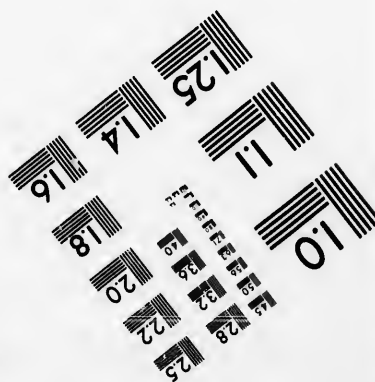
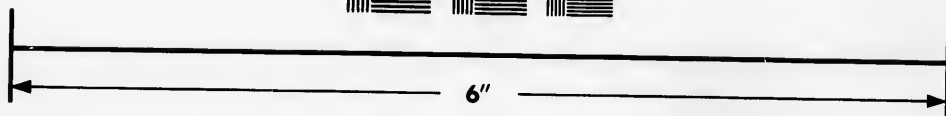
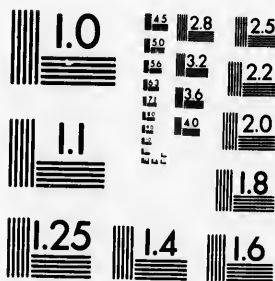


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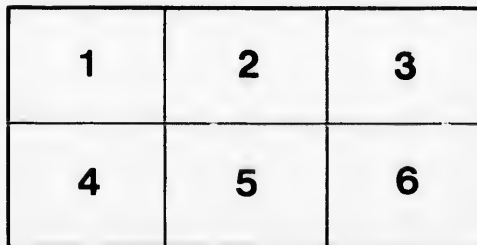
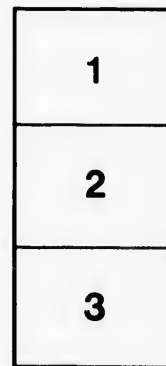
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J A M

THE UNITED STATES
AND
BRITISH PROVINCES,

CONTRASTED FROM
PERSONAL OBSERVATION.

A LECTURE

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

Halifax Young Men's Christian Association,

BY

PHILIP CARTERET HILL, D. C. L.

HALIFAX, N. S.:
JAMES BARNES & CO., PRINTERS.
1859.

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THE surface of the earth presents a great variety of aspects. Its position on its axis, and in its orbit, occasions an almost endless series of changes in seasons and climates—nor are these mere capricious or accidental varieties; unerring law controls every arrangement, exquisite order and precision are evident in every change. From the poles to the tropics there is an immense variety of climates, and in every one the animals and vegetables whose respective natures are just adapted to these varying conditions are invariably found—they cannot pass the bounds of their habitations with impunity, for the penalty is death. But all these differing regions have a higher end than that of forming suitable abodes for the lower works of creation; these also are, with all portions of the globe, subservient to the welfare of man. In the language of Scripture “The earth hath He given to the children of men.”

It is also evident that man himself is influenced by climate and the surrounding circumstances of his habitation; the inhabitants of a sea coast will differ in many respects from those who dwell in the centre of a continent and who know the great sea only from the tales of poets or travellers.

Commerce too, as influenced by the more or less maritime position of a country, will tend greatly to modify the condition of its people, and above all the political and religious conditions of a nation exercise the strongest influence upon its character: and thus springing from various causes, we find as manifold varieties both as to habits of life and modes of thought in the human family as in other respects among the lower or-

ders of creation ; and the contemplation of these differences should be at once interesting and instructive.

I purpose this evening to endeavor to portray to you, some of the more obvious differences which may be noticed in passing from the British provinces and more particularly the lower provinces to some parts of that immense country embraced in the limits of the United States—and while in so doing I shall endeavor to avoid any expressions which might give just cause of offence even to an American citizen if one were present, I shall not scruple to state candidly the opinions which I have formed from somewhat frequent and prolonged visits to that country on the one hand, nor shall I extenuate the faults or disguise the deficiencies of our own country on the other.

Let us now suppose an inhabitant of this province for the first time setting foot on American territory, and let us also follow the ordinary route of travellers and suppose the first portion of that territory which he sees to be the city of Boston ; and here he is struck with amazement at the contrast which the appearance of the city presents to anything in his native land ; the crowded streets, the magnificent warehouses compared to which the largest in Halifax are diminutive, the imposing dwellings of the wealthier classes, the solidity and massiveness of appearance in all, arising from the universal use of stone instead of wood as a building material, the incessant thunder of horses and vehicles over the well paved streets, the grandeur and costliness of the public buildings, all these arrest the attention of the stranger and compel him to admit that in outward appearance, in material progress at least, the republican city has far outstripped its colonial neighbors. But this brings us to a distinction to which I shall frequently call your attention in the course of these remarks, between a material progress and that advancement which under the several heads of social, moral and political, constitutes the chief element of national greatness, and to which if material progress,

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however great, be not auxiliary, it is of comparatively trifling value, and tends as little to promote human happiness as the splendid palaces and temples, the bas-reliefs and statues of ancient Rome did to confer happiness on a people debased by vice, cruelty and superstition. I do not for a moment say that the contrast is as great between the material progress of America and its moral advancement as that presented by ancient Rome, but I do state as my deliberate conviction that the two have not kept equal pace, but that in the whirl and onward rush of events the moral element has fallen far behind the ruder energy of the material.

Leaving then this distinction for the present to be recalled hereafter as occasion may require, let us take a brief survey of that country. One of the first things which attracts the attention of any observing mind in a foreign land is of course the natural scenery—and here there is a field of immense extent and boundless variety. The country in the neighborhood of Boston, in its natural features closely resembles that with which we are familiar at home—it is however, studded with handsome residences and highly cultivated fields, and presents one of the most pleasing features of American scenery.

As we pass on by the railway to New York no striking change is visible in the appearance of the country although it lies far to the south of Boston, but as we draw near to this great metropolis, we perceive indications on every side that we are again in the neighborhood of a great city, and when at length we are fairly within the limits of Broadway a scene of architectural grandeur is presented to our view surpassing the best quarters of Boston. I will not here stop to describe the magnificent churches, the palaces of the wealthy, or the Croton waterworks more than Roman in their greatness, nor will I now point out the fearful discrepancy between all this outward splendour and the moral and political deformities of New York as I shall revert to that consideration hereafter, but I will ask

you to go on with me in our rapid survey of the general appearance of the country.

In the course which I am supposing the traveller to take, Philadelphia is the next great city reached. The farms on this route resemble very closely those of Nova Scotia; the houses of the same material and style of architecture would almost induce one to believe that he was still at home; but we rapidly pass through the interval and arrive at the handsome city of Philadelphia. A certain degree of rivalry is said to exist between this city and New York, and certainly there is much to admire in its regular streets and noble buildings. I cannot here omit to speak of the Girard College of which no doubt you all have heard; while it is unnecessary to enter into an explanation of the whole principles and economy of this remarkable institution, I would only say that although in the judgment of many, grave errors were committed both by its founder in laying down his principles and by his trustees in carrying them into effect, yet the extent of the institution and the massive elegance of the buildings cannot fail to excite the wonder and admiration of the traveller, come from what country he may. The noblest edifice I ever beheld, is the central or main building of which the general design is that of a Greek temple. Surrounded by fluted marble columns, of fifty-five feet in height and six feet in diameter, the approach to this building conveyed to me the most imposing idea that I ever received from any effort of architecture; nor till I ascended the grand flight of steps by which the building is approached on every side, and felt myself under the shadow of that magnificent colonnade, did I ever know that any material work, however great, could so affect the mind, and compel me to recognize the influence of a genius of sublimity which dwelt in the massive pile of marble and hovered over its very precincts.

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College, I would briefly mention that the term "college" in its popular sense does not convey a correct idea of its objects. It is a charitable institution in which poor male white orphans are fed, clothed, and educated, and then apprenticed to various trades.

From Philadelphia we proceed to Washington, and altho' as a city there is not much to attract attention, yet as the seat of the Federal Government the traveller would not willingly pass it by unvisited. The Capitol, as renovated, is an immense structure and presents at a distance a most striking appearance. On entering the great hall, a British subject will not fail to be struck by two things; the first is the series of paintings which adorn the walls and which naturally enough, I suppose, represent those scenes in the Revolutionary war most obnoxious to his feelings; and the other is the array of what I may term a national abomination in America, the universal spittoon. With regard to the more important feature of the character and style of the Legislators who sit within its walls and exercise so important an influence on the welfare of the country, I am unable to say much from personal observation. Although both the Senate and Congress were in Session when I was there, there was nothing of moment before them, and consequently I did not hear any of the most eminent men, or witness the tone of an important debate; so far as I had the opportunity of hearing, the general style of speaking neither fell below nor rose above mediocrity; nor with the exception of Edward Everett, whose well known oration on the character of Washington I had the pleasure of hearing, and who is certainly in language, thought, and delivery, an orator of a very high order, did I hear any speaker in the United States surpassing, if indeed they equal some who could be produced from our own bar and legislature. I heard Rufus Choate, the Erskine of the New England bar, deliver an address on a great public occasion evidently pre-

pared and elaborated with great care, and the conviction forced itself upon my mind that several of our leading public men on both sides of politics would have shone far more brilliantly in the discharge of a similar duty.

Leaving Washington our route now lies over some of the finest scenery in America. If you look at a map, you will see lying to the west of your assumed position the chain of the Alleghany mountains; these mountains at their greatest altitude exceed six thousand feet, and within the memory of persons now living presented such an insurmountable barrier to the transit of merchandise, that persons living on the Atlantic side of the mountains who wished to sell their produce in the country lying to the west, actually went by sea to New Orleans, thence up the Mississippi and Ohio to the market for their goods. They then returned by a road over the Alleghanies which allowed the passage of travellers though it was too rough and precipitous for general traffic. Now a railway, which is one of the boldest efforts of engineering skill in the world carries you at nearly 30 miles an hour over these giddy heights and lands you on the other side in fewer hours than it formerly took weeks. So great is the height surmounted that although the trees at the foot were in full leaf when I crossed it in the month of May, on the summit the buds had not yet begun to burst and the forests looked almost wintry. The road winds its way over sublime heights and spans giddy ravines where you look sheer down for hundreds of feet, and whether you will or not, your thoughts are solemnized by the natural grandeur of the scene.

On this route too, there is another opportunity of witnessing nature in one of her grandest operations. Harper's ferry is passed only too quickly. The inexorable train waited but five short minutes which was far too brief to satisfy the eye or mind. From the chain of the Alleghany mountains a spur or offshoot extends called the Blue Ridge; this Ridge runs

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directly across the path of the Potomac River and would form an insurmountable barrier to its progress, damming up its waters to an inconceivable height, but at Harper's ferry the mountain is literally cleft asunder by some mighty convulsion and through the dark ravine whose perpendicular walls tower far into mid air, the black waters of the Potomac rush out in boiling eddies. Far indeed from me and my friends be such frigid philosophy as would conduct us unmoved over scenes thus consecrated by the display of the Creator's skill, and leave us unsolemnized in presence of the tokens of His power.

Directing our course to Cincinnati, the Queen of the West, we arrive at Wheeling, a manufacturing town in the state of Virginia, situated on the banks of the Ohio, and from which steamers are constantly leaving for Cincinnati, which is about 400 miles further down the river. No traveller should miss seeing this lovely river; about as wide as our North-west Arm it winds its way as a navigable river for 1000 miles through a country unsurpassed for beauty and fertility, and forms one of those natural highways of commerce which are so remarkably developed in America, and it is finally merged in that still greater highway, the Mississippi. In its course it strikes the great Alleghany coal field, which may be seen on any geological map, covering an immense tract of country. How wonderfully are the designs of an all-wise Creator seen in the provision of such a channel of communication for man through such a country? Let us for a moment suppose it possible to dry up its current, and reflect upon the stoppage of trade and intercommunication which would result to such an enormous region and we shall then see the more than human wisdom which ordained its existence.

It is somewhat singular that this narrow river should for so many miles form the division line between freedom and slavery. On one side you see the free state of Ohio and on the other side the slave states of Virginia and Kentucky. In a

steamer on this river for the first time I beheld human beings owned by their fellow men. At one of the landing places where the steamer stopped, we took in two passengers who had with them five or six slaves; this party was to me an object of great interest; I wanted for myself to see whether the human beings who were only chattels in the eye of the Law could stand up with any semblance of a man before the superior beings who owned with an equal right the muscles and sinews which clothed the skeleton within, and the miserable rags which covered those muscles without.

And I was not deceived in my anticipations. To say that at every moment and in every action the negroes exhibited a consciousness of their miserable condition would not be the truth; even a caged bird will sometimes warble with some semblance of the joyous notes of its days of freedom, and the love of music and merriment cannot be crushed out of the negro's soul even when the iron has entered into it. I had often heard it asserted that the slaves after all could not be so unhappy in their bondage because in their hours of leisure they appeared to be free from care and amused themselves with songs and dances. I saw the so called light heartedness and mirth and heard the joyous notes of this party of bondsmen on the deck of the Ohio packet; as well might we boast of the freedom from care of the overworked horse, or infer that he spends his whole existence in contentment, because the unwonted sense of freedom leads him to gambol for an hour when he is relieved from his six days' ceaseless toil. I felt more pity for these unhappy beings, as they sat in a group on the deck and I heard their mockery of mirth and listened to their sickly songs, than if I had seen them engaged with looks of stolid indifference in the most arduous toil.

Thank God there is a contrast here, broad and well defined, with our native land. The sun shone brighter on the waters of the Ohio, and warmed into life a more gorgeous flora on its

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banks, than Providence has allotted to us in the more frigid climate of Nova Scotia ; but to me the curse of slavery appeared to tinge the very atmosphere with a hue of sadness, and I sighed for the air of that glorious empire which no slave can breathe ; and never until the subject had been as it were forced upon my attention, did I see the beauty of that petition of our litany, or join more sincerely in the prayer that God would show pity upon all prisoners and captives.

As we proceed down the river, which still continues to wind its way through a very beautiful country, we perceive that we have changed our latitude considerably since we left the shores of Nova Scotia ; the air is literally perfumed with the blossoms of the magnolia ; the buck-eye spreads its broad leaves in the forests, and numerous vineyards are seen on its banks. As we approach the city of Cincinnati, and learn that five and twenty years ago there was but the nucleus of a town there, and that it now numbers about 100,000 inhabitants, when we ascend the heights above the city and look down upon the vast expanse of buildings, when we see the air darkened by the smoke of its manufactories, and behold the almost countless steamers lying in the river, we see one of the most remarkable evidences of the rapid and almost magical growth of the country. The buildings are lofty and massive, the streets well paved, and the churches numerous and imposing. It is a most significant fact that all this wonderful development of prosperity and activity in commerce and manufactures, is seated on the free side of the river in the free state of Ohio ; nor is the pre-eminence of the free state confined to commercial or material features alone ; in education also, Ohio is equally far in advance of Virginia and Kentucky. Common schools abound in every section of the former, while in the latter they are few and widely scattered, and so in nearly every other aspect does the land of freedom outstrip the domains of slavery.

There are said to be 30,000 Germans in Cincinnati, who retain much of their national feelings and habits and who have brought from the banks of the Rhine a taste for the cultivation of the grape, which accounts for the constant appearance of vineyards to which I have before alluded, and from which is produced an immense quantity of wine every year, which is now becoming well known throughout the continent.

From Cincinnati let us proceed still further westward until we strike the Mississippi; to accomplish this by rail we must proceed in a somewhat northerly direction which will lead us through the states of Indiana and Illinois, the land of prairies. In Indianapolis, the capital of Indiana, and which appears to be the result of a number of railways centering there, my attention was attracted to the name in conspicuous letters of the Young Men's Christian Association. The very name had the aspect of a friend in a strange land and it suggested the pleasing thought that although in many respects, there was a wide line of demarcation between us and the inhabitants of a town nearly 2000 miles distant from Halifax, and whose climate and government were nearly as remote, yet here was a common ground on which all these differences vanished into nothing. These associations are scattered over the whole country, and are, I trust, germs of good from which great results will flow; they meet you at the very threshold of the country, if I may so term the city of Boston, and are found in nearly every town and city of the Union; nor are the advantages they afford to a Christian traveller merely nominal or illusory. I have frequently gone from the midst of strangers in the hotel where I resided, to the prayer meetings of the Young Mens' Christian Association in Boston, and although a stranger still, I ever found a warm and Christian welcome, and I am glad to have this opportunity before a kindred association in Halifax, of expressing my gratitude to them. While on this subject, I will mention a feature in all

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the religious bodies, so far as I have seen them, and I have seen a great many, which strikes a Nova Scotian forcibly as presenting a great contrast to our own customs. I refer to the apparent want of reverence in their religious meetings, and more particularly in reference to the act of prayer. We know of but two postures as sanctioned by scripture in which the Deity should be approached in public prayer. I mean, of course, either kneeling or standing; but you may go into any kind of religious gathering in the United States, and you will be shocked to find the people all sitting during prayer. To this irreverent custom I never could get reconciled, and I trust it may never spread to Nova Scotia. I do not think it proceeds from any real want of reverence, but has grown up with other loose and careless habits, till at length it has assumed the nature of a national characteristic.

From Indianapolis you proceed through the state of Illinois, and here for hundreds of miles you pass through the prairie lands which on every side, as far as the eye can reach, present a surface as level as the ocean; and those called rolling prairies have this peculiarity, that like the ocean after a storm, they present a series of gentle swellings and depressions, suggesting to the mind that in some former geologic age, that which is now solid earth was in a condition which allowed some lateral or subterranean pressure, to force the surface into a series of undulations.

The next great city we arrive at is Chicago, which is as wonderful an exhibition of the progress of the north, as Cincinnati is of the west. From thence by rail another day's journey brings us to the banks of the Father of Waters. I had heard from my childhood of the great Mississippi, and I looked upon its broad current for the first time with a great deal of interest. The traveller who goes as far west as this, must make up his mind to undergo some little inconveniences as the price of seeing the country; although our party had

paid to a person in the train who was authorized, for our passage up the river by a steamboat, supposing that to include the usual accomodation of state rooms, yet when we went on board we found that our tickets in reality only procured for us the bare right of passage, and there was such a crowd of passengers that we were obliged to submit to the greatest discomfort, and only purchased a little civility and attention from the stewards by dint of bribery.

The atrocious habit of chewing tobacco and spitting flourishes in the west with tenfold vigor compared with the east, and really almost destroys the whole pleasure of travelling. As I said before, however, the traveller must make up his mind to this and other annoyances, and console himself as I did by thinking that when it was past, the disagreeable impressions would fade from the mind, and that he was well repaid for it all by the beauty of the scenery. At the point where I am now supposing the traveller to embark, the waters of the Mississippi are perfectly clear and transparent. The Missouri, which falls into it further down the stream, is a very turbid river, and after their confluence the Mississippi never recovers its transparency, but rolls on even to the Gulf of Mexico in a thick and muddy current, of the density of which some idea may be gathered from the immense deltas at New Orleans, which are simply the particles of earth brought down by the river and there deposited. Owing to this fact of the turbid character of the river after the Missouri falls into it, the Upper Mississippi before the confluence is by far the most beautiful portion of the stream. From the point where we took the steamer a town called Dunleath, it is 400 miles to St. Paul, which is the head of the navigation ; and nothing could well exceed the grandeur and magnificence of the view. The bluffs as they are called, rise to a great height on either side, while occasionally the river expands, as at Pepin's Lake, into the semblance of an immense inland sea.

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As I walked the deck of the steamer, I perceived for many miles on both sides of the river well defined ledges at considerable intervals from each other running along the slopes of the hills; if a ravine or gap occurred in the mountain, the ledges would be seen exactly corresponding to each other on both sides of the ravine, just as if they had been at one time continuous lines, and the gap had afterwards been made in the mountain. I could not help thinking that the appearance was precisely what would have resulted from the whole valley of the Mississippi having been in some former age an immense sea of which the upper line of ledges formed the beach; the second line would represent the beach after the water in the great basin had subsided to some extent, and so on until it had sunk to the present channel. So marked were these lines and for so many miles did I trace them that I at length made some enquiries of a passenger about them, and I was gratified to learn that they had long been noticed by travellers on the river, and were called water marks—evidently showing that the theory I have just suggested is that which has commended itself to others, as most in unison with existing appearances.

The practice of racing by the steamers on the river has been frowned down by public opinion, and although the accidents on the Western waters had become proverbial throughout the world, yet at the time I was there I did not experience any greater sense of insecurity than in any other steamer.

The Mississippi falls over a precipice of some height just above the town of St. Paul, and of course the navigation is closed abruptly. This forms the falls of St Anthony, and if I had never seen Niagara, I should have thought them magnificent as the whole volume of the river is precipitated headlong over a perpendicular cliff of about sixty feet in height. As a result of this closing of the navigation, the town of St. Paul has sprung up in an almost magical manner. This town serves

as a depot for the merchandize which from this centre is distributed to a hundred different points. The Indians had been removed but two years from this region at the time of my visit, by a treaty with the Federal Government, for the territory of Iowa is not yet admitted into the Union as a State, and is consequently still under the jurisdiction of the General Government.

Within an easy drive of St Paul are the falls of the Minnehaha, on a tributary of the Mississippi, now rendered so celebrated by Longfellow, and which are certainly of such romantic beauty as to well deserve the honor of giving name to the heroine of Hiawatha.

In going to this cascade we drove over the prairie which was still in its natural state ; so level was its surface and so uniform the character of the vegetation that we supposed it to have been a cultivated meadow until informed of its real nature. Although the latitude of St Paul does not differ much from that of Halifax, the climate differs greatly, owing to its immense distance from the sea ; the cold is much more intense in winter and the heat in summer ; every thing presents a different appearance from these provinces. St Paul is the creature of peculiar circumstances such as have no parallel in Nova Scotia. Situated at the head of a river which is navigable for 3000 miles direct to New Orleans, the focus to which the whole of the enormous stream of immigration to the west converges, it presents no points of similarity to our own conditions ; everything has an appearance of being of quick growth ; even in matters of religion they appeared to be satisfied with a standard for their ministers which would not be deemed high enough in many villages in Nova Scotia. In one respect however, this mushroom town from whose site the Indians have scarce removed their wigwams, presents an example from which we might well take a lesson in Halifax. A large proportion of their buildings are of brick or stone, and when we

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remember the difficulties attending the procuring of such materials in such a country it must excite our admiration to see those difficulties conquered and the foundations of the rising city thus permanently and securely laid. What a wretched contrast does our city, now running into its second century, present with its unsightly rows of wooden houses of every size and shape? Whenever I return from abroad to Halifax, more especially after an absence of any length, I feel a sense of mortification as I walk the dirty streets, upon whose unpaved sidewalks the inhabitants are left to wade through seas of mud, and whose rambling rows of wooden houses, with some admirable exceptions, defy every principle of beauty or architecture.

It is time indeed that we awoke to a sense of what the age demands of us in this respect, and although I do not desire to see the material progress of our city or country made the idol of our aspirations, as is too much the case in the United States, yet I certainly do desire most sincerely to see some improvement made in this respect.

The stream of immigration which flows into the great western prairies, and which is said to advance its frontier in an almost unbroken line at the rate of twenty miles every year, was brought very distinctly to our notice by the contrast presented by the passage down the river to our upward voyage; instead of the immense crowd of passengers who rendered our upward voyage so uncomfortable we had now whole rows of state rooms to select from, and the captain of the boat had sufficient leisure to be quite civil in his deportment, and even the stewards appeared to think it worth while when the numbers were so limited to pay a little attention to our wants.

This change arose from the fact that the great mass of settlers were proceeding up the river to the rich prairie lands of Iowa and Minnesota, while the downward voyage merely accommodated those whose ordinary avocations led them to pass

both ways. This also accounts for the absence of order and attention on the part of the steamboat officials; the rush westward is so great, and the class of whom it is composed, chiefly rough and uneducated farmers, have so little time to attend to the conventionalities of life, that their conduct naturally reacts upon those in authority, who become as rude and inconsiderate of others as themselves; every man seeks to protect himself and appropriates the best accommodations he can lay his hands on for himself and his family, and, provided he does not interfere in any way with the comfort of the officers, no obstruction is offered by them.

I was very much struck at the fact of finding that all servants on the western steamboats, both on the Ohio and Mississippi, and also in a great majority of instances in the hotels, were negroes. The white man, especially the native American, will not, as he considers it, demean himself by acting in that capacity, thinking it only fit for the negro or the old countryman. This is one of the weakest points in the whole American character; as if any occupation not in itself immoral or dishonest was beneath the dignity of any of that race who are forever decreed to eat their bread in the sweat of their brow. There is a morbid desire for distinction among Americans which cannot rest satisfied in the rank and file of humanity. If any man discharges the duties of his station, however humble that may be, with ordinary fidelity, neither he nor his friends consider that he has received the due reward of his merit unless some public testimonial is presented to him and his name is made to ring in the public ear. This love of notoriety, fostered by the public nature of the railway travelling and hotel life, pervades the whole American character. Like the Frenchman, the American loves just what the Englishman abhors, scenes and dramatic effects. If Providence has cast the lot of an Englishman in a humble station of life, there are of course exceptions, but as a general rule, as a national

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characteristic, he is contented to discharge the duties of that station with honesty and diligence, and his highest ambition is to leave his son to occupy the same position; this however would never satisfy young America, whatever might be the aspirations of his parents. He scorns the humbler occupations of life, and though his father may have been of the lowest rank, yet the fact of his being American born appears to lead him to entertain the most supreme contempt for the occupations by which his parents lived, and he would sneer at the offer of a situation as a servant in a steamboat or hotel. How much more noble is the spirit of the man who looks on every honest occupation as itself ennobling, and who remembers that a mechanical employment was consecrated not merely by the approbation, but by the living example and practice of the Lord of all things. I am far from depreciating that desire to rise which is not only excusable but laudable, but as the ability and opportunity to do this are given to but one in a thousand, I refer to the great mass who would display a more noble spirit by respecting themselves and their avocations.

There are many sins to be charged to the principles of Republicanism, and this is among the number. It is false in theory, and falser still in practice, that all men stand on an equality. The American who proclaims in the words of the first sentence of the Declaration of Independence that all men are born free and equal, must either make a mental reservation of the three millions of beasts of burden in the human form, who cultivate his cotton and tobacco in the South, or acknowledge the assertion to be the most bitter irony to which even a slave has ever been compelled to listen. But even as to the white man the assertion is untrue; it never has been realized in any country, ancient or modern, and while the present dispensation lasts it never will be; men differ no more in intellect and ability than they do in stature, and the task of reducing the whole race to an equality in height is not a whit

more hopeless than that of forcing them into the same mental calibre, or compelling them to think alike. Providence has no such law; the world is not a dead level; to one man is given one talent, to another five, and to another ten, and in whichever of these classes he may be ranged, he has a fearful responsibility to use his own trust aright; not, if he has but one talent, to spend his time in idle complainings that he is not the possessor of ten, but manfully and earnestly to brace himself to the discharge of his own duty, and strive, with God's blessing, to double the trust committed to him. The Creator has indeed made all men equal, but it is not an equality of position or ability; He has made them equal to the lot in life assigned to them respectively, equal to the temptations peculiar to that lot, equal to the task of so fulfilling the duties of their several stations that they may earn that commendation which is worth the struggle of a lifetime to obtain, "Well done good and faithful servant." This is the true and only equality known to the laws of Providence. And it is my honest conviction, from all that I have seen of the Americans, that the assertion of the dogma of an unreal and impossible equality has worked an incalculable amount of injury to the national character, and has tended greatly to produce that aversion to the humbler occupations of life, and that morbid desire for distinction to which I have referred.

Leaving this digression, let us briefly retrace our steps homeward. From Dunleath we again pass on to Chicago, and thence by rail to Detroit, and so emerge from the territory of the Great Republic once more into the dominions of Her Majesty. After having been so long in the United States, having just returned from that portion of it which presents the most extreme diversity from everything British, it was really quite an interesting event to receive an English sixpence in change, and to see the Royal Arms emblazoned upon the Railway carriages.

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After all that we have heard of the extraordinary progress of the United States, the traveller is almost led to think that the march of improvement is confined to that country, as comparatively little is heard of the rise of Canada, but a very brief visit will convince him that this impression only arises from want of information. Canada has advanced with as rapid strides as its neighbours; the towns of Hamilton, Toronto and Montreal present as great evidences of prosperity and progress as any in the United States; the railways are more substantial and better conducted, and honest industry offers as brilliant prospects of reward in Canada as in any part of the Union.

It is not therefore due to their form of government that the United States have advanced so remarkably, but to the unbounded wealth and extent of the Western lands and to the immense stream of immigrants who are attracted by the returns they offer to the settler.

I have often heard the question asked, and generally as one that cannot be satisfactorily answered, why Nova Scotia and New Brunswick should be so far behind their republican neighbors.

In the first place the assertion is not strictly correct. Taken as a whole, the great empire of the United States no doubt presents many evidences of a progress far in advance of these lower provinces. A country which extends from the northern latitude of Maine to the Gulf of Mexico, which sweeps in an unbroken empire from the temperate zone to the tropics, which from the wheat of the north to the wines of Ohio and the cotton of Louisiana affords almost every product which the wants of man require, which is provided by nature with river communication of unparalleled extent, and which is bound together in one vast confederation, affording the utmost freedom of intercommunication between its own twenty-five millions of citizens, while at the same time it protects them

from the competition of foreigners, such a gigantic empire I say, may well be some steps in advance of a province lying scarcely within the wheat growing zone, whose area does not exceed fifteen thousand square miles, and whose inhabitants do not greatly exceed quarter of a million in number. But if we separate from this great aggregate, those portions of the Union which most nearly resemble in climate and extent our own provinces we shall find that we present no such disparity as is commonly supposed.

The state of Vermont which lies in nearly the same latitude as Nova Scotia, and is two-thirds of its extent in area, has not with all its advantages as part of the confederation, outstripped Nova Scotia in population, or in any one element of national greatness. Maine with twice the area of Nova Scotia, has not twice its population, nor in any one feature of material or moral progress has it surpassed this province.

Such states as Massachusetts and Connecticut, lying more to the south, and which were wealthy and populous provinces when the site of Halifax was yet a tangled forest, are of course excluded from any comparison. These northern states with our provinces are equally far behind the more favored regions lying to the south; we are alike in condition because we are alike in the same latitude and therefore the temperature of our climates restricts us to the same products of the soil, and denies to us as to them those rich returns which create the wealth of more genial lands. In corroboration of this I may mention that the island of Newfoundland lies far to the north of Nova Scotia, and is separated from the great chain of internal communication with the continent of America, and it consequently differs as greatly from this province as we differ from Massachusetts.

This, then, I believe to be the true answer to the question why these provinces lag behind the United States in the march of improvement. Those particular states whose cir-

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circumstances and natural advantages most closely resemble our own are not before us in the race; those gifted with sunny climes and fertile soils, aggregated into a great whole of enormous proportions, certainly have made extraordinary progress as the natural result of their superior advantages.

Let us now resume our course homewards. No traveller will, of course, return from Canada without having visited Niagara; should he pass by this scene unvisited, he may despair of ever acquiring an adequate idea of its magnificence. For who can describe the most majestic of the works of creation? Who can convey in language a truthful impression of what has been well termed an ocean rolling over a precipice. Language fails; and he who would possess a vivid or faithful idea of the great enaract must witness it himself.

A common route from Canada to Boston is through the states of Vermont and New Hampshire and the beauty of the scenery well justifies the choice. The railway runs for miles through a valley of great beauty following the windings of the river. The mountain and lake scenery are proverbially grand. From an eminence near the town of St Albans you look across a level tract of country and can see the mountain rising beyond the city of Montreal, sixty miles distant. Lake Champlain expands its broad surface between, while on the left the Adirondac hills in the state of New York tower far above the horizon. A short journey brings us again to Boston, the supposed point of our departure, whence the passage to Halifax by St. John or direct by the Cunard steamer is easily accomplished.

Having thus taken a rapid view of some parts of the great Republic, let us briefly enquire what inferences we may profitably draw, what lessons we may gather for our own improvement. I have, in the former part of these remarks, freely admitted the great superiority of many parts of the Union in commercial and material progress over the lower provinces,

and I have also adverted to the fact that in my judgment at least, their moral progress has not kept equal pace with the material.

But you will say how is this proved? This discrepancy is so unlooked for and so startling, that it must be established on indisputable evidence.

Let us then revert to that great city New York in reference to which I first made the assertion. Here is confessedly centered a great portion of the wealth and intellect of the country: here commerce may be seen in her busiest and most extensive aspects, here are found the most magnificent results of architectural skill, here, to use their own expressive summary, is the empire city of the Union. And what has republicanism done for New York? With such elements of greatness, we ought to have a city whose regime should be a model for the world; economy should rigidly reduce taxation; stern integrity should control every expenditure, and only those best fitted by honesty and ability, should fill the places of authority. Now I do not ask you to take my assertion as evidence of the real facts. Let Americans themselves be heard.

The local taxes raised in the city of New York amount to eight millions of dollars (£2,000,000.) every year. This enormous revenue is more than sufficient, if faithfully applied, to make New York the best paved, best lighted and cleanest city in the world, and to employ a police of such extent and character, as to carry the wholesome restraints of law into every corner of the city.

Now hear the testimony of a New York paper. "The truth is," it states, "that the local taxes of New York, which are on the increase every year are becoming too oppressive to be borne: on some kinds of property the taxes are more than the entire rent of similar places in such cities as Glasgow or Liverpool; we are indebted for this to the blessed system of giving every man a voice in the government. In New York,"

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it continues, "it has raised up a population of political loafers who swindle the public out of about five millions of dollars a year, allowing the other three millions as the real value of the work actually done: and this case is not at all singular as regards the enormous amount of local taxation. We cannot hear of any city of consequence in which the state of matters is much better. Plunder, jobbery, and peculation are the rule in all places throughout the country and in some cases the local taxes are of the most oppressive character." This is the testimony of one paper published in New York. Now hear another: The *New York Times*, a paper of immense circulation, says, "We believe we express only the settled judgment of reflecting men when we say that self government with universal suffrage in large cities has proved a failure. It does not answer the purpose of government; it does not give us security either for our persons or our property; it does not preserve order or prevent crime; it gives us neither clean streets nor safe walks; it does not check ruffianism nor prevent pauperism; it is neither a terror to evil doers nor a praise to them that do well; it gives us dishonest lawmakers, corrupt judges and imbecile executives; it elevates the worst men to the highest places and stifles the voices of good men even when raised in remonstrance. This is not the experience of New York alone; every city in America is showing the same results and teaching the same lesson." Thus far the *New York Times*. Now hear a brief extract from the *New York Herald* on a kindred subject—the state of the law courts of New York. "The present constitution" it states, "provides for the popular election of two many officials, particularly judges; we have seen men of no character or reputation at the bar, elevated to seats on the bench through the workings of party machinery and they have been obliged to protect the scoundrels by whose aid they had achieved the judicial ermine."

This is plain language; so plain indeed that I should not have

ventured to use it but as quoted from American writers. But the evidence is accumulated, the conclusion is irresistible, that in the great cities of the Union, the American form of government has proved a failure.

Nor is the evidence more favorable if from the cities we turn to the Federal Government of the United States; I need cite no authorities to convince you that at Washington, corruption rears its unblushing front; that jobbery is practised by men of all parties and opinions, and that the public revenues are considered the *opima spolia* wherewith the political victors of the hour may reward themselves and their adherents.

These sad truths are known to the whole world. The most barefaced bribery was recently proved against members of Congress before a Committee of their own body, and the facts published to the world. No Act of importance is carried without the unsparing use of bribery. "Lobbying," as it is termed, has become a profession of itself, and Washington holds a bad pre-eminence as the seat of the most corrupt government of any nation professing to be civilized.

Nor is the general tone of opinion on public affairs of a much more elevated standard. Armed bodies of miscreants sympathize with rebels in the neighboring province of Canada, and the Government is too weak or public sentiment does not compel it to repress their gratuitous zeal. Filibusters invade a neighboring country under pretence of promoting the cause of freedom and their leader holds levees in New York, and demands compensation from the Government for having allowed a ship of war to interfere with his benevolent designs. A great political party, the majority of the whole nation, for they succeeded in electing their candidate as President, openly endorse as a feature of their policy the extraordinary doctrine that the possession of Cuba is a necessity to America and that it should be purchased from Spain, but if Spain were unwise enough not to comply with this very modest demand,

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yet that the possession of the Island must at all events be acquired; which is simply the language of pirates.

But why need I multiply instances? The evidences are so varied and so numerous that, in my judgment at least, the conviction is irresistible that whether we look at its developments in the great cities, in the general government, or in the tone of public opinion, republicanism has proved an utter failure in America. Do not let me be misunderstood; I do not assert that the British or any other government is free from defects; from these nothing human can be free. The British Government is also open to very grave charges, but as compared with the American it is a model of purity and excellence; and my only object in thus alluding to the defects of the American system is to show that we as subjects of the British Crown need entertain no envy of our republican neighbors.

One of the ancient Greek historians stated his conviction that the best possible form of government would be a compound of the three principles of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, but that such a compound if formed could not continue in existence. The British Constitution has proved the wisdom of his theory and the fallacy of his prediction.

Sprung from a germ which exhibited but faint traces of its future development, added to and modified by varying circumstances as time rolled on, the balance at one time destroyed by the preponderance of the Crown, at another by a convulsive movement of the people, until at length it settled down into that well ordered and harmonious system, which has borne the country triumphantly through all the surges of time, and preserved it unharmed amid the wreck of other thrones and dynasties, the constitution of that noble country, under whose flag we have the happiness to live, presents a spectacle of enduring vigor and majestic strength to which the world affords no parallel.

No tyrant opinion of the majority crushes out, as in America, the expression of individual thoughts which may not accord with the sentiments of the majority. No self constituted committee can forbid, as in some of the Southern states, the circulation of Uncle Tom's Cabin or any other work however hardly it may bear on the prejudices of the nation. Every man may worship God after the dictates of his own conscience in peace and security, while at the same time the religion of Christianity is boldly proclaimed as the religion of the nation.

Every man, it is true, may worship God in America as he sees fit, and if he sees fit he may also publicly teach that men need not worship God at all, as unhappily some are found to do in the United States, but this is the very essence of the difference between the two countries. In the British empire a man may hold the most irrational and wicked sentiments, provided he does not spread the poison abroad and teach others to follow his pernicious ways, but the law arrests his course and prevents the injury he would inflict upon his fellow men if he attempts to disseminate his views; but in America this liberty degenerates into licence, and a Theodore Parker may ridicule revealed religion not merely with impunity, but with no small degree of eclat and popularity.

I want no such liberty as this; welcome rather the restriction if such it must be called, which while it allows a man to incur his own perdition if he is mad enough to do so, protects his fellow subjects from the contagion of his doctrines.

The religious aspect of the nation is to my mind the most melancholy feature of society in the United States. We are not permitted to see into futurity, but to all human judgment their future is overlung with black and portentous clouds, and the wildest dogmas may hereafter be entertained by the majority of the people who have no recognized standard of religious belief by which to measure their own rise or declension from the truth.

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In whatever point of view then we look at this question whether in reference to secular interests or to religion, I trust I have carried you with me to the conclusion that we not only need entertain no envy of our republican neighbors but that it is our happiness to have our lot cast under a system of government presenting infinitely greater claims to our affection and regard.

It is true that in the colonies we cannot have this magnificent system carried out in its integrity; the local circumstances of a new country render it impossible. We have already followed too far in the downward course of the United States; but let us indulge the hope that all portions of the empire are daily becoming consolidated into one homogeneous whole, and that the hope so well expressed by the Prince of Wales on the recent occasion of presenting colours to the 100th Royal Canadian Regiment, that that noble colony would soon become an integral portion of the Queen's dominions, may be realized of all the colonies of the grandest empire the sun looks down upon in his daily course. These significant words were not we may be assured, the expressions of the youthful Prince alone. If not originating from, they at least were sanctioned by other and older heads. For the first time too, in our history, the present year has witnessed the reception of colonial delegates not by the Colonial minister alone, but at an audience by the Queen herself. These facts appear to point in the direction I have indicated and I shall be abundantly rewarded if in the slightest degree I can be instrumental in leading my fellow countrymen to look to their glorious fatherland as their model in social, political and religious matters, instead of to the neighboring republic.

But in conclusion, let us remember that a nation is composed of individuals, and that if we wish to elevate the character of our country, every individual must contribute his share to the work by seeking to elevate his own.

Nations have mapped out the world into kingdoms and empires according to their own caprice or power; science has scored the globe with her isothermal lines, her zones of various vegetable products and the limits of each distinctive fauna, but let us remember that a time is coming when all these lines of demarcation will be obliterated, when a new heavens and a new earth will present a universe renewed in every element and every aspect, and when the great question for every member of the human family will be, not whether his country stood high in the rank of nations, but whether in his individual capacity, whatever may have been his lot in life, whether he passed his days in the genial south or endured the rigors of the north, whether as a freeman he walked the earth erect or as a slave bowed beneath the lash, in whatever land or under whatever combination of circumstances, he was faithful to the trust committed to him individually.

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