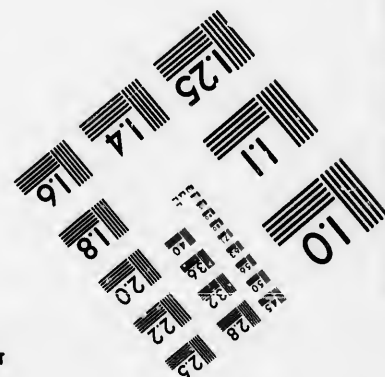
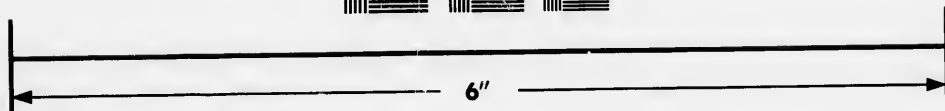
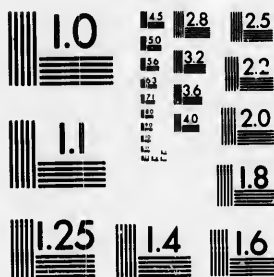


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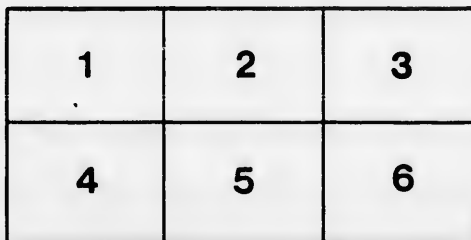
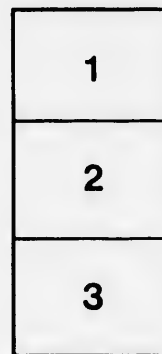
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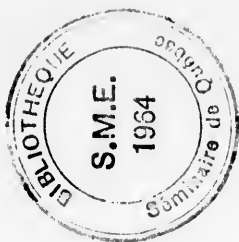
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CANADA AND INVASION.

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CANADA AND INVASION.

Suppose your neighbor became a dangerous lunatic, and there were no civil authorities for your protection, what would you do? You would bolt and bar your doors and windows, and arm yourself, saying, I will not hurt the poor fellow if I possibly can avoid, but I must protect my life and property. Canada's neighbor is a dangerous lunatic, possessed by a blind rage; committing follies such as never before were committed on this continent; drunken with excitement and armed to the teeth. Yet Canada rests as if in security, and the armed maniac raging beside her. It is not enough that the maniac may at present be fully engaged, or have enough reason remaining to prevent her braving the might of Britain. You can not with certainty conjecture what sane, how much more difficult to conjecture what insane persons will do. You can not tell what a day may bring forth. Few will dispute the truth of this maxim, as we have the highest authority for believing in its truth; but those who will not accept it as true in consequence of such high authority can satisfy themselves by a reference to ancient and modern history.

A little more than two years ago, a report prevailed that a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded between France and Russia. The report was not true, but was *almost* being true, and it is even now not at



all unlikely that they may make a treaty and act together. France and Russia are not less antagonistic in feelings, principles, and interests than are the Northern and Southern States. Therefore it is not to be considered out of the bounds of possibility that they may make a treaty—perhaps, to attack Canada: the North's cause of enmity being Canada's (supposed) sympathy with the Southern States, and England not assisting to subdue them—the North expected not *active* but *passive* assistance from England; the South's cause of enmity being England's not recognizing her and breaking the blockade of her ports. The North might say to the South, "Assist us to conquer Canada and whip England, and your independence shall be acknowledged, if you wish; or the possession of your slaves and your right to extend slavery guaranteed if you consent to remain in union with us."

One of the Canadian line of packets, or any other British vessel, may any day be illegally seized, and restoration and compensation refused. We have read in the newspapers of American military parties arresting on Canadian soil deserters from their army. Countless occurrences, which are quite impossible to be foreseen, might involve us in war.* England and

* The British screw steamer "Gladiator" has arrived at Liverpool, with advices from Bermuda to the 7th Nov. The captain of the "Gladiator" having heard, previously to his departure from Bermuda, that Commodore Wilkes, of the steamship "Trent" notoriety, intended to capture the "Gladiator," obtained the protection of H. M. S. "Desperate," which vessel accompanied him a certain distance from the port. The vessels had scarcely parted company when the "Gladiator" was boarded by a boat's crew from the Federal man-of-war, and the captain was ordered to go on board and report himself. The "Desperate" being within gunshot, he declined to obey the order, and was then allowed to proceed. The "Desperate," on seeing the "Gladiator" boarded, immediately ran out two guns ready for action. It was currently reported at Bermuda that the Governor had sent a requisition to Admiral Milne for a protecting squadron.

The *Bermuda Gazette*, of October 7, says the ostensible object of Commodore Wilkes was to obtain coal, but suspects it was, in reality, a little scheme to see how far it might be possible for American pluck to drive through the rules of neutrality laid down by the British Government. The cruising within our waters—the anchoring in our channels—the landing of armed parties—the boarding of British vessels—the taking on board of unlimited

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France may recognize the Southern Confederacy, and the Northern may pour her army into Canada—an army almost half as numerous as the population of Canada. Doubtless, as the Governor General said, the entire strength of the British Empire would be put forth for our defence, and we can not doubt that it would successfully be put forth. But the enemy being driven out, what would be Canada's condition? Her population decimated, her towns in ashes, her lands uncultivated, her railroads and canals destroyed, her mills burned, her homesteads in ruins, her substance wasted, her matrons widows, her children fatherless, her progress retarded at least half a century, and the report gone abroad, "Don't emigrate to Canada; she is liable to invasion; your life and property will be insecure, and your children may become the conquered subjects of another State."

Canadians, what annual premium would you pay to insure yourselves *individually* against the risks of invasion? You insure against fire and death; but against fire and death by an enemy you are not insured. You pay a civil police to defend you against

coal—and the subsequent proceedings of the gun-boats, evidently prove that there must have been some peculiar and particularly private reasons which have given us the honour of this influx of United States heroes.

The *Bermuda Gazette*, of the same day, says:—The royal mail steamer "Merlen," when within three miles of the land, on the morning of the 6th, was fired at, and brought to, by one of those gun-boats, and though the officer in charge of the boat, when he became aware of the true character of the vessel he had stopped, apologised, still such frequent and unprovoked insults will not be submitted to.

The *Army and Navy Gazette* says:—Admiral Wilkes, of "Trent" notoriety, having been ordered by the Federal Government to proceed to the vicinity of the Bahama Islands, with a view of cutting off all intended supplies for that quarter for the Confederates, the British authorities have very wisely, in anticipation of any complication which might arise from the excess of energy well known to exist in Flag-Officer Wilkes, ordered reinforcements to be despatched to the Admiral in the West Indies. We believe the "Emerald" and "Galatea" are under immediate orders to proceed to Bermuda, whence they will be sent to any quarter where Sir Alexander Milne may deem their presence necessary. The *Bermuda Gazette*, of October 7th, says:—We understand that Admiral Milne, with a large force, is expected here from Halifax about the middle or end of next month. We are, however, disposed to think that recent occurrences will expedite the arrival of his squadron.

civil murder and robbery; but you do not pay a soldiery, a national police, to defend you against foreign murder and robbery. You should insure against invasion *at once*. You can do so four ways: Pay the Imperial Government to insure you, thus enabling it to augment the Imperial army, and to increase it in Canada. Pay the Canadian Government to insure you by a regular and *serviceable* militia, or by a standing army. Insure yourselves, paying your insurance *in time*, not in money, by becoming soldiers yourselves; not volunteers (as you understand the word), but *soldiers*, bound under penalties to drill at stated times, and to observe stated laws. You must, if you insure yourselves, be a *nation of soldiers*, of *well-drilled soldiers*, for your numbers are few, and the numbers of your neighbors are very many; therefore it is only by discipline and skill you could hope to succeed.

In England the volunteer military organization has been most successful; but in England men live *close together*—here, *far apart*. And this appears to offer an almost insuperable difficulty to a very extensive militia or volunteer organization; therefore, it appears militia and volunteers can only be relied on as auxiliaries.

It is self-evident that a contractor in business, with all the machinery of his business ready to hand and in good working order, has a great advantage over an inexperienced person coming into the same business, with all the machinery to provide, and then to get it into working order; therefore, it must be self-evident that the Imperial Government could contract to furnish Canada with regular troops, both more cheaply and much more efficiently than the Canadian. But as some may not see this, although self-evident, it may be remarked (merely to put their mind on the right track), that recruits are more easily and more cheaply obtained at home than here, and that recruiting in Canada would retard the settlement of the country;

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that facilities for desertion in Canada are great, and the propensity for desertion is much greater in the recruit than in the soldier; that the Imperial Government would send here none except well-conducted or old soldiers, who by deserting would lose the advantages accruing from their past service. It may also be remarked that, if enlisted under the present law, these soldiers would have the option of being discharged here or at home; that it is most likely they would remain here, where those who came to the country unmarried would likely have formed connexions, and where advantages would be offered to the children of those who came married. These discharged soldiers would be well-conducted and orderly settlers, with a knowledge of the country, and the means of settling themselves comfortably; besides their annual pension would increase the capital of the country, and they would be well-drilled recruits for the militia or volunteers.

The Canadian Government would be glad to take the contract, on account of the patronage and other opportunities it would offer for the personal advantage of its members. If the Canadian Government were to take the contract at the same rate as the Imperial, they would furnish an inferior article. The best way we can get an army is to say to the home government: "Here is so much money. You agree to keep so many troops in Canada *as our contingent* towards our own defence, and, as you know we are not able to defend ourselves alone, you will keep a contingent at your expense; and should any part of the empire be in greater danger than Canada, we will be ready, as far as in our power, to assist in its defence." Were it decided that regular troops were to be supplied, either by the Imperial or Canadian Government, most of your representatives would urge on you the preference of their being supplied by the Canadian. Why? Because human nature is selfish, and they would expect to turn

out of the event, something to their own or their friends' advantage.

There is a party in the British House of Commons called the Manchester party. It is small and weak; it contains no men of position or weight, and contains only one or two men of ability. Yet it makes more noise than all the other parties together. Its general war cry is, "Down with taxation!" "Down with taxation" is a very good motto; but when the Manchester men cry "Down with taxation," they mean "shift taxation off *our* shoulders," and by their much asking and much clamor they have shifted the greater part of the burden to the shoulders of others. They now attack the Imperial Government for incurring the expense of garrisoning Canada, and say, "Why tax our poor people for the defence of Canada." It is not the poor people they think of, but their own income tax. However, it must be admitted that they cannot be expected to pay for our defence, while we pay *nothing whatever towards it*. They run into one extreme and say, "Cut Canada adrift, for we do not derive a single advantage from her which, in time of peace, we do not derive from the Northern and Southern States." Some of our men run into another extreme quite as unjust; indeed, more so, for Canada has derived great pecuniary advantages from the mother country. We in Canada pay nothing towards the interest of the national debt; but it is paid by our brothers and cousins in Britain proper,* although part of that very debt was incurred *in obtaining Canada for us*.

We cannot consider Canada except as *part of Britain*; for wherever Britons settle there is Britain. What constitutes a nation, soil or men? It is not soil, it is men, laws, institutions, and history. We have a colonial or local government, because *such is*

* The mother country is here termed Britain proper.

at present convenient ; but we look forward to sending representatives to both houses of Parliament at London. Our destiny and interest will never be separate from the destiny and interest of the island home of our race and of freedom—from that little island against which despotism has so often been shipwrecked—the birth-place of those great men, the effects of whose deeds, and writings, and words we all now feel. We will not follow the example of another State, who, unmindful of her origin, cast her birth-right from her, because of an injustice which time would have removed ; and who now, instead of being part of a great and stable empire, creating new and happy communities, extending untold blessings to distant and very different races, is desolating the fair face of a favored portion of the earth, destroying the fruits of years of industry, replacing plenty by want, happiness by misery, and drawing into the horrid vortex of slaughter the unwary and necessitated of other States.

Canada is as much part of the British nation as England, and consequently has as much right to claim the assistance of the entire nation as has England. But she must *assist herself*. If she do not assist to defend herself, it would appear as if she were not anxious of continuing part of the empire, and as if the rest were *keeping* her in the union—a policy never again to be pursued by our government. Canadians are acknowledged to be Britons ; they have every advantage that Englishmen have ; they can compete for admission as surgeons into the army, as officers into the artillery, and for admission into the Indian civil service ; they are eligible for every appointment. They derive advantages from India ; why should they not assist to hold India ? Well, with the exception of India, Canada is the only important part of the empire that can be assailed by land. She is the *weakest point*. If she could defend herself it would be as much as

could be, and *more* than is, expected of her. She is only asked to assist in her own defence, and this she can not refuse without saying to the rest of the empire, "We do not value or desire connexion with you," and the rest of the empire (exclusive of India, a foreign, conquered country), must violate the very basis of the constitution, *as it now stands*, in retaining Canadians against their will in the British union. If the connexion is not worth paying for, it had better discontinue; if it is worth paying for, and we wish to continue it without paying, we are mean and dishonourable. There are three choices for us: to be united to the Northern States, to be an independent state, to be part of the British Empire. Were Canada incorporated in the Northern States, she would not be liable to invasion by them, unless some civil discord arose, which would not be unlikely. She really would have no voice in the government, for she would be out-voted by the fickle mob of a fickle and unstable state; tied to the chariot wheels of revolution—revolution in its widest and worst sense; perhaps, plunged into an unjust, unnatural, and unholy war with the mother country; governed by uneducated, unenlightened, and dishonest political schemers, raised to power by pandering to the vices and follies of a mob composed of the off-scouring of European society; perhaps dragged into a war against her wishes and against her interests, to subjugate the Southern States; heavily taxed on all her imports. We need not go further. Canada as an independent state, in order to retain her present position, would be obliged to support a standing army in efficiency equal to the Imperial army, and in numbers equal to the contingent of the Imperial army, available for her defence. She would be obliged to support a navy equal to three-fourths, or thereabouts, of the Imperial navy; for three-fourths, or thereabouts, of the Imperial navy is available for the protection of Canadians

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and Canadian property in all parts of the earth, as well as to guard the Canadian shores. She would be obliged to support a diplomatic service, to send ambassadors to all the Governments to which Imperial ambassadors are sent, to send consuls to all the ports to which Canadian vessels sail.

Suppose Canada to be separated from the British Empire, and to have no navy, or a weak one, and Russia to treat unjustly a Canadian, or Chinese or any other pirates to seize a Canadian vessel; suppose a misunderstanding to arise with Brother Jonathan. Canada would some time or other, like the lamb in the fable, muddy the water in the stream at which Jonathan would be drinking. Every Canadian is now a Briton, and when abroad is treated with consideration and respect.

In case of war between Britain and the Northern States Canada must be the battle-ground, unless war could be carried into the enemy's country. This is bitterly complained of by some Canadians, who also say that Canada, not having a voice in declaring war, should not be required to take part in it. Every Briton regrets the necessity of Canada being the battle-ground in case of war with the Northern States; and be assured when Britain can go to war without embroiling Canada, Canada will not be required to take part in it. In a recent war the good taste and patriotism of Canadians led them to share with the mother country the burden, and we may be certain their good taste and patriotism has not decreased. It is the probability of Canada being the battle-ground makes her the *weakest point of the Empire*—a point so weak that *the Empire would be stronger without her*. But the fact that a colony is a source of weakness and not of strength to an empire, is not a cause for the empire casting off the colony; for the settlers are subjects of the empire and have a claim for protection, just as they would were they living in any other part

whatever of the world, even though that part were not a portion of the empire of which they were subjects; therefore we come back to the truth that *men, not soil, constitute a nation.*

Every man who settled in Canada since it became a British colony, did so with the understanding that he was settling under British rule and protection. There are in Canada men who, to be under British rule, left the States at the recognition of their independence; there are men who shed their blood to preserve the limits of the Empire; there are descendants of men who assisted to *make* the British Constitution and Empire. Britain proper could not, without a breach of faith, sever the connexion; she never will do so for any reason, much less to satisfy a small party composed of mercenary men, who certainly have served the State while serving themselves, but who would also ruin it to serve themselves.* But if the Empire cannot divest itself of the obligations it owes its subjects, no more can the subjects divest themselves of the obligations they owe the Empire. The Empire is composed of men bound to each other by obligations; therefore the question resolves itself into this: that a man or a number of men cannot expect another man or number of men to fight or perform any kindly office for him or them, unless he or they are prepared to do the like in their turn for the other or others. If Canada is likely to be the seat of war on account of Britain, Britain is likely to get into war on account of Canada. If Canada were not a part of Britain, a war between the Northern States and Britain would only be a naval war. We have no voice in declaring war or peace. We pay nothing towards the expenses of diplomacy or the mainte-

* In repealing the Navigation laws a great injury was done the nation; for their repeal has interfered with the increase of sailors, and thus with the strength of that arm on which the nation depends for its *existence*.

nance of the Imperial army, and *no* foreign war, except with the Northern States could effect us, except through our merchant vessels; but the vessels of other British subjects would be exposed to like risks, if Britain were at war on behalf of Canada. Then, as the British navy commands the sea, the risks of war with even the French or Americans would be small, and with any other power really *nil*.

When we pay *our share* towards defraying the expenses of the Imperial Government, we will have a right to send representatives to the Imperial Parliament, and it is thus alone we can have a right, or that we can exercise a voice in Imperial questions. The expenses, risks, and delays of a passage home are now greatly diminished. Let us say, "Pass an act of union with us similar to those which unite the three Kingdoms, and we will cheerfully and honorably pay our share of Imperial expenses." The time must come when the colonies will be united to the mother country by some new and better understood bonds.

As far as our knowledge of history extends, so far can we see that the world has been gradually improving in every way. There are nations who have made as brilliant discoveries as Britain; but she has applied those very discoveries so as to obtain a more brilliant result than the original discoverers. In war our achievements have been the grandest; but in peaceable pursuits still grander. The gradual progress and the stability of this State, which for three hundred years has never felt the shock of revolution, while others were upheaved, and rent and shaken, till every stone was shaken from its place, and on their ruins tottering fabrics, without mortar or system, hastily rose to give place to others not more enduring, prove that she is to be the instrument in the Divine hand to extend the blessings of religion and civilization to the ends of the earth, and that under her the world is destined to enjoy repose.

We, instead of endeavoring to strengthen the bonds

which unite us to the mother country, appear inclined to weaken those bonds. We say "Britain, it is your duty to protect us against all injustice, to aid us in our public works, and foster our interests in every way; yet we will tax your imports, and treat you in every way as a foreign country; *we will make all we can out of you.*" The effect of the duty on British goods is of little, but the principle is of great importance. Part of the duty goes to pay the interest of debt incurred in facilitating and thereby reducing the expense of transit from east to west; therefore part of this duty is in place of another charge on the goods, and as the same amount of revenue would be raised in some other way, Canadians would have no more money to spend were the system altered than they have now; therefore the alteration would not increase the consumption. Were the tax removed the Canadian people would get British goods much cheaper than now; but they would have to pay the taxes in some other way. But it is most desirable that the tax on British goods, indeed on all goods, should be removed, not to enable the Manchester merchant to draw a larger annual sum from Canada, but because the position of Canada in this respect towards the rest of the Empire is most anomalous; because the Canadian should be allowed to buy his goods as cheaply as possible; and because he should be allowed to know what he pays his government—his *servant*; but as it now is, the government, the servant, pays himself, and the Canadian does not know how much comes out of his pocket to have justice administered. The administration of justice is really all the governing Canada or any other country requires, if national defence be out of the question, and it is not yet included in the expenses of our government.

There are two methods of raising a revenue, by direct and by indirect taxation. An indirect tax is a tax charged on commodities either when manufactured or imported. It is clear that, as the manufac-

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turer or importer receives this duty again from the purchaser in the price, he does not pay any duty except on what he consumes himself. Every man pays towards the support of the government in proportion to the quantity of dutiable articles he consumes. A man who drinks much tea and uses much molasses pays more than a man who drinks little tea and uses little molasses. But the poor man eats and drinks as much as the rich man; therefore the poor man, who has only his own person, pays as much for the protection of his person as the rich man pays for the protection of his property and person. And according to the present tariff, tea, sugar, molasses, and other necessaries of life are taxed, while Canadian made spirits, which, as it is used by men, is injurious to them, is not taxed. However, whiskey, whether injurious or not, is not a necessary, and consequently should be taxed, if we have any indirect taxation. As a general rule the only legitimate use of indirect taxation is to decrease or prohibit the use of a commodity injurious to the consumer. A direct tax is a duty on property or individuals. It is by a direct tax on property the revenue to support Canadian schools is raised. There can only be two reasons for preferring indirect taxation: First, that the payer may pay without knowing; second, to protect home manufacture. A Canadian statesman said, in words to the effect, that it was necessary to raise the revenue by indirect taxation, as the greater portion of the Canadian people would not submit to direct taxation. This is saying little for the intelligence of the Canadian people—saying that the money must be clandestinely abstracted from their pockets in order to get them to pay for the protection of their persons and property, against even civil violence and fraud. Your representative, your paid servant, who before election promises to further all your interests most faithfully, in order to keep his promise, is obliged to cheat you. An indirect tax as a protective tax between a colony

and a mother country, indeed between any two countries, is most objectionable. If Canada can buy cloths more cheaply than manufacture them, let her buy them; but if not, let her manufacture them. If she buys let her employ the labor and capital which otherwise would be employed manufacturing; as they will pay best. If an individual manufactured his clothes although he could buy them cheaper, would he not be very foolish? Well, if it be foolish for one it must be foolish for many; it must be foolish for the inhabitants of a country. You think, but all the inhabitants of the country do not manufacture; well, they pay their fellow inhabitant more than they could buy elsewhere for. Because this fellow inhabitant is not able to manufacture as cheaply as the inhabitant of another country, a tax is put on the manufacture of the other country, so as to enable this fellow inhabitant to sell at a price which will pay him; therefore the consumers of the manufacture are obliged gratuitously to support this fellow inhabitant manufacturer. Why should the farmer be taxed to enable the manufacturer to live? If he cannot meet competition in an open market let him turn farmer; or if he cannot, let him turn pauper and beg straightforwardly and honestly. If a farmer can buy horses for sixty dollars, and to rear them cost him eighty, he is very foolish if he rear them; or if he can rear them for sixty, but to buy them cost eighty, he is very foolish if he buy them. He must buy or rear as is cheaper. It may be urged he may not have money to buy; well, let him raise what will pay best, sell it and buy what he wants. It may now be said he may not be able to find a market. If he is not able to find a market, he must raise what he wants; he cannot trade, he must depend entirely on himself. But Canada can find a market for all her produce and as much more, and farming and not manufacturing is her trade. Yet if she can weave cheaper than she can buy, let her weave. Let the farmer's wife, if she have time, or the

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farmer, if he has no better paying work in winter, weave; but to let his farm be untilled and to weave is bad economy. But such is the economy of our Government, they would leave the country untilled and turn to manufacturing. The farmer when he leaves his farm idle, leaves his capital idle, without paying interest; the country by manufacturing and not using the vacant land allows its farm, its capital, to lie idle without paying interest. The unlimited supply of land alone will have the effect of preventing Canada becoming a manufacturing country. England did not become a manufacturing country until a scarcity of land and a great abundance of capital forced men into manufacturing. Do not attempt to force factories to rise, they will rise when they are required. But at all events, why should the Canadian farmer of the nineteenth century be taxed to make Canada of the twentieth a manufacturing country? Canada is a new country with few inhabitants, little capital, and a scarcity of labor, which scarcity or dearness of labor would offer a difficulty to manufacturing not to be overcome. She can exchange grain and other farm produce with Manchester for Manchester goods, and with Sheffield for Sheffield goods, more advantageously than she can manufacture those goods. Give British goods "a clear field and no favor," and if they can be sold cheaper than Canadian, let us have them, and if the Canadian manufacturer is beaten out of the market he will soon find out for his own sake how his time and capital will pay best.

It may be said if we do not foster Canadian manufactures by a protective duty, the emigrant manufacturing laborer will go to the Northern States. The American manufacturer was never able to compete, even in America, with the English. He will now be less able than before; his capital wasted, his customers impoverished—the inducements he will offer to emigrants will be small. If we can buy in the Northern

States more cheaply than in Britain proper or Canada, let us buy there, and the labor and capital that will be unemployed in consequence of our doing so will find its way to a more productive employment. Let us buy in the cheapest, let us sell in the dearest market. It was farming and lumbering made Canada what she is; they support her, and it will be by supplying the crowded populations of the east with food that she will become rich. The farmer, the lumberer, the ship-builder, the miner, the hunter, and the fisherman are the only producers in Canada. By these producers every other man in Canada lives, who does not live by an annuity from another country; and the manufacturer and merchant at home increase their profits by supplying these producers and those who live by them. Therefore it is the interest of those who live by them, and of the manufacturers and merchants who profit by both, to foster their interests and increase their number. And it is the interest of these producers to increase the numbers of each other. The lumberer, the fisherman, and the miner will profit by an increase in the number of farmers, and the farmer will profit by the increase in the number of lumberers, fishermen, and miners; also the farmer will profit by the increase in the number of farmers, and the consequent settlement of the country and increase in the value of his land. And by increasing the number of Canadian settlers the demand in England for farm produce will increase, for English manufactures will increase, and the price of factory labor will increase, thus causing a rise in the price of all manual labor in England, thus enabling the English people to live better, and causing more marriages in England—for when times are good marriages are more frequent. Increasing the population would add to the military strength of the province. Thirty thousand soldiers could be maintained with just half the expense to each colonist if the population were six instead of three millions; besides twice as large a force

could be drawn from six as from three millions. English merchants to increase Canadian consumption of their goods must increase the population of Canada. Emigration must be an imperial as well as a colonial charge. Let the Imperial Government grant an annual sum for the furtherance of the settlement of this colony, devising means to raise such sum off the manufacturers whom the settlement of the colony will benefit, and not off those who would gain nothing by its settlement. Let us raise our revenue by direct taxation, only taxing a few commodities, among which let whiskey be taxed, whether manufactured in or imported into Canada.

As an additional means of procuring the settlement of the province, establish model farms and bring children from the poor-houses of the mother country, employ them on the farms and apprentice them out to farmers. Let adults also be received on these farms, should they desire. Offer every advantage to the emigrants when they are here. Give free grants of land, open roads, and undertake public works, to give employment to those who come out without sufficient money to go on a farm. Let us rely on the letters of emigrants to their friends to induce emigration. Never again let us present to the world the contemptible spectacle of a government so far forgetting its dignity and legitimate office, and its position towards other nations, as to send emigration agents, runners, into foreign countries to induce the people of those countries to come under its rule—to kidnap foreignres. Let a society also be formed, raising its funds by voluntary contribution, and having for its object the receiving of orphan children, the children of the poor, and the obtaining those children who are being brought up in vice, and rearing them on a farm, or apprenticing them out. Such a society could be made almost self-supporting. It is needless to indulge in recounting the blessings which would flow from such a policy and from such a society. Those who receive the greatest

benefit are those who should pay the most to obtain it. It is posterity that will benefit most by emigration; therefore let us not hesitate to burden posterity with its fair share of the expenses of emigration. The pauper's wretched child, who homeless, cold, and hungry, wanders in search of a mouthful to lengthen his miserable existence, could not, when an old grey-headed man, with a comfortable home, abundance to eat, and a prosperous farm, complain when paying the tax, which would pay the interest of the few pounds which saved him from a life of misery and vice; no more could his great-grand-children. If we go into debt to obtain emigrants, the taxes they will pay will pay the interest of that debt, and that debt will offer us an investment. Are not the funds a great convenience at home?

The Inter-Colonial Railway is most essential to the defence of Canada. The greatest points of strength in a military position is ease and celerity in moving from any point of it to any other. No general would wish to be caught in a position where his right wing could be defeated before his left could come to its support. The British North American colonists may be considered as an army—Canada as the right, the Lower Provinces as the left wing, and the mother country as the reserve. The right wing could at present be destroyed before it could receive support from the left, and for six months in the year the reserve can not reinforce it. It is the interest of the right to open communication with the left wing, and thus with the reserve, which can communicate at all times with the left. Against the Inter-Colonial Railway it has been urged that it will not pay. It will pay itself and will make the Grand Trunk pay. If it does not, its annual deficit will be part of our annual premium. It has been urged against it by a Canadian journal, that the country through which it is to pass is uninhabitable, and that when New Brunswick has finished a line

which is necessary for her, there will only remain a few days' journey from the western terminus of the New Brunswick railway to the eastern terminus of the Grand Trunk. If New Brunswick finds it necessary to make a railway within a few days journey of the Grand Trunk, the uninhabitable country must be small, and the expense of connecting the railways small. But it will be found that the country through which it is to run is not more uninhabitable than any other part of the country east of Quebec, much of which is well settled. The railway will no sooner be open than the trade between Canada and the Lower Provinces will increase; for with increased facilities trade will increase. In unity there is strength. The Inter-Colonial railway, by annihilating the distance between the provinces, will make them one; by bringing the people into frequent contact will make them one; and thus prevent separate nationalities growing up in the same empire and under the same crown.

The federalization of the provinces may not be desired by some. They may be informed that the idea of Canadian separate nationality is in the highest degree visionary, for without referring to the monster republic which is ready to swallow her up, we may easily see that Canada does not contain within herself the elements of a united nation; but has two races, if not antagonistic, very different in language, habits, traditions, and sympathies, and which now appear no nearer amalgamation than they were one hundred years ago. Then the idea of Lower Canada being a separate state is still more visionary, for it is not likely that Upper Canada would permit a state to rise between her and the sea. Then were Upper Canada to become part of the Northern States its interest in preventing, and its power to prevent, another State commanding the entrance of the St. Lawrence would not be diminished. Then against a French protectorate of Lower Canada, Britain with all her North American colonies, as well as the Northern and Southern States,

would be arrayed. Lower Canada has no cause of gratitude to France, for France failed to perform the sacred duty of defending her colony with her last sous and last man. Let all the inhabitants of this colony, forgetting petty differences and visionary ideas, apply themselves to the developing its resources and to maintaining her happy and natural union with the country best adapted to aid them in doing so.

The imperial army is not adequate to its task. It has to defend the mother country and an empire on which the sun never sets, and it is a very small one, even compared with the army of a second rate power. We ought to have as serviceable a militia and volunteer force as we possibly can; but we also ought, if possible, have a standing army furnished by the mother country and paid by us. Above all, let not men be appointed in Canada to responsible military situations who never did a day's soldiering. Let us ever extend to our neighboring and kindred people forbearance and friendship; but let us be prepared for war, that we may enjoy peace. A nation unarmed invites attack. Suppose during the Crimean war our neighbors, who were ready, about some paltry recruiting incident, to rush into war with us; had done so, and had put forth all the power we now see they possess. Not that we have anything to fear as to the result of a contest, for we are as superior as possible in the art of war, in the discipline of our troops, and in the material from which to make officers; but for the sake of humanity and our race, God grant that the Americans may fight for and not against this nation, which in consequence of common origin, language, literature, interests, and a common love of freedom, is their natural ally, and should not be hated by them more than Russia, the most despotic of European states; a state who never exerted her influence except against freedom—her natural enemy and future destroyer, and a country whose commercial as well as political interests are opposed to those of America.

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