on their support beyond it he will be disappointed.

And besides these classes, there is another to be taken into account, with whom politics are but a secondary consideration. This is another of those facts which hot-headed politicians are apt to overlook. In the heat and whirlwind of their excitement, deeming, and perhaps justly, that their very existence depends upon carrying certain measures, they utter a wild rhapsody, designed to thrill the hearts of their supporters, and call forth suitable efforts in return; but to their astonishment they discern that many are apt to regard the whole subject very coolly, considering that they have more important duties to attend to, and instead of answering the fiery appeal, and kindling with enthusiasm on the glowing occasion, they quietly mind their business, and plod onward in their accustomed path.

"Ah! who can tell how hard it is to climb
The steep" whence politicians threaten war.

"Cool as a cucumber," is the answer to many a burning harangue, hotter than melted lava. We find that oven in the United States, mere politics have been sunk in other important matters, the "abolition of slavery," for instance, having been made in many cases a test for candidates, no matter what their other opinions might be. And the temperance reformation, and the anti-masonic party have had their respective candidates and supporters, without respect to any other political opinions.

To obtain a just estimate of parties, then, and be able to form a probable opinion of their

respective courses, we must consider how each party is modified, and even checked, by the number of those who will support it only to a certain extent. Beyond that, they either throw their weight into the opposite scale, or remain neuter. Parties are not that compact, Macedonian phalanx which they would represent themselves to be. On the contrary, some of their constituent parts are held together by very slight ties, which will hardly endure an ordinary strain, much less that extraordinary weight which party strife is ready to exact.— A forgetfulness of this fact has caused several politicians to be left floundering in the mud, when they supposed themselves to have been founded on a rock. Indeed, so many false calculations have been made, that we suppose no party would undertake to defend all its measures and movements, not merely as they might affect the public interest, but the interest of the party itself alone. Heaven knows that the public interest has often been sacrificed to the interest of party, and the last has often been shipwrecked through the pilots not knowing the seas they were in, the course they should steer, or the character and temper of the crew with which their vessel was manned. Similar shipwrecks will still occur, unless similar mistakes be avoided. We need not resort to any supposed Syren song or Circean charm of executive influence in order to account for past failures. Parties have been ruined by their own madness more than by any other means. If they still disguise this truth from themselves, it will prove that they are incurably blind, infatuated beyond recovery.

But whatever the faults and follies of parties may have been, Government will not commit the greater fault and greater folly of making itself a party to any exclusive policy. "Equal justice to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects" is the rule of its action, and it proposes no other end than to render the whole people prosperous and happy under its rule. On these principles it takes its stand, and abides the result with confidence.

It is manifest however, that the very best plans for the Government of the Colony will depend for their success in a very great degree on the concurrence of the people themselves. As the government is not one of force but of reason and moral suasion, working as much by moral power as by legal authority or sovereign right, the co-operation of the people is essential

in order to obtain the full measure of benefit from the plans and operations of the Government. By a dogged adherence to impracticable and visionary plans, or even by sheer ignorance of the true character of the measures they support or oppose, the people may ruin their own interests, and plant the dagger in their own breasts. Too many while blindly following a party leader, enact over again the part of the man who, when he fell into the river, exclaimed: "I will be drowned, and nobody shall save me." Many a party cry has been equally wide of what the party intended.—Many a political watchword has been equally senseless and ridiculous. The people must reflect on their condition and wants, and see if all that they can justly desire may not be gained now by acting with the Government instead of against it. If the three estates oppose each other, confusion and ruin must be the result; but their united action will elevate the country, and render it strong and prosperous. It is said in Lord John Russell's instructions to the Governor General; "We have never concealed from ourselves that the success of any plan for the settlement of Canadian affairs must depend on the concurrence and support of the Provinces themselves." And again: "The importance of maintaining the utmost possible harmony between the policy of the legislature and of the executive Government admits of no question, and it will of course be your anxious endeavour to call to your counsels, and to employ in the public service those persons who, by their position and character, have obtained the general confidence and esteem of the inhabitants of the Province." And in Lord John Russell's despatch of October 14, 1839, it is remarked: "The Queen's Government have no desire to thwart the representative assemblies of British North America in their measures of reform and improvement. They have no wish to make those Provinces the resource for patronage at home. They are earnestly intent on giving to the talent and character of leading persons in the Colonies, advantages similar to those which talent and character employed in the public service obtain in the United Kingdom. Her Majesty has no desire to maintain any system of policy among Her North American subjects which opinion condemns. In receiving the Queen's commands, therefore, to protest against any declaration at variance with the honour of the Crown and the

unity of the Empire, I am at the same time instructed to announce Her Majesty's gracious intention to look to the affectionate attachment of her people in North America as the best security for permanent dominion." And further: "Every political constitution in which different bodies share the supreme power, is only enabled to exist by the forbearance of those among whom this power is distributed. In this respect the example of England may well be imitated. The sovereign using the prerogative of the Crown to the utmost extent, and the House of Commons exerting its power of the purse to carry all its resolutions into immediate effect, would produce confusion in the country in less than a twelvemonth. So in a Colony: the Governor thwarting every legitimate proposition of the Assembly, and the Assembly continually recurring to its power of refusing supplies, can but disturb all political relations, embarrass trade, and retard the prosperity of the people. Each must exercise a wise moderation. The Government must only oppose the wishes of the Assembly where the honour of the Crown, or the interests of the empire are deeply concerned; and the Assembly must be ready to modify some of its measures for the sake of harmony, and from a reverent attachment to the authority of Great Britain."

It thus appears that on the part of the Government there is the strongest solicitude for meeting the wishes of the people as far as possible, and for securing their cordial concurrence in all measures for the general benefit: is it to be supposed that they will refuse that concurrence, by stubbornly insisting on their own will in every particular, and on their own plans in every thing both in spirit and in letter? We do not think it. The country has suffered so much from ultraism that moderate counsels are invested with the charm of novelty, as well as the sanction of wisdom, and it will be impossible to persuade the people that a continual tempest is necessary to their existence, or that the climate of the poles or the equator is preferable to that of the temperate zone. The political raven whose guttural croak grates harsh discord on the public ear, and the horned owl who, perched on the brow of cloudy night, hoots his solemn dullness to his moon-struck brother, together with every foul and hateful bird of evil omen and offensive presence, shall be banished to their murky abodes by the beams

of an opening day in which moderation and reason shall regain their empire over violence and passion. The people will no longer be made the prey of unnatural strife, but will disarm the destroyers of their peace by limiting their demands within constitutional bounds, and assisting the Government in its endeavours to ameliorate their condition, develope their resources, consolidate their liberties, reform their "proved grievances," spread throughout the land the light of education and knowledge, and lay deep, broad, and strong the foundations of a united, free, and prosperous community, rejoicing in the strength and splendour of British institutions. Many who are not at all disposed to overlook or gloss over proved defects, are as far removed as possible from every wish to destroy those institutions. They would preserve and improve, not scatter and destroy. They say of their country—"With all thy faults I love thee still," and they confidently expect to promote its prosperity and their own by supporting moderate measures and moderate men.

There is another point which, though not political, is still worth notice in the policy of the Government—that is, it assumes the responsibility and control of public works. The Governor General stated in his reply to the Halifax address, that it was the duty of Her Majesty's representative, and of those who are responsible to him in the administration of public affairs, "to lead the way in improvement, and to submit for adoption whatever may be calculated to remove abuses, or promote your advantage." "To lead the way in improvement" government must have improvements under its control. They will thus be constructed on a systematic plan, under the superintendence of a competent officer, and the responsibility of the government will be brought to bear on their construction. All money votes in the Assembly for this as well as all other subjects must originate with the Government, and they will be responsible for all they propose or execute. But "improvement" includes much more than public works: it comprehends legal reforms, an improved fiscal system, educational, commercial, industrial improvement; in short, every matter and thing that can promote the people's knowledge and virtue, wealth and happiness. In all this the Government will "lead the way," and the people will cheerfully follow, rejoicing that at

length they have found a Government that has taken its proper stand as the acknowledged head of a free people. There is much to be done even in assisting the industry of the people. In Lower Canada, for instance, a most defective system of agriculture is pursued, and the Government must lead the way in improving it, by encouraging agricultural societies, with *model farms*, or something equivalent, and thus train the *habitans* to more profitable industry. And they may be thus trained, if it be undertaken in a proper spirit. The Government passed an ordinance for abolishing the use of the common train in Lower Canada, in order to prevent *cahots*; and in one part of the country, Mr. Leclere, the commissioner of police, went round among the *habitans*, explaining the advantages of the improved train, and the consequence was its general and cheerful adoption. In the same way let improved plans of agriculture be proposed, and examples be presented before their eyes, and then see if the Canadians will not turn their labour to better account than formerly, and not resort in whole parishes to become pensioners on the legislature from year to year, in order to save them from the distress occasioned by a system totally unsuited to the country. The lands of Lower Canada present thistles and wheat one year, and thistles and grassy weeds the other alternately, the thistles being generally lords of the soil, which knows no proper husbandry, or due rotation of crops. The fisheries in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence and the great Lakes also require Government direction and assistance, in order that this supply of wealth, which is almost untouched, may be brought to furnish its due quota to private and public prosperity. Our manufactures also require fostering. The fisheries and manufactures of Great Britain were long protected by bounties, and aided by Government in various ways; and similar fostering care is required here, though some objection would be made to bounties. But without these much may be done by the Government, in making known the best plans, encouraging infant efforts, and making central intelligence and power felt at the remotest extremities. The wool of the townships and seignories of Lower Canada bordering on the lines is exported to the States, or was before the financial embarrassments there; but why should it not be manufactured where it is grown? The farmers in the neighbour-

hood of Toronto have no market for their wool, and here again is a want of manufacturing industry. Our minerals, iron ores especially, want working, that the country may diminish its imports, and furnish a home consumption for its agricultural produce. In all this Government aid in some shape is required, if not by way of loans or pecuniary assistance, yet by general counsel and direction, and the combination of all into one uniform plan. For one great benefit of this policy is, that it makes each separate interest subservient to all the rest, and thus unites them by a common bond of mutual help and profit. Improved agricul-

ture and the fisheries will supply increased food, and commerce and manufactures will furnish consumers for it; thus each interest builds up the other while building up itself, and the whole are connected together for mutual benefit like the different parts of the human body.

That the Government may be enabled to fulfil these patriotic designs, and lead the people to a consideration of their real and personal interests, we enforce moderation in matter and manner, and present to the people the policy of the Government in order to secure their co-operation therein.

ANECDOTE OF KING WILLIAM III.

In order to give more variety to our columns, we shall occasionally extract notices of remarkable persons or events of a by-gone age, which are not generally known. These glances at prominent actors or scenes of the past will revive many pleasing recollections, and form an agreeable relief in our discussions and descriptions of present affairs. The following anecdote of King William III. will be new to most of our readers, and will be specially interesting to Scotchmen.

“A scene occurred at Kensington Palace during the residence of King William, so honourable to the generosity of this monarch and the fidelity of Mr. Carstares, his confidential secretary, that we are surprised it has not been the subject of a picture for its walls.—The king, who had been rendered suspicious of the Scottish clergy, during the absence of their steady advocate, Mr. Carstares, was induced to issue out an order that every minister should take the oath of allegiance, and sign an assurance, declaring King William to be king *de jure*, as well as *de facto*, before he should be allowed to take his seat in the general assembly. Lord Carmichael, the commissioner sent to Scotland to execute this decree, perceiving the determined spirit of the Presbyterian ministers against the measure, sent despatches to

the king, stating, that if persisted in, it would endanger the peace of the country. Lord Carmichael's despatches arrived at Kensington a few hours before the return of Mr. Carstares, who on his arrival found that the courier had been sent back with positive orders to enforce the royal commands. He immediately hastened after the messenger, and, overtaking him, demanded his despatches in the king's name, when, though late at night and his majesty in bed, he requested an audience on a matter of the utmost importance. On entering the royal chamber, he found the king sound asleep, when he fell upon his knees, and gently awoke his majesty, who, with surprise, demanded his business. ‘Sire,’ said Mr. Carstares, ‘I come to solicit my life.’ ‘And is it possible,’ said the king, ‘that you can have committed a crime that should forfeit it?’ He acknowledged he had, and showed the despatches he had taken from the messenger. ‘And have you,’ said his majesty sternly looking at him, ‘presumed to countermand my orders?’ ‘It was to save one of the pillars of your majesty's throne,’ said the secretary, who was graciously allowed to explain his reasons for an act of such peril; they were quite satisfactory to the amiable monarch, who ordered Mr. Carstares to throw the despatches into the fire, and prepare fresh instructions, couched in such terms as he deemed advisable, assuring him that he would immediately sign them.”

The following notice of Thomas Sutton, Esq., who was of a good family in Lincolnshire, and commanded one of the five batteries at the siege of Edinburgh in 1573, for which he received a pension of five marks a year from Queen Elizabeth,—shows how a skilful merchant can baffle a powerful king, by draining him of the sinews of war.

“When the invasion of England was threatened by the Spanish Armada, Mr. Sutton knew that the queen had no fleet capable of opposing it; he also knew that the Spanish fleet could not set sail, but through the means of aid from the bank of Genoa, he, therefore, purchased

all the bills he could, in every commercial town of Europe, and discounting them at that bank, drained it so much of its specie, that it was twelve months before it could give the necessary assistance to Spain, and, by this time, England was prepared for the contest. He afterwards commanded a barge, that bore his name, and contributed to the destruction of that very armada, the invasion by which he had so happily averted twelve months before. Mr. Sutton now commenced merchant, and acquired a splendid fortune, which he devoted to works of charity, and among the most striking was the foundation of the Charter House, at an expense of £20,000, independent of an endowment of £4493 19s. 10d. per annum.”

ELOQUENT BEAUTY.

(FOR A LADY'S ALBUM.)

WHEN eloquent beauty requests a song,
A seraph would waken his harp and tongue,
And pour rich melody through the air,
To pleasure the kind, delightful fair.

To equal a seraph's transporting strain
By music or sonnet of mine were vain;
Yet rapturous numbers the lay inspire,
When beautiful woman commands the lyre.

As Memnon's famed statue to music woke,
And sung great Apollo when morning broke;
So fancy, though torpid as stone or clay,
Will kindle with transport at beauty's ray.

The virtues of woman what muse can tell?
So gentle, forgiving, and amiable,
So faithful in trouble, and true in love,
Though harsh and ungrateful man may prove.

As Sol travels onward, and shines sublime,
When envious clouds darken heaven a time;
So when overshadowed by man's disdain,
Bright woman moves onward, and shines again.

Let vinegar critics my lay condemn,
Or dull mortals censure, I heed not them;
This ample requital my care bequiles,
That beautiful woman approves and smiles.

NIAGARA.

Stupendous cataract! whose mighty thunder
For ages stunned the wearied ears of time
And solitude, unknown; with ceaseless wonder
Earth's thousands throng thee now from every clime.
Most beautiful! most terrible! sublime!
With forests fringed, rich frosted silver walls *
Shine yonder: here the raging flood appals
With horrid tumult, struggling to reclaim
The awful precipice from which it falls;
In cones gigantic mounting to the skies,
The bounding, whirling, furious waters rise. †

Fearful abyss! unspeakable emotion
O'erwhelms my spirit as I gaze on thee.
Lo the vast river rushes like an ocean
Of liquid emerald, most gloriously!
Down—down—it plunges—terrible to see,
As if, resistless, through the earth it went.
Wonder of wonders! heaven's dread monument
Of power divine: what an immensity
Of grace and grandeur here supremely blent!
Thou seem'st an ocean from the zenith hurled,
To force a passage to the nether world.

* Standing on Table Rock, the American fall seemed like an immense wall of frosted silver, relieved by the deep, many verdure of the adjoining forests.

† Nothing so much impressed me with the power and majesty of the cataract, as the ascent of the waters from the foot of the great falls. All along its curve, immense cones of water continually stand at an elevation of from one-half to two-thirds of the whole height of the precipice; and ever and anon they shoot up higher, as if their tapering points would lay hold of the wreathe frowning above them. The descent of the waters is natural; their ascent shows the immensity of their volume and the vastness of the power that continually maintains them at such an elevation against the laws of nature.

OUR POSITION.

—
 "Cheer on the pack; the quarry stands at bay."
 —

[BROOK.]

WHEN we gave in our last number a statement and defence of the *policy of the Government*, we were of course aware that it would provoke opposition. If we had consulted our own ease, or even the temporary interest of the *Review*, we might have declined bringing on us and it a cross fire at the very outset of our career. We might have postponed altogether questions on which there are so many conflicting opinions. Or it would have been easy to have veiled our sentiments in cloudy generalities, or have furbished anew that large stock of ready-made phrases which form the staple of most political harangues, and thus have been busy, bustling, and noisy, without saying or doing any thing of moment. Or we might have taken shelter behind the shield of Ajax Telamon, and from thence have shot our arrows at the foe, by contenting ourselves with a mere record of official despatches and documents, leaving the public to gather the nature of Government policy from them as best they might. In any of these modes we might have trifled with the public mind, avoided trouble, and evaded a duty while seeming to fulfil it.— But we are not disposed to seek repose in this method. The battle must be fought, and victory won before the soldier thinks of rest.— The mountain acclivity must be climbed, however steep it may be, before we are entitled to sit down on its verdant summit, and enjoy the rich and beautiful landscape. For opposition we are prepared, and shall repel it, come from whence it may. We are not to be moved from our position by bluster and braggadocio; and arrows tipped with lead we laugh to scorn. As little do we regard that petty warfare which consists in daubing a caricature, the dauber being unable to paint a likeness; and the equally wretched work of the wight who models an image of clay from his own mishapen fancies, gives it an ugly name, and then knocks it to pieces, little suspecting that he is hammer-

ing away at his own most perfect image, an imp, it is true, but the counterpart of himself in miniature. To repel such assailants, the lash is the only suitable weapon, and by changing their doleful whine into a lugubrious howl they declare that they are punished according to their deserts. To nobler opponents we present a bold front and polished weapons, conscious of the goodness of our cause, and determined to maintain its rights. We have not now to learn that there will be differences of opinion among honest men, or that such differences are perfectly consistent with a sincere desire to promote the common weal. We are as little disposed to dictate to others as to submit to any dictation from any quarter.— While asserting and defending our own views, we cheerfully yield the same right to others, and shall respect in them the liberty which we claim for ourselves. To the battle, then.— "Up guards, and at them."

It is said that our principles are of a "decidedly Tory complexion." So then they are not "decidedly Tory" after all. They have only a "Tory complexion", a tincture of that spirit. The boy is passing well, but too ruddy in his complexion, *eh?* Well, that is generally reckoned to be a sign of good health, pure blood, sound lungs, strong stamina, a vigorous and buoyant system; and so we may hope that the child will rapidly advance to a noble maturity, and make the wide west resound with his clear and joyous shout, his rich and merry songs, while he is laying deep and broad the foundations of a generous polity. But the *complexion* of a book or its contents? Don't split your sides with laughing.

That our principles are decidedly tory we flatly deny, or that they are so stated as to produce that impression on any man. If they were, we should have either totally mistaken our own meaning, or wofully failed in conveying that meaning to others. Be it remembered

that our statement is founded on official documents and despatches, which are open to every man's inspection, and if in any point we have misinterpreted those documents the error can easily be pointed out, and the corrector may take any other meaning that suits him best.—We endeavoured honestly to give their true meaning, and nothing that we have yet seen has convinced us of any mistake. On the contrary, every day affords us new proof that we stated that meaning justly as far as we went, though not so fully as we might have done; this deficiency we shall now proceed to supply.

We suppose it will be allowed that ministers are the best interpreters of their own meaning, and that if any thing be obscure or only partially explained in their despatches, we must seek for further elucidation in their speeches on the subjects in debate. In these they generally enter more into detail than they can do in a despatch, and in answering objections that may arise on the spot they often assign the reasons and end of their proceedings, and vindicate the policy they see fit to pursue.—Their speeches are therefore the best comment on their despatches. These form the written text, and any difficulties which they may present are cleared up by the verbal comments of the writers themselves. They are the authorized expounders of their own doctrines.

Let us see, then, if Lord John Russell considers his policy to be Tory policy. For this purpose we shall go to his speech in introducing the Bill for re-uniting the Canadas, in which we find the following statements :

“Now with regard to the great weight given by the hon. gentleman who spoke last to the opinions of Chief Justice Robinson, he must confess that although he thought no opinions could be stated with more acuteness, or argument be more ably put [hear, hear,] than by that gentleman, whose talents were universally acknowledged, yet with regard to his general principles and views of governing in Canada, he (Lord John Russell) owned that he must declare his entire dissent from them. With regard to the subject of a church establishment, Chief Justice Robinson had used, no doubt, the views of the political party to which he (Lord John Russell) and his friends belonged, and of which that gentleman was for a long time a very leading member; yet they were not of a sort to be carried into effect in any part of Canada.—[Hear, hear.] He thought it was Chief Justice Robinson who had expressed the opinion—at least he was quite sure he had seen

the opinion stated by others—that if, when founding our colonies in North America, which were now become the United States of America, we had carried out among the Puritans in the time of James the First, and Charles the First, a regular church establishment, founded and based upon the principles of the mother church in England, that those colonies would still have remained faithful and loyal to the mother country, and that there would not have been any separation between these two parts of the British empire. Now he (Lord John Russell) thought that an opinion more unsound never was asserted. He conceived that if ever they had attempted any thing of the kind—if, in the reign of Charles the Second, they had not been contented with the very cruel and barbarous attempt to establish the Church of England in Scotland—if besides all this an attempt had been made to force the church of England upon the state of New England, and the various other provinces now forming the United States—his opinion was, instead of preventing a separation, that that separation would have taken place a century earlier than it did. He was fully convinced, whatever their opinions might be with respect to a church establishment in general, that the opinions which now prevailed in North America were too much rooted, and had too general an assent, as well from the members of the Church of England as from all the sects of Christians there, to admit the possibility of its introduction—and that it would be utterly and especially insane to desire to establish a predominant church in that country. He could not, therefore, while he admitted the talents of Chief Justice Robinson, give that weight to his authority which other hon. gentlemen were disposed to do.”

It is here seen that Lord John Russell declares his “entire dissent” from the “general principles and views of governing in Canada” entertained by Chief Justice Robinson. Now, as the latter is Tory, it follows that the former is not, for there can be no identity of sentiment, nor any approach to it, where there is an “entire dissent.”

But, besides this “entire dissent” from the “general principles and views of governing” entertained by Chief Justice Robinson, Lord John Russell takes special exception to his views respecting an established Church in Canada, so that on every point there is a contrariety of opinion and views between them, fully establishing our proposition, that Lord John Russell's policy is not Tory.

Having seen what it is not, let us now see what it is. And for this purpose we go again to the speech on the re-union Bill, in which we

find the following statements, bearing on, or rather, explaining his despatch on responsible government.

"I think, at the same time, it will be necessary, without any positive enactment, (for it would be impossible to introduce such a provision into the bill,) but by the rule of administration which will be established by the union, that the assembly should exercise a due control over the officers appointed or kept in office by the governor, and over the distribution and expenditure of the public funds. Many abuses have arisen from the want of this control. I am not now going to raise a discussion on a subject on which I expressed my opinion fully in the despatch on the table, and which excited so much agitation in Upper Canada a short time ago—I mean what was then called the question of responsible government. I am not of opinion, as I have often declared, that the official servants of the governor should be subject to exactly the same responsibility as the ministers in this country, because the governor's orders issue directly from the crown; and it is unjust that the representatives in the assembly should visit with the responsibility those who were not the authors of the acts which they condemned. But the practice has unfortunately prevailed that there has been one set of men enjoying the confidence of the governor, forming very often a small party in the colony, distributing the revenues of the colony according to their own notions, and having the great skill and practice which long experience gives in disposing of the property and guiding the administration of the people; and on the other hand there have been men, ambitious perhaps, stirring perhaps, but at the same time of great public talents, and that these should be excluded from their share in the administration seems an unfortunate and vicious system, and I think by the rule of administration a better practice ought to be introduced. In conformity with this opinion, my noble friend who occupied the situation which I now hold, (the Marquis of Normanby,) informed the governor of Nova Scotia that whenever a vacancy occurred in the council he was to fill it up by a person selected from the majority of the assembly, who he thought was properly qualified for such a trust. The occasion of making an appointment arose soon after I succeeded my noble friend, and the governor of Nova Scotia requested to know whether he was to act on the direction which he had received from my predecessor. I told him he was, and I know no better way of giving confidence to the provinces, and at the same time making the leaders of the assembly practical men of business, than by appointing them to situations of official trust and responsibility. I have said you cannot lay down any positive rule for effecting this object, still less can you trust to the legislature as your guide, because you never can agree to the advice which the

members of the assembly may give, when it interferes either with the Imperial policy, or with the honour and faith of parliament or the crown. I would not then by any means lay down an inflexible rule on the subject, but I maintain that a general system should be adopted, by which the leaders among the majority of the assembly should be included in the executive government."

His Lordship here states "the rule of administration which will be established by the union, that the Assembly should exercise a due control over the officers appointed or kept in office by the governor, and over the distribution and expenditure of public funds." He mentions the vicious practice which has prevailed, by which a "small party in the colony have distributed its revenues according to their own notions," and say that by "the rule of administration a better practice ought to be introduced." And finally, he says: "I maintain that a general system should be adopted, by which the leaders among the majority of the Assembly should be included in the executive government." Is not this reform? Have "the leaders among the majority of the assembly" ever been "included in the executive government," except when the majority of the assembly was Tory? Rather, has not the "executive government" set "the leaders of the majority of the assembly" at defiance, with the same exception? Is not this the very reform which the people desire, that the "executive government" shall be in harmony with the "majority of the assembly?"

Yet, as we stated in our last, there is a difference between the details of this plan and that which was brought forward by the reformers, a difference both in kind and degree. The latter would have laid the responsibility on the Executive Council, but the former attaches it to the Governor, and through him to heads of department. The latter would have excluded all imperial interference in our local affairs, but the former provides for it in some except cases. Hence, we stated in our first number that the second part of the demand for responsible government was virtually granted. If the two plans had been in every respect the same, we should have had no reason to have used the term *virtually*, for that implied a difference. And in the extract above quoted, his Lordship says: "I am not of opinion, as I have often declared, that the official servants of the governor should be subject to exactly the

same responsibility as the ministers in this country." There is therefore this difference, that the responsibility is still with the Governor, and only through him on heads of departments, and that the supreme control of the Imperial authorities is still to be exercised over our local affairs in cases in which the "necessity creates and justifies the exception," to use Lord Glenelg's words, or in cases in which the "honour of the Crown or the interests of the Empire are deeply concerned," to use Lord John Russell's words, "because," says his Lordship, "you never can agree to the advice which the members of the assembly may give when it interferes either with the Imperial policy, or with the honour and faith of parliament or the crown."

But though there is this difference in the details of the two plans, there is none in the great end at which both professedly aim, that the administration of the government shall be in agreement with the majority of the people's representatives, with the exceptions above referred to. And as to these exceptions, they are very little if any more than have always been admitted by reformers. They always admitted that whatever related to the interests of the empire should be exempted from the operation of responsible government; and as to what relates to the honour of the Crown, they never wished it to be tarnished, so that the two classes of exceptions have been admitted, and the only care to be taken is, that the interference be not extended into other things. The great end of both plans is the same, and the means are nothing compared to the end. If the reformers were to reject that because it is to be attained in a manner somewhat different from their own, they would resemble the boy who quarrelled with his supper because he could not have it in a particular dish. The leaders among the majority of the Assembly are to be included in the executive government, and therefore will direct its policy in every thing save the few except cases, and this must necessarily secure all that any reasonable man can desire, an executive government in harmony with the people's representatives, in connection with a supreme control of the Crown and Imperial Parliament in cases in which their honour or faith, or the interests of the empire are concerned.

It was to place the Governor in a position to secure this end that Lord John Russell's des-

patch on the tenure of offices was written.— Lord Glenelg's instructions to Sir F. Head had authorized the Governor to remove any public officer who opposed his policy, whether that opposition were "avowed or latent;" but Lord John Russell's despatch went further, and authorized the removal of the chief public officers, as low as sheriffs, whenever there was a change of Governors, so that a new or any Governor can always place himself in harmony with the assembly by including the "leaders of the majority" in the "executive government" according to Lord John Russell's plan quoted from his speech. And that Parliamentary interference in our local affairs is not desired but deprecated at home, is proved by another passage of this same speech, in which his lordship says: "But, sir, beyond this, I am anxious to bring forward a measure which may, if possible, put a stop, except on very rare occasions, to that interference of parliament which has been rendered necessary of late years." So that Lord John Russell's new "rule of administration" is expressly designed to put a stop to Parliamentary interference, except in very rare cases, and it undoubtedly will do so. In his speech when the bill was in committee, his Lordship says again: "I only maintain, that with regard to objects sought by a majority of the people for their own benefit, and not infringing on the obligations of the Crown, or interfering with the authority of this country, it is at once injustice and folly not to consult their own views rather than our particular notions, probably derived from a different state of things existing here. On the other hand, I can never admit that, where the faith of the Crown is concerned, or the interests of the empire are involved, the opinion of the Colonial assembly is to overbear the judgment of the Imperial Parliament and the Executive Government of this country. A general spirit of conciliation will, however, in my opinion, be sufficient to remove all practical difficulties."

These extracts sufficiently declare the policy of the Government, and show how far responsible government is granted, and how far it is denied or limited, and we say again, that this policy will secure all the ends of good government, no matter what pretended reformers with "Tory complexions" may say. They have not only "tory complexions," but tory hearts, and are in league with tory politicians, in order to hinder the success of this reform policy.—

Local responsibility is limited, but the limitation is expressly designed and adapted to secure British supremacy, being confined to matters in which the "honour of the crown or the interests of the empire are deeply concerned," and no true reformer can have any desire to infringe on either. Unless this limitation be maintained, the connexion between Canada and the Parent State would be merely a federal union, and the former would be as independent of the latter as the several States of the American Union are independent of each other, and of the general government, in all their local affairs. The union between Canada and Great Britain is not a federal union between equal, sovereign, and independent States, but the union of a dependent Colony to the power on which it depends, and which yields to it all the self-government that is compatible with that dependence. To establish a federative union, and thus take the colony into a new relation to the Parent State, by granting to it an entire independence of parental control in all its local affairs, is a plan which has never been formally advocated by any party. But unless there be a limit to local responsibility, that must be the true result, under whatever plausible names it may be glossed over. Those who spurn all limitation to local responsibility should be consistent, and advocate either a federative union with Great Britain, or a total separation between them, for there is no other alternative if we reject the union of colonial dependence. Yet, though there is a necessity for retaining the limitation if we would retain the dependence, there is no necessity for obtruding it vexatiously or injuriously to the Colony, nor is there the slightest reason for expecting that it will be thus obtruded. On the contrary, the limitation will never be felt if any thing like moderation be exercised by the Assembly; for the design of the new "rule of administration" by which the leaders of the majority in the Assembly will be included in the executive government, is to stop interference by the Imperial authorities in the local affairs of the colony, by doing away with all necessity for such interference.

We shall now proceed to show that this plan of Government has received the sanction of reformers.

The first evidence that we shall produce on this point is the *Colonial Gazette*, published in

the City of London, and well known to be a faithful and able advocate of reform principles. The *Gazette* of January 29,—39, comments largely on Lord John Russell's despatch on responsible government, and says: "Though we cannot express our concurrence with all the views put forth in this document, we are rejoiced to find that our differences of opinion are rather of a theoretical than of a practical nature, and that there is nothing in it to neutralise the great practical amendment which is secured by the despatch on the tenure of Crown offices."

The *Gazette* then goes on to criticise some parts of the former despatch, but winds up his remarks by declaring: "It is enough for us, however, that Lord John, in spite of those theoretical objections, this repugnance to words, and his susceptibility about extreme cases, admits that he concurs with Lord Durham's practical views of Colonial Government; that he 'has no desire to thwart the Representative Assemblies of British North America in their measures of reform and improvement,' that he has 'no wish to make those Provinces the resource of patronage at home,' that he 'wishes to open the career of public employment to talent and character in the Colonies, as in the United Kingdom,' and that he 'has no desire to maintain any system of policy among Her Majesty's North American subjects which opinion condemns.' These declarations are perhaps vague; but they are rendered specific and substantial by the alteration of the present tenure of Colonial offices. When once the moral right to hold office on the tenure of good behaviour is abrogated,—when it is established that not only will civil officers 'be called upon to retire from the public service, as often as any sufficient motives of public policy may suggest the expediency of that measure, but that a change in the person of the Governor will be considered a sufficient reason for any alterations which his successors may deem it expedient to make in the list of public functionaries'—the principle for which we have contended will virtually be established. To establish it permanently, and render it as available as we desire, we are content to leave to time, and—the Parliament of United Canada." Thus the *Gazette* admits that Lord John Russell's plan differs but little from his own, and is equal in substantial benefit, or is virtually the same.

The next evidence we shall adduce will astound our readers, being no less a personage than Joseph Hume, Esq.; yes, that very Mr. Hume who is regarded as an oracle among radical reformers. In the debate in the House of Commons on the Canada reunion bill, Mr. Hume said: "He owned that in the recently printed papers he had seen with great pleasure a despatch addressed by the noble Lord to the Governor General of the Canadas." He then proceeded to quote from the despatch on the tenure of offices, and continued: "He had read with equal pleasure the reply given by the Governor General to an address voted by the House of Assembly," and read the answer to the address of the House on responsible government, quoted in our first number. He then said, "Had such a message as that been delivered by any Governor of Canada at any time prior to the year 1837, nothing would have been heard of civil war or disturbance in that part of the empire. The words he had just quoted embodied every thing that all the Legislative Assemblies of the Canadas had been wishing for the last twenty years." We beg particular attention to this last sentence, in which, it has been seen that the policy which the Governor General has determined to pursue "embodies," says Mr. Hume, "every thing that the Assemblies have been wishing for the last 20 years." And yet pretended reformers with "tory complexions" pretend that this policy is tory! Mr. Hume afterwards censured parts of Government measures, but that does not alter his approval of the Governor General's declaration.

We have taken two authorities from England, the next shall be from Nova Scotia. It is known that the reformers of that Province were long contending for a popular Government, and after the Governor General's visit to the Province last summer, the *Novascotian*, the leading reform journal, gave the following account of His Excellency's policy, as it had been explained by himself:—

"What then are the views, and what are the principles, upon which the Government is to be hereafter conducted? Our readers will, perhaps, be surprised when we state, that the system which is to be enforced by His Excellency, is exactly what the friends of what is called responsible government would have created, could they have acted without reference to the pre-existing positions and claims of those already in office, and at the Council Board; and

whose feelings and emoluments they always endeavoured if possible to spare. There is a slight difference between what we contemplated, and what His Excellency is about to establish, which we shall frankly state; but this is more than compensated by other admirable features of the plan, for which the majority never ventured to stipulate,—but which, while they make the system complete, will, or we are much mistaken, be more acceptable to the reformers, and more distasteful to their opponents, than any form of responsible government that our Assembly ever offered for their acceptance.

"We contemplated an Executive Council distinct from the heads of departments, but who should have sufficient control over these, to enable them to see the business properly done, and to protect all parties from their petty airs and obstructive policy. The members of this Council were to give advice upon local matters, and local appointments; and to be held so far responsible, that the Governor could dismiss them when they deceived him, or were likely to get him into scrapes; and that the Assembly could compel them to resign, whenever, by a want of talent or discretion they had forfeited its confidence. This, then, was our responsible government—"the head and front of our offending."

"The Governor General's plan is, to have,—*First*, A Governor who shall respect "that freedom which is the birthright of Britons," and who shall feel it his pride to be the leading mind in the Colony—who will treat the people as British subjects,—“consult their wishes and their feelings,” “promote their interest by well considered reforms, and suit his administration of affairs to the growing importance and varying circumstances of the Colony.” *Secondly*, An Executive Council, composed of heads of departments, and leading members of both branches of the legislature, possessed of political influence, and nobody else, except in extreme cases. The duty of these men will be, to consult upon and prepare the leading measures of the session,—to carry down and defend the propositions of the Government,—to advise the Governor, when assistance is required,—having, of course, ready access to him for criticism and remonstrance. This Council will be recruited from time to time, from the ranks of those who, in the Assembly, evince superior talent, and show that they enjoy the confidence of the country; so that the hustings will generally be the first step towards obtaining rank and influence in the Government. Thence the faithful, the able, and the eloquent will pass, after a useful Parliamentary course, into the public offices, as these become vacant. The members of this Council are to be held responsible to the Governor for the advice they give him, and may be dismissed whenever he chooses. They are also expected to bring down the estimates, and secure the supplies.—

It will at once be seen what a very different affair this is from the old Council, and how honourable are the paths which such a system holds out to the ambition of our youth, compared with the narrow and tortuous ways by which places of honour and emolument have been heretofore secured.

“There is another point of difference between this Council and that contemplated by us in the pamphlet published in 1839, and aimed at by the proposition made to the Governor last autumn. Had that proposition been accepted, we should have had a Council doing the work, and the heads of departments and public officers enjoying their emoluments, but exempt from all responsibility to public opinion. The Governor General tackles them into the team—he makes them conduct the Government, and he tells them distinctly, that if they cannot obtain sufficient parliamentary talent to assist, they must move off; and hand over the offices to those who have the requisite weight and ability. This is a very important improvement upon our plan, and most completely reverses the old order of things, in which the public officer was every thing and the member of the legislature nothing. One defect in the plan, which, however, time will remedy is, that while those who are not in office, do much of the work, those who are get all the pay,—the former will, however, be upon the high road to promotion, and must in the meantime, be content to be rewarded by the advancement of the country committed to their care, and by the passage of useful measures for promoting its prosperity and improvement.

“The theory of the Governor General's plan differs from ours in this,—the Queen's representative ‘can devolve the responsibility of his acts on no man’—that is, he will be held responsible for every act done in his Government, and cannot yield to other hands any portion of its patronage; while we believed, that the direct responsibility might be fairly shared with the Executive Council. In practice, however, there will be very little difference in the two modes,—the whole scheme being based upon public confidence and popular support, and the Executive Council having to defend all appointments, and having the privilege to resign if they are not satisfactory, the greatest weight will, upon all such matters, be given to their representations and remonstrances; and any Governor must be an idiot, who dispenses his favours regardless of their position and his own. The obvious tendency of this system will be to cure many, if not all, of the evils with which our public affairs have been perplexed,—and to strengthen and elevate the representative branch of the legislature, by making it the high road to honour and influence.

“So much for the general principles of Government to be applied to this province. But the Governor General is not content to stop short when the mere outline of an administra-

tion has been traced. He proposes to overcome the turbulent by removing the causes of discontent,—to prevent the reformers from doing mischief, by making the Governor lead the way in useful improvements, and all the men who are to revolve around him, sturdy innovators upon abuses. The Executive is not to wait till the Assembly forces useful measures upon it, but is expected to originate, and, by rational illustration and argument,—by the gentle pressure of a steady hand, to urge them upon the people. ‘It is the duty of the representative of the Crown,’ says the Governor General, ‘and of those who are responsible to him in the administration of your affairs, to lead the way in improvement, and to submit for adoption whatever may be calculated to remove abuses or promote your advantage,—and the Queen will expect from him a faithful discharge of the duties.’

“What these measures and improvements are, may be gathered from His Excellency's address, and from the freedom with which he states his opinions on such subjects. He is not afraid that remarking on ‘the imperfections of the judicial system,’ if done with a view to improvement, will weaken respect for courts, which was always charged against those who ventured to hint the system was not quite perfect; and he actually recommends ‘Municipal Institutions,’ with the payment of rates for a franchise, when even the offer of a £10 or £20 franchise, by the Halifax reformer, could not reconcile the Compact and their supporters to an Act of Incorporation for this town.”

After the appointment of the new Councilors by Viscount Falkland, and the late elections had been decided, by which the reformers number 34 to 17 in the new Assembly, the *Novascotian* made the following remarks on the prospect before them:—

“Some opposition may be expected to every administration of affairs, in a free country, and under a representative system. Perhaps it is better that there should be some, in order that those in power may be stimulated to the highest point of exertion, and that the people may hear both sides of every public question. If opposition arises, the new Government may expect it from one of two quarters—if raised by any section of the liberals, it will not be aimed at the new principles, for these we believe every man of the popular party admit to be sound, and to involve a great practical change in the Colonial constitutions, but will spring from the feeling that too large a proportion of the old materials are retained in the Council, while valuable men are still excluded. From this quarter we do not apprehend much danger—whatever may be their claims, and nobody can be more keenly alive to them than ourselves, we believe that the leading men of the old majority want only the assurance that their

principles are adopted,—that they have a just, and impartial, and vigorous administration of affairs, from which they are not excluded by prejudice, and to participate in which they are certain to be called as opportunities occur, and they will not factiously obtrude their personal claims, but give a steady and honourable support to the Government.”

It appears from this that he apprehends no opposition from the liberals to the “new principles,” for if any arise it will be because “too large a proportion of the old materials are retained in the Council, while valuable men are still excluded.” This remark is equally applicable to Canada, as well as the closing observation, that liberal men “will not factiously obtrude their personal claims, but give a steady and honourable support to the Government.”

We now turn to Upper Canada, and assert that there has been a general acquiescence by reformers in the principles avowed by the Government. Some difference of opinion as to particular acts or measures of course there has been, and always will be for that matter, for no one who knows anything of the subject will ever expect a perfect agreement in every matter of detail, or every single act of any administration; but as to the general principles, and general conduct too, of the administration, there has been a general acquiescence in them by the great body of liberal men in Upper Canada. For proof of this, we refer to the numerous addresses which were presented to the Governor General during his tour in the Upper Province last summer. In nearly the whole of these there were strong expressions of satisfaction with His Excellency's administration, and of confidence in him for the future. In Toronto, it is well known, there were two addresses proposed, the difference between them turning on this very point, the liberals insisting on an address which should express satisfaction with the administration of His Excellency, and at length carrying the point, at least in substance. Do the pretended reformers with “Tory complexions” mean to tell us that they lied when they signed that address? If not, do they not lie when they now represent the principles of the administration as being of a “decidedly Tory complexion,” whatever that may mean? Moreover, the limitation of local responsibility was placed by Lord John Russell's despatch of Oct. 14,—59; when that despatch was published here, did it set the liberals in opposition to the

Government, and make them declare it Tory? They censured parts of the despatch, but agreed that it was on the whole consistent with their views, and that responsible government was still virtually granted. If the despatch was on the whole satisfactory to them then, has it changed its meaning since? Have the twenty-six letters of the alphabet a knack of being liberal in summer and tory in winter? At that time there was not a single liberal press or person of the least note that did not approve of the principles and general proceedings of the administration. Some disapproval of minor matters was expressed, but this amounted to very little, for it was often founded on partial or erroneous information, and even supposing it well founded it was a mere drop in the bucket. Now those who honestly supported the great principles and measures of the Government then, and do so still, have good reason to suspect pretended reformers with “Tory complexions,” especially when they find them recommending the people to choose tories as members of Assembly, rather than men of liberal but moderate principles. If they say that that despatch was satisfactory to them only when taken in connexion with other despatches, is it not in connexion with them still? Have any of them changed their meaning or lost their force? Is not the Government the same? Are not its principles the same?—Who is it then that has changed? Those who are so prompt to impute change to others.

But besides this general acquiescence and approval, we will give one or two instances of special approbation of the policy of the government.

The Townships of the county of Grenville appointed committees to nominate a liberal candidate for the assembly: the several committees met in general committee, and published an address to the electors, from which we make the following extract: “Responsibility of the governors to the governed in this Colony, in matters purely our own, and unconnected with the general interest and policy of the empire, is the all-important principle to be settled at the next elections. The plan of the Government respecting it, as may be gathered from official despatches, is this—That no system of policy shall be maintained amongst us which public opinion here may condemn.—That the house of Assembly shall not be thwarted in its measures of reform and improve-

ment, nor its wishes opposed by the provincial Government, except only when the honour of the Crown, or the interests of the empire are deeply concerned. That no official misconduct shall be screened, nor private interests be allowed to compete with the public good : and above all, that Her Majesty will look to the affectionate attachment of the people of this country for its permanent connexion with Her home dominions. To secure these great objects, the Government proposes that as often as public policy may require, the principal officers of the Crown in the Colony, as also the members of the Executive Council, shall be called upon to retire from the public service, and others possessing the general confidence and esteem of the inhabitants shall be invited to replace them.

This plan, if really and faithfully carried out, will ensure to us good government : and that it shall be so carried out depends now on ourselves. Let the country but elect a House of Assembly which may be depended upon for a firm and uncompromising resistance to every departure from it, and we are convinced every just cause of discontent will speedily be removed."

It will be observed here, that the committee gather Government policy from official despatches, and they gather it honestly, taking the exception or limitation duly into account ; and they propose to elect a member, not to change this policy, but to resist every departure from it ; and express their conviction that this will ensure good government, and speedily remove every just cause of discontent. They then proceeded to nominate Samuel Crane, Esq., as a suitable person to represent them ; so that the liberal party of that whole county and their candidate are pledged to support the policy of the Government, and resist every departure therefrom.

We will take another proof from the address of John P. Roblin, Esq., to the electors of Prince Edward County. He says : "And while my object shall be to do every thing in my power for the prosperity of this Province, I am persuaded that that object can only be accomplished by strictly adhering to the connexion which now exists between us and the Mother Country. And in order to make the connexion permanent, not only outwardly but in the affections of the people of this Province, it is necessary that the Government should be conducted

according to the commands of Her Majesty, as expressed by the Governor General in answer to an address of the House of Assembly, dated 18th January, 1840." He then quotes the answer, given in our first number, and proceeds to say : "This, gentlemen, is all I would ask. I shall therefore come before you as one who will support the Government, and assist in carrying out its principles and policy ; for it is all-important that harmony should exist between the House of Assembly and the executive. It is therefore necessary for each to yield in particular instances; but not to sacrifice the rights of the people or the prerogatives of the crown."

Similar avowals are made by David Roblin, Esq., in his address to the electors of Lenox and Addington. He quotes the answer mentioned above, and says : "This, gentlemen, is all that any true friend of United Canada can ask." He further says that he offers his services to "assist and support the present Government in carrying out its enlarged views, principles and policy, so long as their measures are thus calculated for our common good."— And again : "I have every confidence in the intentions and professions of Lord Sydenham, the liberal and enlightened Statesman at the head of our affairs, whose sole aim appears to be to merit the approbation of his Sovereign, and the thanks of a grateful people ; and the inhabitants of United Canada have but to prove true to their interests at the coming contest, to ensure good government for themselves and their posterity."

We might proceed to adduce other evidence, but our readers will probably think that enough has been said to establish our statement. In fact, so far as the great principles of the government, and confidence in the Governor General are concerned, there has been no dissent therefrom among liberal men, except in one quarter ; and this fact is sufficient of itself to throw suspicion on that quarter. He must be very simple, or very perverse, who wrests a disapproval of some particular measure into a disapproval of the leading principles and whole policy of the Government. We never expect to find perfect unanimity on every individual measure or act of any administration among those who support it. But there are some men who "strain at a gnat, yet swallow a camel." Even in the British Cabinet there are open questions, measures on which ministers

themselves differ from some of their colleagues, and take different sides in consequence thereof. If the great principles which form the character of the administration be secured, considerable latitude is allowed on unimportant questions. When the liberal party of Upper Canada accepted Lord John Russell's despatch on responsible government, as being consistent with their views, they accepted it with the limitation it contains on local responsibility, and therefore they are bound to abide by it, or be convicted of inconsistency.

But why are we attacked by professed liberals? Because we have proclaimed the principles of the British Constitution. But these are the principles of the Government, and any statement of its policy which did not include them would not only have been incomplete, but would have subjected the Government to a suspicion of being secretly desirous of overturning those principles. The Government, both Imperial and Colonial, is determined to maintain in these Colonies their union with Great Britain, the British Constitution, and British supremacy, and therefore every discussion of their policy must either include these principles, or it must delude the public mind. It was time to point out the ancient landmarks, and restrain our wanderings within the broad domain of our patrimonial inheritance. And besides this, we had another reason which we shall now disclose. We made our declaration of constitutional principles a test for the detection of impostors, and it has detected some. It was Ithuriel's spear, on applying which the bloated toad, "squat at the ear of Eve," starts up into the plotting fiend: for

"No falsehood can endure
Touch of celestial temper, but returns
Of force to its own likeness."

As the liberal party had always professed an attachment to British connexion and the British constitution, and had accepted the despatches which prescribe the administration of the government, and limit local responsibility in order to secure British supremacy, no man who had no ulterior views, ranging far beyond these limits, would have been offended at the avowal of these principles, whatever he might have thought of particular acts of the administration. No man need be informed that it is quite possible to censure a part or parts, and yet highly approve of the whole; as when a man criticises a painting, or a piece of statuary,

or a magnificent edifice, he may discover faults and blemishes in various parts, and yet with the whole he may be highly delighted. And so it is with government: parts may be blamed, and yet the whole approved. But the man who is offended by the assertion of any vital principle of the government, is not true to it as a whole, but is plotting essential changes.— We do not expect perfect unanimity in matters of detail, but we do expect it in general principles. The constitution is not a nose of wax, nor British connexion a thread of tow, nor British supremacy a dream. In all these there are leading points which must be guarded and maintained, or the citadel is surrendered to the traitor and the pirate.

To sum up in a few words: The Government will maintain the Constitution, and administer it in harmony with the people's representatives, by including the leaders of the majority of the House in the Executive Government, by which they will guide our public policy, subject to the reservation of matters in which the honour of the Crown or the interests of the Empire are involved. Of this plan of government the great body of the liberal party, and many conservatives also, have declared their approval, and we therefore confidently expect for it that general support which it deserves.

But besides the political question, we are charged with recommending the "putting down of our fellow-subjects of French origin." As this is a subject of great moment, and one on which every man who takes any part in public affairs should have his mind made up as to the course to be taken, and the real interest of our fellow-subjects of French origin in the matter, we shall quote from Lord Durham's report his plan for dealing with Lower Canada, and let the people say if it differs from ours, or that these changes are not necessary for the true interest of that Province. Pretended reformers with "Tory complexions" may call this a "putting down of our fellow-subjects of French origin," if they please, for they know or care but little about the meaning of words, but it requires no long argument to prove that it is the only plan for exalting Lower Canada into a prosperous British Province. What makes the above charge supremely ridiculous, as well as false, is, that a large part of these changes are desired by the Canadians themselves, and were urged by Dr. Nelson in his famous proclamation, &c.

an inducement for the *habitans* to join the rebels. Thus what blind party rage calls a "putting down of our fellow-subjects," they know right well will be a lifting them up, increasing their prosperity a thousand fold.—No harsh measures are intended or would be allowed by the Government. All due regard will be paid to the feelings of our fellow-subjects, but the process must be begun which, whether the Government interfere or not, must sooner or later take place, of rendering Lower Canada British. But let us hear Lord Durham on this matter. He says :

"These general principles apply, however, only to those changes in the system of government, which are required in order to rectify disorders common to all the North American Colonies ; but they do not, in any degree, go to remove those evils in the present state of Lower Canada, which require the most immediate remedy. The fatal feud of origin, which is the cause of the most extensive mischief, would be aggravated at the present moment, by any change which should give the majority more power than they have hitherto possessed. A plan by which it is proposed to insure the tranquil government of Lower Canada, must include, in itself, the means of putting an end to the agitation of national disputes in the Legislature, by settling, at once and for ever, the national character of the Province. I entertain no doubts as to the national character which must be given to Lower Canada ; it must be that of the British Empire—that of the majority of the population of British America—that of the great race which must, in the lapse of no long period of time, be predominant over the whole North American Continent.—Without effecting the change so rapidly or so roughly as to shock the feelings and trample on the welfare of the existing generation, it must henceforth be the first and steady purpose of the British Government to establish an English population, with English laws and language, in this Province, and to trust its Government to none but a decidedly English Legislature.

"It may be said, that this is a hard measure to a conquered people—that the French were originally the whole, and still are the bulk, of the population of Lower Canada—that the English are new-comers, who have no right to demand the extinction of the nationality of a people among whom commercial enterprise has drawn them. It may be said, that if the French are not so civilized, so energetic, or so money-making a race as that by which they are surrounded, they are an amiable, a virtuous, and a contented people, possessing all the essentials of material comfort, and not to be despised or ill-used, because they seek to enjoy what they have, without emulating the spirit of accumulation which influences their neighbours. Their

nationality is, after all, an inheritance—and they must not be too severely punished, because they have dreamed of maintaining, on the distant banks of the St. Lawrence, and transmitting to their posterity, the language, the manners, and the institutions of that great nation, that for two centuries gave the tone of thought to the European Continent. If the disputes of the two races are irreconcilable, it may be urged that justice demands that the minority should be compelled to acquiesce in the supremacy of the ancient and most numerous occupants of the Province, and not pretend to force their own institutions and customs on the majority.

"But, before deciding which of the two races is now to be placed in the ascendant, it is but prudent to inquire which of them must ultimately prevail ; for it is not wise to establish to-day that which must, after a hard struggle, be reversed to-morrow. The pretensions of the French Canadians to the exclusive possession of Lower Canada, would debar the yet larger English population of Upper Canada, and the Townships, from access to the great natural channel of that trade which they alone have created, and now carry on. The possession of the mouth of the St. Lawrence concerns not only those who happen to have made their settlements along the narrow line which borders it, but all who now dwell, or will hereafter dwell, in the great basin of that River. For we must not look to the present alone. The question is, by what race is it likely that the wilderness which now covers the rich and ample regions surrounding the comparatively small and contracted Districts in which the French Canadians are located, is eventually to be converted into a settled and flourishing country ? If this is to be done in the British Dominions, as in the rest of North America, by some speedier process than the ordinary growth of population, it must be by immigration from the English Isles, or from the United States—the countries which supply the only settlers that have entered, or will enter the Canadas in any large numbers. This immigration can neither be debarred from a passage through Lower Canada, nor even be prevented from settling in that Province. The whole into, or of the British Provinces must, ere long, be filled with an English population, every year rapidly increasing its numerical superiority over the French. Is it just that the prosperity of this great majority, and of this vast tract of country, should be for ever, or even for a while, impeded by the artificial bar which the backward laws and civilization of a part, and a part only, of Lower Canada, would place between them and the ocean ? Is it to be supposed that such an English population will ever submit to such a sacrifice of its interests ?

"I must not, however, assume it to be possible, that the English government shall adopt the course of placing or allowing any check

to the influx of British immigration into Lower Canada, or any impediment to the profitable employment of that English capital which is already vested therein. The English have already in their hands the majority of the larger masses of property in the country; they have the decided superiority of intelligence on their side; they have the certainty that colonization must swell their numbers to a majority; and they belong to a race which wields the Imperial Government, and predominates on the American continent. If we now leave them in a minority, they will never abandon the assurance of being a majority hereafter, and never cease to continue the present contest with all the fierceness with which it now rages. In such a contest they will rely on the sympathy of their countrymen at home; and if that is denied them, they feel very confident of being able to awaken the sympathy of their neighbours of kindred origin. They feel that if the British Government intends to maintain its hold of the Canadas, it can rely on the English population alone; that, if it abandons its Colonial Possessions, they must become a portion of that great Union, which will speedily send forth its swarms of settlers, and by force of numbers and activity, quickly master every other race. The French Canadians, on the other hand, are but the remains of an ancient colonization, and are, and ever must be, isolated in the midst of an Anglo-Saxon world.—Whatever may happen, whatever Government shall be established over them, British or American, they can see no hope for their nationality. They can only sever themselves from the British Empire, by waiting till some general cause of dissatisfaction alienates them, together with the surrounding Colonies, and leaves them part of an English confederacy; or, if they are able, by effecting a separation singly, and so either, merging in the American Union, or keeping up for a few years a wretched semblance of feeble independence, which would expose them more than ever to the intrusion of the surrounding population. I am far from wishing to encourage indiscriminately these pretensions to superiority on the part of any particular race; but while the greater part of every portion of the American Continent is still uncleared and unoccupied, and while the English exhibit such constant and marked activity in colonization, so long will it be idle to imagine that there is any portion of that Continent into which that race will not penetrate, or in which, when it has penetrated, it will not predominate. It is but a question of time and mode—it is but to determine whether the small number of French who now inhabit Lower Canada, shall be made English under a Government which can protect them, or whether the process shall be delayed, until a much larger number shall have to undergo, at the rude hands of its uncontrol-

led rivals, the extinction of a nationality strengthened and embittered by continuance.

“And is this French Canadian nationality one which, for the good merely of that people, we ought to strive to perpetuate, even if it were possible? I know of no national distinctions marking and continuing a more hopeless inferiority. The language, the laws, the character of the North American Continent are English; and every race but the English (I apply this to all who speak the English language) appears there in a condition of inferiority. It is to elevate them from that inferiority that I desire to give to the Canadians our English character. I desire it for the sake of the educated classes, whom the distinction of language and manners keeps apart from the great Empire to which they belong. At the best, the fate of the educated and aspiring Colonist is, at present, one of little hope, and little activity; but the French Canadian is cast still further into the shade by a language and habits foreign to those of the Imperial Government. A spirit of exclusion has closed the higher professions of the educated classes of the French Canadians, more perhaps than was absolutely necessary; but it is impossible for the utmost liberality on the part of the British Government to give an equal position in the general competition of its vast population to those who speak a foreign language. I desire the amalgamation still more for the sake of the humbler classes. Their present state of rude and equal plenty is fast deteriorating under the pressure of population in the narrow limits to which they are confined. If they attempt to better their condition, by extending themselves over the neighbouring country, they will necessarily get more and more mingled with an English population; if they prefer remaining stationary, the greater part of them must be labourers, in the employ of English capitalists. In either case it would appear, that the great mass of the French Canadians are doomed, in some measure, to occupy an inferior position, and to be dependent on the English for employment. The evils of poverty and dependence would merely be aggravated in a ten-fold degree, by a spirit of jealous and resentful nationality, which should separate the working class of the community, from the possessors of wealth and employers of labour.

“I will not here enter into the question of the effect of the mode of life and division of property among the French Canadians on the happiness of the people. I will admit, for the moment, that it is as productive of well-being as its admirers assert. But, be it good or bad, the period in which it is practicable is past; for there is not enough unoccupied land left in that portion of the country in which the English are not already settled, to admit of the present French population possessing farms sufficient

to supply them with their present means of comfort, under their system of husbandry. No population has increased by mere births so rapidly as that of the French Canadians has since the conquest. At that period their number was estimated at 60,000; it is now supposed to amount to more than seven times as many.— There has been no proportional increase of cultivation, or of produce from the land already under cultivation; and the increased population has been in a great measure provided for by the mere continued subdivision of estates. In a report from a committee in the Assembly in 1826, of which Mr. Andrew Stuart was chairman, it is stated, that since 1784 the population of the seigniories had quadrupled, while the number of cattle had only doubled, and the quantity of land in cultivation had only increased one-third. Complaints of distress are constant, and the deterioration of the condition of a great part of the population admitted on all hands. A people so circumstanced must alter their mode of life. If they wish to maintain the same kind of rude, but well-provided agricultural existence, it must be by removing into those parts of the country in which the English are settled; or if they cling to their present residence, they can only obtain a livelihood by deserting their present employment, and working for wages on farms, or in commercial occupations under English capitalists.— But their present proprietary and inactive condition is one which no political arrangements can perpetuate. Were the French Canadians to be guarded against the influx of any other population, their condition in a few years would be similar to that of the poorest of the Irish peasantry.

“There can hardly be conceived a nationality more destitute of all that can invigorate and elevate a people, than that which is exhibited by the descendants of the French in Lower Canada, owing to their retaining their peculiar language and manners. They are a people with no history, and no literature. The literature of England is written in a language which is not theirs, and the only literature which their language renders familiar to them, is that of a nation from which they have been separated by 80 years of a foreign rule, and still more by those changes which the revolution and its consequences have wrought in the whole political, moral, and social state of France. Yet it is on a people whom recent history, manners, and modes of thought, so entirely separate from them, that the French Canadians are wholly dependent for almost all the instruction and amusement derived from books; it is on this essentially foreign literature, which is conversant about events, opinions, and habits of life, perfectly strange and unintelligible to them, that they are compelled to be dependent. Their newspapers are mostly written by natives of France, who have either come to try their fortunes in the Province, or been brought

into it by the party leaders, in order to supply the dearth of literary talent available for the political press. In the same way their nationality operates to deprive them of the enjoyments and civilizing influence of the arts.— Though descended from the people in the world that most generally love, and have most successfully cultivated the drama; though living on a continent in which almost every town, great or small, has an English theatre, the French population of Lower Canada, cut off from every people that speaks its own language, can support no national stage.

“In these circumstances I should be indeed surprised, if the more reflecting part of the French Canadians entertained at present any hope of continuing to preserve their nationality. Much as they struggle against it, it is obvious that the process of assimilation to English habits is already commencing. The English language is gaining ground, as the language of the rich and of the employers of labour naturally will. It appeared by some of the few returns which had been received by the commissioner of inquiry into the state of education, that there are about ten times the number of French children in Quebec learning English, as compared with the English children who learn French. A considerable time must of course elapse, before the change of a language can spread over a whole people; and justice and policy alike require that while the people continue to use the French language, their Government should take no such means to force the English language upon them as would, in fact, deprive the great mass of the community of the protection of the laws. But I repeat, that the alteration of the character of the Province ought to be immediately entered on, and firmly, though constitutionally followed up; that in any plan which may be adopted for the future management of Lower Canada, the first object ought to be that of making it an English Province; and that with this end in view, the ascendancy should never again be placed in any hands but those of an English population. Indeed, at the present moment this is obviously necessary; in the state of mind in which I have described the French Canadian population, as not only now being, but as likely for a long while to remain, the trusting them with the entire control over this Province would be, in fact, only facilitating a rebellion. Lower Canada must be governed now, as it must be hereafter, by an English population; and thus the policy which the necessities of the moment force on us in accordance with that suggested by a comprehensive view of the future and permanent improvement of the Province.

It is here seen that the express design of this plan is to elevate our fellow-subjects, instead of putting them down— He must be a

simpleton indeed who supposes that they have any love for the feudal tenure and other things which retard their prosperity. No one contemplates or desires a crusade against every thing French, *as such*. On the contrary, every thing will be examined and decided on its own merits, without respect to its origin. In the revision and consolidation of the laws, for instance, no one ever dreamt of rejecting every French law or custom, and adopting none but English. The great object will be to prepare a code of laws that shall embody all that suits the country, or is really adapted to promote the people's welfare, no matter for its origin.—In this plan we have every reason to expect the concurrence of our fellow-subjects of French origin.

We have already extended this article beyond the limits we designed, but we must say a word or two to the conservative party. That our principles can be acceptable to the ultra-tory party is of course out of the question, and we shall make no attempt to render them acceptable, by softening down or explaining away any principle essential to good government, or even by answering such objections as they may raise thereto. But among the conservatives there are many who are not afraid of the British constitution—not afraid that if it be administered here as it is in Great Britain, in harmony with the people's representatives, saving only the matters in which the "honour of the Crown, or the interests of the Empire are concerned," that the result must be a severance of British connexion, or loss of British supremacy. They see that the saving clause guards that point, and they may therefore cheerfully give their support to the Government, and thereby secure the predominance of British institutions, with the fullest enjoyment of British freedom in popular control: To these persons we recommend the following remarks made by Mr. Gladstone, a conservative member of the House of Commons, in the debate on the Canada re-union Bill. He says:

"No one can look at the Colonial laws respecting the succession and distribution of property, the habits and employments of the Colonists, their feelings with regard to aristocracy, and the principles entertained respecting national religion throughout our North American Provinces, and fail to see that there are great differences, original and inherent, in the elements out of which society is composed, which must render exceedingly difficult the regulation

and the maintenance of the Union between a country aristocratic in its feelings and principles, as he believed England to be, and countries in which some of the elements of society certainly seem to tend towards democracy as their final consummation and development. It seemed to him that the maintenance of our connexion with the Colonies was to be regarded rather as a matter of duty than of advantage. He could understand much better the doctrine that there was a duty incumbent on Great Britain with respect to the Colonies, than the doctrine of those who said that, upon a mere balance of advantages, or as a case of political necessity, we should maintain the connection. He did think that so long as we retained the Colonies as receptacles for our surplus population, we remained under strict obligation to provide for those who left our shores at least what semblance we could of British institutions, and a home as nearly as might be like that which emigrants had left, and to which they continued to retain a fond attachment.—(Hear, hear.) Upon this ground he should always be glad to see Parliament inclined to make large sacrifices for the purpose of maintaining the Colonies, as long as the Union with the Mother Country was approved by the people of those Colonies. But he conceived that nothing could be more ridiculous, nothing could be more mistaken, than to suppose that Great Britain had anything to gain by maintaining that union in opposition to the deliberate and permanent conviction of the people of the Colonies themselves. Therefore, he thought that it should be a cardinal principle of our policy to regard the union between Great Britain and Canada and her other American Colonies, as dependent on the free will of both parties. * * * * He thought the chief practical difficulty which the Executive Government would have to encounter, would be to determine between the real and permanent convictions of the people, and especially the well-informed part of the people, and those temporary clamours of a few—temporary delusions even of the many—of which the history of the Colonies had not been without example, and the recurrence of which was of course, a danger to be anticipated more or less in every society where there were popular institutions with a very extended franchise.—It would also be a great problem of statesmanship at a future period, when those growing societies shall have attained to such a degree of maturity as to be truly fit for self-government, to fix upon the period when the connection with the Parent State shall be severed.—But Parliament should make it distinctly known that they would not consent to interpret the clamour of a minority into the expression of the permanent conviction of the well-affected part of the population, and they ought to tell the loyal and well-affected people that they should be our co-operators in the work of

maintaining the union, and that upon them we should rely as much as upon ourselves.—
 * * * * * Preserving a temperate and conciliatory policy, with united action in Parliament—(Hear, hear,)—establishing in particular, a liberal system of Government, making non-interference the rule and interference the exception,—(Hear, hear,)—we should maintain, at the same time, with a firm hand, the supremacy of the British Legislature,—(Hear, hear,) and its right to assert that supremacy, as well as to determine the cases in which it should be asserted.”

We shall close our remarks for the present by quoting another passage from Lord John Russell's speech before referred to. He says: “There is one other observation which fell from the Right Honorable gentleman, the member for Tamworth, as affecting the bill, of which I have always felt the force and effect. It is the observation that, in making this renewed constitution for Canada,—that in binding that country to us by a new legislative act, we contract a still further obligation, by all means, military and naval, to maintain the

connexion between Canada and this country. I conceive, with regard to any colony, that it is our duty to keep together and maintain together the various parts of this splendid Empire.—[Cheers.] But with regard to men who at various times—at the end of the late war, and during the civil war which is now but just over—with regard to men who in those times have shown their fidelity to the British Crown, [cheers] who have suffered in their persons, and who have suffered in their property, and who have been exposed to continual alarm, plunder, and massacre, and who yet have maintained their fidelity unimpeached, and their loyalty unspotted; I say, to desert them, and not to put forth the right arm of England in case any danger should threaten that connexion, would be an act of the utmost baseness that any minister of this country could be guilty of, and such an abandonment, and such a dereliction of duty, as I do not believe any House of Commons in the country would sanction.—[Cheers.]

CURRENCY.

No. II.

We concluded our first article on this subject by a quotation on the land-banking system, not that we were then sufficiently advanced in our lecture to discuss that question profitably. We suppose our pupil to have considered the remarks offered in our attempt to shew the meaning of the term circulating medium, and if he agrees with us, he will be ready to admit that if the current medium be not actually in coin, its value is tested by its more or less easy convertibility into coin, or something else intrinsically valuable, as well out of the country as in it. We have endeavoured to shew that the rate of foreign exchange depends upon the intrinsic value of the current medium with which it is purchased; that the laws relating to money and currency are made by circumstances, not by Legislatures; and that it is in vain to attempt by local regulations to

govern that most stubborn and unmanageable of all things, the comparative value of money and other articles of commerce. It is right, however, before we proceed further, to explain another principle respecting the comparative value of the different coins recognized or used in a country.

When all coins used are made a legal tender to any amount, those least intrinsically valuable in proportion to their nominal value, must be considered the standard coin of the country; as for instance, in this Province of Upper Canada, the British shilling is made by law equal to a quarter of a dollar. Now it is not worth the quarter of a Spanish or American dollar.—Again, twenty of these shillings are equal in England or will pass in exchange for a pound sterling, or a sovereign; but in this Province twenty of them are made by law equal to five

dollars, while the sovereign is only legally worth four dollars and seven-eighths. The gold sovereign for this reason does not come into use here as a current coin, for no one would pay a debt, and no bank would redeem its notes in sovereigns when the shillings at their legal rate will answer the same purpose. If, therefore, sovereigns are wanting for any particular purpose, they must be purchased at a premium; and in like manner Spanish and American dollars cannot be procured for bank notes except at a premium, because an amount in British silver which will redeem the bank note can be procured cheaper than the amount of Spanish or American silver which would redeem it at a legal rate. Now, suppose a bank to possess 50,000 sovereigns, and if it had no British silver, it must pay to those who present the notes for payment, these sovereigns at the legal rate, while a bank which had British silver in its vaults, would redeem in that specie. The advantage in favour of the bank redeeming in British silver would be very great, at least $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; and moreover the notes of the bank paying in sovereigns would be greedily sought after, because the sovereigns having more intrinsic value than the shillings, in proportion to their nominal value, would answer better for transmission to a foreign country where our regulations do not exist. Thus the bank issuing the sovereigns would not only be a loser, but would be subject to have all its notes withdrawn from circulation. The bank therefore sends the sovereigns away, and imports the British silver; or if it should happen to have silver in its vaults sufficient to protect the gold, it refuses to pay the notes in gold, and charges a premium to those who are under the necessity of procuring it. In this manner Spanish and American silver is placed at a premium, for the importing merchant who has to export money, finds them worth so much more by that premium than the British silver; and although banks will sell the specie intrinsically the most valuable, they will redeem the bank paper as cheaply as they can.

Thus we may see that beyond all dispute the British silver, being the coin least intrinsically valuable, in proportion to its legal rate, is the standard coin of the Province, and the same rules will easily be applied to the currency of any other country. The standard coin is the one most in circulation, for in fact it circulates almost to the exclusion of other coins, because

the latter are gathered up for exportation. All may see this to be the fact, inasmuch as they rarely find any coin in circulation but British silver; whereas before it was placed at its present nominal value, it merely passed rapidly from the military chest into the bank vaults, from thence to be exported, and the circulating coin was American silver. Then, an Upper Canada Bank note for a dollar was worth an American dollar, now it is worth precisely four British shillings.

In England, they have a gold standard, and yet the silver twenty shillings is not so intrinsically valuable as the sovereign; it therefore at first sight appears contradictory to our asserted principle, that the coin the least intrinsically valuable in proportion to its nominal value must be the standard. But this is very easily explained; for in England, the silver coin of the realm is not a legal tender in payment of a debt, except to a small amount. In large transactions it could only count at its bullion value, and in this way it cannot be used without loss, and therefore is not so used at all.—The banks therefore must redeem their circulation in gold, and debts must be paid in gold, or in bank notes that will command gold, and therefore gold is the standard. The silver has a certain value given it by law, and it sustains that value in small transactions; but the quantity afloat is strictly limited to what is used for change. British crowns, shillings, and sixpences, are only tokens, available for change, but not in heavy business transactions, and their want of a full value in proportion to gold keeps them in the Kingdom without depreciating the circulating medium.

Now in the United States they have a silver standard. The gold eagle was nominally worth ten dollars, but it was intrinsically worth more than ten silver dollars; and silver American dollars were a legal tender to any amount. It followed, therefore, that silver was the standard of American coinage, and the bank note only commanding its amount in silver American dollars, the gold became as in this country an article of traffic, bought and sold by weight, without any regard being had to its nominal value. The Legislature afterwards, and but lately, reduced the weight of gold in the new coinage of eagles, but not sufficiently to make the gold eagle the standard.

Now, as every thing saleable is worth just as much as it will bring, we think it is very

plain that the bank note is just worth so much gold or silver as can effectually be demanded for it, and the rate of foreign exchange must be regulated by that value. It is not strange, therefore, that exchange upon New York should be sold at 5 per cent premium, or that exchange upon London should rate here at 12½ per cent, or that our bank notes should be at a discount in Lower Canada or New York.

But we wish to deduce a further moral from these very plain statements, namely, that the current coin of the country cannot be increased by giving it a high nominal value.

To further illustrate this position, let us call to mind the state of trade in England a year ago. It was found necessary to import a large quantity of wheat, which had to be paid for in money. This necessity arose from a failure in the harvest, which made the agricultural labour of the year and the produce of the land not nearly so available as in ordinary cases. Now, if to meet this extraordinary instance the whole coin of the realm had been increased in nominal value, it could not have prevented the exportation of a single pound sterling.

But if one species of coin, namely sovereigns, had been increased in nominal value, so as to cause another species to be of less value in proportion, and supposing the coin thus lessened in proportional value to be silver, nothing is plainer than that silver would have been exported instead of gold, and it would thus have become the standard of the Kingdom. The whole currency of the country would have been depreciated; the whole investments of loaned capital would have been depreciated, but not a shilling less in amount would have been expended.

And to make the question plainer by bringing it to bear upon our own transactions, let us examine further the effect of giving a high nominal value to our standard coin, the British shilling. We assert that it has merely replaced the coin before in circulation with one of less value, but it has not made specie more plentiful.

It is very easy to argue that if at any one period, we enable the banks to redeem their bills with coin which costs them less than that before in circulation, they are gainers by so much in the redemption of their notes. But then it must be remembered, that they are bound to receive in payment of their debts the same coin which they issue, and as the sums

due to a sound and well conducted bank are equal to its debts, with the exception of the small sum in its vaults, the transaction is thus neutralized, so far as facility of redemption is concerned; but the whole investment in bank stock, and the whole of the debts due in the country are depreciated in value. The banks will have gained a small immediate profit, and what is lost by the creditor is gained in common transactions by the debtor; yet for all other purposes, the attempt to keep coin in the country is simply nugatory. But *this effect is produced*, the Canadian dollar is no longer equivalent to an American dollar. The pound provincial currency no longer bears its former proportion to the pound sterling. But imports and exports are not affected at all; the payment of foreign debts is not prevented; the drain of specie is the same as ever. One coin is substituted for another, as to common circulation, but the plenty of circulating medium is as far off as ever.

Were the price of exchange to be quoted between England and America, between the United States and Canada, and between the Provinces of Canada where the currency is different, as it is quoted between the states of Europe, we should not have to explain ourselves so much at length. For instance, if instead of quoting exchange upon New York at 5 per cent premium, we should say the American dollar was worth 5s. 3.; or if in New York instead of quoting our notes or exchange on Upper Canada at 5 per cent discount, they were to state it at 95 cents to the Canadian dollar; or if in place of quoting exchange upon London at 8 per cent premium, they were to state the pound sterling or sovereign to be worth 4 dollars and about 80 cents more or less, (this is about the real par of exchange,) by any additional price, we should immediately see the true premium of exchange, which would in fact only amount to the expense of transmitting money from one country to another, and the small amount would be against the country having to remit money. If the world were at war once more, or if the sea were beset with pirates, or if means of transport were insecure or expensive, the true premium of exchange would be high in proportion; but it is enough to make the most simple student of monetary matters turn aside in astonishment, when he hears grave legislators, in these times, speculate upon the profit of an importation of

money to arise from a high premium of exchange. Brokers and bankers may speculate upon a small variation arising out of fortuitous changes in trade; but when we hear of profits of 8 or 12 per cent to arise from borrowing money, and drawing for it, the thing is so staringly absurd, that one is tempted instead of arguing the matter, to use a slang term and say, "we wish you may get it."

We have in this country and the North American Provinces generally, an unmeaning denomination called a pound Halifax or Provincial currency, which in itself means nothing, for it is represented by no coin or other medium of value. In Lower Canada it means one thing, in Upper Canada another, and in New Brunswick it means something else. It is said to mean four dollars in each of these countries; but if the dollar in New Brunswick is a Spanish or American dollar; if the dollar in Lower Canada is payable in French half crowns at 2s. 9d. each; and if the dollar in Upper Canada is payable with four British shillings, what in the name of confusion does the pound Halifax mean? It is evident that it has a distinct and different value in each of the Provinces; and hence arises the absurd mode of quoting a large and permanent premium of exchange.

A real *bona fide* silver dollar, is calculated to be worth in England, as compared with the gold standard of that country, about 4s. 2d. sterling, varying in price to a small amount in proportion as silver bullion may be in demand or otherwise. But our law says that a pound Halifax is four dollars, and that by deducting one-tenth from a sum in Halifax currency, we reduce it into sterling money, yet in fact we do no such thing.—For, supposing even that all the Provincial standards of coin were the Spanish dollar, we should have the following result: £250 Halifax currency, would be a thousand dollars; deduct one-tenth from this sum, and our dollars safely landed in England ought to be worth £225 sterling. But in fact, when we have got them there, and all expences of transport paid, they are only worth £208 6s. 8d. sterling. Add to this 8 per cent precisely, and we find the sum of £225 0s. 0d. made up; but what right have we to say that this is 8 per cent *premium of exchange*, or that exchange is against us,

or that by drawing for borrowed money any thing is gained? We hope no one who condescends to read this article is so dull as not to see that by this calculation we only arrive at the *par of exchange* without premium;—that is to say, we find what our money is worth were it actually in England in Spanish dollars. *If these dollars were our standard coin*, were it there all exchange operations would be done and over. Yet we falsely and foolishly stick to our pound Halifax, and when we sell a bill on London for a nominal 12½ per cent premium, we imagine that we have made a clear gain to that amount; or when we have to purchase a bill for remittance, at that premium, we as falsely and foolishly consider that we have lost the amount of premium.

But it is with the difference between this 8 per cent and 12½ that we have to deal at present. In New York, while the banks were suspended, and available money could not be demanded for Bank paper, exchange nominally rose to 17 per cent premium; in Lower Canada it rose as high as 25 per cent under the Bank suspension; while in this Province, where the banks redeemed their notes in American dollars, it continued about the par rate of 8 per cent, or a small sum above that rate. Now that the New York banks are forced to redeem their notes in specie, exchange is sold there at 8 per cent, or in other words at par, while here it rates at 12½ per cent; is this because it costs 4½ dollars to transmit 100 dollars to New York? We know that it is not; because the transmission would not and does not cost one shilling in the 100 dollars; but it is because our currency is depreciated, and our dollar is only worth four shillings sterling in British silver, instead of being worth 4s. 2d. as it ought to be.

If a man were to be assured privately that a suspended bank would commence a redemption of its notes in specie, it would be a good speculation for him to bring money into the country, and to sell it at a premium for the Bank notes, for then *without premium* he would receive back the same amount in money which he paid and got a premium for besides. In like manner, were a man possessing foreign funds to be assured that our banks would redeem their notes in Spanish or American dollars within a week, it would be a good speculation for him

to bring funds into the country to purchase with them bank notes. He may, for instance, import British shillings, buy notes with them at the rate of 1s. 5d. each, and when the change took place receive them back at 1s. 2d. each. Or he might sell his exchange for 12½ per cent. premium, and replace his funds in England by a purchase at 8 per cent., thus pocketing the difference. But this has nothing to do with permanent changes in the value of the currency. The country would be the loser, and the speculator the gainer, even in that case; but where the change in the value of the currency is permanent, there is no inducement produced thereby to bring in moneyed capital, even for a temporary purpose, and all the evils and injustice visited upon one section of the community at the expense of another, would have been inflicted and undergone for absolutely nothing.

If we had not heard and read opposite arguments from men who have had much more to do with money than ourselves, we should conceive that we were fighting a shadow, or only building up an argument which would apply to some practical purpose hereafter; but we cannot say that such is the case; for although our principal purpose is not yet arrived at, no desire to compliment the intelligence of Upper Canada prevents us from saying that we have heard in speeches, and read in newspapers, the doctrine, that by a change in the nominal or legal value of coin, money may be brought into, and induced to remain in the Province. But very lately we have seen it asserted in a leading newspaper, that gold must be always an article of changing value, because of its easiness of transport. Can our pupil be at a loss to convince himself of the nonsense of this common, we will not say vulgar error. If he be at a loss, let him suppose an act of Parliament making the sovereign a legal tender at 5½ dollars, or even 5 dollars, and let British silver be reduced in its nominal to its bullion value, and we will warrant him that silver will disappear, and when he presents his note at the bank for redemption, he will find it paid in gold, and not in silver. The silver currency of the country would in such case be exchanged for a gold currency, but not a shilling's worth of money more or less would be in circulation. It is in fact more convenient for one country to have a silver standard of value, and for others to have a gold standard, in proportion as their outward

trade brings them respectively within reach of the original sources of the two precious metals; but a small per centage would overcome all the difficulty, and any country that possesses silver can obtain gold in exchange, or *vice versa*.—England may use gold as the standard current coin; America may use silver; and Russia may use platina, which is as good as either for the purpose; but they are all liable to be tested upon their bullion value. The law which governs that value is not national or local; it is not to be enacted by Emperors, or Parliament, or Congress, or Legislature, but by the world at large; and the great commercial men of the world, while they make money out of local attempts to fix a legal value upon the precious metals, laugh to scorn the shallow fools by whom the attempts are made.

We have had, which is a new circumstance for us, an opportunity of hastily perusing our own writing. The printer's devil is generally at our elbow calling for copy, even when we cannot give him a thought, apart from the busy strife which in Canada all men have to contend in, so as to feed and clothe their families; but now the door is latched, if not locked, and the clock has struck twelve; we shall have no devil to haunt us to-night; and when we review our remarks we find that we have fallen into the fault which we laid to the charge of others: we have not been instructing our friend and pupil so much as contending with high authorities on financial matters, and with the opinions of men who would scarcely condescend to argue the matter with us. We now recollect, however, that we are writing on a *tabula rason*, on a white sheet of paper, and instructing one who is supposed to know nothing but what we communicate. We have been particularly careful to warn men learned in monetary affairs not to read our remarks, and yet we have for a moment forsaken our mode of homely and familiar illustration, and thrown down the gauntlet of defiance to great men and great authorities on questions of provincial finance.

But we proceed to amend our fault, and instead of talking of thousands, and tens of thousands of pounds, which neither we nor our pupil ever saw, we shall prove our positions from things which we have both seen and handled. We both have had in our possession Brock's coppers, of about the intrinsic value of

a half a farthing each ; and each of us has received these adulterated copper wafers, and paid them away as the 1-120th part of a dollar, or a half-penny, Halifax currency, each. Now these coins have not even affected the value of our currency, because they were not a legal tender, and who would take a pound, Halifax currency, due to him, in Brock's coppers ?— But let us suppose that Brock's coppers were made a legal tender, *to any amount* ; and let us suppose further, that any moneyed man had trusted a debtor with a thousand pounds.—In that case, when the time came for payment, the latter would have crossed the border, (provided he was sure of not being executed, as an example to all British subjects visiting that country ;) he would have applied to some work-er in brass, who would put the impress of Satan, or that of an arch-angel, on any coin, without caring much which ; and at an expense of £25 he would have been able to import coppers enough to pay the debt of £1000. But in that case others who owed money would do the same, and the banks could not be behind hand, for they would have to receive the coppers in payment of the bills due to them, and when their notes were presented for payment they would pay in Brock's coppers.

Now, supposing these things to happen, we say that Brock's coppers would be the standard coin of Upper Canada, and we leave our pupil to calculate what the premium of exchange would be upon London or New York under such circumstances. We pray our pupil, therefore, again to take his slate and pencil, and work this problem through all imaginable circumstances, and we pledge ourselves never to offer a word of instruction again, if he does not find the same principle deducible from a dealing in sovereigns, eagles, British silver, or Brock's coppers ; that is to say, the lowest coin in intrinsic value in proportion to its nominal or legal value, is and must be the standard coin of the country, the medium by and through which the values of all other things are tested and tried.

But we further assert, that the coin of the lowest intrinsic value in proportion to its nominal value, must, in the nature of things, drive all other more valuable coins out of circulation. No one will dispute the absurdity of a supposition that Brock's coppers and Spanish dollars could circulate together, the coppers at the rate of a half-penny Halifax, and being a legal

tender ; for who that received in trade a dollar under such circumstances would part with it again for its nominal value in coppers ? No, he would take it to a country where its intrinsic value would be appreciated, and he would exchange it for goods which when brought into the country would sell for many times its amount in the circulating medium.

If therefore the circulating medium of small intrinsic value must always expel the medium of greater intrinsic value, we are ready to take up another position in advance.

It has been proposed most frequently, that Government, under the authority of Parliament, should issue small notes or debentures that would answer as a circulating medium, without any necessity for immediate redemption on demand, or to say the plain truth, without any redemption at all. One of the great financial results of this measure was intended to be, an increase in the circulating medium, and the production of abundance of money. This, it was said, would enable the banks to give large accommodations, would make the circulating medium very plenty, and would consequently make the country prosperous. Now we are bound after our fashion to suppose all this done, and that a sum in small government debentures or notes was issued by the Receiver General, these notes being a legal tender in payment of debts. They could not be turned into cash for exportation, but all the bank currency of notes could be so turned on presentation at the Bank. Then let us suppose a contractor on a public work to have received 1000 dollars in this Government paper, which he wants to remit, and another man to have in his possession 1000 dollars in notes drawn by the Farmer's or People's Bank, which these institutions were bound to advance upon demand, with which he proposed to pay a debt due to one of these institutions. The Government debentures or "s" would be totally useless out of the country, and would not answer for remittance, but the bank notes would answer for that purpose extremely well, for cash could be obtained for them, and cash could be remitted or exported. The man who held the Government bills did not want them to look at, any more than the holder of the bank notes payable on demand. He wants their value to send away, and he therefore makes a bargain with the holder of the bank bills, and purchases the latter at a premium : the debtor to the bank, who

neld the bank bills, parts with them for the inconvertible Government bills, and he discharges his debt to the bank with the latter; while the original holder of the Government Bills, but who has by means of the bargain become the holder of the bank bills, presents the latter for payment in specie; thus the bank bills are returned upon the bank for so much specie, and the debt due to the bank is paid in inconvertible money. This operation would be multiplied of course in a thousand transac-

tions, until the bank had no more specie wherewith to redeem its notes, and no more notes out to redeem; it must therefore re-issue the Government paper, and thus the inconvertible Government paper, instead of adding to the circulating medium, would have supplanted and exterminated all other medium but itself, and when it had done so the Government paper would rapidly sink into depreciation.

(To be continued.)

A CHAPTER ON NEWSPAPERS.

"The Press from her fecundous womb
Brought forth the arts of Greece and Rome
Her offspring, skilled in logic war,
Truth's banner wav'd in open air;
The monster superstition fled,
And hid in shades its gorgon head;
And lawless power the long kept field,

By reason quell'd, was forced to yield.
This nurse of arts, and freedom's foe,
To chain, is treason 'gainst sense,
And, Liberty, thy thousand tongues
None silence who design no wrongs,
For those who use the gag's restraint,
First rob before they stop complaint."

[THE SPLEEN.]

"Now, I read all the politics that come out;—the Daily, the Public, the Ledger, the Chronicle, the London Evening, the Whitehall Evening, the seventeen Magazines, and the two Reviews,—and though they hate each other, I love them all. Liberty, Sir, liberty is the Briton's boast,—and by all my coal mines in Cornwall I reverence its guardians."—[VICAR OF WAKEFIELD.]

READER, do you recognize the last quoted passage? Of course you have read that untiring delight of youth, manhood, and age, the Vicar of Wakefield,—but do not recognize the scene from which it is taken? If not, pray take down old Oliver from the shelf, and refresh your memory with a re-perusal of his delightful tale. You will find there no glitter of artificial sentiment, no gold leaf and tinfoil plastered over the homely features of poor human nature, but your heart will tell you that what you read is real, and memory will recall to you having met many Mrs. Primroses, Farmer Flam-boroughs, and Lady Blarneys, in your rough progress through the varied scenes of life.—The worthy Vicar has just been to sup with the Squire's butler, who was doing host in his master's absence, and really "talked politics as well as most country gentlemen." The servant has just pronounced the above flowing sentence in favour of the various news journals of the day, and wound up his eulogium by asserting his reverence for them as the "guardians of liberty." We wish we could here introduce Doctor Primrose's reply, and still

more that we had the power of copying the same into each and every of the "Whitehall Evenings, Ledgers and Chronicles" of the year of grace 1841.

We have often fancied to ourselves what an amusing and instructive work could be produced from an attentive contemplation of the origin, progress, present condition, and influence of news-papers. Should such a work be undertaken, we should be in doubts as to what name we ought to give the literary bantling; "The history of news-papers,"—"The theory and practice of journalizing,"—or, "The philosophy of penny-a-lining": the names would be equally euphonious and applicable. We would commence with the earliest effort of the newspaper press: we would enlarge on D'Israeli's sketch of its infancy; trace the birth of the Venetian *Gazzetta*, (called as that hunter of literary curiosities conjectures from "gazzera," a magpie, or chattering); glance at the first journal published in England, in the golden days of Queen Bess, "the English Mercurie, imprinted by authority at London, by Her Highness' Printer, 1588"; follow the stream in

its gradually widening course through the quiet reign of that paragon of royal sagacity the facetious king Janne; through the stormy era of the last princes of the House of Stuart; watch it swelling into a lordly river under the beneficent sway of the Georges and Williams; till we had conducted our readers, fatigued doubtless with the long descent and our prosy companionship, to the margin of the great gulf into which the tiny brook has swelled in the glorious er. of our British Victoria, and there pause with them to moralize awhile on the strange scene before us—to watch the bubbling conflict of the noisy waves that tossed, roared, and tumbled at our feet; and chew the end of sweet or bitter reflection, according as observation, memory, or fancy should suggest from the heterogeneous materials scattered so profusely within their easy reach.

We have no desire to torment our readers in the course of these casual remarks, or outrage their decreasing stock of patience, by leading them over the beaten field of discussion as to the great principles of periodical writing. Foremost among the many topics presented by a consideration of this subject stands, “The Liberty of the Press.” Most magniloquent, omnipotent, and ignipotent phrase! We write you with reverence, we speak of thee in tones of awe-struck regard; our pen, even as it fashions the letters of your name, pauses and proceeds solemnly and proudly, as if conscious of the honour done it in being allowed to indite any thing so startlingly excellent. Earth bows to thy acknowledged sovereignty. Men doff their hats to thee in silent reverence. Patriotism trumpets thee; vice shudders; folly writhes beneath thee; philosophy smiles on thee. The very ghosts of departed Statesmen shiver as they wander on the classic banks of Styx if they hear the mention of thy name, and fancy thy racks and tortures are busy with all they left on earth—their character. Madame Roland, while wending her way to that gentle engine of philosophy and equality, the guillotine, could not help apostrophizing the statue of freedom, and exclaiming what crimes were committed in its prostituted name. Should we ever be gibbeted in a libel, or be caught trying to gibbet any other of Her Majesty’s lieges in a similar way, we will doubtless address a somewhat similar apostrophe to the statue (should we meet one) of the “Liberty of the Press.” Wherever the language of civilization

is spoken, there is this earthly deity duly worshipped. In almost every petty hamlet on this enlightened continent she has an altar, on which copious libations of ink supply the place of wine or nectar, and at which some village Editor, with pen behind his ear, is the officiating substitute for the ancient Flamen, with the wreath on his brow, and the sacrificial knife in his hand. Pure are the offerings that lie on these stainless shrines; many the *Victims* that bleed at the daily or weekly sacrifices; but how plentiful soever may be the supply, the hungry Goddess still asks for more. She is fast extending her influence into regions once barely known to the civilized world. Fast as enterprize or industry have established themselves in the wildest regions of earth, she follows close behind, and erects for herself a dwelling. The free vales of merry England have long resounded to her voice. She hath sprung over the narrow waves of the channel, and the palaces of the Bourbons, the towers of the Czars and the Kaisars, the cold skeleton of ancient Rome, the marbled fields of Greece herself, have heard the penetrating echoes of her advancing footsteps. She has flung her voice far into the heart of Asia, from the spicy vales of Ceylon to the snowy tops of the Himalaya; from the Indus to the battlements of Fort William; from the ancient capital of the Mogul, from the new-born kingdoms of the far Australia, she has gathered willing worshippers, and bigotry and slavery tremble behind their decaying ramparts as they hear the free echoes of her approach.

After expressing such an opinion of the extent and influence of this mighty power, it is not likely that we will be required either to make a further profession of faith, or to give adequate and satisfactory reasons for the depth and fervency of this our humble belief. So deep, in fact, is the intuitive reverence we feel for this great power, that we are willing in its absence to do homage to its representative, as the Swiss of old had to bow to Gessler’s cap on a pole; and sometimes in common with many of our countrymen who were influenced by similar feelings, we have been imposed on by some spurious or bastard imitation, and have done homage to the impostor accordingly.—Like every thing else excellent, it follows as a thing of course that this great power is insulted and injured by audacious counterfeits. As Sidney Smith says, we have the “Constitu-

tional", price four pence; the "Cato," at three pence half-penny, and the "Lucius Junius Brutus," at two pence; with a host of others, all professing themselves apostles of the true faith, and calling on the passers by to come and worship at their altars as genuine depositories of the sacred flame. The very excellence of the glorious essence itself ensures its having a host of unscrupulous imitators, who prostitute the purity they are incapable of fully appreciating, and

"Like venal Priests expose the flame for hire."

Beneath the shelter of our own old flag of England seems to be the chosen home of this bright eyed daughter of true Freedom. Under the fresh winds and clouds of our changeful climate she first sprang up from tottering infancy to active youth, and ultimately to the full vigor of matured strength,—and sedulously has she followed our countrymen's march of conquest round the globe. On whatsoever lonely shore British enterprize may have cast a colony, the tiny seed of some Empire, there is she also, to watch the tender years of the infant nation, the nurse of its temporary afflictions, the sleepless sentinel over its known privileges. It matters not with her that the broiling sun of India burns fiercely on her; that the Giant of the Cape looks down from his stormy throne in the clouds of Southern Africa; that the sickly fogs of the Gambia penetrate, or the bitter winds of Canada breathe frost and desolation,—so as she exists among a society of the old Saxon mould she falters not, dies not. With other nations she can doubtless *live*; with some she has to assume a lower tone and clip her soaring wings; with others she may run riot in the extravagance of unbridled license; but in British soil she is to be found in the richest bloom of a healthy and vigorous existence.

It is impossible to shut our eyes to the conviction, that the Saxon race seems destined at no very distant period to hold an almost universal sway over the earth. We speak not of the dominion of one Monarch, or one Government, but of the Empire of a peculiar race of *men*. The descendants of the hardy warriors of Northern Germany who passed the channel with Hengist and Horsa, intermarried with the healthy daughter of the "painted Briton," and afterwards obtained an infusion of fresh blood from the knightly veins of the Norman chivalry. Successive centuries beheld that race

gradually acquiring that name for steady valor and heroic enterprise, which enabled them to triumph one by one over each nation that menaced its independence or interfered with its privileges. Poitiers and Agincourt heard the victorious trumpets of the hardy Islanders.—The thousand sail of the shattered Armada fled before the thunder of the guns of Effingham; and the sluggish valor of the Hollanders at last left to the sailors of Blake and Albemarle the undisputed sovereignty of the narrow seas.—And the British Isles, once considered beyond the uttermost bounds of earth, so poor as to have hardly afforded a cockle to place as a trophy on the helm of a Roman conqueror, have at last, after a thousand years of victory, attained their present position of solid and durable magnificence.

It is true that other realms of broad Europe claim an equal eminence with Great Britain in the scale of nations. As many armed warriors start at the cry of the Czar or the Kaiser as gather round the island throne at the voice of Victoria; but their power is mostly stationary or retrograde; that of England, like the awful tread of destiny, seems to be for ever *onward*, *onward* still. For this we account, by a reference to her tremendous naval power, her unrivalled facilities of transporting her superfluous thousands or her conquering legions across the natural bounds of the broadest ocean. But a small portion of the world comparatively speaking is highly civilized. Unbounded regions, rich in all the wild exuberance of nature, yet remain to tempt the grasp of the military or colonizing adventurer. *There is* England, gradually extending her dominion; there are her uncounted ships yearly and hourly carrying from her crowded shores the hardy colonists that haste to take possession of the fair regions that invite their emigrant steps, wafting to new found continents the enterprize and industry of the mother country, as the birds of the South Sea carry to the wave-beaten surface of the coral rock the seeds of the flower and the forest tree, to form the commencement of what after years will find the fair and woody island, specking the bosom of the once lonely ocean with its rich exuberance of dale and woodland, stream and meadow. Every successive year beholds a fresh addition to the already enormous Empire peopled or governed by the Saxons of the British Isles. The wandering bark of some storm-tost mariner finds far away in

the trackless ocean, a hitherto unknown island or continent, "not laid down in any chart;"—the report of his discovery is wafted on the wings of the Press into every quarter of the Empire, and soon does colonizing enterprize direct first its glance and ultimately its footsteps to the new-found land, and another brilliant sparkles in Britain's colonial diadem. The mighty Republic on our Southern border was nursed into life by British enterprize. The shadows of three hundred years have not flitted over the disk of time since Raleigh stood on the shores of Virginia, or the Pilgrim Fathers landed on the rock of Plymouth: another flag has usurped the place of the red-cross over these broad regions, but everything they have to prize or boast of is English, or of English origin. As one of their own writers sings to the poor Aborigines of the land, so may we to the vaunting Republicans:—

Our memory liveth on your hills,
Our baptism on your shore,
Your everlasting rivers speak
Our dialect of yore.

When Austria wins the barren conquest of a frontier town, or France seizes on an African fortress, within the reach of whose guns the Arab spearmen slay and plunder, Britain is laying the deep foundations of some future great society in the vast continent of Australia, or the majestic forests of the glorious Canadas.—When Russia exterminates a tribe, England colonizes a Kingdom. Does it require any improbable spirit of prophecy, any deep plunge into the dark cavern of futurity to be enabled to foresee that at some coming period the dominion of the earth, or at least of all worth having on the earth, shall lie at the feet of the Anglo-Saxon, the rich fruit of a peaceful conquest, the glorious result of mingled valour and perseverance, the triumphant issue of christian enterprize?

The most important element in the composition of England's greatness is the spirit of free enquiry which pervades all classes of her people from prince to peasant,—that stubborn habit of thinking for themselves, which is the peculiar characteristic of the Saxon race,—that innate sense of their inalienable rights as freemen, of their being in the possession of certain privileges handed down to them as a heritage bequeathed "from bleeding sire to son," which it would be treason to forfeit, sacrilege to violate.

"What constitutes a State?

Not high rais'd battlements or lofty mound,
Thick wall, or moated gate:
Not cities proud with marbled turrets crown'd;
Not bays or broad arm'd ports,
Where laughing at the storm rich navies ride;
Not star-bespangled courts,
Where low-born Baseness wafers perfume to Pride.
No! MEN,—high-minded MEN,
Men who their duties know,
And know their rights, and knowing dare maintain,
Who ward the coming blow,
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain,—
These constitute A STATE!"

Such has been ever the idea of the Saxon race as to the nature of a free State, when the substantial elements of its political greatness were to be found in the native independence and generous self-respect of the mass of the people. It was not in the ranks of an exclusive aristocracy having no sympathy with the people over whom they claimed precedence, like that of Venice, nor in the members of an equally haughty hierarchy, like that of Rome, that the philosopher would search for the germs of national greatness. He would cast his eyes lower, and in the free breasts of the "third estate" of the bold peasantry would look for their existence. When the meanest yeoman of a nation feels himself a free man, at liberty to express his sentiments, and with a voice, however distant and feeble, in the Government that rules him, and a steady permanent veneration for aught great and noble above him as part and parcel of his national existence, there believe that freedom has a firm footing, and that Empire at no distant day will crown the genius of that favoured land.

No nation has ever yet risen to any eminence in the scale of enlightened freedom, which was deficient in the possession of an independent middle class,—a body knowing its own vast weight and influence, but too deeply impressed with a sense of its position as an integral portion of the national establishment to use either to the disadvantage of the whole. Such a class stands equally distinct from the aristocratic branch above them and the mob below. It yields not an inch of ground should a disposition be manifested by the upper ranks to trench on its well defined privileges; it is equally deaf to the frantic voices of the rabble beneath, when they shout in their phrenzy against the wealth which they covet, and for the possession of which every law would be remorselessly vio-

lated. On the healthy condition of this class depends the national stability. While it stands forth as the resolute champion of order and the law, little need be dreaded from the temporary violence of the bad spirits which abound in every dense population—for it remains the immoveable breakwater against which the wildest waves, fashed into fury by the popular tempest, spend their violence, and within whose wide spread shelter lie safely moored the worth, wealth, honour, and dignity of the nation.

It is on this class that experiments must be made by any one desiring to effect a moral or political revolution. It is on its principles or prejudices that any Great Spirit, born for the overthrow of preconceived opinions, and the foundation of new dynasties of religion or politics, must first work. Suppose him to adopt a different course, and unite the aristocratic orders into a great conspiracy against the existing order of things; or on the other hand to gather together the dregs and sediment of society, the mob, the rabble, the very refuse of democracy, for a similar purpose; he yet would in all probability fail signally, and add his name to the long list of Jack Cades, Masaniellos, and Wat Tylers, who have made similar attempts with equally miserable results. In the first case, if the aristocracy should attempt to strangle the liberties of the nation in the grasp of an hereditary oligarchy, the middle class would stand firmly forth as the protectors of the known rights of their fellow-men, and by an appeal to their own irresistible force, moral and physical, and by fanning into action the slumbering fire of the "strength of the masses," would speedily awaken such a tempest as would dash into atoms the glittering array of their lordly antagonists. Should the bad passions of the lower orders be evoked for revolutionary purposes, the middle class would again interpose its broad shield between their rabid fury and the threatened majesty of the laws, and by throwing its great weight into the scale of order and peace at once disperse the ill-organized rabble, and ensure the stability of the established Government.

It is in this class that the influence of a free press works most powerfully and effectually.—Many have supposed that the pernicious influence of a profligate political writer would be most rapidly apparent on that floating and unprincipled portion of the population frequently

without "a local habitation or a name," or which is almost always ready to imbibe any new-fangled doctrine, no matter how wild or unreasonable, advanced by the mock patriot or the charlatan, provided it only appealed to their worst passions, depreciated excellence or virtue that it never could emulate, or promised food or gratification to appetite and sensuality. But we hold such an opinion to be an easily exposed fallacy. Mischief, great mischief may doubtless be effected by stirring up the bad passions of the worst orders of society, but several reasons at once occur to the reflecting mind militating against the probability of any permanent evil resulting from an exclusive tampering with them. Their education is in most countries of that very imperfect nature that prevents their receiving information through the ordinary channels. They are incapable of rightly understanding the insinuations or covert allusions of the specious knave who, under the mask of respect for religion and the laws, attempts to instil principles and rules of conduct directly at variance with both. If he seek to be understood by the meanest capacity, he must cast aside all false appearances, and clothe his ideas in words conveying his actual meaning, and thus give to the world his designs and doctrines in all their unpromising nakedness, stripped of all tinsel and ornament, to be judged by the sense of mankind in their native deformity,—the painted exterior of the sepulchre is torn away, and the internal rottenness left fully apparent. Again, in any well-regulated community the influence of the rabble is hardly of importance, and unless in a land where mendicancy prevailed to an extraordinary extent, or the population bore the character of "Lazzaroni," any impression made on their ill-organized ranks would merely slightly agitate the surface of society, creating nothing but a ripple on the face of the broad social ocean, which would instantly subside when the feeble and fickle breeze had passed over.

It is in its action on the middle classes, by far the most important in every community, that the press deserves the consideration of the essayist or political economist. In their hands may be said to be deposited the treasure of every nation. Commercial affairs are exclusively managed by them. The agricultural interests are practically vested in them, forming as they do the intermediate stage between the landed aristocracy and the tillers of the

earth; and in a country situated like England, or any one of her possessions, they occupy by far the most important station. On them and through them must every great political experiment be made; by their active co-operation almost any change can be effected in the oldest custom or regulation; in the teeth of their decided opposition the Statesman would be mad to attempt alteration or innovation.

By their support the public press is upheld, its independence jealously watched over, its disposition to licentiousness kept within something like bounds, and according to their known wishes or prejudices does it assume a higher or more subdued tone. If we were called on to elect any one subject on which the people of British descent are peculiarly sensitive, we would unhesitatingly mention "the freedom of the press." Any attempt to curb its acknowledged violence,—any scheme for establishing even the most limited censorship over its operations, is instantly met, and generally strangled in the birth by a universal roar of national disapprobation. Every man considers it as a direct infringement of his own peculiar rights, deems that his birthright privileges have been invaded, and resents it as an invasion of the sanctity of his domestic hearth. Woe to the popularity of the Statesman, woe to the fair name of the candidate for the suffrages of the people, should he dare to propose or advocate any project calculated to render more stringent in their operation the present very lenient laws by which political writing is attempted to be kept within the bounds of decency. No more odious name can be attached to the public man than that of an enemy of the press; let it be once regularly fixed on him, and it will cling to him for ever, blasting his political reputation, paralyzing his best or noblest exertions for the good of his fellow-man or the advancement of his country's greatness.

Ten years since, one of the greatest of European powers was revolutionized by a ministerial attack on the press. The ancient dynasty of the Bourbons, that had swayed over the broad realms of France for centuries of conquest, that had carried down their brilliant name and sovereignty from the chivalrous days of the middle ages to the hour of the outpouring of that viol of desolation, to the sounding of the war trumpet of the revolution, which survived the unearthly career of the Im-

perial Corsican, and when he was chained to the Atlantic rock returned to reign in the ancient halls of the Tuilleries, was overthrown by an insurrection of unemployed printers. Two ordinances were issued by the Polignac ministry, one to annul the elections, another to stop peremptorily all papers published in Paris, with one or two exceptions. It was calculated that thirty thousand printers and their assistants were thrown out of employment. The first measure, arbitrary as it doubtless was, might have been borne; the second was insupportable. The printers mingled with the crowd, which was not disposed to actual violence without some powerful stimulus, scattered inflammatory appeals among them, and finally raised into life the wild outbreak of the "glorious three days" which drove from France the last of the Bourbons, and placed on the throne of that chivalrous race the present "citizen King of the Barricades." The part played by the printers in this "cemente," is a matter of historical notoriety, and though on this occasion they could hardly be said to be exercising their *legitimate influence*, which is generally developed by their peaceful labours in the printing-office, yet it is a startling instance of the mighty power for good or evil which can be at such a crisis brought to bear on the popular side.

As we would be exceeding our limits were we to follow on this subject through its different ramifications, taking a kind of bird's eye view of the power and present condition of the "Mighty engine," we will defer to another number the balance of remark which we have yet to make. Did we endeavour to compress it within the space of a solitary chapter, we would be compelled to omit much that we have to say ourselves, and many opinions of others which we desire to notice on this interesting subject.

We are blessed with free and liberal institutions. Among them we rank a Press, of which whatever may be said of its *merits*, certainly little can be alleged against its almost unrestrained liberty. Our laws, it is true, prescribe some drastic remedies for any unbridled license, and a slander of an individual is punishable criminally, and by vindictive damages. But for *ten* libels that are published, not *one* is made the ground-work of legal proceedings, for Jurors look with a morbidly jealous eye on any attempt to punish the outpourings of a loose

pen. In the punishment of the delinquent slanderer they fancy they perceive an attack on the great principle which they so justly cherish, and the guilty frequently escape lest an injury should by possibility be inflicted on the important privilege under which defendants invariably shelter themselves; and when the foulest guilt has flown for protection to the shadow of that venerated sanctuary, the sword of the

avenger falls powerless to the ground, and the felon escapes that the principle may be vindicated.

"I care not," said Sheridan "that there may be a corrupt and licentious aristocracy,—a venal House of Commons,—that tyrants profane the Throns, or traitors guide our councils in the Senate,—give me a 'free Press,' and I defy them all"!

AGRICULTURAL PROTECTING DUTY.

PUBLIC attention has lately been drawn to the condition of the agricultural interest in Upper Canada, and various methods have been suggested for its improvement. It seems to be generally conceded that his produce does not pay the farmer a remunerating price, and that it is necessary to devise some plan by which his labours shall be better rewarded than they are at present. What is chiefly desired, however, seems to be this—that a duty be levied on produce imported from the United States for home consumption; and that Canadian bread stuffs be admitted into the English markets duty free, including therein flour manufactured in Canada from wheat imported from the States. By this conjoint operation, of a duty on foreign produce here, and freedom from duty for Canadian produce in the English markets, it is supposed that prices would be kept higher in our markets, and yet the exporter would reap ample profits by being no longer subject to duty in England. It is supposed that this double measure would increase the price of wheat about 1s. 3d. per bushel, and other things in proportion, and thus place the farmer above all reasonable grounds of complaint. How far these opinions are well-founded, or the proposed remedy is adequate to its design, we shall now enquire.

That agricultural labours are inadequately rewarded is certain. The farmer is very far from receiving a compensation equal to what can be obtained in other pursuits. A mechanic who is sober and industrious will often make money much faster than the farmer, and live,

or at least appear, much better all the time.—And as for store-keepers, each one could soon buy out half-a-dozen farmers, and live and appear like a prince to boot. Perhaps in nothing is the contrast between Canada and England more striking than in the different circumstances in which farmers appear. *There*, the farmer is a kind of petty lord, and often looks with some degree of contempt on those who are engaged in trade; but *here*, the traders are the lords of the land, and farmers, most of whom are struggling more or less with difficulty, are constrained to appear, and in some respects to be, an inferior class. Individuals of course there are, many altogether, who have surmounted their difficulties, have become easy in their circumstances, and have money at command; yet even these are in general far from exhibiting that quiet ease and joyous good humour with themselves and the world that generally characterize the English farmer. The former commonly shew the signs of their early struggles, and seem rather to live than enjoy life. We of course speak here of those who have spent most or the whole of their lives in Canada; for as to those who have emigrated from England, they bring with them and retain as far as possible the habits and manners of the classes to which they belonged. But those who have spent their active lives here have had to tread a rugged path, and have been engaged in labours of comparatively small profit. The well-spring of rural felicity has been frozen up by the rigours of the clime, and the severe labours required by a new, rough,

unreclaimed country. Where is there any thing in Canada like the exuberant mirth of an English "harvest home," when every adult and urchin in the village ran to swell the universal shout, and scramble for the expected "largess," and even palsied age crept out on its staff or crutch to look with pleasure on the scene, and gratulate in childish treble the rich consummation of labours it could no longer share? The rustic merriment of "sheep-shearing," and the resounding hilarity of "hay-making" and the harvest field have no counterparts in Canada, or only such as are shadows to the substance. "Merrie Englands" received its title from the rural merriment which filled its fair and smiling fields. Canada has yet to merit such a title. If our farmers are able in the decline of life to live with tolerable ease, it is not an entire exemption from care and pains. A mechanic or trader will generally retire from business in the course of years, more or less according to the nature of his business, and his advantages therein; but a farmer cannot retire from business, unless he has sons to take it, because he cannot let his farm for a rent sufficient to support him in his old age. He has therefore to continue his efforts, at least in some degree, until he falls like ripened fruit into the grave, or is cut down like corn ripe for the harvest. The inferior circumstances in which farmers are generally found, compared with other classes of the population, the much longer time it takes them to become easy in their circumstances, and the almost total inability to retire from business altogether, all conspire to prove that farming is a much less profitable occupation than most others in Canada, and therefore it seems but reasonable that measures should be adopted to equalize these differences, and place the agricultural interest on at least as good a footing as any other occupation, so far as public regulations can assist individual efforts, or counteract weighty disadvantages.

In considering the subject, it is obvious at the outset that there is one circumstance which is highly favourable to this design, in that there is no other interest that can be brought into competition with the agricultural. In Great Britain, that interest is met by a large manufacturing and a large commercial interest, both of which require cheap food, which the farmer cannot afford. There is therefore an opposition between these interests, and one cannot

be favoured except at the expense of another. But in Canada we have no manufacturing or commercial interest of any moment. The chief occupation of the country is, and must for a long time be, agricultural. That part of the population not engaged in agriculture is probably about one-tenth of the whole. It has, however, been reckoned as high as one-eighth, and taking it at that, it still leaves the immense majority of seven-eighths engaged in agriculture. The interest of this vast portion of the people is of course paramount to every other, and the prosperity of the Province is identical with theirs. If they are permanently injured or depressed, the whole community must suffer. Fluctuations of course there will be, and depressions from temporary causes will occur in spite of all care and all legislation, domestic or foreign. Such cases every man must be prepared for, and he must endure them when they arrive as best he can. No legislation can prevent the operation of natural laws. No scheme can ward off the evils that are but the incidents of our situation and circumstances. No wisdom can supply deficiencies that are inherent in the nature of things, any more than it can turn oats into wheat, or sheep into bullocks.

It is supposed, however, that Canadian agriculturists are suffering at present from evils which may be removed, or greatly mitigated, by merely affording our agriculture a protection similar to that which other countries give to theirs. In the United States, farmers are protected by a duty on foreign produce; and in Great Britain they are also protected by heavy duties, in both cases against large manufacturing and commercial interests. In both cases the State protects the farmer at the expense of the other classes of its people; but in Canada the farmer is left to take care of himself, without being in any way guarded from the competition of foreigners, who, while they readily avail themselves of his open markets, take good care not to allow him similar advantages in return. Thus the Canadian farmer is not placed on an equal footing with his brethren in England, nor does he enjoy the protection of his government in this respect, although it has almost no other class to protect. Foreigners are allowed to use our markets as if they were their own, for in them the State makes no difference between its own children and strangers, —no difference between those who are taxed for its support, and those who never pay a pen-

ny towards it,—no difference between those who would form the strength of its armies in case of war, and those who would form the strength of its enemies in such a case. If this be wise and just, the Canadian farmer cannot see it, cannot understand why his country and his government should place no more value on him and his interests, than on foreigners and their interests, cannot conceive why he should not be allowed the same favour here as other countries give to their agriculturists. Hence, a strong desire prevails for placing Canadian agriculture on a better foundation, by giving it protection against the competition of foreigners, and a free admission into the English markets, as the growth or manufacture of British territory, labour, and capital.

But in order to understand the question, it is necessary to take into consideration several circumstances which affect Canadian agriculture, and from which no legislation can relieve it. If we suppose that all that is wanted to render our farmers uniformly prosperous, and enable them to acquire wealth as easily as other classes of the community, is to be done by act of Parliament, we shall commit a weighty mistake, be doomed to see much of our labour fruitless, and be mortified by disappointment where we expected the fruition of our hopes and desires. We must endeavour to ascertain how far legislation can help us, and how far we must help ourselves, and how far time and the general progress of the country must help us. If we expend our efforts on what is impracticable or unattainable, we shall not only lose our labour, but be prevented from pursuing such benefits as may be attained. In order to act with a just understanding of what the result of our efforts will be, we must investigate the whole question closely, and take into account every fact or circumstance that can contribute to produce that result, or modify it in any degree whatever. To omit any element essential to the calculation would be as fatal to the result, as the omission of a figure in working a question in arithmetic would be. To form a correct judgment we must omit nothing.

Canadian agriculture is subject to a disadvantage from the very circumstance which forms one of its advantages, namely, the cheapness of land, and consequent easiness with which it may be acquired. From this cause great numbers settle on land, and contribute to swell the amount of its produce, but

they are without the least power of controlling that produce so as to make it most beneficial to themselves, by taking advantage of the state of markets, holding on when markets are low, and selling when they are high. In commercial affairs this is an important power, and the man who possesses it will make money when others lose who have it not. In trades or employments that require but little or no capital, there are always numerous competitors, petty of course, but living on the smallest gains, and thereby keeping out of the business persons of larger means and larger expenses. Among these petty competitors there is no storing by, or waiting for better prices. Every article that is made must be sold as fast as it is made, and, to use a common phrase, each one lives "from hand to mouth." This is too much the case with our farmers. They cannot wait for better prices, but must bring their produce to market, fetch what it may. Now when a whole class are in this situation, that they have not the least control over the prices at which they shall sell the products of their industry, they are not only subject in all its rigour to the general law of supply and demand, but are utterly unable to guard against speculators who combine to purchase the farmer's produce at very low rates, knowing that he is unable to help himself. Let us suppose a case in illustration. A farmer goes into a merchant's store, and asks the price of a piece of cloth.—He is told, say, 15s. per yard. He thinks this too high, and offers, say, 10s. No, says the merchant, the cloth cost me more than that.—I cannot afford it lower than 15s., and if you will not give that price you cannot have it at all. So far so good. The merchant has capital, and he holds on to his goods rather than sell them at ruinous prices. Now reverse the picture. The farmer has wheat for sale, and he is asked the price. He answers, 4s. 6d. per bushel, and he is offered 3s. 6d. He should then be able to say,—No. It costs me more than that to raise it. I cannot afford my wheat under 4s. 6d. per bushel, and if you will not give that you cannot have it at all. Every body knows that, how much soever a farmer may wish to use these words, there is not one in a thousand in a situation to do so. On the contrary, after much chaffering, and many exclamations against bad times and ruinous prices, and many warm wishes that Parliament would interfere for the farmer's benefit, he is

constrained to take what he is offered, though far beneath the value of his wheat, considered as a just recompense for his labour and expenses. How different is the case in England.—There are many farmers even there who must sell, no matter how low prices may be; but there are also many who can and do hold on, and wait for better prices when they are low. We knew an English farmer who kept two thousand sheep, and kept their wool by him for three successive years, rather than sell below his price. How much such men can influence markets and regulate prices is evident. But in Canada, farmers have but little or no capital, and therefore are at the mercy of times and speculators, utterly unable to take advantage of the one, or defy the other. A large part of the profits of trade is made by mere management, buying when and where the markets are low, and selling when and where they are high; and a trader who possesses this knowledge, and skill to use it, will realize profits while another without it will barely hold his own. But there can be no such management with the Canadian farmer, for it requires capital as well as skill, and capital he has yet to acquire.

There is this circumstance, then, in Canadian agriculture, one which no legislation can reach or remedy, that the almost total want of capital renders our farmers unable to protect themselves by the ordinary rules of management in business, reserving their produce until it does pay a remunerating price. They are constrained by necessity to sell the produce of each year as fast as it can be brought to market, and the effect of pouring produce on a market already glutted is of course a great depression of prices. Time and the general progress of the country must remove this disadvantage. When the farmer obtains capital, and thereby has a control over the prices of his produce, he will be enabled to suspend his sales until he has a remunerating price. Some other circumstances also make against the farmer, and are beyond control, as the high price of labour, and the length and severity of the Canadian winter.—An English farmer performs a great part of his ploughing during winter. He thus distributes his work over the whole year, is able to put a large breadth of land under crop, and make his servants and working cattle profitable day by day for the entire year. But the Canadian farmer must hurry through his ploughing in the fall and spring, and if he keeps servants by

the year they are of no profit to him during winter. He also depends too much on one crop, instead of providing several. An English farmer pays his midsummer rent and his harvest expenses from the price of his wool. In these and other things there are great differences between agriculture here and in Great Britain. Some of these time will remove, but others will remain as permanent disadvantages to balance many advantages in the general estimate.

But if the Canadian farmer be unable by want of capital to protect himself, it is the more incumbent on the Government to protect him as far as possible, and therefore he requires a duty on United States produce when imported for home consumption. Let us see how far this measure would meet the views of its advocates.

The price of produce in our market is determined by the law of supply and demand.—When the former exceeds the latter, prices fall, and *vice versa*. If the home supply exceed the demand, there are no importations for home consumption through necessity, and if any are made from choice, they merely displace an equal amount of the home supply. If the Province has as much flour of its own as it can use, and 20,000 barrels be imported from the States, those 20,000 barrels cannot be used without displacing or setting free for exportation an equal amount of Canadian flour. The vessel being already full, it can hold no more, and if we pour any in, what is in must run out to make way for it. As the Province has of its own raising a large surplus of bread stuffs above its demands, foreign flour if used here must displace our own to an equal amount. When the supply exceeds the demand, prices are regulated by the English market, to which we export our surplus. Canadian and United States flour being both destined for the English market, and the latter being subject there to a higher duty than the former, it brings a less price here.—American flour was lower last season at Montreal and Quebec by from 1s. 3d. to 2s. 6d. per barrel than Canadian; consequently, it was more profitable to use American flour here and export our own to England. But if the proposed protecting duty were laid on, the case would be instantly reversed; the American flour would be all exported, and none but Canadian used. Thus so far as present benefit to the farmer is concerned the duty would be entirely nugatory. It would not affect prices

here one penny. It would merely cause this change, that instead of using American flour and exporting our own, we should use our own and export the American, the exporter losing the difference of duty between them in England, which he now saves by present arrangements. A protecting duty would benefit the farmer only in a season of scarcity. If there should be another failing harvest, he would then obtain higher prices by the amount of that duty; but at present, and so long as we have a home surplus above the demand, the duty would not benefit the farmer a single straw. If any man still doubt this, let him look to the States. There is a protecting duty; does it raise or keep up the price of wheat now? Not at all; on the contrary, wheat is cheaper in Ohio than in Canada, having been bought there for 2s. per bushel. There, then, is broad and palpable proof, that a protecting duty does not affect prices one cent, except in seasons of scarcity. The duty does not raise the price of wheat in Ohio, neither would it in Canada were it levied to-morrow.

To place a duty on United States wheat and flour would be just on principles of reciprocity, because they levy a duty on our produce; it would also benefit our farmers in case of a failing harvest; but as a means of immediate benefit it would be altogether vain. Indeed we are

not sure but it would prove to some extent injurious at present, because by using American flour and exporting our own, the exporter is able to afford a better price for the latter, by the amount of difference in the duty between them in the English market, as was shown last year by the higher price of Canadian flour in the markets of the Lower Province: but if we levy the proposed duty, we must immediately use our own flour and export the American, thereby losing that difference. It is not great, it is true, in an individual case, but on the transactions of the whole country it would be important. As to the duty proposed on United States cattle, &c., it would be immediately beneficial, because the home supply does not equal the demand, although it is every year approaching nearer to that point, and must before long reach and pass it, making the country independent of foreign aid.

If it be thought that we have presented too gloomy a picture of Canadian agriculture in our remarks on the disadvantages to which it is subject, we have only to observe that there are many compensating advantages, but as they do not bear on the question we have not noticed them.

We shall resume the consideration of this subject in our next number.

OUR RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

WE are not of the number of those who look with envy, jealousy, or hate, upon the United States. Notwithstanding all the wrongs—the vast and cruel wrongs which the people of Canada have received from a portion of their republican neighbours for the last two or three years, we are not disposed to throw the odium of these buccaneering forays upon the whole people, although they were certainly countenanced by many persons of wealth and authority. Yet as they were disclaimed and in some sort resisted by the United States government and the better class of its citizens, we are content to let the deep and damning curse of suc-

cessive piratical inroads on the Province rest on the base and demoralized portion of the unruly population south of the lines. Rest on whom it may, the people of Canada will long remember how their peaceful homes were invaded, their property destroyed, and their unoffending neighbours savagely slaughtered, and strewed on their fields to be eaten by their own swine, until the sorrowing widow could not recognize the corpse of a husband save by its dress, and the insulting mockery of committing all this arson, robbery, and murder for the purpose of giving us freedom! Great and weighty reasons has Canada for indignation

against these buccaneers, and we do not wonder that some of our people extend their resentment to the whole of the Americans. This feeling we cannot share. We condemn the guilty, and let the innocent pass unscathed.

But besides this indignation for the border outrages, there are some among us who regarded our neighbours with aversion before those outrages occurred, and of course they now cherish the sentiment more devoutly than ever. The main-spring of their enmity is political. They detest a republic, and regard the term republican as but another name for a fool or a knave. They consider both name and substance as a nuisance which they cannot approach, and which when seen from afar shocks their moral sense, and disorders their delicate nerves. A republic is a chaos, a monster, a fiend, a usurper of other men's rights, a devourer of other men's gains, an enslaver of other men's persons, an outrage against human nature and divine right, a concentration of all bad passions for all bad purposes, a league with hell against earth and heaven, and the third stage to the burning, bottomless gulf of perdition. Such are some of the ideas that whirl through the heads of the divine-right-and-passive-obedience men when a republican comes "between the wind and their nobility," or the hateful subject intrudes on their excited imaginations. In such notions and such fears we do not participate. The particular form of government under which a people shall live is their own peculiar concern, one in which strangers have no right to interfere, and of which in fact they are often incapable of judging aright. The very form of government which suits one people admirably well may be wretchedly misapplied to another, and what is really good under certain circumstances may be as really evil under circumstances totally different. These are matters which every people must consider and determine for themselves, and he is the fool or knave who usurps their prerogative, and presumes to sit in judgment on a whole people with whom he has almost nothing in common. So long as our neighbours to the south are contented with their government we are contented too, and if we even thought it bad it is no affair of ours. The days of knight-errantry are over, though now and then some crazy loon seems emulous of Don Quixotte's glorious name, noble birth, and martial deeds. Do we dread the example of a republic, or fear

contagion from its presence? Will it taint the air with its breath, delude us by its songs, or waft on every southern breeze strange shapes and visions to attract our sight, and draw us to its embrace? Is there magic in the name, enchantment in the sound, a charm in the scene which no mortal can resist? Must we fall down and worship this golden calf, or adore this golden image which Babel's sovereign people have set up? Does the fiery furnace await us if we refuse to bow the knee, or shall we be cast into the den of lions if we kick the beast instead of doing it homage? Answer ye who are afraid of a republic as if it were the counterpart of hell. If it were Pandemonium itself we could not escape from it. There it stands, confronting us along our whole border, and exercising a considerable influence on our people and their affairs. This influence may be in the highest degree injurious, yet we cannot change our situation, nor should we shut our eyes to the peculiar influences which it brings to bear upon us. On the continent of Europe the governments are watchful of the influence which a contiguous people may exert, even though obstructed by differences of language and national character, and but little commercial intercourse. How much more then must the United States affect us, between whom there is a sameness of language and general character, an unrestrained intercourse in trade, and many mutual business connexions. The governments of Europe endeavour to shut out the light and influence of institutions more liberal than their own, but this exclusion cannot be attempted here. The only way in which we can safely correct this influence from without, is by infusing so much liberality into the administration of the government, that the people of Canada shall "see nothing to envy in the institutions of the United States," according to Lord Stanley's declaration.

It is hardly fair, however, when looking upon the United States, to fix our attention on nothing but their political institutions. If we were to admit that these are as objectionable as their opponents declare them to be, yet there is a vast amount of matters and things totally unconnected with politics, which mainly compose or form the national character, and well merit the observation of those who are by their situation exposed to its influence. We are not blind to certain alleged defects in the American character, but we are not disposed

to magnify the spots on the republican stars, and conceal the lustre, energy, and happiness which they diffuse through their rapidly extended sphere. The rudeness which travellers are sometimes said to experience in the States may well be pardoned by an Englishman. It is the very fault which foreigners allege against us, and it is not in either case so much intentional rudeness, as the excess of a noble independence. It is not the malicious kick of a vicious animal, but the bounds and curvettings of a fiery courser, proud of his strength, spirit, and speed; and though his movements may not be so easy and gentle as those of the pacing nag, or ambling pony, yet to the goal of victory, or against the thunders of battle, he triumphantly bears his rider to honour and glory. No man who has any love for truth, any regard for unconquerable freedom, any admiration of a bold or daring spirit, or any pleasure in the improvement and happiness of his species,—can behold the prosperous commerce, the flourishing villages, towns, and cities, the agriculture and manufactures, the churches, schools, printing presses, and libraries, the roads and canals that spread like enchantment where all was lately a trackless forest, while the people's mighty energy bears them upward and onward to yet nobler achievements, and to a station of yet higher mental and moral grandeur: no man who has a just esteem for his rational, free, and immortal nature, can behold these things without exulting in such trophies of American enterprise, liberty, science, and art. He will rejoice to see that the acorn which was prematurely wrenched from its parent stem has taken such deep and powerful root, has risen and spread abroad its verdant canopy far and wide, and boldly emulates the princely majesty of its parent oak. The royal eagle, instead of being pinioned to the nest for ever, escapes to illustrious freedom, grasps the lightnings of Jupiter, soars to the zenith, drinking celestial fire, and proudly flies through the starry expanse, exulting in the light and magnificence of heaven.

But it must not be supposed that all which is excellent in the States is to be placed to American credit. Statements have been made which seemed to suppose that the rank which the United States have so quickly gained among the nations was solely owing to themselves, as if their skill in commerce and naval tactics, their intelligence and enterprise, their courage and perseverance, and all that consti-

tutes their prosperity, were equally new with their name and independence as a nation.—Whether designedly or not, these statements proceed on the supposition that when the Americans achieved their independence, they were in a condition but little superior to the Indian tribes, and had gained their present standing by their own unaided efforts; whereas they had then existed long as a part of the British Empire, had enjoyed all the privileges of Britons, and entered the field on the high vantage ground of England's thousand years experience in government, art, and science.—Their case resembled that of a young merchant who enters on the well-filled warehouses, established credit, extensive connexions, and flourishing commerce of an old and well-governed mercantile firm. Their independence is from themselves, but their freedom is from England. "The political education of the people was complete when they landed on the Atlantic strand." The *spirit* of their political institutions was derived from their English ancestry, and they have merely changed the *form* of its manifestation. In all other things they have been enriched by England's knowledge and wealth, which they have had the skill and spirit to apply in a thousand different ways to their rapid advancement in all that constitutes national prosperity. Of these advantages they have so largely availed themselves, that if England with all her talent, riches, and glory were swept from the earth, or sunk in the abysses of her subject deep, enough remains in America to shed immortal honour on the country that gave birth to the citizens, the language, the freedom, and the institutions of the United States. Countries connected by a thousand exalted associations and familiar ties should preserve uninterrupted harmony. Any contest between them is as if two suns should forsake their spheres, rush to the fierce conflicts of battle, and involve two systems of worlds in darkness and ruin.

An idea, however, has got abroad, which if it were not first started by the Americans themselves, has at all events been encouraged by many among them, that we are on the eve of a rupture with the United States. We cannot agree with this notion, because there has been nothing new to warrant it, and the former differences are not of such a nature as to require an appeal to that destructive arbitrator, war. But as the old adage says: "In time of

peace prepare for war," it may be useful and interesting to glance at our condition of preparation for such an event, as the survey will increase our people's confidence in themselves, and enable them to appreciate justly our own and our neighbours' relations and duties towards each other, and towards the rest of the civilized world.

Before the last war was declared by the American Congress in 1812, Canada was threatened with invasion by three armies of 50,000 men each, namely, one to enter the Province at Amherstburgh, another to cross the Niagara river, and the third to march upon Montreal. In reply to these threats it was declared by many in Canada, that 50,000 men could not be raised for a regular army in all the United States, and the event proved the opinion to be correct, for their regular army never amounted to half that number during the whole war. The greatest number ever assembled at one point was on the Niagara frontier in 1814, under General Izod, and it did not exceed 11,000 men.

After the lapse of a quarter of a century, we may venture to prophecy again, that even now, 50,000 men cannot be enlisted for a regular army in the United States. In a country where every labouring man can earn a comfortable livelihood, we may be assured that but comparatively few can be found to take up arms for the purpose of foreign aggression. Were we to invade the United States, then indeed every possible resistance would be made to the invaders, and a large part of the population, if not the whole *en masse*, would take arms to defend their country; but in an offensive war on another land and people very few would be willing to engage personally, except the mere refuse population of their cities and towns. The reflecting people of the States must be confident of their perfect security from every thing like permanent conquest, and they can have no desire to see their country involved in war; but there are among them many desperate men, some thousands along the northern frontier, desperate in fortune and character, and with little or no hope of redeeming either. The voice of this class and all they could influence would doubtless be for war, as the means of gaining something in the general strife. During the past three years we have seen many evils produced by the agitation excited by these

men, much blood shed, and the ruin of many families. Suppose the counsel of these men prevails, let us speculate on the probable results.

We could not reasonably expect to be in a better state of preparation than at present.— We have about 15,000 of the finest troops the world ever saw: there are residing in the country some thousands of retired officers and soldiers, including many naval officers: the events of the last three years have called into active service a considerable portion of the militia, and in fact we may be called a martial people.— We have abundance of naval and military stores, and the country is full of provisions.— In a few weeks our entire male population might take the field, and be organized and led under some of the most experienced and excellent officers in the British service, in whose skill and courage all would have unbounded confidence.

Under what circumstances must our opponents take the field? They must first of all consume many months in recruiting their army to 50,000 men, if it would not take years to raise and organize that number. When organized and in the field, what must be the state of their officers and non-commissioned officers as to military knowledge and experience? As to experience, they must be wholly without it; and their knowledge must be extremely superficial and limited. Their men could have but little confidence in them, and in this most important of all martial acquirements their troops would be greatly our inferiors. We do not hesitate to declare, that, if by magic an American army were this day ready to invade the five provinces, we have the means now at command to destroy or drive them back immediately.

It may be said that they would not scatter their force, and attack us at many places, but would concentrate it upon one or two vulnerable points. Be it so, and let them obtain temporary possession of a portion of our territory; have we not seen that even in the winter of 1837-8, a regiment of troops was conveyed from Halifax to Amherstburgh? and do we not see how rapidly we could concentrate our forces upon any point, and bear with our whole power on any body of invaders, during the season of military operations? And let it not be forgotten that the more numerous the forces assembled against us at any one point were, the

more unwieldy would they be, because of their deficiency in skill and experience, and because they would have to carry on their operations in a country now comparatively clear, where the contest must be decided in fair open-field fight, and where the movements of the battalion, the column, and the line, would have to be practised, and that too under the sweeping fire of cannon and musquetry. Without full confidence in the skill and valour of the officer and the sergeant, how can the inexperienced soldier stand firm in the midst of falling comrades, still less rush forward to close conflict with men whose discipline and experience, and consequent courage, he knows full well must be far superior to his own.

We may be assured of one thing, that the desperate men before adverted to would form a large portion of any invading army, and if the provinces were over-run, no power of any officer, civil or military, belonging to the United States could protect our people, being helpless, from the rapacity and violence of some of the worst men the world has ever seen. Whig and tory, radical, and all others having property, would be stripped of every thing they possessed. It would be for plunder those men would come, and not as in an honourable quarrel to defend or avenge their country.

We have made these remarks in order to show those who seem to delight in spreading abroad "rumours of war," that we are not unprepared for it should it come. For ourselves, however, we reject all such rumours, as the veriest nonsense in the world. What has probably given them birth is the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. A. McLeod at Lockport, under a charge of arson and murder, in having been concerned in the destruction of the steamer *Caroline*, and the preceding observations are preliminary to the following statement of his case, which has, as a matter of course, caused much excitement in Canada, and become the subject of remonstrance from our Government to that of the United States :—

McLeod's Imprisonment, and the Caroline affair considered, with reflections on the aggressive power of America.

The history of the world presents not a case parallel to that of ALEXANDER McLEOD, at this moment incarcerated in a foreign gaol, on the alleged charge of "arson and murder,"

committed upon the property and persons of an armed band of ruthless pirates, whose cause has been voluntarily espoused by a powerful nation, claiming a prominent position amongst the great civilized powers of the earth.— "Arson and murder"! for the capture and destruction of a piratical vessel, and the punishment of her crew, when, according to the universal acceptance of the law of nations, they were without the pale of every law, human and divine! The charge is a grave one, and appears to us unnatural, contradictory, and unsustainable; let us therefore examine into the facts of the case, and see how far they carry out our impressions of the nature of this unprecedented charge. It appears that Mr. McLeod was arrested at Lewiston on the 12th of November last,—that he was committed to Lockport gaol, on the testimony of certain *known perjurers, traitors, and felons*, and ordered to take his trial for the two capital offences, according to the laws and customs of the sovereign State of New York. That these capital offences were the capture and destruction of the *Caroline*, and the murder of some or one of her crew. It would also appear, touching that affair, that in December, 1837, an armed band of brigands was collected on Navy Island, for the purpose of levying and carrying on war against the people and government of Great Britain. That repeatedly during the latter part of that month cannon shots were fired from this encampment into the dwelling-houses, and amongst the people of Her Majesty's realm. That on the 29th of December, 1837, a certain vessel was seen from the Canadian shore, moving to and fro between the American port of Schlosser and such encampment. That persons from the United States, of the highest respectability and worth, made oath to the effect that such vessel was called the "*Caroline*," and that she was employed in conveying munitions of war to the brigands, and additional forces to assist in carrying on such war. That the principal officer of the British marine force, then acting under the command of Colonel Allan N. McNab, having general orders to watch the movements of the brigands, and particularly their piratical ally, the *Caroline*, conceived the bold project of cutting her out in the night, and thus destroying the pestilent channel through which they received their supplies. That he and his gallant party crossed the river in four small boats,

attacked and took her, after a desperate resistance, and having carefully ascertained that no living thing was left on board, they committed her to the two great elements of destruction, an awful and a blazing warning to those turbulent spirits who had at last aroused the indignation, and called forth the energies of an injured and insulted, but avenging people. Such are the circumstances attending the destruction of the "Caroline"; and such the "casus belli" of the sovereign citizens of the "Empire State," against the Queen of England, and Her Majesty's liege Canadian subjects, after causing the evil by their own indulgence in liberty, uncontrolled by executive power, and crime, unpunished by the action of wise laws, justly and righteously enforced! Well might the enlightened Dr. Channing exclaim: "Men, who in public talk of the stability of our institutions, whisper their doubts (perhaps their scorn) in private"! What unhappy misconception of the natural law, or what mischievous and tortuous policy of our republican neighbours, could have induced them to take up the cause of these infamous miscreants, and thus "renounce and defy God's moral and eternal law," without which "a nation cannot be good, cannot be great"? What subtle reasoning can enable them to satisfy the world that the brigand who has cast himself out of the pale of civilization, when he may be followed and destroyed as the common enemy and scourge of mankind, is one single degree worse than the pirate ally, who aids and assists him in his unnatural course of atrocity and crime? The brigands of Navy Island, and the pirates of the Caroline, were alike, to use the words of Lord Bacon, "common enemies, and grievances of mankind, and disgraces and reproaches to human nature;" and a State harbouring and encouraging such individuals, becomes tainted with their crimes, and involved in the wickedness of their evil deeds. "Such people," continues Lord Bacon, "all nations are interested, and ought to be resenting to suppress, considering that the particular states themselves can give no redress. And this is not to be measured so much by the principle of the jurists as by 'lex charitatis, lex proximi, lex filiorum adæ di massa una'; upon which original law this opinion is founded; which to deny, if a man speak truly, were almost to be a schismatic in nature." We believe it has been asserted that the Caroline was a vessel owned

by citizens of the United States, and engaged in the peaceable occupations of trade, in strict accordance with the established commercial regulations which exist between that country and Great Britain; but we possess irrefragable proof to the contrary, established by the testimony of numerous individuals, as well as by the evidence of our own sight and senses.— Her capture and destruction therefore became necessary, and was done in strict accordance, not only with the laws of nations, but with the law of nature, upon which the laws of nations are founded. The conflict of innumerable laws is a necessary consequence of the action of two great opposing principles, the intellectual faculties of man, and his moral weakness and fallibility. But the great law of nature is immutable, unchanging. It extends through every ramification of society, through every portion of the animal kingdom, from man, the image of his maker, to the creeping thing that lives, and breathes, and perishes in a day.— The first principle of the great natural law is self preservation, and on this we take our stand, in justification of the destruction of the pirate steamer. But what shall we say to the arrest and imprisonment of a party engaged, or supposed to have been engaged, in that affair, by the civil authorities of a particular State, after it had become matter for consideration between the high authorities of the two great powers? And what, when we are told that the great power, the President's government, possesses no controlling right over its own sectional portions, even for the prevention of evils involving the national honour, good faith, and stability? Alas! we fear there is "something rotten in the state of Denmark," why else is Mr. McLeod permitted to linger in a gaol, on this mockery of a charge, and why are the gallant captors of a branded pirate, denounced as murderers and felons? Is it seemly or creditable in a powerful nation to descend from its high estate to the miserable persecution of a humble individual, after it has demanded redress for the offence he is supposed to have committed, from those who are alone responsible for the same, and while the national bill of complaint is still under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government? Is it decent to brand as murderers and common felons, a gallant party of British subjects, whose only crime has been that they served their sovereign faithfully, and did their duty to their

country? The arrest of McLeod cannot but be looked upon as a serious breach of those friendly relations which have so long and happily existed between the two countries, and has caused a feeling of distrust to enter into the breasts of grave and thinking men, whose practice has ever been to cultivate a good understanding with the United States, not only from motives of interest, but from feelings of inclination and duty; men, who would not hitherto believe that a country, the permanency of whose establishment was still a problem, would prematurely and wilfully endanger them, by a direct departure from those just, moral, and equitable principles which alone could give them security, and render them prosperous and happy. War, and its probable results, we regret to observe, are now freely and even carelessly discussed by our republican neighbours, and the belligerent spirit encouraged, instead of denounced, by many of their statesmen, journalists, and reviewers; their results calculated with commercial, if not with logical precision, and the downfall of British dominion in America foretold as a necessary consequence of hostilities between the two countries. But let us reflect for a moment upon the *probable* effects of such an unnatural contest at the present juncture of affairs, and see how far the Americans are justified in coming to this hasty and absurd conclusion.—England is confessedly at this moment the most powerful nation on the face of the globe, famed, as Monsieur Thiers was compelled to admit, for the extent of her resources, spirit, perseverance, and indomitable courage.

Imagine this power, that but recently bid defiance to the whole world, now at peace with Europe, coming down in her might against the weak and impoverished States of the great Republican Union! What, we ask, would, what *must* be the result of a contest so fearfully unequal? We do not wish to be misunderstood,—we have no desire to indulge in unnecessary reflections upon the weakness of our neighbours, nor to underrate their power, and many admirable qualities as a people. We grant them brave, enterprising, energetic, fertile in the invention of resources, admirable adepts in the discovery of expedients, and, upon the whole, faithful and attached to their Government; nor can we close our eyes to the splendid prospect of their future greatness, if they wisely cultivate the arts of peace; continue to

disseminate education amongst their citizens; to extend their commerce, and develop the vast resources of their most beautiful country, instead of indulging in wild visions of territorial aggrandizement, and fanciful schemes of conquest which can never be realized; but we warn them as christians, we caution them as brother, descended from one common stock, against the folly, the madness, of plunging into difficulties with a people, the genius of whose constitution is peace, but whose united arm can hurl the thunderbolt of war with terrific and desolating effect. We hate war! As the great Lord Clarendon says:—"Of all God's judgments, war is the most terrible, the most destructive. It breaks in like a hungry wolf. It tramples upon all justice, and subdues and extinguishes all natural affections, and contemns and triumphs over religion itself!" We love peace, for without it happiness is but an empty name, but we love our country better, and that wise Providence who has instilled into us a desire for happiness, and an aversion to misery, has also imparted to us a spirit of resistance, the moral operation of which establishes and consolidates the existence and power of Empires. A principle which leads us to maintain those social and political rights, which the same Providence has enabled us to acquire by the exercise of our moral, physical, and intellectual faculties. Recent events have in some degree aroused this forcible principle of our nature. We have witnessed the slaughter of our peaceable fellow-subjects by armed ruffians from the neighbouring States, who, having escaped by flight the immediate punishment due to their crimes, openly and at large glory in their iniquity in the presence of American citizens, without a voice being raised in remonstrance and denunciation against them. We have witnessed at home and in times of peace, all the calamities and sufferings of war. We have seen our fellow-subjects abroad arrested and imprisoned upon charges, not only indefensible at common law, by reason of the infamous characters of the deponents, but in palpable opposition to every principle of natural and national law. All these things we have hitherto borne, but the consequences they involve, it must be confessed, are of a seriously grave, portentous, and complex nature; still we look with confidence towards the good sense of the great masses of the American people for a renewed spirit of conciliation and good will

towards the people of the British Empire, and to our own wise and just Government for a happy termination of our present misunderstandings with our Republican neighbours.—But suppose for a moment our sanguine anticipations in this respect were to be disappointed, and war was to take place between the two countries, what, we again ask, *must* be the result of such a fearfully unequal contest?—Look at the vast resources of England; her immense naval armaments; her splendidly appointed armies; her boundless wealth; her decision in Council, and her prowess in the field, and then say whether she could not speedily destroy, absolutely annihilate the mushroom power of America! What could prevent her sweeping the seas, from the Cliffs of Labrador to the Gulf of Florida, and sending destruction and death with the force of the whirlwind, from the rampant State of Maine, to the blood-stained grave of the ill-fated and unhappy Osceola! Nothing, absolutely nothing! Bankrupt at home and without credit abroad! with an army utterly unequal to meet the military force at this moment in Upper Canada alone! with a navy efficient enough for its extent, but ridiculous in comparison with the vast armaments and available marine force of Great Britain!—with a people split up by civil dissension, and political hostility, and a relentless domestic foe, ready and burning to avenge the long catalogue of atrocities that have fearfully diminished their hapless race! how can this singularly vain-glorious people speculate upon a war, and that too a war of aggression, against the might, the majesty, the power of England? What are the “pearls of great price” for which they would risk a cruel and unnatural war, with all its fatal and disastrous consequences? Alas! we fear that national dignity and rational justice have little to do with the feeling of hostility so warmly fostered against the unoffending people of Upper Canada and Great Britain. It is Canada! the conquest of Canada! The sole navigation of the great St. Lawrence! The extermination of British power and monarchical institutions in America, and the free simple and inheritance of the vast regions of this great continent, from the ice-bound shores of Hudson’s Bay, to the verdant hills and sunny vales of Astoria! These we sadly fear are the darling hopes and objects of the American people, and these the fancied rewards they would obtain by a contest with Great Britain; a contest

which they vainly imagine would be as triumphant, as it would assuredly be brief and inglorious to their arms. The means they possess to accomplish their ambitious views, against a people famed for their courage, and attachment to their own institutions, and whose feelings, interests, and prejudices are alike opposed to them, their habits and principles, we have already shewn are totally inadequate to so stupendous an undertaking. We have already pointed out some of the evils attendant upon a war with Great Britain, but not all.

England consumes four-fifths of the cotton grown in the Southern States, for which she annually pays an enormous sum. Recent returns have distinctly shewn that Egypt and South America could speedily supply her with that material, had they any encouragement to do so. War would remove the great market from New Orleans to Alexandria, and the Delta of the Nile would produce a material as good and as cheap as the cottons of Georgia and Alabama. We admit that a desolating war would be productive of some temporary inconvenience to the cotton manufacturers of England, but it is evident that each succeeding year would diminish the evil by widening this new channel of supply. We admit that the Manchester and Birmingham manufacturer would suffer materially by any stoppage in the regular trade with America, but when we look at the vast regions in the East even now opening to the merchants of Great Britain a field of enterprise unlimited in its extent and fertility,—when we look to the rapidly extending and prospering possessions of her Colonial Empire, where her manufactures are alone in demand,—when we look too at the power of England to carry on a trade with the Southern States through her own shipping, protected by her own naval armaments, even in a time of war, if she found it expedient to carry on such commercial intercourse, is it too much to predict that in two years America would sue for peace upon any terms, rather than continue a war so utterly destructive to her interests, and the happiness of her people? On what principle then, we calmly ask our troublesome neighbors, do they continue to indulge in their speculations about Canada, and cherish an angry feeling against a people who long to live on terms of cordiality and the closest friendship with them? Why will they talk to us of their liberty which we dread as the most cruel of all despotisms, that

of the many over the few? Why will they offer us the rottenness of their freedom, when, possessing its soundness we want nothing from their hands but peace and good will?

Let them at once begin in earnest to cultivate friendly relations with their neighbours on the frontiers of British America,—let them hold up to public scorn and detestation the wretches who, by word or deed, would openly endanger the peace of the two countries,—let them cease blustering about the *Caroline*, and cease persisting in demands alike opposed to justice, reason, and common sense, and which the honour of England will never allow her to acquiesce in. "The law of nature," says John Locke, "stands as an eternal rule to all men," and it was in accordance with this rule that the pirate steamer *Caroline* was destroyed. Admitting the eternity of the law of nature, and thus denying its natural operation, conveys a contradiction, which American sophists alone would endeavour to shew contained no contradiction at all. Let them avoid all angry discussion upon this unfortunate affair, and leave it to the dispassionate judgment of the two governments, and meanwhile let the authorities of the State of New York instantly release Mr. McLeod from his imprisonment.

It is to the Government of England that the President's Government must look for redress if any be required, not to its subordinate officers for injuries alleged to have been done whilst in performance of their lawful duties. To adopt a contrary course would present to the world the absurd and humiliating spectacle of a nation waging war against an individual, when the "*casus belli*" was an act done by that individual in accordance with the order of his own Government, which was ready and willing to take upon itself all the responsibility thereof, and to do stern and rigid justice in the affair,

even to the extent of her own national injury, if upon calm deliberation her people should have been found to have carried their zeal too far, and done that which the laws of nature and of nations would not justify.

Whether we look upon McLeod's imprisonment as brought about by the testimony of individuals whose names are a reproach to human nature, and are enrolled, one and all, on the atrocious records of the "Hunters!" as a vicious misapplication of foreign laws to the injury of a British subject; or as an insult to the Crown and dignity of a friendly power, it cannot but be considered as a grave and very serious difficulty, and one which will require much decision and firmness on the part of the British Government to overcome. Upon them we place implicit confidence. England will bear much and forbear long, and we doubt not she will, in accordance with her known principles of justice and fair dealing do all that a great nation ought to do to remove the present difficulties. Let the President's Government do the same. Let that Government remember that it is yet in its infancy; "that a nation's destiny lies in its character;" and never let it forget that if that character be lost by any departure from justice towards others, and a renunciation of "God's moral and eternal law," short will be its existence, and terrible the anarchy and confusion accompanying its dissolution. Let them then strengthen their great political fabric with the divine principles of eternal truth and justice! Let them cultivate the peaceful arts, and drink deep from the pure and overflowing fountains of science! Thus, and thus alone, may they "strike the rock" and turn the stream of true glory, wealth, honour, and renown over the whole length and breadth of their magnificent country.

MERCHANT PRINCES.

It is not every wealthy person that is satisfied, like the President Jeannin, with being the son of his own merit, or that with Lord Thurlow would sooner acknowledge his ancestor in a drayman than a courtier.

It must be from this weakness of mind, that although England is more indebted to commerce for her greatness than any other nation in the world, it is thought, by too many, a mark of good breeding, to undervalue and sneer at the name of merchant, as if it were derogatory to rank or dignity. The circumstance is the more singular, as a considerable number of British peers, and those too of the highest rank, are immediately descended from London merchants, and the foundation of the fortunes of many others has been laid in commerce; so much so, indeed, that a great portion of the British peerage is related, either by descent or intermarriage, to the citizens of London. This is the case with at least four English dukes, as many marquesses, and a whole host of earls, viscounts, and barons.

Even as early as the reign of Athelstan, who resided in the heart of London, at a place which still retains his name (for from Athelstan, or Adlestan, the name of Adle-street, called in an ancient record *King Adle-street*, is derived), a merchant, who had made three foreign voyages on his own account, became entitled to the quality and privileges of a thane, or nobleman; and we find accordingly, that in the wittenagemot which sanctioned Harold's usurpation of the throne, the *seamen* or *merchants* of London are enumerated among the thanes who were present.

When the Normans displaced the Saxons in the dominion of England, they substituted the appellation of *Baron* for that of *Thane*; but a baron, with them, meant any freeman born of free parentage, and of course the citizens of London were not the only barons of the Norman line, for there were the barons of the Cinque Ports, the barons of Warwick, &c.—The title of Baron as applicable to commoners is now confined, and in parliamentary phrase merely, to the representatives of London and of the Cinque Ports. It has been selected, however, as the distinguishing appellation of a large and eminent branch of the British peerage; and it is to be hoped that they will never forget that the style and title on which they justly pride themselves, was once a style and title common to every liveryman of London.—Although the citizens of London have thus, and for all good purposes happily, lost the claim to nobility, which in early times was the certain

reward of successful commerce; yet the peerage as well as baronetage of England exhibits numerous proofs of the voluntary respect paid to commerce by British sovereigns, in elevating those who pursued it to the highest titles of the state.

The noble house of Osborne, which has attained the first rank of a subject, does not disdain to acknowledge, that the founder of the family, Edward Osborne, was an apprentice to Sir William Hewet, a merchant, who lived on London-bridge, and who was lord mayor in 1559; and that he owed his elevation to his humanity and his personal courage. Sir William had an only daughter, Anne, who, when a child, was, by the carelessness of the nurse, dropped from one of the windows of his house into the Thames. The apprentice Edward Osborne, no sooner knew of the accident, than he fearlessly precipitated himself from the bridge into the river, and seizing hold of the child, triumphantly swam with her to the shore. When the child grew up to womanhood, as her father was rich, she had many suitors, among whom was the Earl of Shrewsbury; but the father refused them all, saying, that as Osborne had saved her he should have her. They were married, and their descendant is the present Duke of Leeds, at whose house a portrait of Sir William Hewet in his robes, as lord mayor, is prized much higher than a Corregio or a Titian.

The Marquis of Cornwallis is lineally descended from Thomas Cornwalleys, merchant, who was sheriff of London in 1378.

The noble house of Wentworth may justly boast of its descent, from a London citizen, whose virtue even subdued the tyranny of Henry VIII. and awed him into respect. Sir W. Fitzwilliam was alderman of London and sheriff in 1506. He was, at one time, a retainer in the service of Cardinal Wolsey; and when that haughty man had incurred the displeasure of his sovereign, he had the courage and the virtue to befriend him. Henry when informed of it, had the generosity to pardon him, and the honesty to acknowledge that he had few such servants as Mr. Fitzwilliam, whom he immediately knighted. This Sir William, with that spirit of beneficence which has descended to his posterity, built the greater part of the present church of St. Andrew Undershaft, and bequeathed a considerable portion of his property to charitable purposes.—One bequest, though small, is remarkable, as it shows how far he had anticipated the justice of succeeding ages. He left his mansion in St.

Thomas-the-Apostle to his widow, on condition that she should pay £4 annually for the relief of poor prisoners, within the city of London, who were acquitted, but kept in confinement for their fees.

The Earl of Coventry is descended from John Coventry, mercer, of London, and lord mayor in 1425. This worthy citizen was one of the executors of "Richard Whittington, thrice lord Mayor of London."

Laurence des Boveries, fleeing from the intolerance of his father, took refuge in the house of a silk manufacturer at Frankfort on the Maine, who was also under a sort of religious proscription. He became his clerk and overseer; and, marrying his master's niece, inherited his property, with which he came over to England, in the reign of Elizabeth, and laid the foundation of the noble house of Radnor.

The Earl of Essex need seek no truer nobility than that of his ancestor, Sir William Capel, who was lord mayor of London in 1503, and was one of the victims of those infamous favourites Empson and Dudley, who once levied a fine on him of £1600 for a fee charge of not punishing some persons brought before him for coining. They next fined him in a sum of £2000, for refusing to pay which he was committed to the Tower; nor was he released until the death of the monarch, and the execution of Empson and Dudley had expiated their crimes.

The ancestor of the Earl of Dartmouth, Thomas Legge or Legget, a skinner, was twice lord mayor, in 1347 and 1354, and member for the city of London. He lent the king, Edward III. no less a sum than £300 towards carrying on the French war; which was more than any citizen advanced, excepting the lord mayor and Simon de Frauncis, who each advanced £300.

Sir William Craven, merchant taylor, who was lord mayor of London in 1610, and who married the daughter of a citizen, was the ancestor of the present Earl Craven; and the Earl of Warwick is lineally descended from William Greville, a citizen of London, and the "flower of the wool-staplers."

Thomas Bennet, mercer, who was sheriff of London in 1594, and lord mayor in 1603, laid the foundation of the fortune of the Earls of Tankerville, who are lineally descended from him.

The ancestor of the Earls of Pomfret was Richard Fermour, a much persecuted individual, who, having amassed a splendid fortune as a merchant at Calais, became, on his return to London, an object for the extortion and rapacity of the creatures of Henry VIII. For relieving a poor priest, of the name of Nicholas Haynes, who had been his confessor when in prison, with eight pence and a couple of shirts, he was committed to the Marshalsea prison, tried and attainted, and his whole property forfeited. This merchant had formerly in his

service Will. Somers, the royal jester, who appears to have had something more valuable in his composition than mere drollery. When Somers, who had become a favourite of the king, heard of the cruelty towards his old master, he took advantage of the king's melancholy towards the close of his life, to remind him of the circumstance. The king, conscience stricken, ordered the restitution of his estate; but he died before this act of atonement was complete; and it was not until the 4th of Edward VI. that Mr. Fernour had even the partial restoration of his property.

The Earl of Darnley owes the first elevation of his family to John Bligh, a London citizen, who was employed as agent to the speculators in the Irish estates, forfeited by the rebellion of 1611, and who became an adventurer himself with £600.

John Cowper, an alderman of Bridge-ward, and sheriff in 1551, was the ancestor of Earl Cowper; and the Earl of Romney is descended from Thomas Marsham, alderman of London, who died in 1624.

Lord Dacre's ancestor, Sir Robert Dacre, was banker to Charles I. and though he lost £80,000 by that monarch, left a princely fortune to his descendants.

Lord Dorner is descended from Sir Michael Dormer, sheriff of London in 1529, and lord mayor in 1541.

Viscount Dudley and Ward's ancestor was William Ward, a wealthy goldsmith in London, who was jeweller to Henrietta Maria, the consort of Charles the First.

Sir Rowland Hill, who was lord mayor in the reign of Edward VI, was ancestor of Lord Berwick, Lord Hill, and "all the Hills in Shropshire."

Were we to extend our notice to more recent times, we should find that our Granthams, Caringtons, and many other titles not a century old, owe their origin entirely to successful commerce.

The kings of England have shewn their respect for the citizens of London in other modes, equally unequivocal. There are few of the principal companies, who have not numbered on their roll many individuals of the royal line, who have owned themselves proud to add this to their other distinctions, and many of noble blood, who were ambitious of being free of the same craft with their sovereign. The merchant taylors boast of, at least, eight kings, eighteen princes and dukes, and one archbishop; besides a long list of earls, viscounts, and barons. The Skinners have had, of their fraternity, six kings and five queens; the Grocers, five kings, and several princes. James the First was a member of both the merchant taylors and clothworkers' companies. When made free of the latter, he had been dining with one of its body, Sir John Watts, who had the honour of filling the civic chair in 1607. As he was about to depart, Sir John, in the

freedom which conviviality inspires, besought his majesty to go and be made free of the clothworkers; James assented, and the lord mayor accordingly conducted him to the company's hall, in Mincing Lane. His majesty was received by the master, wardens, and assistants, to whom he addressed himself in the most gracious manner. He asked "who was the master of the company?" The lord mayor presented "Sir William Stone." "Sir William," said the king, "wilt thou make me free of the clothworkers?" "Yes," replied the master, "and think myself a happy man that

I live to see the day." "Give me thy hand, then," said James, "and now I am a clothworker." His majesty then called for bread and wine, which being presented to him by the Earls of Shrewsbury and Cumberland, freemen of the company, he rose up and said, "Now I drink unto all my good brethren, the clothworkers. And I pray God to bless them all, and all good clothworkers. And for proof of our special favour to the fraternity, I do here give unto this company, two brace of bucks yearly, for ever, against the time of the election of the master and wardens."

MONTHLY SUMMARY.

The beginning of the past month was distinguished by rejoicings in various parts of Canada on account of the birth of the Princess Royal. A public meeting was held in the City Hall, Toronto, on the 8th of January, for the purpose of adopting an Address of congratulation to Her Majesty. His Worship the Mayor presided at the meeting, and Dr. Telfer was Secretary. On motion of H. J. Boulton, Esq., seconded by T. F. Billings, Esq., the following Address was unanimously adopted.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN :

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the citizens of Toronto, humbly beg leave to approach your Majesty, with sentiments of the most affectionate regard and dutiful attachment to your Royal Person, upon the auspicious event which has filled the hearts of all your subjects with joy and gladness, and to offer our warmest congratulations to your Majesty and your August Consort, that through the blessing of Divine Providence, a Princess Royal has been born to England, to share with your Majesty the love and affection of a devoted and loyal people.

Deeply impressed with the conviction that the peace, tranquillity, and contentment of your subjects, throughout the vast empire over which your Majesty reigns, are closely interwoven with the life and safety of a beloved Sovereign, whose sceptre extends its just and equal sway to the most remote dependency of Her Imperial Crown, we cannot but feel the liveliest gratitude to Him by whom kings

and princes decree justice, that in the multitude of His mercies He has preserved your sacred person in the midst of peril, as a continued pledge of those blessings we have hitherto enjoyed, under your beneficent rule.

Your Majesty is the first Queen in the long line of illustrious Princes, whose glory is stamped upon every page of English History, who has given that pledge to Her people which we so joyfully recognize in the person of your illustrious daughter, and we fervently pray, that as we regard with pride the valiant exploits of your illustrious progenitors in deeds of arms, which have excited the admiration of by-gone ages, so may the memory of your Majesty and your beloved daughter in after times live no less in the recollection of those softer graces and milder virtues which shed a lustre around your Royal Presence, than in the glory and prosperity, which the wisdom of your Councils shall have secured to a grateful country.

It was then resolved—that His Worship the Mayor do sign the address on behalf of the Meeting, and wait upon His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, with a request that His Excellency will be pleased to transmit the same to Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, to be by him laid at the foot of the Throne.

A public meeting was also held in the city of Montreal on the 4th of January, the Hon. Peter McGill, Mayor of the city, in the chair. Several resolutions were passed as the basis of the following addresses to Her Majesty, and His Royal Highness Prince Albert, which were unanimously adopted.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN :

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Magistrates, Clergy, and other inhabitants of the City of Montreal, in the Province of Lower Canada, most gladly embrace this joyful occasion, to approach your sacred person, with our sincerest and warmest congratulations, on the auspicious birth of a Princess Royal.

We humbly beseech your Majesty to believe that every addition to your Majesty's domestic felicity, fills our hearts with the highest pleasure and satisfaction, and that no portion of your Majesty's subjects can feel more zeal for your happiness, and the glory and prosperity of your Majesty's reign.

We pray that your Majesty may long live, the guardian and protectress, the ornament and delight of the British Empire, and by your instructions and example, form the mind of your Royal daughter, as your own has been, to the Government of a free, brave, and generous people.

To His Royal Highness Prince Albert, &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS :

We, Her Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Magistracy, Clergy, and other inhabitants of the City of Montreal, in the Province of Lower Canada, rejoice to have this early opportunity of congratulating your Royal Highness on the auspicious birth of a Royal Princess.

So important and gratifying an event, which cannot fail to diffuse universal joy throughout the British Empire, fills our hearts with sentiments of the deepest gratitude and thankfulness to Divine Providence, that has thus early crowned your Royal Highness' domestic happiness, and opened to Her Majesty's people throughout Her widely extended dominions, the agreeable prospect of permanence and stability to the blessings they enjoy under the Government of Her Majesty's illustrious House.

We sincerely hope, the same gracious Providence will long preserve the lives of Her Majesty and your Royal Highness, and give perfect health and length of days to the Royal infant.

The Meeting also adopted an address to His Excellency the Governor General, praying His Excellency to transmit the above Addresses for presentation to Her Majesty and his Royal Highness Prince Albert.

The following sweet and touching verses from the pen of Leigh Hunt, are copied from the *London Watchman*, and will be acceptable to our readers.

To the Infant Princess Royal.

Welcome, bud beside the rose,
On whose stem our safety grows;
Welcome, little Saxon Guelph;
Welcome for thine own small self;
Welcome for thy father, mother,
Proud the one, and safe the other;
Welcome to three kingdoms; nay,
Such is thy potential day,
Welcome, little, mighty birth,
To our human star, the earth.

Some have wished thee boy; and some
Gladly wait till boy shall come,
Counting it a genial sign
When a lady leads the line.
What imports it, girl or boy?
England's old historic joy
Well might be content to see
Queens alone come after thee;
Twenty visions of thy mother
Following sceptred, each the other,
Linking with their roses white
Ages of unborn delight.
What imports it who shall lead,
So that the good line succeed?
So that love and peace feel sure
Of old hate's discomfiture?
Thee appearing by the rose,
Safety comes, and peril goes:
Thee appearing, earth's new spring
Fears no winter's "grisly king;"
Hope anew leaps up and dances
In the hearts of human chances.
France, the brave, but too quick-blooded,
Wisely has her threat re-studied;
England now is safe as she,
From the strifes that need not be;
And the realms thus hushed and still,
Earth with fragrant thought may fill,
Growing harvests of all good,
Day by day as planet should,
Till it clasps its hands, and cry,
Hail, matur'd humanity!
Earth has outgrown want and war;
Earth is now no childish star.

But, behold, where thou dost lie,
Heeding nought, remote or nigh!
Nought of all the news we sing
Dost thou know, sweet ignorant thing;
Nought of planet's love, nor people's;
Nor dost hear the giddy steeples
Carolling of thee and thine,
As if heav'n had rain'd them wine;
Nor dost care for all the pains
Of ushers and of chamberlains,
Nor the doctors' learned looks,
Nor the very bishop's books,

Nor the lace that wraps thy chin,
 No, nor for thy rank, a pin.
 E'en thy father's loving hand
 No-ways dost thou understand,
 When he makes thee feebly grasp
 His finger with a tiny clasp ;
 Nor dost know thy very mother's
 Balmy bosom from another's,
 Though thy small blind lips pursue it ;
 Nor the arms that draw thee to it ;
 Nor the eyes, that while they fuld thee,
 Never can enough behold thee.

Mother true and good has she,
 Little strong one, been to thee,
 Nor with listless in-door ways
 Weaken'd thee for future days,
 But has done her strenuous duty
 To thy brain and to thy beauty,
 Till thou cam'st a blossom bright,
 Worth the kiss of air and light ;
 To thyself a healthy pleasure ;
 To the world, a balm and treasure.

Late arrivals at New York bring accounts from London to the 4th of January, at which time Her Majesty was quite recovered, and had returned to Windsor.

It is stated in the history of the past century, that "such was the domestic condescension of their Majesties George III. and his illustrious Consort, that before their first-born was twelve days old the public were admitted to see him, when they flocked in such numbers, that the expense in cake and caudle (which was presented to all visitors) was upwards of forty pounds a day." It appears that this expensive custom was not observed on the recent occasion.

We have published in this number an article on the case of Mr. Alexander McLeod, whose arrest and imprisonment in the United States have excited great indignation in the Province. Various unfounded statements have been circulated among the Americans, both with respect to Mr. McLeod, and the "Caroline affair" itself. And in these proceedings they condemn themselves ; for they approved of General Jackson invading Florida when belonging to Spain, attacking and capturing its forts, and executing two British subjects whom he found there, for having aided the Indians in their inroads into the States. Do the Americans have one law for themselves, and another for their neighbours ? Is it quite right for them to

invade a neutral territory in self-defence, and quite wrong for Canadians to do the same ?— And it indicates a most vitiated state of public sentiment when all its sympathies are extended to the pirate robber and murderer, but none to the victims of their crimes. They shed sympathetic tears over the man who was killed in the attack on the Caroline, but they have not a tear for those who were slain in Canada by the ruffian band in whose service she was employed. They pretend, indeed, that she was doing nothing wrong, but was engaged in a peaceable and lawful occupation, yet they expect nobody to believe the tale. There are affidavits on record, (one of them from one of her crew, and another from a man who was made prisoner by them at Schlosser, and saw and heard their proceedings, besides others,) that the boat was stated by themselves to have been sold to the "patriots," that she was employed in conveying to them reinforcements and munitions of war, and that she was guarded by about thirty men, armed with muskets and rifles. The merits of the case are very different from what the Americans represent them to be. Moreover, the whole affair is in the hands of the two governments, and it is neither wise nor decorous for inferior parties to interfere in the business.— It may be as well to observe here, however, that when the attack was planned, no one expected any thing but that the boat would be found at Navy Island. She was last seen there from the Canadian shore at five o'clock, when night set in, and did not leave the island until six o'clock, as her captain's affidavit testifies. Hence, Captain Drew in his letter announcing the capture says : "I ordered a look out to be kept upon her, and at about five, P. M. of yesterday, when the day had closed in, Mr. Harris, of the Royal Navy, reported the vessel to me as having moored off Navy island. I immediately directed five boats to be armed and manned with forty-five volunteers, and at about eleven o'clock, P. M. we pushed off from the shore for Navy Island, when not finding her there as we expected, we went in search, and found her moored between an island and the main shore." They "went in search" rather than go back without accomplishing their object, and at midnight they had no opportunity, even supposing them to have had means and leisure, to take an accurate survey of the spot where the boat was moored, so that the violation of the neutral territory was from the im-

pulse of a moment rather than from any premeditated plan. In every aspect of the case it contrasts favourably with General Jackson's expedition into neutral territory. No man was executed in cold blood, as was done by him; yet there was equal provocation, equal reason to justify such an act, had it been performed. And how vast an aggregate of injury from the States has Canada to set against that one act of which they complain! A due consideration of all the border outrages of the last three years should make the Americans ashamed to utter any complaint. It is Canada that is the deeply injured party, not the United States.

As this affair is assuming a grave aspect, and may yet produce important results, we copy the following correspondence on the subject between Mr. Fox, the British Minister at Washington, and Mr. Forsyth, the United States Secretary of State:—

CAPTURE OF THE CAROLINE.—CASE OF MR. M'LEOD.

Mr. Fox to Mr. Forsyth.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13, 1840.

Sir—I am informed by His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, that Mr. Alexander McLeod, a British subject, and late deputy sheriff of the Niagara district in Upper Canada, was arrested at Lewiston in the State of New York, on the 12th of last month, on a pretended charge of murder and arson, as having been engaged in the capture and destruction of the piratical steam-boat "Caroline," in the month of December, 1837. After a tedious and vexatious examination, Mr. M'Leod was committed for trial, and he is now imprisoned in Lockport jail.

I feel it my duty to call upon the Government of the United States to take prompt and effectual steps for the liberation of Mr. M'Leod. It is well known that the destruction of the steam-boat "Caroline" was a public act of persons in Her Majesty's service, observing the order of their superior authorities. That act, therefore, according to the usages of nations, can only be the subject of discussion between the two national Governments; it cannot justly be made the ground of legal proceedings in the United States against the individuals concerned, who were bound to obey the authorities appointed by their Government.

I may add that I believe it quite notorious that Mr. M'Leod was not one of the party engaged in the destruction of the steamboat "Caroline;" and that the pretended charge upon which he has been imprisoned rests only upon the perjured testimony of certain Cana-

dian outlaws and their abettors, who unfortunately for the peace of that neighbourhood, are still permitted by the authorities of the State of New York to infest the Canadian frontier.

The question, however, of whether Mr. M'Leod was or was not concerned in the destruction of the "Caroline," is beside the purpose of the present communication. That act was the public act of persons obeying the constituted authorities of Her Majesty's Province. The National Government of the United States thought themselves called upon to remonstrate against it; and a remonstrance which the President did accordingly address to Her Majesty's Government is still, I believe, a pending subject of diplomatic discussion between Her Majesty's Government and the United States Legation in London. I feel, therefore, justified in expecting that the President's Government will see the justice and the necessity of causing the present immediate release of Mr. M'Leod, as well as for taking such steps as may be requisite for preventing others of Her Majesty's subjects from being persecuted or molested in the United States in a similar manner for the future.

It appears that Mr. M'Leod was arrested on the 12th ult.: that after the examination of witnesses, he was finally committed for trial on the 18th, and placed in confinement in the jail of Lockport, awaiting the assizes, which will be held there in February next. As the case is naturally occasioning a great degree of excitement and indignation within the British frontier, I earnestly hope that it may be in your power to give me an early and satisfactory answer to the present representation.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

H. S. FOX.

HON. JOHN FORSYTH, &c.

Mr. Forsyth to Mr. Fox.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 26, 1840.

Sir—I have the honour to acknowledge, and have laid before the President, your letter of the 13th instant, touching the arrest and imprisonment of Alexander M'Leod, a British subject, and late deputy sheriff of the Niagara district, in Upper Canada, on a charge of murder and arson, as having been engaged in the capture and destruction of the steam-boat "Caroline," in the month of December, 1837: in respect to which you state that you feel it your duty to call upon the Government of the United States to take prompt and effectual steps for the liberation of Mr. M'Leod, and to prevent others of the subjects of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, from being persecuted and molested in a similar manner for the future.

This demand, with the grounds upon which it is made, has been duly considered by the President, with a sincere desire to give to it such a reply as will not only manifest a proper regard for the character and rights of the United States, but, at the same time tend to preserve the amicable relations which, so advantageously for both, subsist between this country and England. Of the reality of this disposition, and of the uniformity with which it has been evinced in the many delicate and difficult questions which have arisen between the two countries in the last few years, no one can be more convinced than yourself. It is then with unfeigned regret that the President finds himself unable to recognize the validity of a demand, a compliance with which you deem so material to the preservation of the good understanding which has been hitherto manifested between the two countries.

The jurisdiction of the several States which constitute the Union is, within its appropriate sphere, perfectly independent of the Federal Government. The offence with which Mr. M'Leod is charged, was committed within the territory, and against the laws and citizens of the State of New York, and is one that comes clearly within the competency of her tribunals. It does not, therefore, present an occasion where, under the constitution and laws of the Union, the interposition called for would be proper, or for which a warrant can be found in the powers with which the Federal Executive is invested. Nor would the circumstances to which you have referred, or the reasons you have urged, justify the exertion of such a power, if it existed. The transaction out of which the question arises, presents the case of a most unjustifiable invasion, in time of peace, of a portion of the territory of the United States, by a band of armed men from the adjacent territory of Canada, the forcible capture by them within our own waters, and the subsequent destruction of a steamboat, the property of a citizen of the United States, and the murder of one or more American citizens.— If arrested at the time, the offenders might unquestionably have been brought to justice by the judicial authorities of the State within whose acknowledged territory these crimes were committed; and their subsequent voluntary entrance within that territory places them in the same situation. The President is not aware of any principle of international law, or, indeed, of reason or justice, which entitles such offenders to impunity before the legal tribunals, when coming voluntarily within their independent and undoubted jurisdiction, because they acted in obedience to their superior authorities, or because their acts have become the subject of diplomatic discussion between the two Governments. These methods of redress, the legal prosecution of the offenders, and the application of their Government for satisfaction, are independent of each other, and may be sepa-

rately and simultaneously pursued. The avowal or justification of the outrage by the British authorities might be a ground of complaint with the Government of the United States distinct from the violation of the territory and laws of the State of New York. The application of the Government of the Union to that of Great Britain, for the redress of an authorised outrage of the peace, dignity, and rights of the United States, cannot deprive the State of New York of her undoubted right of vindicating, through the exercise of her judicial power, the property and lives of her citizens. You have very properly regarded the alleged absence of Mr. M'Leod from the scene of the offence at the time it was committed, as not material to the decision of the present question. That is a matter to be decided by legal evidence; and the sincere desire of the President is, that it may be satisfactorily established. If the destruction of the *Caroline* was a public act of persons in Her Majesty's service, obeying the orders of the superior authorities, this fact has not been before communicated to the Government of the United States by a person authorized to make the admission; and it will be for the Court which has taken cognizance of the offence with which Mr. M'Leod is charged, to decide upon its validity when legally established before it.

The President deems this to be a proper occasion to remind the Government of Her Britannic Majesty that the case of the "*Caroline*" has been long since brought to the attention of Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who up to this day, has not communicated its decision thereupon. It is hoped that the Government of Her Majesty will perceive the importance of no longer leaving the Government of the United States uninformed of its views and intentions upon a subject which has naturally produced much exasperation, and which has led to such grave consequences.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

JOHN FORSYTH.

H. S. Fox, Esq.,
&c. &c. &c.

Mr. Fox to Mr. Forsyth.

WASHINGTON,
December 29, 1840.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th inst. in which, in a reply to a letter which I had addressed to you on the 13th, you acquaint me that the President is not prepared to comply with my demand for the liberation of Mr. Alexander M'Leod, of Upper Canada, now imprisoned at Lockport in the State of New York, on a pretended charge of murder and arson, as having been engaged in the destruction of the piratical

steamboat "Caroline," on the 29th December, 1837.

I learn with deep regret that such is the decision of the President of the United States, for I cannot but foresee the very grave and serious consequences that must ensue it; besides the injury already inflicted upon Mr. McLeod, of a vexatious and unjust imprisonment, any further harm should be done to him in the progress of this extraordinary proceeding.

I have lost no time in forwarding to Her Majesty's Government in England the correspondence that has taken place, and I shall wait the further orders of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the important question which that correspondence involves.

But I feel it to be my duty not to close this communication without likewise expressing my vast regret and surprise at the expressions which I find repeated in your letter with reference to the destruction of the steamboat Caroline. I had confidently hoped that the first erroneous impression of the character of that event, imposed upon the public mind of the United States Government by partial and exaggerated representations, would long since have been effaced by a more strict and accurate examination of the facts. Such an investigation must even yet, I am willing to believe, lead the United States Government to the same conviction with which Her Majesty's authorities on the spot were impressed, that the act was one in the strictest sense of self-defence, rendered absolutely necessary by the circumstances of the occasion, for the protection of Her Majesty's subjects, and justified by the same principles which, upon similar and well-known occasions, have governed the conduct of illustrious officers of the United States.

The steamboat Caroline was a hostile vessel engaged in piratical war against Her Majesty's people, hired from her owners for that purpose, and known to be so beyond the possibility of a doubt.

The place where the vessel was destroyed was nominally, it is true, within the territory of a friendly power, but the friendly power had been deprived, through overbearing piratical violence, of the use of its proper authority over that portion of territory. The authorities of New York had not even been able to prevent the artillery of the State from being carried off publicly at mid-day to be used as instruments of war against Her Majesty's subjects. It was under such circumstances which it is to be hoped will never recur, that the vessel was attacked by a party of Her Majesty's people, captured and destroyed.

A remonstrance against the act in question has been addressed by the United States to Her Majesty's Government in England. I am not authorised to pronounce the decision of Her

Majesty's Government upon the remonstrance, but I have felt myself bound to record, in the meantime, the above opinion, in order to protest in the most solemn manner against the spirited and loyal conduct of Her Majesty's officers and people being qualified, through an unfortunate misapprehension, as I believe, of the facts, with the application of outrage or of murder.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

H. S. FOX.

—
Mr. Forsyth to Mr. Fox.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, Dec. 31, 1840.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 29th instant, in reply to mine of the 26th, on the subject of the arrest and detention of Alexander McLeod, as one of the perpetrators of the outrage committed in New York when the steamboat Caroline was seized and burnt. Full evidence of that outrage has been presented to Her Majesty's Government with a demand for redress, and of course no discussion of the circumstances here, can be either useful or proper, nor can I suppose it to be your desire to invite it. I take leave of the subject with this single remark, that the opinion so strongly expressed by you on the facts and principles involved in the demand for reparation on Her Majesty's Government by the United States would hardly have been hazarded had you been possessed of the carefully collected testimony which has been presented to your Government in support of the demand.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

JOHN FORSYTH.

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It is expected that the proclamation of the re-union of the Canadas will be issued in a few days.

The re-union of the Canadas has been effected by Her Majesty's Government, in order "to relieve the financial embarrassments of Upper Canada; to enable her to complete her public works, and develop her agricultural capabilities; to restore constitutional government to Lower Canada; to establish a firm, impartial, and vigorous government for both, and to unite the people within them in one common feeling of attachment to British institutions and British connexion." The provinces being made one, under one legislature, it can adopt a uniform system of duties, increasing them on such articles as require or will admit

of an increase, so as to bring the revenue to at least a par with the expenses. The improvement of the river St. Lawrence will also be placed under one control, and should be steadily persevered in, until the navigation is opened to Montreal for lake craft. There is hardly any thing that could give such relief to the trade of the Province as this, which would save transshipment, avoid monopoly, and reduce the rates of freight both up and down the river to a third or fourth of their present amount.—The first thing in importance is to perfect the grand, direct channel of communication, and then construct branch lines as fast as the country can perform them. The rapid increase in the trade of the Province demands an extraordinary effort to facilitate its progress, and without it trade will force itself into other channels.

As to the advantage of improving this grand channel of our internal trade, it hardly admits of a question. During a debate in the Assembly of Lower Canada, in February, 1834, the following remarks were made by Mr. Neilson on the proposition before the House to vote £240,000 for the improvement of the navigation between Lachine and the Upper Canada line: "As to the advantages of such an improvement of the navigation, all were agreed upon it. It was throwing open the whole course of the St. Lawrence to steam-boat navigation. It might appear at first sight, that the result would be more advantageous to Upper Canada than to this Province,—but that was an error; we are too near to each other, and too closely connected, not to receive advantage from any thing that improved her condition.—He thought, therefore, that if a loan could be obtained he would approve of the undertaking." It is here justly remarked, that the Provinces are too closely connected not to receive mutual benefit from every improvement. In fact, Canada is naturally and commercially one, and ought never to have been divided.

By the 30th section of the re-union Act, the time and place for holding the first and every other session of the legislature are left to the Governor's discretion, but the 32nd section of the Act provides that the first session shall be held at some period not later than six calendar months after the time at which the Provinces shall have become united.

By the 21st section of the Act, the cities and towns entitled to return members to the

Assembly must be bounded and limited as shall be set forth and described by the Governor's Letters Patent, within 90 days after the re-union; and such parts of any such city or town (if any) as shall not be included within the boundary of such city or town respectively by such Letters Patent, shall be taken to be a part of the adjoining county or riding for the purpose of being represented in the Assembly.

By the 24th section, writs for the election of members are to be issued within 14 days after the time of sealing the instrument convoking the parliament, and the writs are to be returnable within 50 days at farthest from the day on which they bear date; if a vacancy occur, a writ for a new election must issue within six days after notice hereof to the proper officer.

By the 25th section, the Governor is to fix the time and place for holding the elections, giving 8 days notice thereof.

By the 26th section, the legislature may alter the law relating to elections, but by a majority of two-thirds of each house.

The 31st section enacts that there shall be a session of the Legislature every year, so that 12 months shall not intervene between the last sitting of one session and the first sitting of the next, and that each Assembly shall continue 4 years, unless sooner dissolved by the Governor.

It will be seen from this summary, that there must be a session within six months, but the precise time is left for the Governor to determine. Before it can be held, however, the cities and towns must be bounded, and the Legislative Council must be constituted.

The success of this great measure, and the prosperity of the united Province will depend in a great degree on the spirit of moderation, good feeling, and general confidence diffused among the people, and actuating both them and their representatives. We have now the means of placing our affairs on a firm and satisfactory foundation, and entering on a course of prosperous peace that shall richly repay our efforts, equal or exceed our most sanguine expectations, and render every Canadian proud of his country. The main-spring of past disorders is removed, and no sane man would return to the poisonous fount, or again sow the dragon's teeth of mutual hate and destruction. A nobler spirit will exalt and enrich the province, and all will share and rejoice in its felicity.