

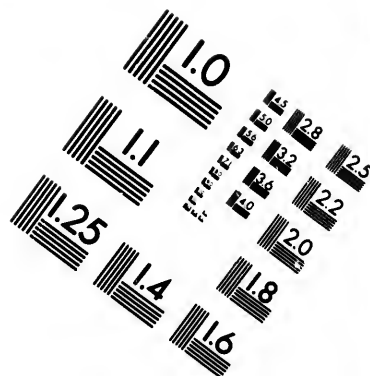
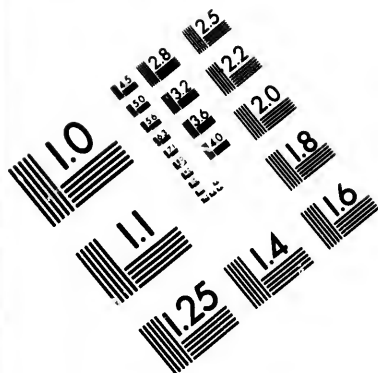
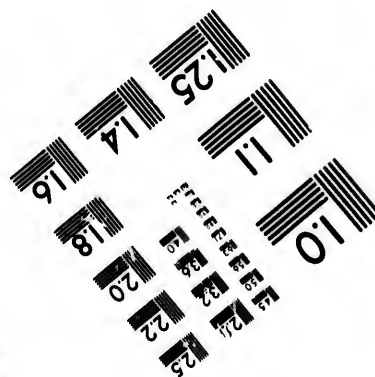
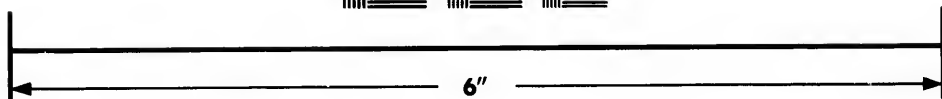
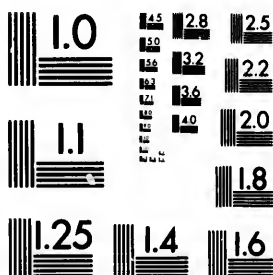


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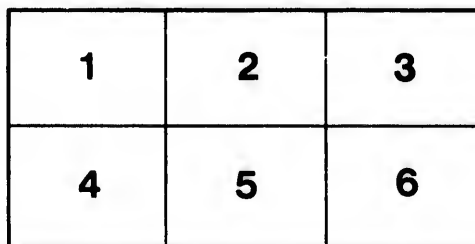
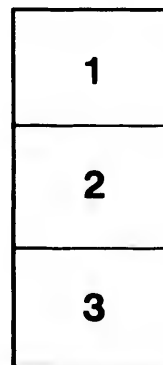
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CUBBEER BURR ;

OR,

THE TREE OF MANY TRUNKS.

"PLANTED BY THE RIVERS OF WATER, HIS LEAF ALSO SHALL NOT WITHER."

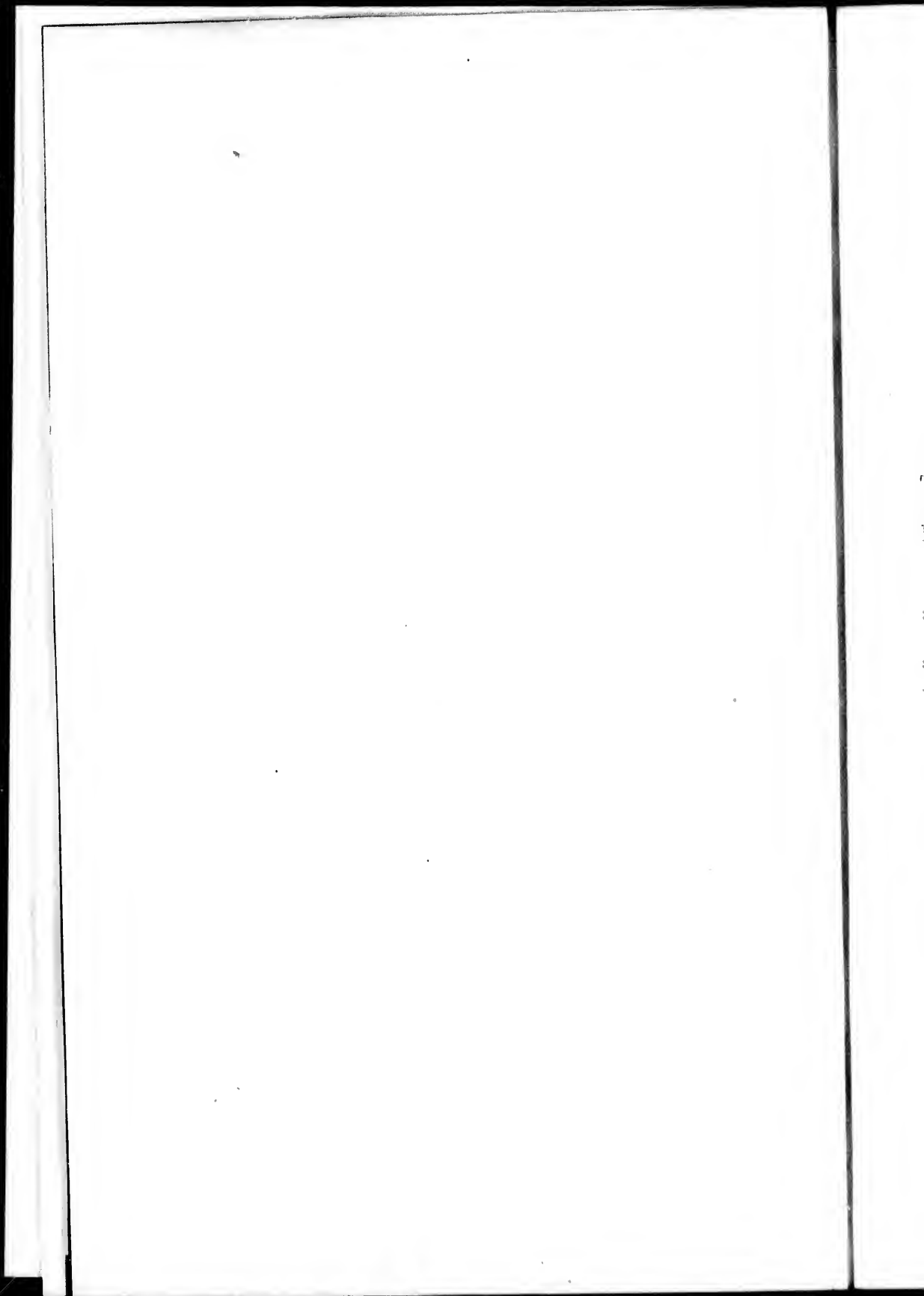
(PSALM I.)

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1841.



ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Essay was commenced with a view to its appearing in the columns of a newspaper, but it has gradually assumed a character, which induces the writer to submit it in a more independent and less ephemeral form to the intelligent guides of public opinion. To disloyal hearts he knows that he is administering gall and wormwood ; his only aim has been to kindle every loyalist into brighter loyalty, and arm him with a ready proof of even the most glowing faith that can be in him.

ARARAT.

JULY, 1841.



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CUBBEER BURR,

OR, THE TREE OF MANY TRUNKS.

“Planted by the rivers of water,—his leaf also shall not wither.”—Psalm I.

PART I.

BRITISH EMPIRE.

POSITION AND EXTENT—STABILITY—POWER—SPIRIT—DESTINY.

NO say nothing of the earth-girding isles, which have been consecrated by right of discovery to enrich in succession the daily brightening and expanding diadem of England, or of the many-armed ocean, which, as if in mockery of the Mediterranean of Imperial Rome, is fast becoming the *mare internum* of a people *toto divisos orbe*, the regions, where already “the meteor flag” receives in fear or in love the homage of the nations, more than realize in extent and position all that the conquerors or the poets of antiquity ever dreamed of universal empire.

Map in hand, prosecute the patriotic survey.

With one semi-barbarous exception, British America is the largest continuous tract in the world, that acknowledges one and the same sovereignty. Extending eighty-eight degrees in longitude, and in latitude from the forty-third degree to the arctic ocean, it surpasses in magnitude every past dominion of the eastern hemisphere from Semiramis to Tamerlane, from Trajan to Napoleon.—Projecting into the Atlantic on the one side, and on the other into the Pacific, it has easier

access than any power on this continent to the respective marts, whether opened or opening, of Europe and Asia; while by means of the Columbia on the west, and of the St. Lawrence with its parent seas on the east, it virtually narrows the continent as much in comparison as it actually narrows the ocean.—Enjoying both on the west and on the east unrivalled facilities for building and victualling ships, it can avail itself to any extent of its geographical advantages; while skirting on either side all the most valuable fisheries in the world, it is destined to engross far more than its share of that branch of trade, which, as it require, seamen for producers as well as for carriers, is pregnant with the surest elements of maritime greatness.—Bringing England into contact with the three next greatest powers on the globe, it invests her with a cheap influence over them, whether for peaceful rivalry or for deadly strife. To descend to particulars, it may soon divide with Russia the supply of Northern China and appropriate a large portion of the foreign trade of Japan; it renders France merely tenant at will of St. Pierre and Miquelon, the fragments of a

once vast empire ; it hangs closely and heavily on the longest frontier of the United States, and thus lays bare alike to the skill of English artisans and to the prowess of English soldiers, the most crowded thoroughfares of the internal commerce and the internal colonisation of the Americans, while from the strong and capacious harbours of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, it rakes the sea-board of the great republic, and flanks that highway of nations, the gulf-stream.

St. John's and Halifax soon find partners in the patriotic task. The rock-girt Bermudas and the clustering Bahamas complete the blockade of the sea-board, and doom the gulf-stream, in all its peopled length, to run the gauntlet under the booming thunder of England.

But the Bahamas share in a still more dazzling enterprise. From Florida to Guiana, the West Indies carry at their girdle the keys of the Mississippi, the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea ; separate from the rest of the world the adjacent coasts of the United States, Texas, Mexico, Guatemala and Columbia, and place the resistless grasp of England on all the remaining possessions in the new world, of all the colonial States in the old. But the crowning glory of the West Indies is yet to come. The happy dream in which Columbus died, that the west is the true path to the east, is soon to be realised ; and its realisation will draw within the range of the bright crescent of the Antilles the traffic of half the globe.

Nor is this arc without its centre. Far towards the setting sun, in the rear of the embosomed waters rise the leafy towers of Honduras, which wait only the harmony of the axe and the mallet to lock themselves into wooden walls for our empire.

To return to the far-darting bow, the triple-peaked isle spreads her toils for the rich freights, with which the virgin soil of a still untrodden world will one day stud the tide-stemming Oronoko.

Linked by one hand with Trinidad in the dominion of the Oronoko, Guiana wields in the other the sceptre of the Amazon, and brings England nearer to the capital of Brazil, than Calais is to Toulon, or New Orleans to New York.

With only an apparent interval of empire, the Falkland Isles stand ready to bend the next mighty messenger of the Andes to the purposes of England, to complete the conquest of the Pacific, and, not only to hold in check the Plate Provinces, but to riot in the now wooing wealth of the once sealed world from Chiloe to California.

"On, on the vessel flies" o'er the dividing waste ; and the first object in the old world, as the last in the new, that blesses our vision, is the omnipresent banner of our country.

Frowning o'er three worlds of waters, the Stormy Cape must vest in any civilised possessor a potential monopoly of their reciprocal commerce, while to England, in particular, it is politically invaluable as the hinge of her Australasian and Indian Empires.

Occupying a subordinate, but still important, position in the same glorious path, the Isle of France broods also over her own special part in the great drama of British Supremacy, the sweeping of the tri-color from its only resting place between the west and the east, the Isle of Bourbon.

But in the magnitude and variety of her dominion, England becomes her own rival. Commanding that ancient channel of oriental traffic, which Portuguese skill and enterprise consigned to the idle winds, Aden, besides overawing Egypt and the Holy Cities, enables England, with more daring enterprise and more profound skill, partially to reverse the doom of centuries, and again to bring the Red Sea into successful competition with the Indian Ocean.

Of the Red Sea's ancient competitor, too, England holds the destiny in her hands.—Aden, the Indus and Bombay render the Arabian Sea an English lake, the Persian

Gulf an English estuary, and the Euphrates and the Tigris English streams, and drag within the vortex of our electric energy the once great, and still vast, empires of Persia and Turkey.

To return to the salient points, *summa fastigia*, of India, below Bombay languidly reposes Portuguese Goa, the venerable mother of Christian rule in the gorgeous east. A pledge of friendship in the hands of her present possessor, her capture, in the event of war, must incurably wound the pride of an ancient monarchy, which has large claims on the gratitude of the merchant Princes of India; while, as the independent wreck of a congenial empire, she proclaims with peculiar force lessons of wisdom, justice and moderation to those who now gather where she planted, drink where she dug, and reap where she sowed. Tracked by the breath of its spices, the lofty Paradise of Ceylon links two fast and far diverging shores, and appends to each the rare asylum of a harbour from alternate monsoons.—Within the sandy surf of the Coromandel Coast, French Pondicherry, a centre shorn of radius and periphery, echoes in the east the wail of St. Pierre and Miquelon in the west, that the flag, which once pointed before every breeze to the paramount dominion of France, now droops in vassalage to the overshadowing mastery of England. Far in the depths of the Bay of Bengal, our country has created a metropolis of palaces, where two ages ago her captive representatives were tauntingly denied room to lie down and die, and that, too, by the slaves of one, whose imperial master is now the pensioner of an association of our merchants. Spurning, as unworthy of her destiny, the immemorial boundaries of Hindostan, this queen of the east crosses the Indus to quell Mahomedan pride on the threshold of the Bokhara, and leaves behind her the Ganges and the Himalayas to rock with earthquake tread the pagan thrones of Ava, Lassa and Peking.—Connected with Calcutta and

Assam by a long line of coast, Rangoon bridges in an opposite quarter the rude power of Burmah, secures to England the last of the great rivers of Southern Asia, and completes, with her teak-built navies, the sovereignty of the seas from the Isthmus of Suez to the Peninsula of Malacca. At the extremity of that golden Chersonese, which ever has been and ever must be the grand pivot of the internal commerce of the east, Malacca, Pulo-Penang and Singapore reap for England the fruits of this the richest of nature's monopolies; while the bordering Sumatra terminates a dependency of our country, which comprehends in its breadth the valleys of the Indus and the Burram-pooter, and overleaps in its length the Himalayas and the Equator.—But the vanquished have become the victors. Rolling back, for the first time in the history of mankind, the flood of conquest against every invader, they have in Egypt reversed the victories of Sesostrius, in the Gulf of Ormus dimmed the glories of Nudir Shah, in Ghizni broken the sceptre of Mahmoud, and in China inflicted retribution on the Tartars. Under the tutelage of England, India, erst the fluttering and bleeding quarry of every marauder, has emerged the eagle of oriental skies, sweeping them with an avenger's force from circumference to circumference, from the Mediterranean to the Pacific, from Barbary to Japan.

Beyond the "incense urns" of the Dutch Archipelago, thus with Portuguese Macao and the Spanish Philippines doubly matched, lies in two zones the giant form of Australia, destined to present a new phasis of human nature by engrafting the refinements of civilisation on the simplicity of pastoral life.

Even at the mouth of the Indus, the greatest hero of ancient or modern times complained that he had no more worlds to conquer; but England with holier purpose and loftier resolution, after penetrating twice as far to the east of the Indus as Macedon

is to the west, and conquering two more worlds, has paused not in her career of glory, till, unable to advance without retreating, she has seen her reversed standard, which nature alone has ever reversed, flout the nadir of her capital. As the south pole of commerce and civilisation, soon will New Zealand gather into her lap the rich tribute of the coral galaxies of the Pacific, diffusing in return the far richer blessings of knowledge, industry and freedom.

Having now reached a point, when Alexander's ambition might, in truth, have murmured at the niggardliness of nature, we wend a weary way of ten thousand miles to the lonely halt of the homeward pilgrims of our eastern possessions. The late prison of the vanquished emperor of the west, in whose glory, as the pedestal of that of his unconquered conqueror, England is more deeply interested than France, and in whose overthrow, as the only guarantee of continental independence, England has become the second founder of every monarchy in Europe,—the late prison, we say, of this all but universal despot, St. Helena, stands the everlasting symbol of the long and well tested supremacy of our country. Nor was the solitary rock an unworthy instrument of retribution. Smaller in proportion to Napoleon's empire than his grave to itself, and separated from the nearest abode of man by a wilderness of water, in which that empire at the zenith of its fame might have floated and found no shore, it inflicted a sublimely appropriate punishment on that ambition, which the crash of thrones, the prostration of sovereigns, and the chaos of nations had only whetted and inflamed.

But the blood-stained associations, which breathe round St. Helena, find a trying contrast in those philanthropic visions, which, hovering over our settlements in Western Africa, promise to exhibit to the world a vast conquest of bloodless glory, as an earnest of the true destiny of the last and greatest of universal empires.

Passing in succession those constellations of the deep, which now blaze in diadems where once they were hardly seen to twinkle, we hail the impregnable height, which, overhanging the gates of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, makes England arbitress of that commerce, which has expanded so many single cities, whether in succession or in rivalry, into wide and powerful empires, and, to exemplify on a gigantic scale the daring tactics of our navy, breaks the line of Spain, France, Germany and Russia, separating Barcelona from Bilbao, Marseilles from Havre, Trieste from Hamburg, and Sebastopol from Riga.

As a worthy ally of this far darkening rock, the little isle, that so long proved her strength, offensive and defensive, against the then waxing crescent of the Turk, watches from her level batteries the narrows of this tideless sea; while, linked with Gibraltar on the west, and on the east with Aden, Malta completes a chain, which draws Canton nearer to London than Calicut was to Tyre.

Not contented with the highway of the Mediterranean, England moors her sentinels at the entrance of every recess. Cerigo, where St. George has dethroned Venus, casts on the gemmed Egean the image of the red cross; while the sea-girt realms of Ulysses and Alcinous, now more than kingdoms, have subjugated on the right one of two seas of Corinth, and on the left wrested from their own former mistress the sceptre of the Adriatic.

Leaving this central mirror of wrecked empires, where our country is the neighbour of the southern and the middle states of Europe and of all that savours of civilisation in Africa, we reach the Norman Isles, which render England as well the Scylla as the Charybdis of the Atlantic commerce of Paris, and divide from each other the outer coasts of France by a second Gibraltar.

Nor are the Ionian Isles without their counterpart. If Corfu can shut at pleasure the only maritime outlet of the Austrian

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Empire, Heligoland blockades the Elbe, that main artery of the Prussian League.

With her trident of crowned sceptres, Imperial England, after breasting the narrow seas from Brittany to Denmark, with an unassailed and unassailable front, completes her mastery of the waters by dividing alternately with the icy bars of winter the easy and certain dominion of the mouths of the Baltic.

But in the parts, as well as in the whole, of this earth, is our country pre-eminent.

To the north or to the south of the equator, to the east or to the west of any meridian, in the new world or in the old, on continents or on islands, in torrid or in temperate zone, England surpasses every other power in position and extent. In the latitude and in the longitude of every country, she combines in a greater or less degree the climates and the soils of all. Revolving on every circle of longitude, her every instant is a day, while vibrating on every circle of latitude, her every day is a year; morning and evening, noon and night, perpetually chase each other through her skies, while spring and autumn, summer and winter, dance their eternal round amid her fields and forests.

But in history, as well as in nature, she asserts her prerogative of omnipresence, seating herself, but not, like Marius, in grief, on the ruins of almost every predecessor in empire. In the valley of the Indus, she meets the memory of Ahasuerus; in Afghanistan, she presses the footsteps of Alexander; in Malta, she finds commingled the ashes of Rome and Carthage; in Aden and Gibraltar, she unites the extremes of the caliphate; in India, she has made the conquests of Tamerlane but the nucleus of her own; in the Ionian Isles, she is the only worthy and congenial sharer of the spoils of the city of the waves; in the West Indies, she has wrested from Spain the first fruits of the heroism of Columbus; in Africa and the East, she has appropriated to herself the

chief results of Portuguese skill, enterprise and valour; throughout the Southern Seas, she has made a mere pioneer of Holland; in North America, she has lost one empire, and still holds another, within the limits of the discoveries of France.

Will other empires seat themselves on her ruins? To the Almighty alone is the future clear; but so far as the history of her predecessors can enable our mental vision to penetrate the misty veil, England has but little reason to dread such a result. To restrict our comparative view to the colonial empires of past ages, we find, that, with hardly an exception, they rested on the basis of narrow territory, maritime habits and free institutions. The domestic sway of Carthage, of Venice, of Genoa extended but little distance beyond the walls of those respective cities; Portugal was only a strip of mountains; and Holland was almost literally a marshy den, of which river and sea struggled with man for the apparently useless dominion. Herself a colony,—and that, too, of Tyre,—Carthage recognized her true home on the deep; Venice, without a metaphor, made a highway of the blue waters within her very precincts; Genoa claimed Columbus as a son; Portugal, whose interior was virtually rendered sea-coast by her mighty rivers, almost equalled in the old world the sagacity and daring of the illustrious discoverer of the new; and Holland found her natural element in the overhanging floods. Carthage, Venice, Genoa, and Holland were one and all republics; while Portugal enjoyed under a series of wise and munificent sovereigns the brightest examples and the highest rewards of energy and perseverance. Nor is England inferior in any of those elements of colonial dominion. In proportion to population, her domestic territory stands more in need of distant appendages than that of any predecessor; her insular position has constantly cherished and

strengthened those maritime predilections, which she inherits,—for her soil none but sea-kings could assail,—from her Saxon, Danish and Norman invaders; and her time-honored constitution blends with all the tranquillity of despotism and the freedom of democracy. But it is in her central strength, that England finds, under providence, her best security against the fate of every congenial predecessor. Her domestic empire has defied the world in arms; it advances at least as rapidly as her colonies in all the ingredients of national vigour; and through its inexhaustible resources it can, with speed and facility unrivalled, expand its power over any surface, adapt its means to any end.

As to the physical power of England, the acquisition and maintenance of such an empire afford the testimony, equally conclusive and reluctant, of all her rivals. With a thirst for natural boundaries, which nothing but seas of her own blood can allay, and with a hatred of England, which centuries of defeat have rendered personal and vindictive, France sees in the islets of her own coast so many impregnable rocks of offence; animated by the recollection of kingdoms rescued and invaders expelled, Spain lost before Gibraltar,—the very height whence the crescent had first gleamed over her valleys,—an armada more powerful than that, which, after holding Europe in suspense and terror, dared to deem England an easy prey; maddened with the zealous propagandism of democrats, and nerved by the patriotic desire of getting rid of their only formidable neighbour, the Americans recoiled from almost unaided Canada with disaster and disgrace. Charged according to its capacity by those floating conductors which telegraph “o’er the mountain wave” the vital fluid of the empire towards every point of every horizon, each possession, however remote or circumscribed, is as secure and powerful in its own sphere as the

proud isles themselves. Amid the iron of the image there is no clay; *recalcitrat undique tutus*.

Well then does Daniel Webster describe England as “a power, to which, for purposes of foreign conquest and subjugation, Rome, in the height of her glory, is not to be compared”; but an Englishman may, perhaps, value more highly the fact, that, amid all the conceivable temptations of opportunity, she has disclaimed and disdained aggression. If she has struck the first blow, she has not given the first provocation; if she has overwhelmed India with a tide, that never knew to ebb, she has wished rather to repress the ambition of others than to gratify her own; if she has scattered her victories from Denmark to Naples, and from Portugal to Egypt, she has aimed at no reward more selfish than that of seeing every throne in Europe rise from the dust as a trophy of her prowess. But this spirit of justice and moderation has been to her more than fleets and armies, as well in maintaining as in acquiring empire. In the conquest and government of a hundred millions of subjects, placed at a distance of twelve thousand miles, and beset on every side by ready and powerful partisans of rebellion, England has never at any one time employed so many Europeans as France has arrayed against a few scattered Barbarians in the capture and occupation of two or three standing camps across a narrow sea. The contrast between India and Algiers is only one of many, with which the history of the hereditary rivals teems; and our readers of either origin may derive benefit from reflecting, that the glories of the one country and the reverses of the other are to be ascribed as much to the moral qualities of their governments as to the military qualities of their sons. Divine providence, as well as human nature, has been at work, for it is only in this world that nations can receive their reward.

But it is in still nobler careers of enterprise, that the modern mistress of the world surpasses the ancient :

*Excedent alii spirantia mollis æra,
Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore volutus,
Orbunt causas melius, cœlique meatus
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent.
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.*

Territorial aggrandisement, the exclusive and ultimate aim of Rome, occupies but a secondary and subservient place in the aspirations of England. She has girt the world with her strength, in order to impregnate it with those blessings, that have rendered herself enlightened, prosperous and happy beyond all the examples of history and all the anticipations of fancy,—liberty without licentiousness, industry without servitude, subordination without exclusion, government without tyranny, civilisation without effeminacy, religion without superstition. While every predecessor in universal empire unwittingly promoted the hidden purposes of The Almighty, England, now that the fulness of time is approaching, stands forth on all the highways and byways of the globe as their conscious missionary to the nations. Nor is this the only, or even the main, distinction. While all the preparatory and indirect instruments of Providence fulfilled their destiny by means of war, which had an edge for the victor as well as for the vanquished, this the final and direct vice-gerent of Heaven identifies the discharge of her duties with the diffusion of mutually beneficial commerce, thus reconciling the purest and holiest philanthropy with the brightest and loftiest patriotism. To earn the renown for which she pants, she must lock the temple of Janus; and who so fit a guardian of the fatal key as one, whose name is a trumpet of victory, and whose meshes enclose pledges of peace from almost every power on the globe.

Beginning with her colonies, she renders them in succession miniatures of herself, and subdividing among them her dominion

of nature's network of waters, she studs the earth with so many subordinate centres of her pervading energy, destined to meet each other in their gradually advancing peripheries.

Influencing the world rather through commerce than through war, England relies less on her collective prowess than on the individual enterprise of her sons; in a conflict, equally honorable and gigantic, she "expects every man to do his duty." Nor have her children been deaf to her call. In South America, they have assisted in breaking a tyranny, which, though it had laid aside its bloodhound, was still the darkest that ever disgraced oppressor or degraded victim; amid the burning sands of Africa and the frozen wilds of North America, they have lavished life in the common cause of science and humanity; throughout the heathen world, they alone have rendered intelligible to every creature the glad tidings of the gospel of peace; in the old continent and in the new, in monarchies and in republics, they have nursed every great undertaking, agricultural, commercial or political, by the application of their superfluous wealth.—But for some of the most brilliant even of her national achievements England has been indebted to the almost spontaneous heroism of individual sons. In the Carnatic and Bengal, a young civilian, exchanging the pen for the sword and smiting Hindoos and Mahomedans, Dutch and French "like a planet," laid the true foundation of our eastern empire in "the awe-struck minds of men;" in Acre, the commander of a frigate drove back from almost untenable ramparts a warrior, who, after having numbered his campaigns by conquests and his months by victories, was pressing onward to surpass in India his triumphs of Italy and Egypt; in Herat, surrounded on all sides by crowned vassals of the czar, was lately exhibited to the tribes of Central Asia, who had known India only as a slave, the spectacle of a

solitary officer of our Indian army stemming the combined torrent of Persian ferocity and Russian intrigue. But in the chivalrous devotedness of her Pottingers, her Smiths and her Clives, the collective energies of England are at work. Full faith in her prowess and fortune is the ægis, which makes lions of her friends and deer of her foes, rendering impossibilities possible to intrepidity, and possibilities impossible to dismay. "The voices of the dead sound like a distant torrent's fall." The steadily swelling breath of the past fans to a daily brighter glow the fires of the present. In the east, the echo of Plassey has rebounded with mightier and mightier volume from a hundred fields of victory, till, hushed all other sounds, it fills the welkin of more than the empire of the Mogul; in the west, the memory of Cressy, refreshed and recruited in many a preparatory conflict by sea and land, has consummated its resistless inspiration in the crowning triumph of Waterloo.

Will you, O Canadians, renounce your interest in a growing empire, which even now shines among the nations as the full moon among the dimmed stars? Will you rob your children of an accumulating inheritance of glory, which already nerves its possessors into supernatural energy for deeds of generosity, enterprise and valour? Will you employ a union, which hope and fear are alternately cradling into a doubtful existence, as a wedge for rending asunder a union, which destiny and virtue have conspired to foster into vigorous and enduring maturity? Will you plunder,—and that on a woman's brow,—the diadem, of which, as a heritage equally rich and permanent, you have so lately welcomed a presumptive wearer in the infant offspring of your youthful Queen?

Anticipating the indignant response of your pride and your loyalty, we shall try in the sequel to find them allies in your policy and your prudence.

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PART II.

UNITED KINGDOM.

INTEREST IN THE FIDELITY, TRANQUILLITY & WELFARE OF ITS COLONIES.

NO induce you to put the most favorable construction on every unwelcome display of England's controlling supremacy,—as well as to render the discussion more complete,—we shall begin by shewing, that she has such an interest in the fidelity, the tranquillity and the welfare of her colonies in general, and of our province in particular, as must render her uniformly anxious to gratify all our safe and rational desires. If, during the last sixty years, there has been an error in her colonial policy, it certainly has not been the want of a conciliatory deference to the supposed wishes of her colonists; and in so far as the amelioration of the system,—for the change, with all its faults, is for the better,—may have been the result of dear-bought experience, the loss of the old plantations has not been altogether an unmitigated evil.

For almost every element of national strength, national prosperity and national glory, England is more or less deeply indebted to her distant possessions.

England's maritime supremacy actually, if not essentially, depends in a great measure on her colonies. Notwithstanding all the naval victories of Rome over Carthage, experience teaches, that, at least in modern warfare, a military navy, to be efficient, must be recruited from a commercial marine. Now of a commercial marine there appear to be only three sources, fisheries, domestic

trade and external traffic. Of fisheries the most valuable in the world must follow the political fortunes of British America, of which all the parts, whatever may be their common relation to England, are indissolubly connected with each other; through the miracles of science and art, domestic trade, to say nothing of its being gradually diverted into inland channels, daily requires fewer vessels in proportion to its cargoes and fewer seamen in proportion to its vessels; and of external traffic the foreign department, even if not closed by enmity or caprice, may by policy be opened only to the floating nurseries of hostile navies. The main stays, therefore, of England's maritime supremacy are her colonial fisheries and her colonial traffic; and whether the bottoms and crews immediately belong to the metropolitan state or to the dependent province, they are all, as well those employed in the domestic trade as in the external traffic of each colony, potentially available for imperial purposes.—But England draws from her colonies the body, as well as the soul, of her navy, the pine of America, the teak of India, the oak of Africa and the mahogany of Honduras, and thus escapes from the false position of being at the mercy of rivals for the very essence of her relative superiority.—In these respects, the value of the colonies can hardly be over-rated. Besides being the only conceivable bond of an omnipresent

empire, the navy is the best and broadest shield of the United Kingdom itself. While land-locked Russia or to impervious France, viewed without reference to colonies, maritime supremacy would impart chiefly the luxury of doing mischief, it is to England with her deeply indented shores a necessary of life. Her only mode of warding off from the happy firesides of her sacred soil the unknown horrors of invasion, —for her polity abhors standing armies at home, —must ever be the potentiality of sweeping any possible league of continental flags from the breast of the ocean. On the seas there can be no balance of power.— They always have had, and always will have, one lord paramount; and, if England, in the meanness of economy or the madness of liberalism, abdicate their dominion, she will discover, that she has thrown down the palladium of her existence, the mastery at once of the deep and of herself, as a prize to the ambition of the nations.

But the efficiency also of the army, though more indirectly than that of the navy, greatly depends on the colonies. A large force could not be maintained in the domestic empire without either weakening the government through popular jealousy or endangering the people through executive power, without potentially producing either democracy or despotism. The colonies, therefore, form so many engines for reconciling external independence with internal freedom,—achieving for an empire what the new barriers of Paris profess to achieve for a city. Through the instrumentality, moreover, of the colonies, England is the only power in Europe, whose army can continuously or frequently see service during a period of general peace,—a peculiarity, which, added to her system of half-pay and pensions, gives her, wherever her standard waves, the veteran nucleus of an easily disciplined array. Throughout Canada in particular is scattered this “little leaven,”

in the cottage as well as in the fortress, amid the tangled bush as well as on the trim parade, with the axe in its hand as well as with the sword by its side. By thus incidentally gratifying a martial spirit, the colonies preserve England from that lawless mania, which once rendered her the wanton scourge of her neighbours and which has so long goaded France to “run a muck” of ignominious glory against foes of every calibre, Europe, Algiers, Mexico, Buenos Ayres or Whyhyhee.

In the employment, as well as in the formation, of the army and the navy, the colonies are invaluable to England. As impregnable points of support, they enable her in any conceivable war to strike the first blow and to throw the enemy on the defensive. We say impregnable, because, so long as she may choose to maintain her maritime supremacy, her insular posts, are virtually inaccessible to an assailant, and because, if the past is to be an index of the future, her continental possessions are, under her auspices, each more than a match, at least on the defensive, for its neighbours. To comprise both kinds of dominion in one and the same instance, and that, too, of a decisive character, France, the most warlike of the continental states, has about one-third more of population than the United Kingdom, and in proportion to population an army four times more numerous. In the event, however, of hostilities, England would make Malta and Gibraltar the means of despoiling France of a conquest, which for twelve years has caused her blood to flow like water, and France, with her half-million of panting warriors, would be foiled in every attempt to capture either the one or the other. To take an instance also from the new world, Canada brings the weight of England to bear on the weakest side of a rising power, which is otherwise absolutely uncontrolled; and its influence in this respect may be es-

timated from the facts, that, while it was in the hands of France, it obliged the old colonies to cling for protection to England, and that, on the very commencement of the revolutionary struggle, its attack was deemed an object of paramount importance. But Canada is an outpost also of monarchy against republicanism, and, as such, may help to support every throne in Europe by exhibiting a visible and palpable contrast between the results of the two forms of government. Mr. Papineau and Mr. Bidwell predicted, that Canada would aid in giving republics to Europe; but Canada, if wisely and steadily governed, may yet be instrumental in shielding Europe, and perhaps also in rescuing America, from the curse of constituted anarchy.—By being points of support in war, the colonies become guarantees of peace. England has no wish to be the aggressor; nor are her opponents likely to court collision, for even the most fiery blood requires as a stimulant something like a prospect of success. Again, to borrow the most apposite illustration, France, however fiercely she may frown and threaten, can find neither in reason nor in passion any adequate motive for provoking a war with England. She must inevitably lose all her external possessions, and thus, in the true sense of the words, become “one and indivisible;” while her only chance of meeting England on equal terms,—for the trite artifice of menacing Hanover is not now available,—must be once more to exhibit herself as the reckless disturber of Europe, and thus to constrain her rival, as the conservator of the balance of power and the ally of the banded nations, to re-enact the dramas, if not of Thoulouse and Paris, at least of Blenheim and Rumilies, of Dettingen and Minden, of Vittoria and Waterloo. Under this head may be remarked one of many characteristic differences between the colonies of England and those

of Spain,—differences, which are sufficient to disarm any anti-colonial argument drawn from the history of the Spanish Empire. The colonies, then, of Spain, not unlike Spain herself, were literally excluded from all the rest of the world; and it is a singular truth, that one of the most extensive empires on which the sun ever shone, was so situated as to possess less influence in the scale of nations than its revolted dependency of Holland.

But what, says the economist, are war and peace, when compared with revenue? So far as the expense of maintaining the colonies is used as an argument for getting rid of them altogether, it may be applied with a much greater force to the army or to the navy or to the debt or to the paupers or to the Queen; but without condescending more formally to examine the economist's organs of inference, we shall confine our inquiry to his implied premises. As almost every colony defrays the charges of its own internal administration, the national exchequer, generally speaking, is burdened with the cost only of the naval and military establishments,—and in India, and partially, we believe, in some other colonies, not even with that. Not to repeat our previous view, that England is the debtor of her colonies, as so many constitutional camps of a standing army, we shall for the sake of argument admit, that the expenditure in question is incurred for purely colonial objects. What then? To meet the economist on his own ground of pounds, shillings and pence, may not the colonies increase the wealth of the United Kingdom in a higher ratio than its taxation and thus really lighten the very burden which they nominally aggravate? Postponing an answer to this question, we shall leave the economist to digest the curious fact, that, while Spain, as a state, was extorting a large revenue out of her colonies, the Spaniards, as a people, sank in them their industry, their energies and their liber-

ties together.—But incidentally to glance at the interests of individuals, is it not worth the while of every male adult in the United Kingdom to contribute his penny or even his two pence a-week in order to secure for himself and his family within the limits of his country a legal right to so many proud and honorable asylums against the accidents of fortune? Match us, ye idolaters of gold, such a benefit-society as this.—Here our economist, finding our curious fact indigestible, points triumphantly to the grand total of the expense of quelling the insurrections in the Canadas. What then? Was not that very expense in a great measure the result of his economy? Were not those very insurrections mainly prompted by the belief which he had inspired, that Canada, if made more expensive to the mother-country by threats and violence, would be abandoned? May not we, moreover, fairly throw into the opposite scale the incomparably larger sum saved by making India instead of England the centre of imperial operations against China, by assailing the most ancient, most populous and most distant empire on earth with hardly a consciousness of the enterprise in a single dock-yard, in a single barrack, in a single office of the United Kingdom?

The modes, in which the colonies richly repay the mother country for the cost, if cost there be, of maintaining them, are too obvious to require much elucidation.—Far beyond the meaning of Napoleon, England is a nation of shopkeepers. Her every colony is an emporium for its neighbours, opening markets for her exports, and wafting into her harbours the products of its adjacent climes,—in spite of wars, in spite of jealousies, in spite of imposts. To take the most appropriate example, Canada, while faithful, must secure to England, independently of any and every change of circumstances, a large share both of the buying and of the selling trade of the United

States. By commanding a frontier, which for fiscal purposes is hopelessly indefensible, Canada may be said to transform the duties of the tariff into bounties; while, in the event of war, the tobacco and the cotton of the south, unless previously superseded by the produce of our own colonies, will, if permitted by England, seek and find a market by every outlet on the lakes.—But the production and the consumption of the colonies themselves, even if not points of support in foreign trade, are invaluable to England. With respect to the former head, the day is not far distant, when our country will cease to be fettered in her political intercourse with the nations by the necessity of ransacking a jealous world for the raw material of her power and her prosperity; while, against the opposite, and, perhaps, equally fatal, extreme of exclusiveness, she is secured by the exuberant capital, the enterprising skill, the untiring industry and the infinite wants of her matchless civilization. With respect, again, to consumption, every colony creates a market, more certain, if not more valuable, than the markets which it opens. Such market every considerable colony creates in two ways,—immediately by ameliorating the condition of its immigrants and mediately by facilitating the multiplication of the race. But the capitalist, as well as the manufacturer and the merchant, finds in the colonies a field, equally vast and productive, for his enterprise, in cutting canals, in constructing railroads, in establishing banks,—receiving higher interest than at home and exposing his principal to less hazard than in foreign stocks.—Nor is it only within the colonies that England reaps such a variety of pecuniary advantages from her colonists. Into her own bosom flows many a fortune of colonial growth, enlarging her resources and holding out to the ambition of her younger sons an inheritance more dazzling than that of the law of primogeniture.—

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With regard also to the humbler class of emigrants, the parochial burdens must be lightened to an extent, which, though it cannot be ascertained, has long been considerable and may easily be rendered more so. There may, it is true, be emigration without colonisation; and the Imperial Parliament (may it speedily wipe out the blot!) has tacitly permitted parishes to promote, and that, too, with borrowed money, the emigration of the poor to any foreign soil,—an anti-national sacrifice, which nothing can justify, save and except such a grinding necessity as cannot press the British Empire for centuries yet to come. But, so far as our main argument is concerned, it is rather in form than in substance, that emigration exists without colonisation, inasmuch as, when it does not flow into England's present dependencies, it flows chiefly into lands, which England has colonised. The natural and essential connexion of the two may farther be established by the fact, that the United Kingdom, while colonising on a scale of unexampled magnitude and extent, is the grand feeder of the United States, annually swelling the census of the republic with a population sufficient under the existing law to add a new State to the Union.

Nor are the incidental benefits of emigration less worthy of our notice. To England, with her narrow limits, her teeming population, her unequalled distribution of soil and her almost living machinery, asylums for her surplus offspring are so many safety-valves for that discontent, which must otherwise burst forth in domestic broils or in foreign hostilities. But, without reference to her peculiar circumstances, it preserves the national character from the lethargy of stagnation, by holding out an indefinite list of contingent prizes to talent, industry and ambition. Without colonies a country can avoid becoming a dead sea only by opening periodically the sluices of war;

while a country, whose boundless fields, that need no fallow, perpetually woo the overflowing energies of her sons, resembles our own welling lakes, which in the full flow of life and pride pour from their perennial springs one of the mightiest tributaries of the ocean. In England, however, this inspiring tendency of emigration is peculiarly beneficial, inasmuch as the aristocratic nature itself of her institutions of inheritance throws off into the democratic arena of stirring competition almost every class of her infinitely graduated society. To the vast variety of tastes and qualifications, which an ennobling necessity thus plants as pinions in the wings of the empire, an equally vast variety of lures and tasks is presented in every clime of every zone; while, to mark another point of difference between Spain and England, Spanish America presented at least to the earlier adventurers only the lure of gold for the taste of avarice, only the task of oppression for the qualification of cruelty. England's colonial dominion brings her sons, as the most beneficent of friends and the most terrible of foes, into contact with all the races of the species, all the shades of color, all the forms of government, all the modes of warfare, all the varieties of creed, all the grades of civilization. Nor can this universality of foreign renown fail to be a spur, if a spur be needed, in the flanks of England herself. What! Shall the daughters be pre-eminent abroad, and the mother less than pre-eminent at home? Italy, the only land to be compared with our own, sinks into insignificance before England. In the empires of arms, of religion, of discovery, of language and of laws, these illustrious mothers of heroes acknowledge each in the other her only rival; but in this flames the transcendent glory of England, that the empires, which Italy has held in succession, she simultaneously grasps; that the work, for which, in its parts, Italy has required the lapse of a

hundred ages, she exhibits, as a whole, to every rolling day.—Like the colonising tree of Hindostan, of which the main trunk expands as the subsidiary trunks multiply, the United Kingdom, while teaching every accessible desert to “rejoice and blossom as the rose,” has seen its own population augment far more rapidly than that of any other European monarchy; and, as if to shame man’s reason, this highest rate of increase has been attained precisely where the existing pressure of jostling myriads always seemed to render it least attainable. But to develope more fully this last and greatest of the miracles of emigration, the nurse has more than grown with the growth, and more than strengthened with the strength, of her sucklings. During the sixty-five years of American Independence, England has virtually continued to be a mother-country to her revolted colonies; and yet, notwithstanding the direct results of this diverging relation on the populousness of the respective countries, her population has kept pace, after making due allowance for the studied increase of human cattle among the zealots of freedom, with that of the thirteen old republics of the United States. Those republics, it is true, have been, as well as the twin isles, an *officina gentium*; but the difference between their immigration and their emigration,—the actual amount of their boon to the basin of the Mississippi,—has been pretty nearly balanced by the colonization proper of the twin isles themselves.—Nor can England ever fail to derive similar advantages from emigration. In her case, insular position and the great distance of colonial asylums render impossible such wholesale expatriation as Spain and France, to their own irreparable injury, respectively inflicted on the Mahomedans and the Protestants. Her happy circumstances facilitate the pruning of the tree but forbid the cutting of it down. “Britannia needs no bulwark, no

tower along the steep,” whether to repel her assailants or to confine her children; so long as nature demands the ship as a passport, her emigration cannot be carried to excess without proportionally promoting her maritime supremacy.

Surely, then, England has every reason to rule her colonies with the most indulgent consideration. Will she alienate those, whose fidelity essentially contributes to her own grandeur? Will she irritate those, whose tranquillity can alone secure patriotic havens for her exuberant progeny? Will she fetter those, whose welfare is intimately interwoven with that of the most influential classes of her domestic population? She will do none of these things, and least of all to our adopted home. She will never forget that our fair and fertile fields are for her humbler children the most eligible of all her asylums, that our wide and commanding market is the best monopoly of her looms and her forges, that our great and growing pre-eminence among her dependencies renders us for good or for evil the guiding star of her colonial dominions.

But many is the blessing, which the wrath of man embitters into a curse; and we fear that a consciousness of our value is the most fatal rock in our path. Engendered by impatience, and too often fostered by conciliation, our besetting sin has been to meet any unpopular exhibition of power by generally unmeaning words of violence. If, in certain quarters, an attitude of defiance is still to be admitted as the most cogent of arguments, expunge it at least from our system of logic, because, to say nothing of nobler reasons, it may again, when we least expect it, unmoor us on a sea of troubles. To threaten rebellion is to rebel, so long as pride and consistency are deemed to be virtues. But supposing independence to be desirable and attainable, habitual menaces of physical resistance form an ominous foundation for any government. Those,

who defy their rulers to-day, will be set at naught by their subjects to-morrow; nor can there be any doubt, that the "tea party" of Boston, to borrow the flippant term of our neighbours, is invisibly at work in the almost universally diffused mob-spirit of the Union.

Forget not, that we have the selfishness and the pride, as well as the justice and the generosity, of England to rely on; but, if we do forget this motive for filial confidence, at least proceed to reflect that Canada, as well as England, is vitally interested in the integrity of the empire.

PART III.

C A N A D A.

INTEREST IN THE INTEGRITY OF THE EMPIRE.

COMPARED with its potential means of subsistence, our province is very thinly peopled. Without aiming at extreme precision, it equals the metropolitan isle in the extent of land capable of culture and in the natural fertility of the same; and yet the whole population of the former is to the whole population of the latter as one to sixteen, to its tillers of the ground as one to eight, and to the citizens of its capital as one to two. That we are to overtake what others have never approached, is hardly to be anticipated; but, if in the comparison we substitute even Russia for Great Britain, we arrive at a result similar in kind, if not in degree. This marked inferiority affects not merely our collective pride but our individual interests, for a certain density of population,—and in few instances have we yet attained it,—is an indispensable element in really civilized life. Without it we are shut out of the world by almost impassable roads, we must deny ourselves all the charms of social intercourse, we must be contented with an inadequate supply of schools, and we must labour under a want of the ministrations of the gospel. But without the aid of contrast, let us glance at the fact in its simplest and roughest form. In the upper portion of the province, which we select as having alone been accurately surveyed, there are in round numbers 90,000 lots of 200 acres each; and at the rate of fifty acres to

a family of five, these lots may without the application of science or of capital maintain in ease and comfort 1,800,000 human beings—about four times the present population—over and above the requisite supplement of traders, mechanics and the like.—Scarcity of men, therefore, is the grand grievance, which, to the comparative neglect of all lesser evils, we must unite to remove “with a long pull, and a strong pull, and a pull all together.”

To remove this grand grievance, we must hold fast our allegiance to our father-land.

The calamities which have already resulted in both portions of our province from difference of origin, cannot fail to inspire us with the highest possible estimate of the comparative value of homogeneous additions to our existing population. Such additions we can receive only from the United Kingdom; but from it, so long as we remain tranquil, we are sure to receive them in each revolving season. Throughout the length and breadth of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, habit and affection are silently, but constantly, at work in our favor. The settlers of this year are a magnet to the settlers of the next; and every brother, as he lands on our shores, may be considered as the forerunner of a crowd of relatives and friends, as an “agent for emigrants,” who, within the range of his influence, gives us the gratuitous benefit both of precept and of example.

But recruits of our own race, besides being most likely to amalgamate integrally with ourselves and least likely to disturb the peace of our community, surpass all others in their powers of labour. Industry, which is purely an acquired faculty in man, is engendered, though not limited, by the necessity for its display. To take the striking examples of Scotland and Holland, the Scotch have been compelled to find in industry the means of subduing the starving stubbornness of soil and climate, and the Dutch the means of redeeming their sunken sandbank alike from "the fountains of the great deep" and from "the windows of Heaven." Now England and Ireland, though less immediately spurred by nature into toil, have at least through a series of favoring circumstances attained such a struggling density of population as demands from every man, be his calling what it may, the full and unrelaxed tension of all his powers. Thus, by one of the happiest provisions of providence, the bones and sinews and talents of our brethren are most useful to us precisely because they can best be spared at home.

The United Kingdom, however, pours the fertilising stream of its emigration into countries, which form no part of its empire. True; but Canada, if it follow the United States in the path of revolution, will hardly enjoy the good fortune of the vast republic in continuing to be flooded by the same glorious tide. The instant, that our province stands in the same relation, as the United States, to England, it forfeits all and every the advantages, which have hitherto enabled it to maintain a hard and doubtful battle against the exaggerated, but still credited, attractions of the varied paradises of the boundless west.

Either through the bounty of their government, or by their own choice, we owe our most valuable immigrants to our being a portion of the British Empire. Besides offi-

cers of the army and the navy, we allude to more numerous, though less definite, classes of individuals, who, clinging in their hearts to the home which they reluctantly abandon, strive, as far as possible, to divest expatriation of its stings by taking refuge among congenial habits, congenial feelings, congenial institutions,—who, finding the original to be unsuitable to their means, try at least to exchange it for a copy.

For the great mass of our immigrants, we are indirectly indebted to a branch of commerce, which confessedly exists through the maternal indulgence of England. By causing a very large excess of homeward freights, the timber-trade renders the expense of outward passage almost nominal; and, thus more than realising the wildest fable of antiquity, it transforms the felled trunks of the forest into the living limbs of human beings, free, industrious and happy.

But over and above the influence of independence, when attained, on immigration, the troubles, which cannot fail to precede a separation from a mother-country of matchless power and inexhaustible resources, must cut off, at least for a time, this living source of our prosperity. Nor is such a tide, when once made to ebb, very likely to flow again.

To render more clear the connexion between our immigration and our political condition, let us examine more closely the ground, on which that connexion, as we have admitted, may be plausibly denied. The neighbouring union does certainly receive immigrants from the United Kingdom. But, with far more captivating promises of material happiness, it does not receive in proportion to its extent or its population one fourth part of the number which falls to the lot of our less favored clime. On the most extravagant supposition, therefore, our present share of the blessing must, in the event of independence, be reduced to one quarter of its annual amount.

Nor does the actual sum of our population, any more than its extrinsic increase, suggest any argument in favor of independence.

Since the conquest in 1760, the population of Canada has advanced from 65,000 to upwards of 1,000,000 thus having increased from one to sixteen; while that of the United States has risen from 2,000,000 to 16,000,000, thus having grown from one to eight. Our ratio, therefore, of augmentation is just double. But the emigration to Canada, it may be objected, has been proportionally higher than that to the United States. Be it so; the objection only serves to suggest a more pointed and forcible statement of the case. The immigration into the United States for the last eighty years, and the progeny of the same, we have no means of estimating; but in Canada we have merely to deduct all of English origin, inasmuch as the French have never been absorbed into the rival race by intermarriages or swollen by congenial reinforcements from France. Now the French, having meanwhile multiplied from 65,000 to above 500,000, give a ratio of increase nearly equal to that of the Americans of all colors, immigration included. Thus does an otherwise unfortunate exclusiveness furnish us with an equally admirable and conclusive commentary on the officious compassion of the Americans for the French.

Nor in point of population does the union appear to have gained any thing through its independence; in this respect, on the contrary, it can almost be demonstrated to have been a loser.

Besides the waste, direct and indirect, of two wars in its bowels or on its borders, it lost during the ten years of both its annual influx of nature's bloodless conquerors, and during the seven years of the first saw its own children seek an asylum in our faithful land. The tide, however, was not

only checked for a time but permanently diminished; the monopoly, which the old colonies had enjoyed, and, but for their revolt, would long have continued to enjoy, was of necessity, broken down, while national interests and individual predilections combined to divert as much of it as possible from the ports of the new republic. In the whole world, then, of probable reasoning, no fact seems to be better established than this, that our neighbours, as independent republicans, are less numerous than they would have been as colonists of our country. It is their rebellion, that has peopled our province both from the south and from the east; and if, oppressed by a sense of the double obligation, we long to return the favor in kind, we cannot do better than rebel ourselves.

But without regard to the operation of individual causes, let us contrast, as closely as we can, the grand results of connexion and separation. Dazzling as is the contemplation of sixteen millions of human beings in what was two centuries ago a howling wilderness, our neighbours ascribe far too large a share of the wonder to their political institutions. That three millions, with all the aids of immigration, have during sixty years more than quintupled their number in a land of boundless extent and matchless fertility, hardly exceeds one's *a priori* calculations; but one does see something miraculous in the existence and condition of the three millions themselves. Where their grandfathers had, each in his own solitude, warred by day with the wilderness for bread, and by night with the heathen for life, they enjoyed peace and plenty amid smiling fields and crowded cities: the refuge had become a home; the wanderers had grown into a people; the longings of regret had given place to the aspirations of patriotism. Collectively they had entered the lists against France, rather as allies than as subjects; and on the very threshold of the re-

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volutionary struggle they coped successfully with England herself, surprising her fortresses, overrunning her conquests and capturing her armies. To the men, moreover, of colonial growth is the republic, so far as government is concerned, indebted for being what it is, inasmuch as only sixteen years have elapsed since the helm of empire ceased to be guided by the heroes and the sages of the revolution. If republican independence boasts a Jackson, a Van Buren, a Harrison, a Tyler, colonial subjection may boldly match them with a Washington, an Adams, a Jefferson,—Hyperions to Satyrs, our neighbours themselves being judges.

Nor does our colonial relation exert less influence on our material prosperity than on the growth or the amount or the value of our population. That it must through our population largely affect our prosperity is a truth too obvious to be proved, too clear to be illustrated. It has, however, some immediate effects, which are too important to be overlooked.

Not to dwell on the trite fact, that our staple productions, if by our own act rendered foreign, must be excluded by virtually prohibitory duties from their best, and almost their only, market, we may remark, that the simultaneous stoppage of immigration, which now brings successive shoals of buyers to our very doors, must place our fields and our forests more decidedly than ever at the mercy of an external demand. Thus must independence at once aggravate our necessities and diminish our resources. To notice one of many less general results, our metropolis, though, in assigning "a local habitation" to political supremacy Cape Diamond will spurn Statute-Books, must be shorn of its commercial honors,—its waters unfurrowed, its coves deserted, its streets tenantless.

With our means of purchase contracted in proportion to the diminution of our export traffic, our imports must also become

positively more expensive. From the same excess of homeward cargoes, to which we have already referred as the grand canal of immigration, we now reduce below its actual cost the freight of the comforts and the luxuries of civilisation; whereas independence, by tolling the knell of our timber-trade, must throw chiefly on our inward cargoes the expense of both passages of the Atlantic. But the difference of freight vanishes into nothing before the difference of duty. If, in the event of independence, we join the Union, we can easily estimate the result for ourselves by multiplying our present customs on an average by eight or ten; and, after we have transmitted the product to Washington in gold and silver, we will then have our choice of dispensing with local government altogether, or of defraying the cost of the ornamental incumbency by direct taxation. If, on the contrary, we prefer beginning the world on our own account, we must have our ambassadors, our navy, our army, and various other essentials of separate nationality, at a cost far higher in proportion than if we sully our dear-bought freedom by becoming partners in the great slave-holding firm of the United States.

But on the general subject we have the most conclusive and most intelligible of arguments, the experience of our neighbours. Such of us as have a taste for historical details,—which are inconsistent with our design,—may ascertain, that the external trade of Canada, whether as to exports or as to imports, whether as to value or as to tonnage, has augmented since the conquest more rapidly than that of the United States. Be this as it may, our neighbours, to copy the homeliness of their only philosopher, have paid very "dear for their whistle." Some of their staple productions independence either has excluded, or will exclude, from the harbours of the mother country. To select the most striking instance, their cotton, which as a colonial

commodity, would have secured for ever the monopoly of the English market, has already met cherished competitors, and may soon, as much on political as on commercial grounds, be driven from the field. But the Americans have vastly multiplied their shipping. True: but what is there in the colonial relation to prevent us from being sole owners of any given number of seagoing vessels? In our colonial relation absolutely nothing; but a vast deal in our physical position. Without an enormous outlay on wet docks, a score of ships cannot winter among us; and after such outlay, our wintering fleet must incur the imminent hazard of making only one voyage in the season, and thus double our already heavier freights for the sake of a name. But to return to our neighbours, their shipping richly paid for all the fostering care of independence in being literally swept from the ocean during the three short years of the last war. We confidently appeal to the official returns* of the time, which, in fact, we are quoting from memory, —however new the unwelcome statement may be to those, who delight to dwell on the easy victories of dishonestly rated frigates or on the scuttling gallantry of pettifogging privateers. What has been, will be again. If independence provoke another war, even

* *Notes.*—Since making this assertion we have accidentally found a mutilated commentary on the official returns mentioned in the text. During 1814 and 1815 respectively the import trade of Britain employed 1,898,535 tons and 2,136,600 and that of America 108,093 and 921,289,—the increase on the inward tonnage of the one country in consequence of peace being about 18 per cent and in that of the other about 760. But let it, to complete the contrast, not let it be remembered, that the British had emerged as well from a European, as from an American war, while the Americans had no enemy to reconcile but Britain. Another year of war would in all probability have annihilated the foreign commerce of our neighbours, for, according to the printed fragment, their inward tonnage in 1814 was considerably less than one third of that in 1813,—the respective amounts being 351,373 and 108,093. Will the reader, till he ascertain the contrary by inquiry, candidly accept this note as a collateral voucher of any general statement, that may not tally with his previous opinions?

though the children, in imitation of their own unique example in the history of mankind, lie in wait to throw down the parent already overborne by an embattled world,—it will most certainly produce an equally flattering result of captured vessels, ruined trade and sealed harbours. In short if independence has multiplied ships, it has periodically thinned them, and constantly renders their very existence dependent (what a commentary on independence!) on the will of England. Let the balance be fairly struck between the good and the evil. Our argument needs nothing more; justice can be satisfied with nothing less.

Nor are our internal communications less likely than our external trade to suffer from separation. To our connexion with England we clearly owe the almost gratuitous gift of the Welland and the altogether gratuitous gift of the Rideau,—canals, to which every thing of the kind among our neighbours is a mere ditch. But even with respect to their boasted “improvements,” their independence (another commentary on the word!) has been dependent on England for every essential element. Ireland has contributed nearly all the labour, while Great Britain has lent much of the capital; so that the young republic, if really left, according to its theoretical aspirations, to manage its own affairs, would hardly have had sufficient grounds even for plausible exaggeration. The services of our Irish brethren, though acknowledged in the peculiar style of republican gratitude, have never been denied; and the admitted claims of British stock-holders make the pointless sneers about the nominally national debt of England recoil sharpened and barbed into the vitals of America to the tune of thirty five millions sterling. All these benefits, it is true, America has received in spite of separation; but, to omit the evils of past hostilities, the grand distinction between ourselves, as colonists, and our neighbours,

as foreigners, is this, that any future war, while it must entirely cut off from them the salutary stream, will pour it the more copiously on us. So far as capital is concerned, England has already been doomed by them to study more than one forcible lesson; and at this moment she is more sensibly fettered by the national debt of America than by her own, lest war become partly a cause of insolvency and partly a pretext for confiscation. But the Americans, though neither industrious nor wealthy, are undeniably enterprising. Legislation, in which there is more of pay than of risk or of labour, is their *forte* in the work of "improvements"; but we find in the Statute-Book ample proof, that they possessed this *forte* in perfection long before the fourth of July, 1776. The inquisitive reader we refer for the germs of the "go ahead" principle or, according to circumstances, want of principle to 14, Geo. 2, ch. 37,—24, Geo. 2, ch. 53,—4, Geo. 3, ch. 34, and 13, Geo. 3, ch. 57.

On the whole, we may fairly presume, that in "improvements", as well as in population, our neighbours have rather lost than gained by independence; and it is at least certain, that the general government, their characteristic badge of distinct nationality, has done less in this department for the whole union put together than the mother-country has done for our province alone.

Nor has the parent in return for her generosity demanded from the children any unworthy sacrifices.

It is true, that we are subject to a legislature, in which we are not represented.—So are many, perhaps most, of our friends and relatives at home, but with these differences in our favor, that their subjection is universal and constant, but our subjection partial and occasional, that we can remonstrate through our local legislature with a collective voice but that they possess neither in law nor in fact any collective barrier

against oppression. Though the choicest food of the colonial demagogue's declamation, yet the grievance is by no means a colonial peculiarity. In so far as the hereditary branches of the legislature control the House of Commons, all classes at home whether enfranchised or not, are subject to the legislation of those, who are not their representatives; while to an extent, which investigation alone can render credible even to professional men, judges, under the humble guise of interpreters, have in all ages enlarged and restricted, framed and abrogated, laws at their will and pleasure. Even in the United States, moreover, may be found both the legislative and the judicial analogy. The District of Columbia, though the only portion of inhabited territory over which Congress exercises unlimited or even general authority, yet sends neither vote nor voice into either house; while in the Union as a whole, and in most, if not all, of the separate States, every legislative act is liable to be "reversed" or "affirmed" by the supreme tribunals.—But setting theory and analogy aside, our subordination to the Imperial Parliament is neither of necessity nor in fact a practical evil. Valuable beyond all names of value as is the popular element in the government of England as a whole, yet local representation and local prosperity, whether of towns or of counties or of kingdoms, bore till very lately—and that with few exceptions—an inverse ratio to each other. Whatever may have been the follies of former days, the Parliament of the United Kingdom has scarcely ever been accused of wantonly interposing its imperial authority, if we except the memorable instance, in which, while testing its sincerity in the cause of freedom by the sacrifice of a hundred millions of dollars, it evinced with peculiar emphasis its paramount veneration at once for humanity and for justice; and with respect to both divisions of

our own province in particular, whether viewed together or separately, that august body has more than once laid us under a heavy debt of gratitude, as the dispassionate reformer of laws, as the disinterested arbiter of differences, as the elastic regulator of privileges. Nor do we find any exception to the rule in those general displays of parliamentary supremacy, which affect the colonies merely as a part of the empire. In the Navigation Laws, for instance, we see all the subjects of England, save the Lascars of India, standing on the same level as her citizens,—not a single trace of that thralldom, which in Spanish America practically regulated the rights and prospects of a colonist by the place of his birth. But will separation render us more independent of external legislation? If we join the neighbouring union, we will exchange one theoretical disqualification for many practical restrictions. We will have the honor of sending representatives and senators to Washington, that motley mart of professedly unrivalled freedom and really unrivalled bondage; but in return for the honor we will have to divest our own proper legislature of the most valuable of its unquestioned and undoubted powers. That the powers, which we must thus surrender, will be always wielded to our satisfaction, we can hardly anticipate. To say nothing of the whirlwind of wordy indignation, which finds a focus in Congress from an infinite series of concentric peripheries, the clang of arms has not unfrequently pronounced equally various but more alarming critiques on the sayings and doings of collective wisdom. As if to assert the sacred right of insurrection in all its aspects, South Carolina has seen reason to break a lance with the United States, Maine has been driven to inflict merited chastisement on England, and Michigan and Ohio have been obliged to seek justice from each other (hide your heads, ye frogs

and mice of antiquity) by a civil war.—But disdaining union, for in spirit most of our remarks apply to any union whatever, our young republic may stand aloof “one and indivisible.” By this admirable contrivance, so long as it is in working order, we will doubtless secure the monopoly of our own legislation; but even then, if there is any prophecy in history, our legislation will be a vehicle for the vindictive feelings of alternately victorious factions,—enthralled by the worst of all external dominions, the influence of the passions of the past over the interests of the present and the future. In a consolidated democracy, whether larger or smaller, there never has been, and never will be, any other government than the tyranny of a party; and if in this respect our neighbours have been less unfortunate than other democrats of ancient or of modern times, they are indebted for the comparatively happy result partly to their inherited laws and character, and partly to their federal relation, which, by distributing the functions of government between mutually jealous bodies, lessens the power of both for usurpation and mounts each as a constitutional sentine. on the other. By the supposition we are to throw overboard the latter safeguard; through a balanced admixture of antagonist races, which has so long and so vitally affected our condition and destiny, we are prevented from attaining the former. With two elements of convulsion, from which even the insubordination of our neighbours is exempt, our “one and indivisible” republic must pay triply dear for the monopoly of its own legislation.

It is also, true, that our enactments are liable to the revision of an external executive. This is a natural and inevitable result of the colonial relation, mainly in order that provincial acts may not be repugnant to imperial statutes; and the legislative history of both divisions of our province has suffi-

ciently demonstrated, that the precaution has not been altogether a dead letter. But neither is this legislative subordination, when fairly considered, a colonial peculiarity.—Not to repeat what we have already said as to the judicial supervision of the legislatures of our neighbours, even the theoretical omnipotence of the imperial parliament is practically modified by the same executive, which sits in judgment on ourselves, with this almost verbal difference, that a measure is there rejected as a bill but here disallowed as an act, that it is here subject to a condition subsequent but there to the more binding obligation of a condition precedent. At home the cabinet has a voice in either house and at every stage, while in the colony it is absolutely mute till all others have decided. Add to this, that our local legislatures have, until the Union of the two Canadas, been suffered of their own free will and proper motion to originate money-bills, which the House of Commons has never proposed but at the express request of the Crown, and we will find, that at least many of the measures, which this imperial prerogative has affected, would, if proposed at all, have been defeated in the imperial parliament. But the grievance, such as it is, does not appear to be removed by independence. In the general, as well as, we believe, in every local, legislature of the Union, the Executive has the right of controlling any majority less than two thirds of each house,—a right, which it exercises far more freely and unceremoniously than the imperial cabinet exercises its corresponding right with regard even to colonial acts.—The executive, we admit, emanates at least as directly from the people as either house : but the mere introduction of a third branch into the legislature clearly shews, that in the opinion of our democratic neighbours the harmony even of two democratic bodies is not an infallible criterion of truth, justice and wisdom.

It is, further, true, that only one of the two houses of our legislature is elected by ourselves. Is not this the case also at home ? As to the respective constitutions of the Legislative Council and the House of Peers, the advantage as to personal abilities is clearly on our side, inasmuch as even the worst nominees of the Crown are likely to be superior to the best nominees of accident ; as to the respective compositions, however, of the same two bodies, the advantage is reversed, because in the colony the crown has a narrower choice than in the mother country. But, without any corresponding superiority as to constitution, our Assembly, in point of composition, is just as decidedly inferior to the House of Commons as is our Legislative Council to the House of Lords. In theory, the crown is surely as competent to select legislators as to appoint judges ; in practice, the crown has always produced in the Legislative Council at least as high an average of qualifications as the people has ever sent to the Assembly. When the demagogue tasks his wit to compare any of the royal nominees with Broughams, or Lyndhursts, or Wellingtons, he may find an equally striking contrast between most of our popular representatives on the one side, and Peels, or Stanleys, or Macaulays on the other. But less of the ridicule, perhaps, is poured on the prerogative of nomination than on the perpetuity of appointment. Under the system of royal nomination, a temporary appointment must either make the nominee dependent on the crown or punish both him and the community by his legal disqualification for a repetition of the honor ; and, as either remedy is worse than the distemper, the prerogative of nomination becomes the only subject of controversy, as necessarily carrying the perpetuity of appointment in its train. Disdaining the technical support, which the system in question may derive from the fundamental

principles of our monarchical constitution, we maintain, that in no other way can a community, as such, be fairly represented. If popular electors vote in and for districts, the objects of their choice are merely the representatives of majorities of their respective constituencies. Even at home the theory, that every member, whoever may be his constituents, represents the whole people, has been practically annulled by the subserviency of pledged delegates; while on this continent, where the predominance of local interests over the general good has been reduced into a system, so salutary a principle has never met even a formal recognition. If, on the contrary, popular electors vote, as in many instances is the rule among our neighbours, in and for the whole country, the objects of their choice are not necessarily the representatives of more than the smallest possible majority of the people. The more nearly that parties are balanced, the less correctly can the victorious nominees of "general ticket" be said to represent the people; and, without travelling beyond the last contest between Van Buren and Harrison for the chair of Washington, we can from memory quote Maine as one of several states, in which there appears to have been almost a tie between the two factions in the choice of presidential electors. But the demagogue says that our Legislative Council does not represent any thing but itself. If one may condescend to notice this play upon words, the demagogue's own quibble implies, that the Legislative Council is the representative of the Crown; and though the president of a republic may, or rather must, be both the creature and the tool of a faction, the head of a monarchy is the disinterested representative of all his people. But what are the facts? Have the representatives of the crown been more selfish than the representatives of the people? Have they more recklessly jobbed away the resources

of the country for electioneering popularity? Have they more basely wielded a majority to oppress a party or to subvert the government? Set the answers of our own consciences against the sneers of the demagogue; and we fear not for the result. The really practical objection to the Legislative Council is, that it does not always harmonise with the Assembly. Not to dwell on the sophistry, which assumes, that, in every case of collision, the latter body must be in the right and the former in the wrong, an occasional want of harmony, as the grand recommendation of a second branch of the legislature, is eagerly and systematically sought by our neighbours through all the variations of time, place and person. In the event of separation, we must, unless we follow in the wake of revolutionary France with one unchecked mob of lawgivers, labour to obtain a fiercer collision, than that which we now condemn,—the collision of those to whom justice is nothing and party every thing.

But notwithstanding all our legislative disqualifications, the actual power of our provincial legislature exceeds that of the imperial parliament. The one has "a fair field and no favor" for promoting almost every object of general utility; while the other has to fight its way by inches through a luxuriant jungle of local institutions, vested interests and aristocratic prejudices. If the omnipotence of the former is occasionally controlled by a master, that of the latter is perpetually thwarted by almost co-ordinate subjects.

But let us not be supposed to consider our legislative position as faultless. Our object has been merely to shew, that the restrictions, to which we are subject, are not exclusively the incidents of our colonial relation; and, if we may digress a little to guard more certainly against misapprehension on this head, we think, that at least some of them may be advantageously modified or re-

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laxed. With respect to the supremacy of a legislature, in which we are not represented, we believe, that the theoretical objection may be softened in accordance with the grandest possible conception of the empire. Viewing England and her dependencies as a kingdom "one and indivisible," may not an individual, who has actually exercised, and still retains, a qualification of real property in any part of the magnificent whole, be allowed to annex his vote to a residence of a certain duration in any other part? Fraud may be easily prevented by provisions not more stringent than those which already fetter the franchise at home; and citizens and colonists may be fused into one integral people, and that, too, perhaps without disturbing the balance of parties in a single constituency of the Queen's dominions.—As to the supervision of an external executive, we confess, that the interval for deliberation ought to be materially abridged; nor can we see any essential difficulty in virtually placing our provincial legislature on a level in this respect with the imperial parliament by rendering the interval somewhat less than the average vacation of our legislative sessions. An improved organisation of the colonial department, such as the colonies, cost what it may, have a right to expect, may surely find six months sufficient for the consideration of all the doubtful bills and acts of a year of colonial legislation. As to the constitution of our Legislative Council we do not admit the necessity of any change, unless in so far as an impatience of control may demand some modification as the less of two evils; and most of all do we deprecate that dangerous and absurd apportionment of that body among the separate districts and the conflicting interests of a community which a late Colonial Secretary in an unhappy dream systematised in some of the neighbouring colonies. The strongest ground, on which the battle of the constitution can be fought, is to fill the upper house

with our ablest and most disinterested men, as the representatives not of party but of right, not of classes but of the people, not of counties but of the province.

But for all these alleged disadvantages of our colonial relation, we possess an ample balance in its admitted advantages. We have a government, which both promises and secures to all classes and creeds and colours the full enjoyment of property, liberty, and life against foes within and foes without; and, if it has ever appeared incompetent to fulfil its pledges, the fault lies at the door not of the colonial relation itself but of ungrateful and unprincipled natures bent on its destruction. If we transfer our allegiance to the banner of stars and stripes,—for the idea of our separate independence is unworthy of grave repetition,—we will not only sacrifice our own peace and tranquillity but become morally responsible for the unexpiated and inextinguishable atrocities of unjust laws and licentious mobs. To pass in silence the outrages, legal and illegal, against foreigners, catholics, gamblers, abolitionists, and Indians, and also against our own borders, let us briefly notice the most damnable anomaly in the political firmament of Christendom. While our neighbours talk by rote of their "free institutions," they possess, we apprehend, only the parrot's knowledge of the meaning of the words. If "institution" implies anything more stable than the contemporaneous will of a numerical majority, there is among them but one "institution" and that one is not "free." Each written compact, it is true, between a people in its primary capacity and its legislature imposes at its conclusion certain restrictions on any future modifications of itself; but these restrictions are rendered nugatory, if not ridiculous, by that principle of all principles, that foundation of all foundations, that axiom of all axioms, which, as a standing preamble, asserts the unalienable omnipotence of one unit more

than the half. Thus the very form of government depends at any given instant on the caprice of mere numbers ; and if the many, as in some countries is actually the case, resolve to hug the chains of absolute monarchy, the few cannot with any consistency murmur at the resolution. The national constitution, to be sure, guarantees republicanism to the respective states ; but republicanism assumes many shapes on the stage of history from the democracy of Athens to the aristocracy of Venice, from the legal tyranny of the Roman Decemvirs to the military despotism of the First Consul of France.—To illustrate the ephemerical feebleness of the vaunted “institutions” of our neighbours in the most striking and comprehensive way, we quote an instance, in which an “institution” of the union was trampled in the mire even by a doubtful majority not of a sovereign state but of a dependent territory. Congress had passed a law to raise Michigan from a territory to a state on certain conditions ; and after these conditions, and with them a wind-fall of 500,000 dollars, had been legitimately rejected, the disappointed lovers of filthy lucre rose in their primary might and reversed not merely with impunity but with applause the legal result of an act of the supreme legislature.—Slavery, however, is not thus left to the mercy of the varying winds of popular caprice. According to the constitution of every, or almost every, slave-holding state, the right of the master is declared to be independent of the collective will, the permanency of this solitary and unique “institution” being guaranteed by the selfishness of any and every interested individual.—But of this, you may reply, the entire responsibility rests on the slave-holding states themselves. Now, before we take stock in the concern, examine well the articles of partnership. In the national constitution of 1789 we will find, that, if any person “held to labour” (for the

document does daintily pick and cull its phrases) escape from the scourges and the gyves and the collars of overtaken starvation into the sovereign and independent state of Canada, he will be dragged from our free tribunals to revisit his home, where the furnace will doubtless be seven times heated, with bleeding feet, foaming lips and stumbling limbs ; and as joint tenants, moreover, of the District of Columbia, we will be still more directly interested in the “institution” in question, inasmuch as Congress has avowed its determination not only to tolerate slavery and the slave-trade in that national domain but even to shut its ears for ever as well to the remonstrance of the philanthropist as to the cry of the victim. Through independence, then, we will gain at least this zest, that our heaven of freedom will be contrasted in indestructible mosaic with the hell of bondage. But while the national legislature thus negatively promotes and perpetuates slavery, the national constitution aims at the same important object by positive provisions. The practically fundamental doctrine of universal suffrage is relaxed in favor of the slave-holding states. As the basis of representation in the lower house of Congress, the population of each state is constructively held to consist of all the citizens and three-fifths of all others, so that South Carolina with about 400,000 freemen has as large a share in the national representation as Massachusetts with about 650,000,—political power being an incident of that kind of property, and of that kind only, which makes a mockery of the rights of man. Will you, O Canadians, exchange your rational and consistent freedom for a system, which protects no institution but bondage, and fortifies against numbers no property but that in the bodies and souls of the wantonly oppressed and studiously debased bondman ? The system, be it, moreover, remembered, is loathsome and corrupting even beyond first appearances.

Poor as is the pretext, which color affords for oppression, the slave of our neighbours may be to all but critical eyes as white as the master,—may in fact be the master's son or the master's brother, the master's daughter or the master's sister, nay the very wife, though unwedded, of the master's bosom. Nor are instances wanting, in which fondly cherished and highly educated females have been dragged by the heirs or the creditors of a relative, who had neglected a legal form, from the arms of each other and all the congenial luxuries of a common home, to become the outraged mothers of a progeny only less wretched than themselves. Even when nominally free, the hapless possessor of the least conceivable portion of black blood has been well said to be a slave without a master,—subject to the lawless caprice of insolent or unfeeling individuals and rigidly excluded from some states by the fundamental charters of their freedom. Are not our neighbours consistent in disclaiming all connexion between their equality and that of the Bible, between their republicanism and that religion which begins with the offence of a common ancestor and ends with the atonement of a common Redeemer? Our neighbours, it is true, ascribe their slavery to the early policy of England. Be this as it may, its present existence and its prospective perpetuity,—the main points in the discussion,—are rather the result of their own independence, for, as colonists, they would most probably have been ere now delivered at the mother country's expense from the pestilence, which is morally and physically feeding on their vitals.

Nor are the advantages of our position less striking on economical grounds.—Through our colonial relation we gratuitously receive what our neighbours purchase, to say nothing of its intrinsic inferiority, with the price of their lands and the proceeds of their tariff,—besides the indefinite bounty

on their manufactures, which the tariff collaterally extorts. The average share of each free person among them, male or female, young or old, is not less than three dollars a year, so that our proportion must amount to at least two thirds of a million sterling. Is the independence of our neighbours, as it actually exists, worth so much? Under our present system, national government is to us a source not of loss but of gain, inasmuch as taxes, of which we pay no share, are scattered among us throughout the length and the breadth of the province.—But even while furnishing the colonies with the free gift of national protection, the United Kingdom expends on national government, strictly so called, not more than the United States in proportion to free population, and, what bears more directly on the point, far less in proportion to wealth. If, to render the comparison complete, we add to the expenditure of the Union, as such, the cost of government proper in each of the separate States, we will arrive at a result still more conclusive in favor of England, and still more repugnant to the general notions of republican economy.—These admitted truths may surprise those who have derived ideas on the subject from the demagogue's comparison of official salaries. With respect to officers of corresponding rank and duties, America has certainly far cheaper bargains than England; but, if, with lower salaries of individual functionaries, the aggregate expenditure is higher, there clearly must be a larger herd of the tribe,—a conclusion, which at once exhibits the inefficiency of the servant and extends the master's power of corruption.

But to descend from patriotism to selfishness, an independent form of government may seem peculiarly favourable to the development and the reward of individual merit. For attaining personal distinction and for securing an incidental pittance, which often loses all arithmetical respecta-

bility of size and sound when translated from dollars into sovereigns the road is undoubtedly more open in the American Union than in the British Empire. But in a pecuniary view there are among our neighbours few prizes, which are worthy of the acceptance of a man of ability, and still fewer, which offer an adequate return for the inevitable sacrifices of a career of ambition. As to political advancement, how often is the confessedly able man set aside by the jealousy even of apparent friends to make room for some harmless thing, which nobody envies because nobody admires: the friends of Webster and the friends of Clay and the friends of Calhoun have united to make two presidents at once out of General Harrison and Mr. Tyler. This fact suggests an essential advantage of monarchy over republicanism even with regard to popular rights. In England the people, like the King, never dies, for the constitution vests in the crown the truly democratic prerogative of sending the representatives, ministers and all, to their constituents; while in the United States, the

constituents can be relieved from the effects of an injudicious choice of representatives only by lapse of time and are then roused from their political nothingness merely to shout the names of new masters and die again. To bring the matter to a point without disturbing the ashes of the dead, is Mr. Tyler of Virginia president by and with the consent of any of the most inconsiderable section of the long million of electors? But follow the superannuated servants of the two countries into involuntary retirement. In the one country, we see a well regulated bounty supporting the footsteps of age and often prospectively soothing the last anxieties of the husband and the father; in the other we see the highest functionaries of the state borne down by years and poverty together and sometimes doomed to have their children and their children's mother sold, each to the highest bidder, in open market. In the one country, the war-worn charger is pensioned on the sweetest pasture; in the other, he is sent to the shambles.

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CONCLUSION.

BUT our arguments, whether addressed to a feeling of loyalty or to a sense of interest, may find the breasts of our readers fortified against conviction by the prejudice, that, in the natural and uncontrollable course of events, every dependency is destined sooner or later to become independent. Now let us subject this prejudice to the test of historical research. For a long period down to 1707 Scotland had been virtually subordinate to England, and for a still longer period down to 1782, Ireland had actually been so; and yet at this moment Ireland, England and Scotland are integral parts of one and the same consolidated empire. In those cases the bond, instead of being snapped asunder, has been rivetted in defiance of difficulties as to time and distance, greater than those which now separate the St. Lawrence from the Thames. But you look to the apparently more applicable instances of our own continent. Granting for the sake of argument the full force of the implied resemblance, let us ask, which of all the new-born anarchies, Spanish, Portuguese or English, is not rather a beacon to be shunned, than a pilot to be trusted, in the stormy seas of revolution. The implied resemblance, however, totally fails, inasmuch as they one and all rose against oppression, to the very shadow of which our province is happily a stranger. They revolted not because they had attained their majority, but because they were more or less wantonly injured; and Benjamin Franklin himself

somewhere quaintly confessed, that the old colonies might have been retained by England for a century through a judicious expenditure of pens, ink and paper. But to pass from history to expediency, the prejudice is more pertinacious to colonies than to mother-countries, for it teaches the latter to prolong the subordination of the former by checking their growth, to find a model of colonial government rather in Spain than in England, rather in the tyrant, that held Lima for three hundred years, than in the parent, that saw Philadelphia with some of its original inhabitants alive become the centre of a successful rebellion. The prejudice rests on the analogy, which is presumed to exist between father and minor son on the one hand and metropolitan state and colony on the other,—an analogy better adapted to rhetoric and theory than to logic and practice. In the fulness of time the father relinquishes control, and so, it is argued, ought the metropolitan state. The analogy, in fact, is miserably defective both in premises and in conclusion. The mere lapse of years approximates the bodies natural more closely to each other than the bodies politic, and more certainly, as well as more speedily, carries the former to maturity or beyond it than the latter. Again, in every country the emancipated child still remains absolutely subject to the law, and, in every well regulated community *sub modo* subject to the father himself,—a measure of independence very dif-

ferent from that, which, with respect to the metropolitan state, is to make the colony an actual foreigner and a potential enemy.—But, as the heads of families, it would be well to remark, that the analogy is two-edged, and that, without promoting our independence, it may utterly alienate from us our children in succession. Our neighbours, according to universal experience, gather this bitter fruit under their tree of liberty; and, as if absolutely to render every man a compound exemplification of separation and union, the sons of every family, according to the testimony of a recent traveller, at once proclaim independence of their father and establish a federal alliance among themselves. In England, on the contrary, the true analogy may be urged in favor of the colonial relation, for, though a colony without local representation may resemble the minor child, yet such a colony as ours bears a far closer similitude to the emancipated son.

But admitting for form's sake the general soundness of the doctrine, which we have impugned, the fulness of time will in our case meet almost insurmountable obstacles. Without a single grievance of even plausible aspect, the worshippers of almanacks will, under any combination of circumstances, encounter the resolute opposition of at least a powerful minority of the population, comprising not merely the loyal enemies of revolution but the prudent haters of violence. Believing, moreover, the possession of our province to be an essential element of her grandeur, England will hold us with the tenacity of a death gripe; and unless we wish fatally to delude ourselves, rather look on Quebec than dream of Saratoga. Then reflect, how long the sinking monarchy of Spain curbed, through the mastery of a few strong-holds, the insurrectionary spirit of colonies more populous and more formidable than our province is likely to be for centuries,—and, to select a more

apposite instance, how long France, without daring openly to face England in America, circumscribed her limits, harassed her settlements and wasted her armies through the instrumentality of a chain of petty forts.—Our neighbours, it is true, will be always ready to support the sacred cause of insurrection. Remember, however, that the united forces will have to attempt the indispensable capture of Quebec under circumstances both positively and negatively more disheartening than those, which almost baffled the gallantry of its youthful conqueror. With a force inferior in discipline and experience to Montcalm's, you will have to assail a garrison superior in skill and prowess to the army of Wolfe; while, opposed by a navy more formidable than that, which covered Wolfe's attack, your every movement will be watched by telescopes of destruction, which bristled not in defence of Montcalm. So far as history is a guide, England's maritime supremacy decides the question, for Quebec, though once taken without an army, has never been taken without a navy.

But suppose the separation to have been effected with or without the aid of our neighbours, we will be constrained to merge our young independence in their unwieldy confederacy. If we establish a monarchical form of government, we will be hated as guilty by those officious apostles of republicanism, who now pity us as unfortunate, and will at last be driven to consider the vaunted "institutions" as less immediately pernicious than the torch and the knife and the rifle of "free and equal" marauders; and even if we adopt republicanism ourselves, the northern states will not permit us as a separate community, to monopolise the long coveted navigation of our magnificent river. Texas, we admit, has been graciously allowed to stand aloof; but Texas is a far less tempting bait than Canada. Jealousies between the north

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and the south on the subject of slavery are common to both cases; but in the former case the material interests of the neighbouring states are either indifferent or hostile, while in the latter they are allured by the prize of the cheapest, easiest and shortest passage to the ocean. Put Louisiana in place of Texas to make the cases more parallel; and then consider, whether a country, that commanded the only outlet of the western states, would have been suffered, like Texas, to walk through the world alone.

Even if our neighbours condescend to tolerate the freedom of our own choice, how are we to maintain our rank among the nations. Our army (nay smile not, for an army we must have) will decimate itself every month by desertion, unless it may rather vary the monotony of discipline by the periodical Saturnalia of military despotism. Our navy (for a navy also we must have,) besides requiring here and there a hired haven during the winter or lying high and dry more than half of the year, will be manned only by the dregs of the fleets of England and America. Our naval prospects we may perhaps improve by uniting with the Lower Provinces, provided always that their fulness of time may happen to coincide with our own, but even thus we can hardly hope to withstand the constant pressure of our neighbours along a frontier of two thousand miles.

If, then, we resolve to live and die in our

allegiance, we must task our vigilance against every measure, which, under whatever pretexts it may be urged, tends to sow discord among us. **Knit** band of brothers for maintaining the integrity of the empire, as the best guarantee of our own solid and permanent interests, let no subordinate question of any kind or of any degree enter as a wedge into our resistless phalanx. It is only thus, that we can directly and constantly thwart our insidious foes, who, whether religion or reform or revenue or improvement be their watch-word, have their hearts leagued together by the elastic tie of revolutionary malignity. Fear not, quail not, shrink not in the height of triumph or in the depth of defeat; it is not merely as a body but as individuals that we must acquit ourselves like men and fight, for "England expects **EVERY MAN** to do **HIS** duty." When tempted by momentary or local advantage to fraternise for an hour with the spirit of rebellion, forget not the important truth, that party-spirit is in public life, the most powerful of all impulses, and that pride of consistency may prevent us from deserting those to-morrow, whom we have supported to-day. Flee all temptations through the exalting and purifying reflection, that on your fidelity, as the key-stone of England's colonial dominion, depends the salvation of an empire such as the world has never seen, since Noah descended as Sovereign of the green earth from the pinnacles of

ARARAT.

