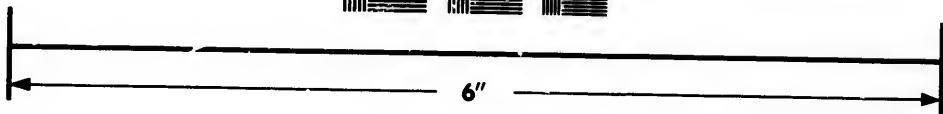
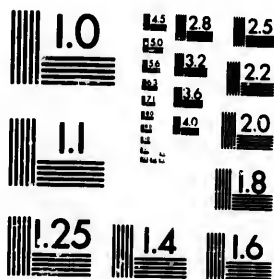


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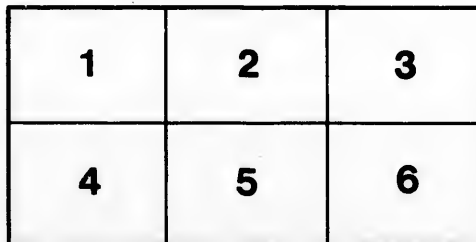
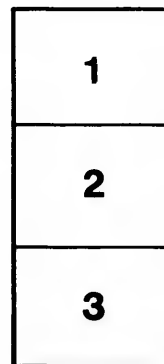
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LECTURES ON CANADA,

ILLUSTRATING

ITS PRESENT POSITION,

AND SHEWING FORTH

ITS ONWARD PROGRESS,

AND PREDICTIVE OF

ITS FUTURE DESTINY.

— . . . —
BY THE LATE MR. CHARLES BASS.

— . . . —
PRICE 25 CENTS.

HAMILTON :

PRINTED AT THE "SPECTATOR" STEAM PRESS, PRINCE'S SQUARE.

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1863.

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To

ISAAC BUCHANAN, Esq., M.P.P.,

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL OF THE XIIITH BATTALION
VOLUNTEERS, U. C.,

&c., &c., &c.

Sir,

As a steady and munificent Patron of worth and useful efforts, these Lectures upon Canada are respectfully dedicated to you—there being the further propriety in this, from your having been the friend who suggested to the accomplished Lecturer so patriotic and loyal a work, at such an appropriate time as that of the present—the troubled state of this continent.

The author, the late Mr. Charles Bass, although a celebrity with widely acknowledged powers of literary composition, and a master in happy expression of thought, had never until recently, attempted the character of a political writer or state-economist. A man of practical aspirations only, he left to others that high *role* in the drama of life, whose position it better suited, and confined himself to the one he had assumed. In his latter days, however, responding to the promptings of his versatile and accomplished genius, he addressed himself to the subject of this pamphlet—the place which Canada, under well-directed government, is calculated to occupy among the nations. He had, many years ago, although, by profession, as a member of what is regarded as a nomadic race, adopted this Province as his home and resting place. It was, then, a matter of natural anxiety with him, as life was advancing, to be assured that the country of which his three young children are natives, should move onward in a course of prosperity and national prosperity.

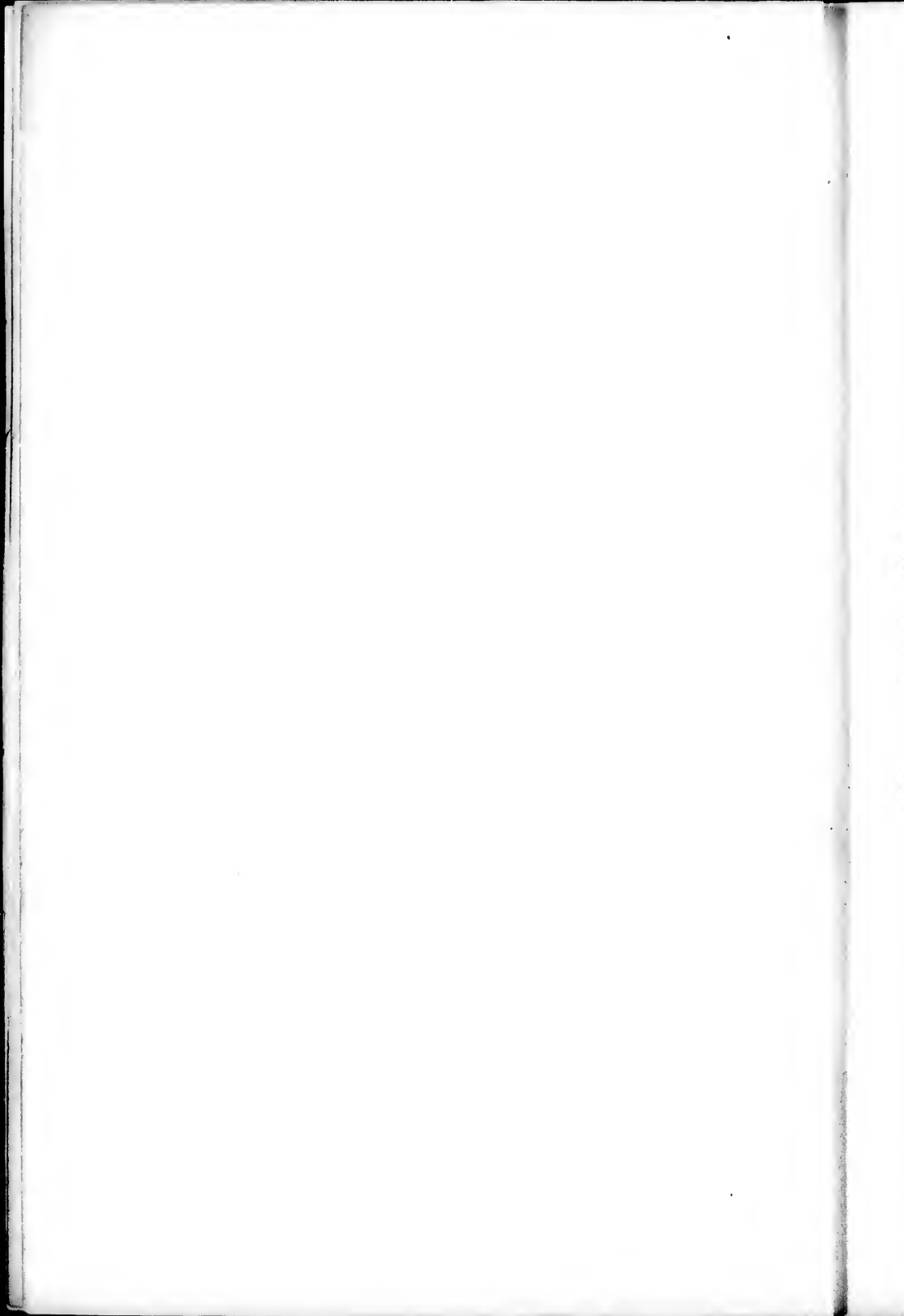
His lucubrations upon this theme, although in the present shape of a mere *brochure*, will readily be acknowledged by all to be amply suggestive. Free from the trammels of party, which is too often a threatening curse to this country, he peers with the unobscured and keen eye of the philosopher and prophet, into the vista of the future. They deserve to be accepted by the public as a pure emanation of a bright intellect, and the expiring effort of an able and lucid mind upon a subject of the deepest interest.

The patriotic part,—irrespective of all minorities and petty political differences,—with which your name must always be associated,—the welfare and progress of the country, embodying everything valuable to you,—as well as your already substantially declared appreciation of the Lecturer as well as of these Lectures, induce the widow of the author humbly and respectfully to place them under the wing of your patronage.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your very Obedient Servant,

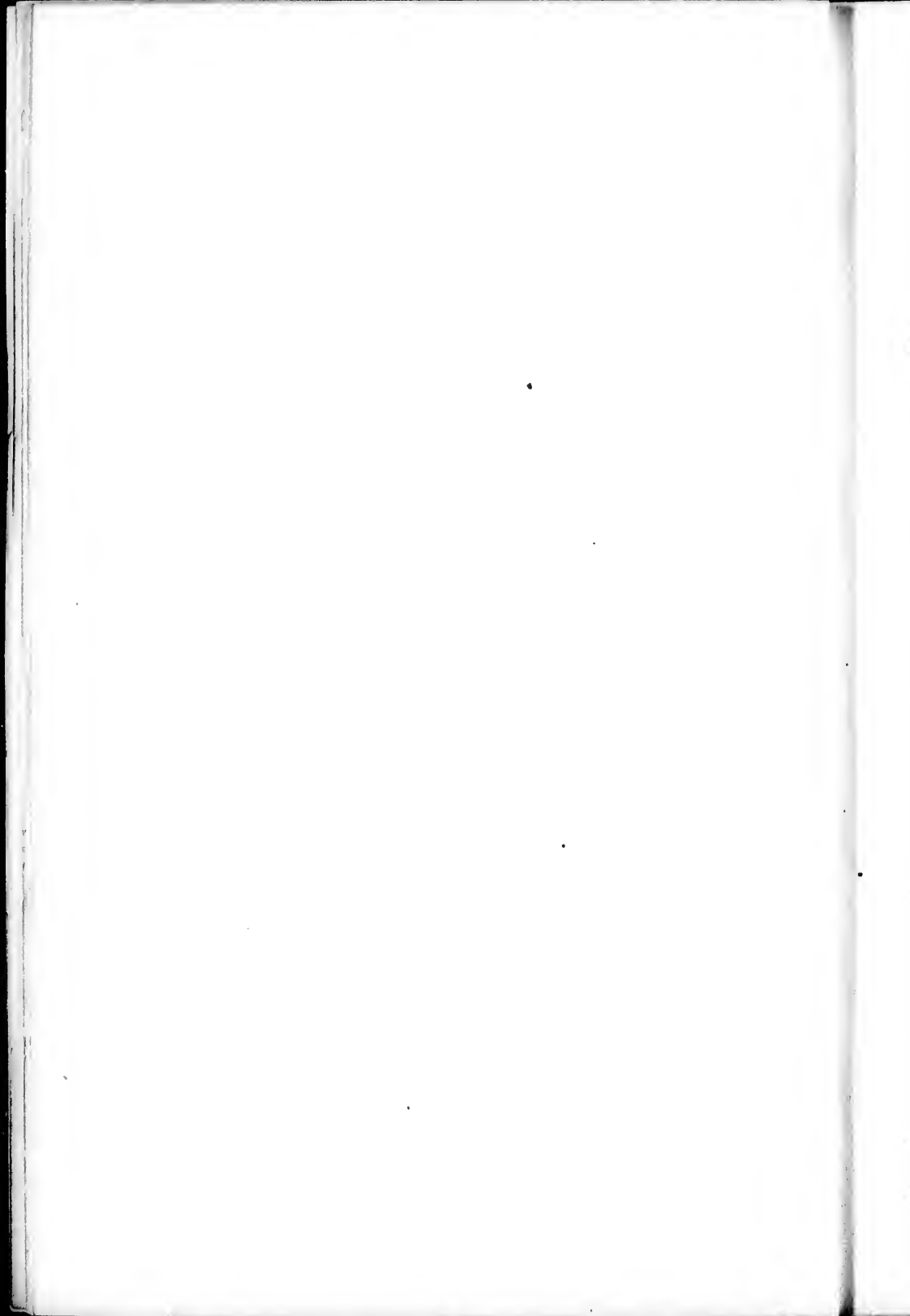
THE EDITOR.



PREFACE.

In offering these lectures to the public in a printed form, there are two desirable objects in view. One of them is, that they may serve to contribute to, extend and fortify the cause of a good and a true Canadian patriotism; and the other, that they may be made convertible into some tangible benefit for the widow and children of their gifted author. As essays upon an interesting subject, they emphatically possess the elements of popular success. The arguments are pleasingly logical and cogent,—clothed, as they are, with gorgeous imagery, historical allusions and beautifully stirring quotations, rendering them delightfully readable and impressive. Limited, therefore, though these lectures are, within the compass of some forty or fifty pages, they may effect more good, in the cause to which they apply, than might more ostentatious and pretentious volumes. The discriminating and generous public may, therefore, be expected to patronize, liberally, this *last appearance* of Mr Charles Bass; and, thus, while they gratify themselves in accompanying him in "Canada's Progress," perform the Christian act of lending an easy aid to the orphan children of a clever and very worthy man.

THE EDITOR.



LECTURES ON CANADA.

ITS PRESENT POSITION—ITS ONWARD PROGRESS AND FUTURE
DESTINY.

“Breathes there a man with soul so dead—
Who never to himself hath said—
This is my own, my native land!
Whose heart has ne'er within him burned,
When home his footsteps he hath turned
From wandering on a foreign strand!
If such there be go mark him well—
For him no minstrel's accents swell;
Proud though his titles, high his name,
Boundless his wealth as wish can claim,—
Despite his titles, power and pelf,
The wretch concentrated all in self,
Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
And doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile dust from whence he sprung,
Unwept, unhonored and unsung.”

Love of country, which in these few lines from the famous writer, Sir Walter Scott, so powerfully delineating the patriotic feeling the sons of Caledonia invariably entertain for the land of their birth, is but a type of that same quality which is more or less inherent in the feelings of the children of every other nation, from the climes which are scorched beneath the burning of a tropical sun, to the rude races of the Esquimaux, who freeze throughout the long winters north and south of the Arctic and Antarctic circles; though it must be observed the *amor patriæ* invariably increases in intensity as civilization becomes more advanced, and man assumes the station which God intended he should occupy—a being, but little lower than the angels, and crowned with glory and honor. Some writers have asserted that it rules strongest in the island realms, which being in a degree isolated

from the larger continental nations, brings man more to learn the necessities of his fellow creatures as also their virtues, and thus a fraternity of feeling is kindled which becomes a pure and enlightened patriotism, stimulating the mind to virtuous and heroic deeds, and high achievements; for true love of country can never dwell in any human breast that is not enriched with other noble qualities.

It is not my province to investigate what foundation there may be in truth for establishing this doubtful axiom, or how far, if at all inferior, the sons of Gaul may be in love of *la belle France*, or the children of *dolce fur niente* for the land of song and sunny skies, to their island neighbours who inhale the foggy English atmosphere, the misty grandeur of the Scottish Highlands, or trot over the bogs and slopes of green Erin, fondly and filially deeming it, "First flower of the earth and first gem of the sea." Springing, as most Canadians do, from the parent stock which people those three countries, we fully know the love that dwells in every heart for the spot where he was born, the reverence all pay to the land of their nativity, the aspiration every soul feels that that land may continue prosperous, powerful and happy.

As it is my design in this address to dwell on our duties and interests as Canadians, an allusion to the patriotic feelings of our forefathers in the old countries from whom we are descended is all my purpose requires; and even this is scarcely necessary, for where is the poet, the novelist, or historian of old Ireland whose pages we can open, and not find them replete with apostrophes to his country's beauty, the heroic deeds of her sons, the virtuous chastity of her daughters, the piety of her saints and prelates, and the unrestricted hospitality of all her children.

"Remember thee! yes, while there's life in this heart,
It shall never forget thee, all lorn as thou art;
More dear in thy sorrow, thy gloom and thy showers,
Than the rest of the world in their sunniest hours.

"Wert thou all that I wish thee—great, glorious and free,
First flower of the earth and first gem of the sea,
I might hail thee with prouder, with happier brow,
But oh! could I love thee more deeply than now?

“No! thy chains as they rankle, thy blood as it runs,
 But make thee more painfully dear to thy sons,
 Whose hearts like the young of the desert bird's nest,
 Drink love in each life drop that flows from thy breast.”

Scotland is equally noted for patriotic feeling, 'tis displayed in the works of all her authors, carried out by her sages and her warriors, and echoed in every palpitation of the Scottish heart.

“Oh Caledonia! stern and wild;
 Meet nurse for a poetic child;
 Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,
 Land of the mountain and the flood,
 Land of my sires! what mortal hand
 Can e'er untie the filial band
 That knits me to thy rugged strand?”

This is the feeling of the entire Scottish peasantry, and it is the embodiment of this feeling in all his works that, more than all the other charms of his muse, great and lovely as they are, so established and rivetted Burns in the affections of his countrymen. Burns was the patriotic organ of the Scottish heart, and no prayer was ever echoed by a people with fervour more sincere than that with which he so beautifully concludes his *Cotter's Saturday Night* :—

“Oh Thou! who pour'd the patriotic tide
 That stream'd through Wallace's undaunted heart
 Who dared to nobly stem tyrannic pride,
 Or nobly die, the second glorious part,
 The patriot's God peculiarly Thou art,
 His friend, inspirer, guardian and reward!
 Oh! never, never Scotia's realm desert;
 But still the patriot, and the patriot band,
 In bright succession raise, her ornament and guard.”

Nor is England one whit behind her sisters in patriotic impulses, indeed the self-love of England has become in many lands a proverb, “You're as proud and vain as an Englishman,” is the taunt of other natives than those of France or Yankeedom; and we pretty well know the rebuke is not ill-merited, for travel wherever he may, in the vanity of his heart does he not always return to his own country again with more devotion to it than ever? He boasts of his great lawgiver, Alfred the Great, who

laid the groundwork of the imperishable British Constitution ; of its Magna Charta ; its Bill of Rights, and the Revolution of 1688 ; of the glorious days of Good Queen Bess ; of the sages, the poets, philosophers, heroes, statesmen, artizans and men of science who have from age to age brightened Old England's glory, her liberty and her renown. Nor need he cast his reflections only on the past, the present still affords a higher theme for exultation, when he sees in full expansion the triumphs of preceding centuries, developing themselves to the extended happiness of the human race. Fostered and encouraged by a Queen whose rare virtues and exemplary patriotism can find no parallel in the past history of British sovereignties. The child of hope, the daughter of promise, as Princess, that we first contemplated, we find, as Queen, merged into the performing angel of an o'erswaying Providence ; under her benign rule the evil disaffection of rebellious subjects became quickly silenced ; peace extended her olive-branch o'er all the land ; taking the opportunity afforded by national quiet she extended the liberties of her subjects at home, and gave free constitutions to her colonies abroad ; the arts of peace, the diffusion of science, the interests of commerce, the pursuits of industry and the rights of labor were upheld and encouraged by every influence that could be devised, palaces of industry were built for their display, and the various nations of the world invited to share in and to increase their usefulness. Such were the humanizing effects of Victoria's gentle rule that nations—almost considered hereditary foes—bowed the knee in homage to her ; and republican democracies, whose hatred for aught of royalty had previously been their distinguishing characteristic, suspended their usual traduce-ment of crowned heads, listened with patience, then with delight to the British National Anthem, called for its renewal, and not unfrequently joined in the English chorus, " God save the Queen."

Such is the patriotism, such the deservings of our gracious Sovereign. Yet all this greatness of character so well merited as queen, is but of a secondary consideration when we reflect on her exemplary virtues as a woman. The daughter, the wife, the mother, the friend and the Christian, show in her mind and actions their loveliest developements. The character and conduct of the English aristocracy have under the brightness of her example

assumed a more truly noble bearing ; for vice and debauchery, such as disgraced the times so recently even as the fourth George, dare not now show their visages in the Court of St. James's. And slander, that loves an exalted mark to dart its venom at, has not been able through Victoria's rule of more than a quarter of a century, to find the first flaw of conduct at which it could direct an arrow.

Let Britons boast of their country, they have good reason to be proud, their national songs find an echo in every heart. "The flag that braved a thousand years, the battle and the breeze," still waves its folds, an emblem of protection to all her subjects throughout the globe, the banner alike of victory, of peace and liberty ! The domestic hearths of her rustic cottages echo the words of her rural poet :—

"England, with all thy faults, I love thee still,
My country ! And while yet a nook is left
Where English minds and manners may be found,
Shall be constrained to love thee."

The martial camp, the ocean defences, reverbrate in their hearts the words of Shakespeare :—

"This England never did and never shall
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror.
Come the four quarters of the world in arms
And we can shock them. Nought can make us rue,
While England to herself remains but true."

The halls of legislation, the courts of justice and the marts of commerce resound the strain—

"Britain ! the glorious subject fires my breast
And my soul's darling passion stands confessed,
Beyond, or love or friendship's sacred band ;
Beyond myself I prize my native land ;
On this foundation would I build my fame,
And emulate the Greek and Roman name ;
Think England's peace bought cheaply with my blood
And die with pleasure for my country's good."

While such love of country is beyond dispute the great characteristic of England, Ireland and Scotland, and which patriotic spirit has been the guiding star that has led the United Kingdom

upward to its present high pinnacle of greatness, how is it that Canada, this portion of which is peopled by the natives or descendants of natives of those countries, is so wanting in self-estimation that we rarely hear an utterance of self-gratulation from him who can really say, "I am a Canadian!" It would be needless to argue that this is not the fact, for it must be apparent to all; but it is necessary to examine the reasons of this apathy to the land of our adoption, the land we live in, which though termed a province, is yet of itself a nation, with power to make its own laws and regulate its own finances; having its government strictly responsible to the people, and whom the popular vote may establish or set aside at pleasure, that vote being largely diffused almost to universal suffrage; enjoying an amount of liberty no country in the world can surpass and very few parallel, without any incubus of ancient debt, or time-honored abuses pressing down its energies, whether of church, or state, or aristocracy. Possessing a varied soil, the greater part of which is yet of primeval virgin richness, waiting but the wooing of the husbandman to develop the fructuation, that would not only establish its own greatness, but diffuse its blessings to distant lands. In happy alliance with the greatest empire of the earth by parental and filial ties, the loving child of a fond parent, not the subservient slave of a tyrannical despot, and having in itself the means of becoming, as it eventually must, the proud beacon light of the great western continent; for the world's history cannot afford an instance where circumstances so conspired to offer to a country such a combination of fortuitous blessings, as Canada now possesses.

Whence then this apathy of cultivating the *amor patriæ* which would form the great inducement for perseverance in forwarding Canada's golden opportunities? Much may be traced to the original love of home from which we emigrated; a love not easily relinquished I confess, but still it is a duty to transfer some portion of it to the land of our adoption; and remember this, though it be not our native land, it is, or will be, the native land of our children, and their children's children; and is it not the duty of a parent to cultivate the principles of public virtue in the hearts of his posterity? Another cause of apathy may be found perhaps in

the recent settlement and organization of self-government in Canada—its constitution is not yet of an age to excite veneration, and its previous colonial existence, caused it to depend too much upon the mother country. Yet some names are found enobled in the roll of fame; the memory of Queenstown Heights, of Stoney Creek, of the siege of Detroit, and other fields of glory emblazon in their history the valiant deeds of heroes of Canadian birth, who nobly stood to protect their land from the incursions of a hostile foe. They yet dwell in the grateful memories of their descendants, and their patriotic daring should stimulate the present generation—

“In hearts resolved and hands prepared,
The blessings they enjoy to guard.”

For no country can ever rise in the scale of nations unless the sentiment of nationality be strong within her.

Probably another reason for the backwardness of Canada's developement may be found in the late overpowering strength of the neighbouring republic. Established as a government for half a century before Canada might be said to be able to run alone, possessing a population numbering fifteen times that of our sparsely peopled province, it had more capability of extending its area of production, of opening its fruitful regions of the far west, of building roads and railroads to reach the distant settlements; and, above all, in adopting a liberal system in the disposal of the public lands, that encouraged thither the industrious emigrant, to develop its resources, promote its fertility, and establish an agricultural population—the bone and sinew of a nation's wealth:

“Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade;
A breath can make them as a breath has made;
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied.”

Against such superior advantages possessed by the neighbouring States, it seemed idle to compete. We had not the necessary wealth to open our north-western region as fully as they had, and although the central portion of our share of this vast continent gave promise of equal or superior powers of production, yet an

additional difficulty presented itself in knowing that much of this was occupied through an ancient charter by the Hudson Bay Company, which by the law of nations could not be infringed upon. Such were the difficulties Canada had to contend against. Those difficulties are now removed. The charter of the Hudson Bay Company has expired; the great portion of those fertile tracts are but held now by temporary favor of the British Crown, who would gladly, as it has shown, convey them over to the Canadian government and people, to enrich our treasury, by opening them to settlement. At the same time, the great strength of the neighbouring republic is weakened, its power is abridged, its glory has departed. A fratricidal and unholy war decimates its people, devastates its richest culture, cripples its energies, depletes its treasury, and piles up a monstrous national debt that must sit like an incubus upon the present and succeeding generations, perhaps for ages. Works of public improvement must lie dormant, private enterprise must be checked by the weight of taxation their struggle for power will render necessary, the inducement to emigrate thither will be stayed, and, not improbably, oppression and poverty usurp the seats of liberty and independence.

Were it not necessary for my present purpose, I would avoid all allusion to the sanguinary strife now raging among our cousins on the other side; to all lovers of freedom, to all sympathisers with human progress, it must produce sad and humiliating reflections; that a nation which seemed the guiding star of liberty, inviting to its folds the oppressed of every land, and which in seventy years advanced to a pitch of greatness the world's history cannot parallel, should, from causes so trivial, rush into a mad and bloody course of self-destruction—the mark of pity and of scorn to a surrounding world. Of the causes of that war it were not my province to examine, but its existence and probable termination are relative to my purpose, and to these I may briefly allude. An old proverb says, "One man's fall is another's opportunity." The like is true also of rival nations, and while we mourn the fall of America's greatness, and grieve at her dismemberment, it is our duty to seize the opportunity it offers for Canada's advancement. No longer need we fear the accumulated power of the United States preponderating in the scale, and causing the

British province or provinces to kick the beam. The bond of union in the States is broken—its restoration never can take place.

I know, with a great portion of the Northern States the assertion of this belief would be considered tantamount to treason in a native, and but the expression of a wish, as father to the thought, in a foreigner; but candid examination of facts must, I conceive, bring every impartial judgment to this conclusion. For myself, I can conscientiously declare I have no personal wish in seeing this belief realised—both pecuniarily and professionally by the disruption of the Union I have been a considerable sufferer, and must continue so while this lamentable division exists. For many years I have travelled through, and visited the chief cities of thirty different states, I have received acts of the greatest kindness in the capital of Massachusetts and proved that the sons of New England rival the children of old England in welcoming the stranger with genuine hospitality. I have received equal kindness from the habitants of the extreme Southern metropolis of New Orleans, and an unvarying welcome in all the intermediate cities. I am therefore bound to speak with affectionate regard of a country that has so well received me, of which, as their great statesman said, I know no North, no South, nor East or West. But from my travels in the different states, and as a neutral in these differences, I have had opportunities of hearing their various opinions given without bias, and those opinions have for many years past convinced me that the continuance of the Union would not be of long duration. A growing jealousy of the protective tariffs prepared to sustain and enrich the manufacturers of the North and East, reached at length the acme of gall and bitterness in the South. They considered themselves aggrieved that they could not import from the European markets—who were their best customer.—a return of the necessities and luxuries they required, without submitting to an exorbitant protective impost to enrich the manufacturers of New England and Pennsylvania. This was the paramount feeling of the cotton-producing States, and when they felt that the political fanatics of the North, enriched by the taxation they had so long suffered, and thus become more strengthened, used that strength to violate the great principle of the constitution by interfering with their State's Rights

in regulating their own domestic affairs, seeking to destroy the "peculiar institution" by which labor alone they conceive the cotton plantations can be productive, seeing the unceasing endeavour to deprive them of their means of wealth, hearing themselves branded with every crime that could blacken human nature, and the constitution under which they had a right to claim protection and which had been the pride of them and of their ancestry—stigmatised as "*a league with Satan and a covenant with Hell*", the gall and bitterness they had endured burst into an unmitigated hatred; they resolved if ever the abolitionist faction should become paramount, and elect from their ranks a President, they would at once secede from the Union and establish their own independence. Lincoln was elected, and the Confederate States of America became a fact! The alarm of war spread through the land—State was marshalled against State—brother against brother. The object of the North through its President was stated to be alone the restoration of the Union; and when the Abolition faction sought to goad on the volunteers in a crusade against slavery, as many Northerners demurred to that proposal, the President came out with a message or proclamation that his purpose was not to interfere with any rights the States had to self-government, which by his presidential oath he was bound to protect; his object being only to put down rebellion and restore to every State its pristine powers! Had such declaration been made before the shedding of kindred blood, who knows what deluges of blood might have been prevented; but the bayonet's point and the cannon's mouth, though sharp arguments, will not convince reason, and a proud and sensitive people will never succumb to fear, when they believe they have a just cause, and hearts and arms able to maintain it.

The people of the South never gave credit to these presidential declarations, they believed them to be insincere; they knew the influence which had elevated its puppet to the executive power, and felt convinced that that influence could and would be exerted to regulate the movements of the puppet as it pleased. And how could they believe otherwise when in some instances the principal Northern generals, in spite of their chief's declaration, became active Abolitionists and slave stealers; while the Senate and

House of Representatives were proposing measures and passing laws in direct opposition to the declaration so often sounded, that the war was only for the restoration of the Union under its original constitution. Thus such measures were proposed and passed, as the destruction of Virginia and slicing into three portions, to be added to the neighbouring States which had not been in rebellion; to break up the entire governments of the Cotton States, and hold them in subjection as territories under Northern rule and military power; to abolish slavery, and consequently, slave-owners from the District of Columbia, hitherto the capital of the South as well as the North, with equal rights guaranteed to all. These, with other measures, must show that the greater foes of the American Constitution and the restoration of the Union were found in the ranks of their own Congress, than even in the ranks of those who had risen in arms against it—

“Like the Long Parliament in days of yore,
They needed Cromwell to break ope the door,
Upbraid their desecration of the place,
And drive them all out with the Speaker's mace.”

Such would have been the action of the President had he been sincere in his own declarations of policy. So the war progressed, begun in hate, and pursued in a burning thirst for vengeance; cruelties practised on either side almost unknown in modern warfare; the solitary sentinel shot down, and pickets murdered by unseen foes skulking behind a bush; defenceless cities shelled, with no regard paid to the protection of helpless women and unoffending infancy, subdued by superior forces, plundered and their inhabitants frequently subjected to degrading insults, even to the issuing of proclamations, which, however meant, appeared to offer inducements to a licentious soldiery to violate the chastity of virtuous matrons and their unsullied daughters. Is it to be wondered at that the bitter hatred of the South to the North became augmented to an intensity, rendering it an impossibility that they should ever again be reunited? From these aggravations, many who had held back from the strife, in a distant hope for a reconstruction of the Union, at once joined the Confederate military power. Having been myself a resident in the South when the war broke out and seven States had seceded, I am free to confess

that in some cities, especially that of New Orleans, had secession but put to the popular vote at that time, a majority had given their adherence to the Union; but now, I verily believe that not one voice would be raised, or one wish secretly indulged for its restoration. 'Tis hopeless—'tis impracticable, with a people now entirely united, the army of the South was greatly augmented, and a second victory had been gained on the Bull Run field, where the first great battle of the revolution had been fought. Thus, after more than a twelvemonth's bloody struggle, notwithstanding the superior means of the North in obtaining from foreign nations the munitions of war, while the Southern ports were all blockaded, their fighting population numbering fully or above three to one, with great maritime power in gunboats, iron-clad war steamers and other means of destruction of which the South were comparatively destitute; after a year's warfare, in which between both parties, at least 500,000 lives in the prime of youth and manhood had been sacrificed, and untold millions of treasure spent and destroyed, we find the opposing foes occupying the same ground almost with which the bitter contest was begun. In the fact that, under so many disadvantages the men of the South had shown such prowess as to escape deterioration at least in the contest, is it to be believed that they would succumb to Northern rule and yield their right to independent government, which by their spirit, bravery and resolution they have proved to the world they are able to maintain.

A glorious opportunity was now afforded for an armistice to stay the further effusion of blood, and deliberate a treaty to conclude the war, but it was not embraced. The reciprocal hate of the contending factions burnt with increasing fury; the South, emboldened by its late successes, thought to return aggression by an invasion of the North—the North, through their President determined in return, to make a vital stab against the interests of the South, by throwing off the mask of constitutionalism, and lacerating her in her domestic ties. A proclamation, issued by Father Abraham, declares the slaves shall all be free from the first of January next. It is the farthest from my wish to defend the institution or desire the perpetuation of slavery; I was brought up in principles wholly antagonistic to its existence, and still

think its perpetuity detrimental to humanity; but is it any consideration of humanity that prompts the issuing of such a proclamation? If it be the conscientious feeling of the President, why not have acted upon the principle from the commencement of the war—has he been playing the perjured hypocrite since his inauguration in March 1861? If not, has he been compelled by the political party who raised him to power to succumb to their domination, and be a political tool, instead of the President of a nation? Or has he, as many will believe, yielded all feelings of right and conscience to a cruel policy in carrying on a war of extermination against his Southern foes? Finding that in the open field he cannot vanquish them, does he at length use abolition to raise a servile war, and depend on the liberated slaves to aid the retention of himself and party in place and power? Far be it from me to judge the motives of man; but certainly such a proclamation at this time may very probably lead to such a course, and many neutral parties, beside the entire South, will judge this to be the motive of his action. But, however meant, its tendency is unquestionable. To the ignorant negroes it must appear given as a premium to rise in insurrection against their owners and employers; as free men they will have weapons put into their hands; how these might be used by them is a most harrowing reflection—

“To place within a frantic negro’s hand
 The sword of slaughter, or the midnight brand,
 To wield against the owner who hath reared,
 Fed and protected him! By white men cheered.
 Might not his sensual instincts than destroy
 The husband’s honor and the father’s joy?
 Worse than employing Indian scalping knife,
 Or Cuban bloodhounds, hunting human life.
 Out on such warfare, and let nations know,
 Who would be free—their selves must strike the blow.”

That this is the aim of the Federal government, the Confederates do not hesitate to affirm their belief; and, acting on that belief, have already promulgated their orders to fight under the black flag, and exterminate all Northerners that fall into their power.

" All that the mind can think of excesses,
 All that the body perpetrates of bad,
 All that we see, hear, read of man's distresses,
 All that the devil would do if run stark mad ;
 All that defies the worst that pen expresses,
 All by which Hell is peopled, or as bad
 As Hell—vain mortals who Heaven's power abuse,
 Will be as here and heretofore let loose."

More bitter will grow the furious hate of the South to the North. Reconciliation will be wholly impracticable. If the South gain its independence, the power of the North will necessarily be abridged; if she conquers the South, it will never remain in a state of subjection; a new generation will arise burning with the desire to revenge their father's injuries, and a larger army than even the war demands will be required from the North to keep the South in subjugation, which, with the heavy debt 'twill leave behind, must cripple the Federal States in continuing their former career of internal improvement and greatness. In either case, whenever the American eagle alights again from her warlike flight, and begins to display her feathers, it will be found that she will have lost a great deal of her peacock plumage.

America, thus by her own career weakened and impaired, a great opportunity is afforded Canada of assuming that position in the world to which its territorial extent, its fertile soil, its peculiar situation and adaptibility of becoming the great highway of the world's commerce, so favorably presents. A glance at its capabilities of internal improvement and external commerce will, I think, convince any unprejudiced mind that so favorable a combination of circumstances, natural and acquired, never before presented itself to any country. Consider its vast unsettled territory, which investigation has decided to be adequate for the highest culture, the means of access to it easy, prepared as it were by nature to invite the settlement of man; this being less known than the already peopled districts, I will endeavour to point out its advantages, and direct attention to the route which may, and doubtless will, shortly become a great highway to those portions of Canada which, opened to emigration, would so extend our

population and wealth, for industrious toil is ever the surest foundation on which to erect the structure of a nation's greatness. Our first duty should, therefore, be to make known its value to the agriculturalists of the old world, and by agents appointed by our government abroad, with bureaus of emigration at home—and above all a truly liberal disposal of the public lands to actual settlers—people the intermediate country; which settlement would ultimately extend to the base of the Rocky Mountains, and thus open an overland route to British Columbia and its newly-discovered gold mines; for that would soon be followed up, and the commerce of the wide Pacific be added to the means of enriching the thoroughfare, which would more than all assist the progress of Canada.

But, first, to investigate our own territorial dominion, extending from Lake Superior to the Red River Settlement, the valley of the Assiniboine, and thence by the great lakes of Winnepegoos and Manitouba to the fertile valley of the Saskatchewan, and test its merits as a field for agricultural enterprise.

The chief and peculiar advantage this territory possesses is the combination it affords of prairie and timber land, presenting their united assistance to the settler in a far greater degree than any other tract of equal extent known on this broad continent.

Whence is the cause that so many hardy emigrants, especially those of the Scandinavian races, annually pass through Canada to seek new homes in the far Western settlements of the United States. Simply from the belief that Canada is a thickly wooded country, presenting great difficulties in clearing, while the open prairies of the Western States of the Union have a world-wide renown, giving promise of a quick return for labor. Though timber and building materials be scarce, cattle and stock may at once be raised with very little care or expense, and in three month's settlement enough land may be turned over and cultivated by a family or colony, to provide sufficiently to last them through the first long winter, each year increasing their account, till competency enable them in a distant market to purchase the means of building, fencing and fuel.

Now, in a thickly wooded country, the labor of years is necessary to clear away the timber before prosperous farming is attainable. A cost of from twenty to twenty-five dollars must be incurred to clear every acre of land before it can be brought thoroughly under the plough. It must amount to that sum, if accomplished by experienced woodmen; while double the amount would scarcely suffice to the immigrant from Europe, who, though skilled in other labor, is wholly unaccustomed to the use of the woodman's axe. Thus for a clearing of an hundred acres, a loss of time and labor is incurred to the amount of between two and three thousand dollars, and the best years of life sacrificed in toilsome struggles to prepare a farm in an equal state for cultivation to that a prairie settler finds when he first sets foot upon it. Often such years of crushing toil will destroy a man's best energies, deprive him of all muscular power, and bring him to a premature grave in the wilderness; or, he may more painfully survive, to linger out his remaining years in disease and penury.

But how greatly superior to wholly prairie, or entirely wooded land, is that which embraces the benefits of both; here may the settler at once commence the cultivation of his farm, and the building of his dwelling, storehouses and fences. How light would be his toil in raising the necessaries of life, and providing for the comforts of existence, when relieved from the additional labor of clearing the forest! Each year would bring its steady increase, he would find fortitude to labor, health in its progress, serenity of mind, cheerfulness of heart, and ultimate prosperity and independence; and a nation great and powerful, doubtless, would arise where now the Indian hunter only roams to entrap the native denizens—the bear, the wolf and buffalo—to supply the Hudson's Bay Company with peltries for the European market.

In viewing the country it almost appears that nature had prepared for man's industry these Canadian wilds. The beautiful green and flowers of the rolling prairie, the trees rising in isolated groves, as if laid out by the hand of art, and the blue hills bounding the prospect, present a glorious picture, especially when considered in relation to the future; when civilization shall have advanced to cultivate the region; when herds of domestic cattle

shall rove about the plains now only furrowed with the tracks of the wild buffalo ; when cottages shall arise amid groves prepared by an overruling Providence for their reception ; when the luxuriant clusters of the vineyard and the rich fruitage of the orchard shall decorate the prospect where the wild grape and plum now grow spontaneous ; when the rank herbage of the boundless prairie shall be rooted out, and the aspect be enriched by golden acres of waving wheat, by the prolific bearings of Indian maize, and the extended variety of nourishing cereals, whose rich profusion shall gladden the heart of the husbandman, and furnish to distant nations the bounty of God's handiwork stimulated and increased by human industry.

Such is the country which the north-western part of Canada, with the adjacent Hudson Bay Company's territory—which should be Canada's—presents in its inviting aspect to the industrious settler ; requiring only moderate labor, and tending to adorn its face with produce capable of sustaining in comfort millions of inhabitants ; possessing a climate equal on the average to the already settled portion ; open weather for farming purposes, extending from early April to the middle of November ; where wheat is ready for the sickle in ninety days from sowing it, and of a quality equal to the finest grown on the American continent.

Some cavillers have started objections to the opening of this important district, from the belief that it is too remote to justify the expense of communication, and therefore on the score of economy it would be better to clear our unoccupied lands nearer home ; but I believe, and I am justified in my belief from authorized surveys, that the reverse is the fact. In the first place we must consider the labor of clearing forest lands, to which I have already alluded ; and in addition to this would be entailed the forming roads through the almost impervious forests, to reach the clearances. So much has already been done by the colonist in this particular that the cost is very well known. It takes an expense of five hundred dollars a mile to make a passable road through a wooded country, and when that is accomplished, it gives access only to the lands immediately adjoining it. As the settlements expand, a renewal of this five hundred dollars is required for every

cultivated mile. What an overpowering item is this in a settlement whose whole capacity is insignificant in comparison with the north-western region, where fertile acres may be calculated by millions instead of hundreds, and access to which, as I shall show, can be more readily and cheaply accomplished.

Let me guide you by the already well ascertained route, and point out how nature has prepared the way for man to perfect an easy means of transit to this promising land of plenty. To the head of Lake Superior we have navigable waters for steam vessels of the first class. From Thunder Bay, on the north-west bank of that magnificent inland sea, we must encounter twenty-eight miles of land carriage to bring us to the Dog Lake and river; but such is the level tract of country, that a road could very easily be accomplished. Embarking then on another steamer, we have a run of a hundred and five miles to the river Seine, interrupted by only five miles between the Dog and Savanne rivers, where a canal might be constructed to connect their waters without any great outlay. The navigation of the river Seine then becomes broken, but is still navigable by smaller boats, except for seven miles, where a water difficulty must be obviated by a *portage* or land travel; that short distance surmounted we are enabled to reach Lac Plat, where with only one slight break that could without much engineering difficulty be surmounted, we find a clear course of two hundred and eight miles of navigable waters for large steamers to the lake's extremest point, whence land conveyance of ninety miles to Fort Garry brings us to the heart of that fertile region where the much talked of Red River settlement commences. Thus, to gain this country, would from Lake Superior, require but the construction of roads for one hundred and thirty miles, and this over a generally level district, not thickly wooded; the cost of whose construction would consequently be far less than road making through the dense forests nearer home; this, with three hundred and seventy miles of navigable waters which nature has prepared for our adoption, making the whole distance from Lake Superior to Fort Garry barely five hundred miles, might by the old slow mode of travel be accomplished in sixty-three hours, or say at the utmost three days; and by an estimate made by the most skilful engineers

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might be wholly accomplished for an expenditure of fifty thousand pounds. What a trifling sum does this appear to open so many millions of fertile acres, whose productions and consequent return of trade would at once be transferred to this part of Canada. Reasonable also is it to believe that the Hudson Bay Company would at once adopt this means of transit for their goods, as they could do it more economically and less dangerously than by Hudson's Bay, thus bringing through this country a trade amounting to nearly two millions and a half of dollars annually; and remember this, that Toronto and Hamilton would be within five days travel of this great depôt of wealth, with the additional productions of the Valley of the Assiniboine and the Red River Settlement. And here for one minute let me pause, slightly to review this extraordinary settlement, which, originating long before the present means of accelerated travel were known, by a few families whose only return for their labor and self-denial was at first but a bare existence, with a very limited amount of luxuries gained in barter with the thinly scattered agents of the Hudson's Bay Company in that isolated region. Yet at this time, entirely unaided by government assistance, by their own industry, fortitude and perseverance they have become a colony of above ten thousand inhabitants, with excellent houses good farms, horses, sheep and herds of cattle; nor, while they enrich their worldly substance, is their intellectual culture unimproved, having in their settlement two good libraries, ten churches and twenty schools, besides an extensive collegiate institution where education of the first order may be obtained. Does it not appear to the understanding of every reflecting mind that the importance of this settlement is of the first consequence to all parties who might wish to effect colonization in the west thereof? What a nucleus for new settlers to aim at, who may seek to spread civilization through the wilderness! A population of ten thousand ready to welcome them, and give them the advantage of their experience; where too, independent of having a certain remunerative return for their labor, they find establishments already existing for the social improvement of their race; where their children may have education, little, if in any degree inferior to that they might obtain in any country. These advantages, added to the luxuriant spontaneity of nature's bounty,

the teeming prairies, the verdant forests, the piscatorial richness of the pellucid streams and expansive lakes, bounded by the mighty mountains, which in the distance rise as the eternal monuments of Heaven's protection to fence so bright a mirror of its goodness, may fully realise the picture of the poet when he exclaims—

“It is a land of beauty and of grandeur!
 Where looks the cottage out o'er a domain
 A palace cannot boast of. Seas of lakes,
 And hills of forests! Crystal waves that rise
 On mountains capp'd with snow and mock the sun,
 Returning him his radiant beams more rich
 And flaming than he sent them: Torrents there
 Are bounding floods, and there the tempest roams
 At large, in all the terrors of its grandeur!
 And then our valleys—oh! they are the homes
 For hearts—the cottages, the vineyards, orchards,
 The prairies waving with the golden grain,
 The pastures studded with the herd and fold—
 A free, a gentle, simple, honest people.”

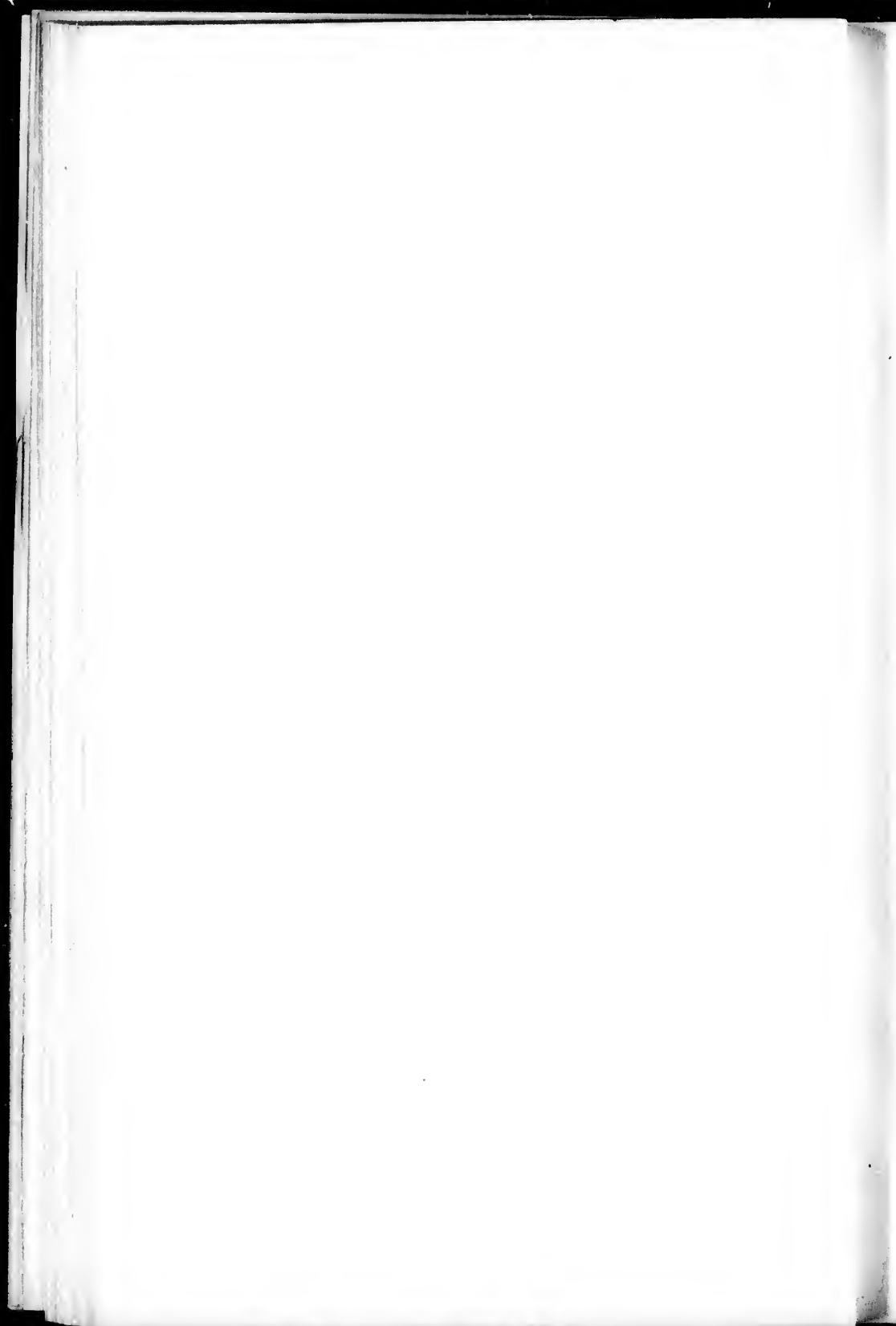
Is not the country I have endeavoured to pourtray, with the wealth that might be derived from it, inducement sufficient to warrant our Provincial Parliament in immediately proceeding to the consideration and employment of the best means to open and make available the route that would so increase the revenues of Canada, and build up our country's greatness? Even were there a desert waste, or an unnavigable ocean to prevent further progress in that direction, the riches to be derived from the generous soil would speedily repay the expenditure necessary to throw it open. How much greater then must be the inducement, when we know that opening the route to the Red River would be to throw wide the portals of a richer domain, by which Canada would inevitably become the centre of the commerce of the world, the highway of traffic for the gorgeous productions and refined luxuries of Eastern Asia, the auriferous nuggets extracted from the bosom of Australia, the spicy fruitage of the Polynesian isles, and the refreshing plant “which cheers, but not inebriates” of the Celestial empire—conveying them to European marts of industry,

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and returning in exchange their manufactured products, to extend the comforts and civilization of the human family. Besides the national wealth that must arise from the cultivation of your distant lands, the through traffic to which I have briefly alluded would of necessity tenfold, or perhaps a hundred fold, in a short space of time, augment the trade of your already settled districts, fill up the measure of the utmost wish of our ambitious little cities, extend your maritime flotilla and your commercial ports, till those of the St. Lawrence and its lakes shall equal or surpass in their forests of masts, with canvas foliage, and the belching roar of steam pressure from hundreds of marine smoke-stacks, the crowded wharves of the Hudson, the Mersey or the Thames.

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LECTURE THE SECOND

ON CANADA.

ITS ONWARD PROGRESS AND FUTURE DESTINY.

The last time I addressed you, I endeavoured to point out how Canada as she already exists has the ability within her own borders, by the due encouragement of emigrants of industry and perseverance, to prove herself the land of brightest promise under the sun; for by their labor its yet undeveloped powers of production would be revealed, its agricultural and mineral resources unfolded and brought to the world's market, and its trade and commerce with the nations of the earth magnified a hundred fold. I then extended my researches only to the Red River Settlement and the Assiniboine Valley, which truly are and should be considered—the Hudson Bay Company notwithstanding—a portion of Western Canada; and it only requires the expression of your will to have it placed by the Imperial Government under your laws and guidance—an integral portion of this fair province, the brightest colonial jewel of the British crown! In tracing our course to this fertile district—of sufficient wealth in itself to justify any necessary outlay in making it available by opening the means of travel—I stated that with all its means of aggrandizing our colony, still it was but the opening of the portal of richer prospects, and still greater means of increasing Canada's prosperity, being in the direct line of an easily attained overland route to the waters of the Pacific ocean. Let us again travel westward from Fort Garry, where I last halted, and which lies about the centre of this broad continent, midway from the waters of the St. Lawrence to the vast Pacific. I have shown how easy of access is Fort Garry, even by the old modes of travel; yet from thence, travelling westward, nature has equally prepared the way for human improvement. We have hence navigable waters for an uninterrupted course of two hundred and ninety miles, leading to the head of

Lake Winnepeg, which, with the neighbouring lake of Manitouba, rivalling in extent our well known waters of Erie and Ontario, are of equal importance in affording such ready access to the vast neighbouring territories which, too, are as equally prepared for man's cultivation and improvement, as were originally the shores of their better known compeers; being principally prairie lands, intersected with flowing streams, on whose banks oak and elm are found of the largest growth, with a profusion of larch, spruce, birch and poplar, available for all the economic purpose of settlers. From thence a land journey of twenty miles must be surmounted, or the Grand Rapids of the Saskatchewan river be avoided by canals, to bring us to its navigable waters; but these attained, a clear run of seven hundred and fifty miles for steamboat purposes is prepared for our travel to Acton House, at the very foot of the Rocky Mountains—the entire distance to which is generally through a level country, abounding with every necessity for agricultural developement. Prairie lands, well wooded and well watered, limestone in abundance, mineral wealth of various qualities, and occasional seams of coal that might be worked to rival the extensive fields of Pennsylvania, throughout favored with a climate, that, with its long winters and genial summers, may average with the weather that is experienced on the banks of Lake Ontario—with much less fall of snow—and that known to dissolve more speedily on the open prairies than in the fields and valleys of a more wooded region.

Having arrived at Acton House, we have soon to commence the ascent of the Rocky Mountains; but even in this wild region, nature has been lenient of the difficulties that in the greater portion of their range might check advancement. Frequent gaps occur, through which our course may be directed, and grades of lengthy slopes enable us with such easy progress to attain the highest necessary point and descend therefrom, that roads for ready travel might without difficulty be made, and the distance of three hundred miles traversed by coach or waggon at a pace of from five to six miles an hour; and in that distance we reach the navigable waters of the Frazer river, which in a voyage of a hundred and twenty miles to Fort Langley and Albert City, presents before us the waters of the Gulf of Georgia, dividing Vancouver's Island from

the main continent, and opening its magnificent haven, by Victoria City, to the almost illimitable Pacific. The great port for the world's commerce is here displayed before us, which is attained by the route I have travelled with only five hundred miles of land and less than fifteen hundred of water—it might, by the old jog-trot mode of travel, say ten miles an hour by steamboat and only five miles an hour by land, be accomplished in the short space of ten days. Or, commencing our voyage from the Atlantic Ocean, we could be sailing on the wide Pacific with less than two weeks' travel.

Such is the country, and such its means of attainment, with but alone improving the great highway prepared by nature; yet how could that good be augmented by the aid of the iron road and the locomotive engine? Instead of *fourteen days*, *four* might suffice to reach the Pacific from the Atlantic shore, avoiding the circuitous route which the navigable waters from their peculiar direction render necessary, together with the serpentine windings of the rivers; the whole space might be overcome in less than three-fourths of the distance of the route I have suggested; yet touching at all their principal points of interest and culture, bearing the agricultural emigrant to his intermediate destination, as well as conveying the pursuers of commerce and the seekers of gold to their separate marts of barter and of industry; and why should not this Atlantic and Pacific railroad be accomplished? I am aware the universal cry for economy in the public expenditure, and the constant promises of politicians to curtail the cost of government should they arrive at power—promises but little heeded when they have obtained possession—allright the statesman from entering on a project which appears to require so great an outlay. But sometimes to spend greatly is to spend economically, when the return for your investment assures a liberal percentage, and promises in a few years a repayal of the principal. And what could promise better than this contemplated railroad, as far as Canada is concerned; more especially when she has annexed to her government, that portion of the Hudson Bay territory which lies within her borders. Why, the sale of the public lands along the route would, in ten years at farthest, repay the entire cost of the construction of the road; besides the estab-

lishing of a large population, whose consumption of imported luxuries and necessaries would considerably augment the public revenue. Were such arrangement required, I have no doubt that capitalists could be found who would undertake the entire cost, upon receiving a grant of alternate sections of land along its boundary. Such a proposal has been offered to the United States government, to connect by rail the Atlantic and Pacific; but with us, that is a course not to be recommended. A government should ever keep its public lands under its own control, to convey alone to *bona-fide* settlers, whose labor under Providence would make those lands productive; by bestowing large grants to companies, or even individuals—as has sometimes been the case in this province—you encourage a class of speculators not unlike the middle-men who have so long been the incubus hanging on the prosperity of poor old Ireland, in exacting rents or payments that rack the toil of the cultivator—keeping him in poverty, while a hive of useless drones grow fat on the proceeds of his industry. Never let it be said the hardy sons of toil who leave their emerald isle to avoid such an impost on their labor, should find upon the soil to which they fly for refuge a similar oppression to weigh against their industry, and deprive them of the full fruits of their labor. “There is a soul of goodness in things evil, would men observantly distil it out;” and, under proper observances, the doctrine of “squatter sovereignty,” as supported by some politicians on the other side, is not without its merits; when the cultivation of distant lands is the object, strong arms and powerful sinews are of greater value than scientific minds, though able to square the circle, or find out the longitude.

But Canada will have no need of making any sacrifice, in giving her aid to the work of perfecting an Atlantic and Pacific railroad. Though of the highest value to ensure *her* expansion and future prosperity, it is of equal or superior importance to the welfare of the British empire; and assured of Canada’s fidelity, the utmost means of the Imperial government would doubtless be given to further its progress, and hasten its completion. Surveys have long since been made, estimates have been formed, and the track predetermined on by the authorities of Downing Street. They only wait to see how the Colonies are affected, and what assistance they

will be willing to give in perfecting the scheme which will so materially tend to build up their future glory and prosperity. The first instalment of the meditated grand chain is shortly to be proposed for the parliamentary consideration of this and the lower provinces—the Intercolonial Railway—for without the connection of an Atlantic port, the communication could not be complete, nor in any manner justify the expenditure of crossing this broad continent, when for more than half the year the ports on this side are closed by icy barriers, and we are indebted to a foreign power for ability to ship our produce to the European market. That Intercolonial railway completed, and let me hope it may be accomplished under temperate councils, by M.P.P.'s who can look to their country's advancement and prosperity in preference to party cry, and in defiance of the barking of political curs, to secure the bone of official corruption for their own peculiar gnawing; not paying too dear for their whistle at the same time, but in an honest manner weighing the advantages that must ultimately accrue to each province, and to the mother country; so apportioning the expense, that an undue weight shall not fall upon the present generation, who are in this measure battling to build up a land of plenty and prosperity more for their descendants than themselves, and who may therefore honorably be called upon to pay their share of interest to the expenditure; an expenditure that would at once establish Canada, the first of nations, and nothing is wanted to complete the reality, but that Canadians should be true to themselves. I know I am subjecting myself to obnoxious criticism, when I declare my belief that the progress of Canada's prosperity has been greatly retarded by the internal dissensions of political parties, the paltry struggle for place and power, to dip the finger in the public treasury regardless of measures on which the nation's welfare mainly depends; and thus have the best endeavours often been sacrificed. It is not surprising in a young country, new to the elective franchise and unstudied in political economy, that mistakes should happen, that loud-mouthed demagogues, blethering their bunkum under the name of patriotism, should influence a large number of the voting class to trust their welfare to such guidance; but it is strange that the discovery of treachery and falsehood even to their own declarations,

does not open the eyes and judgment of their constituents to hurl their betrayers from the high position of honor to which they had elevated them. What littleness of mind has frequently been manifested by exciting party feelings and working for party issues, even when the salvation of the province seemed trembling in the balance! Measures and laws urged by one party, when proposed by the other, have been voted down by the very men with whom they first originated, merely to battle for their own exaltation in preference to the welfare of the country. Thus often have the best intentions been frustrated. Witness the Bankruptcy Bill, so desirable in a commercial community to protect the interests of trade and commerce, lost by party opposition without attaining the examination of committee. Again, when five years since, the charter of the Hudson Bay Company expired, your parliament memorialized the Imperial government to annex it to Western Canada, to which it geographically belongs, a favorable reply was given through Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, then Colonial Minister; through party strife, for a long period the matter remained in abeyance, and the subject dropped without any action being taken. Had this immense field of enterprise at that time been opened, how would the wealth of Canada been increased; the great western grain states of the American Union would have been rivalled in cereal production by the teeming valleys and prairies that bound the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan rivers, the waters of Manitouba and Winnipeg, and the already rich and flourishing Red River settlement. Their products would have travelled to our cities and harbors on the shores of the St. Lawrence chain of lakes, and built up our prosperity; while to avoid the desolation which a fratricidal war entails now on the neighbouring republic, emigration would have made its chosen resting place in the prairies of the British north-west, and we should be the masters of a trade that might supply the markets of the world. It is not yet too late. Arouse, Canadians, then—set your legislators to a work that shall enrich your country, extend your glories, and benefit mankind. Agitate, agitate! call meetings of the people, and assume the place that God marks out for you. Another instance I will venture to cite, of the tergiversation of your political representatives, which certainly reflects no credit on their patriotism. When it was considered that a peripatetic government was not desirable, and

that a fixed capital should be decided on, the special pleadings of the members of Quebec, Montreal, Toronto and other cities ambitious of the honor, could not decide the question, and the Parliament resolved to petition the Queen to fix the location of the future seat of government; a request quite needless, as England has never interfered with Canadian politics since her free constitution was established; but the request having been made, the Queen, by her advisers, decided that Ottawa should be the future capital. None can fail to remember the insulting manner in which by some the Queen's decision was received, and how nearly it came to be rejected by the very Parliament who had begged Her Majesty's decision of the question. Happily better councils prevailed, and the Canadian Parliament remained loyal. Ottawa will, I presume, be the future seat of government and the great depot of the Pacific Railroad, which will there commence skirting the valley of the Ottawa, the Georgian Lake and reaching thus Lake Superior—form the first grand link which shall connect Canada with the Pacific Ocean and the commerce of the world. Depend upon it, it was not without a purpose that the British Government selected Ottawa for your future capital.

A measure lately has much occupied attention on both sides of the Atlantic, to which I may briefly allude, for the honor and welfare of Canada is ultimately connected with it. The threatened difficulties between the United States and Great Britain, arising chiefly from the Trent affair, brought those countries into threatened warfare; to wound England, through Canada, has, in former times, been the attempt of the States, and such was its threatenings on the late occasion, England at once sent over her thousands of hardy soldiers to defend the soil of Canada and her loyal subjects residing on it. The promptitude of her action secured peace, and Canada was unassailed; but the threatening aspect, in a general measure remained on the other side, and a future day of reckoning was spoken of; threats still abound in all the newspapers under the influence of their Government, that, their own fratricidal war over, they will enter on a parrieidal crusade against the mother country; this may be only Yankee bunkum to keep up the warlike spirit of the people; but dangers guarded against are always best prevented, therefore England has not withdrawn her soldiers

from the Province, who, though not in themselves numerous enough to withstand a nation's army, should one be directed against us, yet form a powerful nucleus around which loyal Canadian volunteers could rally and defy aggression to encroach upon its border. For this purpose the Government lately introduced the Militia Bill, your House of Parliament so unceremoniously rejected, without entering into committee to examine its clauses in detail, and amend or reject such portions as might, on examination, be deemed necessary to perfect it. To those unacquainted with the struggles of your political parties, such proceeding must have appeared tantamount to a rejection of the principle of the Bill altogether. No wonder then that England felt aggrieved, and that much was said and written there bearing harshly upon the loyalty and spirit of the Canadians. They could not understand how party interests should peril, as it appeared to them, the safety and honor of the country; a struggle for power in the Imperial Parliament has always marked the progress of events, and the utility of a party opposed to the ministry acknowledged by all politicians. Lord Derby and Mr. D'Israeli, as the leaders of Her Majesty's Opposition, enjoy as honorable a distinction as Lords Palmerston and John Russell, who hold the seals of office, each would still do so if their positions were reversed, for though in matters of detail they differ in action, in the one great principle of maintaining Old England's glory, they invariably vote and act in unison. Witness that unanimity when on a late occasion the honor of England was involved and her flag outraged by the attack upon the "Trent" steamship. They knew no party then but their country, and with one voice the entire Parliament, *nemine contradicente*, supported the Ministry in its demand of satisfaction and restitution, which our neighbors across the lakes found it necessary to yield. Now, judging of provincial parliamentary tactics by their own, it is not to be wondered at that the rejection of a measure arising out of that very difficulty bred doubts in British minds of Canada's fidelity and courage. And indeed in every excuse or reason given for that vote by those who supported it, not one tangible or true objection to the measure presents itself. Of course the usual cry of economy is paramount, the erection of barracks and the clothing and payment, when on duty, of the volunteers, would cost the

Province so many thousands of dollars. True, but would not an equivalent be made by England in the free gift of arms and munitions of war, which the Home Government have liberally offered to furnish; and besides this the maintaining a body of from twelve to fifteen thousand British soldiers in our midst, whose pay is forwarded from the mother country, would, by its circulation through the Province, give at least an equivalent for any outlay required, and probably, could the balance be struck between the income and expenditure, a preponderance would be found in favor of the Province. But whether this be so or not, can any one doubt the propriety of any people or community preparing themselves to withstand aggression from a threatening foe, and protecting their lives, their families, their country, from havoc and desolation? It is not manly to look alone to Britain for defence, because Canada is under her government,—like a loving parent she has set her children up in business for themselves, and asks nothing from the produce of their labor—she still is ready to do her utmost to protect their interests—but she reasonably desires they should do something for themselves. Like the reply of Jupiter, when the waggoner prayed the god to extricate his vehicle from the mire where it had foundered, England equitably says “Put your own shoulder to the wheel and I will with my strength aid you.”

But, says some demagoguish politician, a spy or traitor, linked with his country's foes, “why should we fight to maintain England's rule upon this continent, *Canadians* have no foes in the United States—their quarrel is alone with England, and were we sundered from British Government, the States would not make war on us, but might unite with us, and leave England then alone to fight her battles.” I will not stay to dilate upon the impotency or the wickedness of such a suggestion, the contrast between England, standing highest among civilized nations, whose nod can sway or influence one half the globe, and the United States, torn by internal dissensions, requiring 100,000 soldiers to guard its capital from a foe of nearly equal numbers, who waits and watches for the opportunity to attack and subdue or destroy it; the blood of whose citizens is flowing in rivers from an unnatural war, while the survivors have to surrender all their dearest liberties. The

freedom of the press, the freedom of the telegraph, the freedom of speech; liable to incarceration in the dungeons of military forts and prison-houses, at the nod of a President or his party followers, without trial or even accusation, and allowing their Government to build up a debt which must necessitate a burthen upon future industry; a heavy taxation upon ages yet unborn; and yet some professed patriots live among you who would preach an alliance with the States in preference to the connexion with Great Britain! Can any man, professing brains and judgment, live and not see the traitorous intentions of such selfish and diabolical counsel? And what is there of truth in its foundation? Nothing. The attempt of the conquest of Canada by the United States is and has been for years only prevented by its connexion with Great Britain—they stand appalled at entering upon a war with so powerful an opposite. Were Canada unprotected, the legions of the United States would at once be poured over Niagara and the lakes, to extend their dominion throughout your fair domain; long have they coveted it, and now when their suicidal policy has whelmed them in debt, and checked the influx of emigration, from which hitherto has accrued their greatest wealth, they would gain all Canada's fair lands their own to pay at your expense the charges of their bloody strife, and tax your labour to cover the losses of their unsanctified ambition. It is no new chimera on their part. Who has not heard of their adherence to what they have termed the Monroe doctrine? that no European power should have any influence on the American Continent! And though no other nation of the world have ever given their adhesion to this monstrous assumption, yet have Americans clung to it with a tenacity that is remarkable. From that opinion has sprung the filibustering raids on Cuba and Central America. Though their leaders, Lopez and William Walker, failed in their endeavours, and were executed by the authorities of the lands they assailed, no man of reason can doubt the encouragement they received from the Government in Washington, though not from policy publicly demonstrated. Such, too, was the case of the burning of the *Caroline* in the Canadian Rebellion, such the demands made by President Polk for the whole of Oregon, and such the usurped possession of the Island of San Juan, between the lands of British Columbia and Vancouver's Island, debatable ground between the lines of division, but these latter disputes occurred

with the British Government, whose conduct in return was similar to the Quaker's, who, when aboard a ship attacked by an enemy, did not wish to fight, for it was against his principles, but when the foe sought to board their craft, the Quaker caught hold of the first weapon he could find, and thrusting the invaders back, merely said "keep in thine own ship my friend," and they were swamped in the endeavour to take what was not their own. So have the Americans fallen back when their opponent was of power they did not think it safe to cope withal. This feeling has preserved Canada from being attacked and probably subjugated by the American Republic. Were Canada unsupported by British alliances, it would long ere this have been the field of many a bloody struggle, and still the watch is kept and secret emissaries are employed if possible to sever the connection with the parent state, and trample down your fields under the heel of republican despotism. There is no exaggeration in the satire of the Pindaric rhymster, who, speaking with the mouth of Yankee bunkum, says :

" Our destiny, I kinder calculate,
Is the mill continent to join our fate.
The Union will no Union be delivered,
Till all is by the Yankee Eagle kivered !
On Washington that Eagle plants his breast,
His head and tail stretching from east to west :
O'er the Atlantic his beak skeers terrific,
All Europe, while his tail shields the Pacific :
O'er South and North alike he shelter brings,
And shadows all his chicks beneath his wings :
By natur longer will those pinions grow,
Embracing Canada and Mexico,
And make from Labrador, in annexation,
To Patagonia one united nation !"

From the causes I have enumerated, and many similar ones that might readily be referred to, it is not strange that England should feel dubious of Canadian constancy and loyalty, and hesitate to enter into a career of great expenditure upon a Province that shews so little determination to be true to itself, when party issues might subvert the glorious prospect now opened for her own advancement, and the increasing power and glory of the parent isles. She therefore naturally expects that Canada should

be willing to put her proportion of expenditure to that necessary outlay required for the consumation of its greatness ; that, without loading the Colonies with too heavy an expense, she would, by witnessing their undoubted interest in their own advancement, be warranted in exerting all her mighty power and expending her wealth in assisting the developement of their prosperity, having no doubt of their fidelity and loyalty to their own interests and to the established Government.

I must confess, though extremely reluctant to encroach on party politics, that it has always appeared to my judgment since I settled among you and became a Canadian, that the struggles of your representatives in the legislative halls of council and assembly have more generally been directed to paltry party issues than to the true advancement of Canada's prosperity. Witness what for some years past may be said to have been the great bone of contention, about which so much opposite barking has taken place—"Representation by Population"—which cannot have been said to have been thought of any moment, even to those who called most lustily for its adoption ; since we now find that they, holding the reins of government at this time, have smothered the question altogether, and are using their ministerial influence in suspending all agitation of the matter. Yet, with what perseverance was this subject pursued while they were striving for place and power ? Why, the very existence of the Canadian Union was threatened, and affirmations made that if the question was not carried the Canadians of French descent might slide, and Upper Canada look to disunion rather than continue advancing in its career of improvement, and becoming, under British connexion, the most prosperous portion of the American Continent. Others directed their shafts of malice at the French Canadians themselves, stigmatising them as aliens in blood and language, despising them as descendants of a conquered race, and treating them with every indignity. Out upon such unchristian, un-English and unprincipled attacks. The French Canadian is our fellow citizen, entitled to equal rights and equal respect with any descendant of the British Isles, as springing from a former foe and now in loyal subjection to the government, the more he is entitled to our admiration and esteem—as coming of a conquered enemy now joined with us in provincial brother-

hood, he is deserving of our consideration and tenderest sympathy. The brave Nelson once said "Be devils in fight, my boys, but the battle once over, don't forget that you are men." A true hearted man could never insult a fallen foe. I should blush to call that man my countryman who, landing in Quebec for the first time, and visiting the Heights of Abraham, should bend his knee at the tomb of the gallant Wolfe and not bow with reverence at the monument of the brave Montcalm, who nobly perished by the British Hero's side, struggling honorably to perform his bounden duty to his country as conscientiously as our own immortal Wolfe himself.

I am not prepared to deny that Representation by Population is, in its main foundation, a principle of justice. The progress of time may build up cities where now we find a barren wilderness, to which representation should be accorded, as the English Reform Bill found Old Sarum, with one farm-house on it, returning two representatives, while Manchester, with its 300,000 inhabitants, was wholly unrepresented. Such abuse of course should be reformed, and, in a great measure, reform was accomplished; but that has no bearing on the present Canadian question. When, twenty years ago, the Constitution was established of the Union of the Provinces and representation allotted, Eastern Canada had as great a preponderance over Western Canada, as the latter has now above the former; yet from Lower Canada we heard then no complaints of undue favoritism, and surely, though the influx of immigration has now given the West an advantage, we should be too generous to use that advantage to oppress our fellow citizens of the East. The endeavour to do so, under the gross attacks of original nationality to which I have alluded, must naturally excite exasperated feelings. A sensitive people like the French provincials will not be hounded down to succumb to a measure which they believe, and have reason to believe from the attacks made upon them, is meant to bring about their own degradation, and which, in the present position of the province, is a most uncalled for and undesirable change, for depend upon it, the tinkering of the vessel of state before it can be said to have had time to compass its first voyage, would be a precedent for so many additional botchings, proposed by trading constitution-mongers, that the

vessel would be so marred and battered it could not sail freely, even when favored by wind and tide, to reach its much desired haven. Mutiny would arise among the crew, and from disunion the noble vessel might founder on the rocks of mistrust or the shoals of party corruption.

I have presumed freely to enlarge upon those errors which I believe have a tendency to mar the progress of Canada's advancement; to injure her in the estimation of her best friends, and encourage the secret aspirings of those who, pretending friendship and brotherhood, are in reality her deadliest foes; who, to advance their own interests, would destroy your connexion with Great Britain, to bolster up their falling state, paying the debts arising from a fratricidal homicides, by apportioning your undeveloped territory, and taxing your industry. Be careful of their secret emissaries; have a jealous eye upon the traitors that dwell among you, for I cannot believe them to be else than traitors who would counsel you to throw off your connexion with the parent country, discard and annul your present responsible government, to link your fortunes to a republic, which, changing its government every four years, acting on the sordid principle that to the victors belong the spoils, offers a perpetual fee to dishonesty and treason; for certainly corruption and public robbery were never so exemplified in any nation as they have been in the Government of the United States; and the people are wholly without the means of redress, the ministers remain during the will of the President, and they may plunder the treasury with impunity, though debt accumulates through the land, and hundreds of thousands of brave men shed their blood in maintaining a useless warfare to keep in power the party who rob and will destroy them.

While I thus freely enlarge upon the errors of Canadian politicians, I am bound at the same time to appreciate their merits, for though the instances to which I have alluded of selfish aim stand most conspicuous to the world's eye, as the froth and scum of a seething pot always float uppermost; yet, to close observers, a great layer of patriotic merit regulates the under current, and sound and indisputable patriotism has been manifested in many laws created, and measures proposed to advance the happiness of

the Colony, some of which might afford a lesson to the Home Government, to assuage the bitter strife which has for many years desolated or agonized one of her very fairest portions. I allude to the great measure of the Clergy Reserve Settlement. Could such a measure be carried in Old Ireland, how would it bring peace upon that unhappy land, and aid the cause of true religion, which never can be maintained by forced taxation—being as it is, and ever must remain, a solemn compact alone between man's conscience and his God.

Great honor has Canada also reflected upon herself by the liberal subscriptions she has made for the relief of the distressed Lancashire operatives, suffering from the stagnation of labour arising from the war which is destroying the neighbouring republic. Such acts of beneficence speak trumpet-tongued for their true loyalty to the parent land, and must silence the attacks of those politicians of Great Britain who have seen only in their late party manœuvres causes that have induced them to believe that an estrangement has arisen which may lead to the separation of Canada from their loyal alliance to the home country. Pursue such measures as shall securely dispel the vile insinuation. Urge your legislators by petition, remonstrance, or command, at once to open your fruitful heritage of the great North-West, to develop the resources of your country's natural wealth, and by the establishment of Bureaus and Agents of Emigration, induce the industrious settler to make Canada his future home, by offering such liberal terms in the disposal of your land as shall warrant his fair expectation of a sure and rapid return for his labor. Banish the selfish demagogues from your legislative halls, who would, for their own aggrandisement, or covetousness of filthy lucre, destroy or retard the advancement of your country's progress. Look with suspicion and abhorrence upon him who would employ the prejudices of birth or language to alienate the feelings of one portion of the Province from that of the other, and sow the seeds of disunion broadcast through the land, that might lead to an imitation of the carnage which now desolates the neighbouring States. Union is strength! and Canada East and West should be one and indivisible! Great is the hope of many ardent and patriotic minds that not alone will that Union remain, but that the lower provinces of New Bruns-

wick, Nova Scotia, &c., will be united with you in one great federal union. Descended principally from the same parent stock, a mutuality of interests and feelings existing among you, all equally loyal to the British Sovereign, and alike animated by that rooted love of peace and order which so peculiarly characterises the British people and all who descend from that tight little island—it is believed that such an union would advance the prosperity of all, while, to an undoubted certainty, it would so enable you rise in strength and power that other nations, envious of your present capabilities, would shrink from attacking you, and the British North-American Empire would expand in wealth and freedom—the mark of admiration to distant nations, and the glory of all who delight in the extension of human progress and refined civilization. The indications of this consummation are apparent in the first step which will soon be laid open for your legislative action, by the proposal of the Inter-Colonial Railway. Already party feeling is being excited upon the subject, and its discussion will doubtless lead to much angry temper, but let me hope good counsels will prevail, and statesmanlike views adopted. The liberality of England in its Colonial Government has often been remarked, and I trust in this measure she will not depart from her general custom, nor seek to entail any greater expense on either Colony than the probable advantage will soon repay. Should such propositions be considered oppressive, it is the duty of the Colonies to reject them; but let reason and argument be brought in action in preference to party issues and personal abuse; and no doubt exists but that an honorable adjustment will take place, and the Inter-Colonial be effected as the first great and necessary step to the commencement of the Pacific Railroad, which would at once throw open your rich prairies and fertile valleys in easy access to the anxious settler, whose disposal in a few years would repay the entire outlay of the different railroads construction. Then would be brought about a tangible realization of the proud boast that the British Empire is one on which the sun never sets; for here would be a continuous line of travel under British rule, forming to the globe a semi-annular arch or bridge, embracing in its span the earth's antipodes. Starting from Great Britain, the eastern pier of this vast arch, as the sun travels it would traverse the Atlantic Ocean, rising from thence over Halifax and Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the

adjoining Provinces, its meridian glory will dispense its cheering rays on Canada, and venting its evening song as it bids adieu to British Columbia and Vancouver's Island, it will pass over the Pacific, and greet again the morning ray as it approaches the auriferous regions of Australia, or the glories of Britain's Indian Empire. There resting its opposite pier, a commercial arch is completed, embracing in its span more than one half the globe, each portion enabled by one government to effect a free interchange of their various products to the enriching of every division, and contributing to the comforts of all. And of this arch of commerce, so promising of wealth and happiness to the nations comprised in its semi-circular orbit, the bow of hope and beauty to all beneath its rays, the Keystone of its strength is Canada! I may not live to see it perfected, "for age with stealing steps has clawed me in its clutch," but most of you will hail the perfecting of this grand scheme of national aggrandisement, and rejoice in its consummation. I, like Moses on the Mount of Horeb, must be content to view the land of promise which shall bring blessings to our descendants; and at all events, I shall close my eyes, as I now do my book, with the fervent prayer:

GOD BLESS THE QUEEN AND THE BRITISH AMERICAN EMPIRE.

FINIS.

