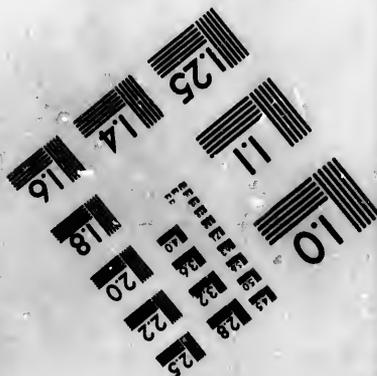
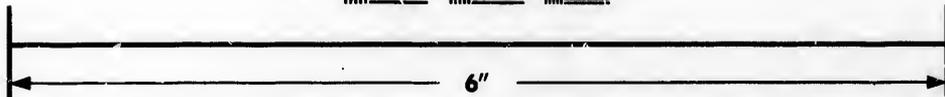
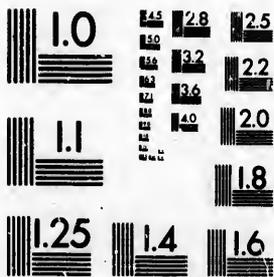


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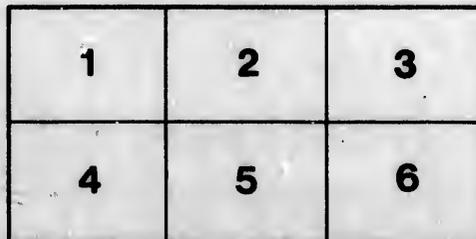
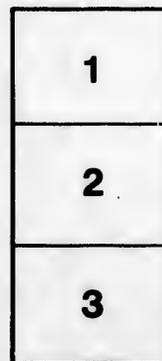
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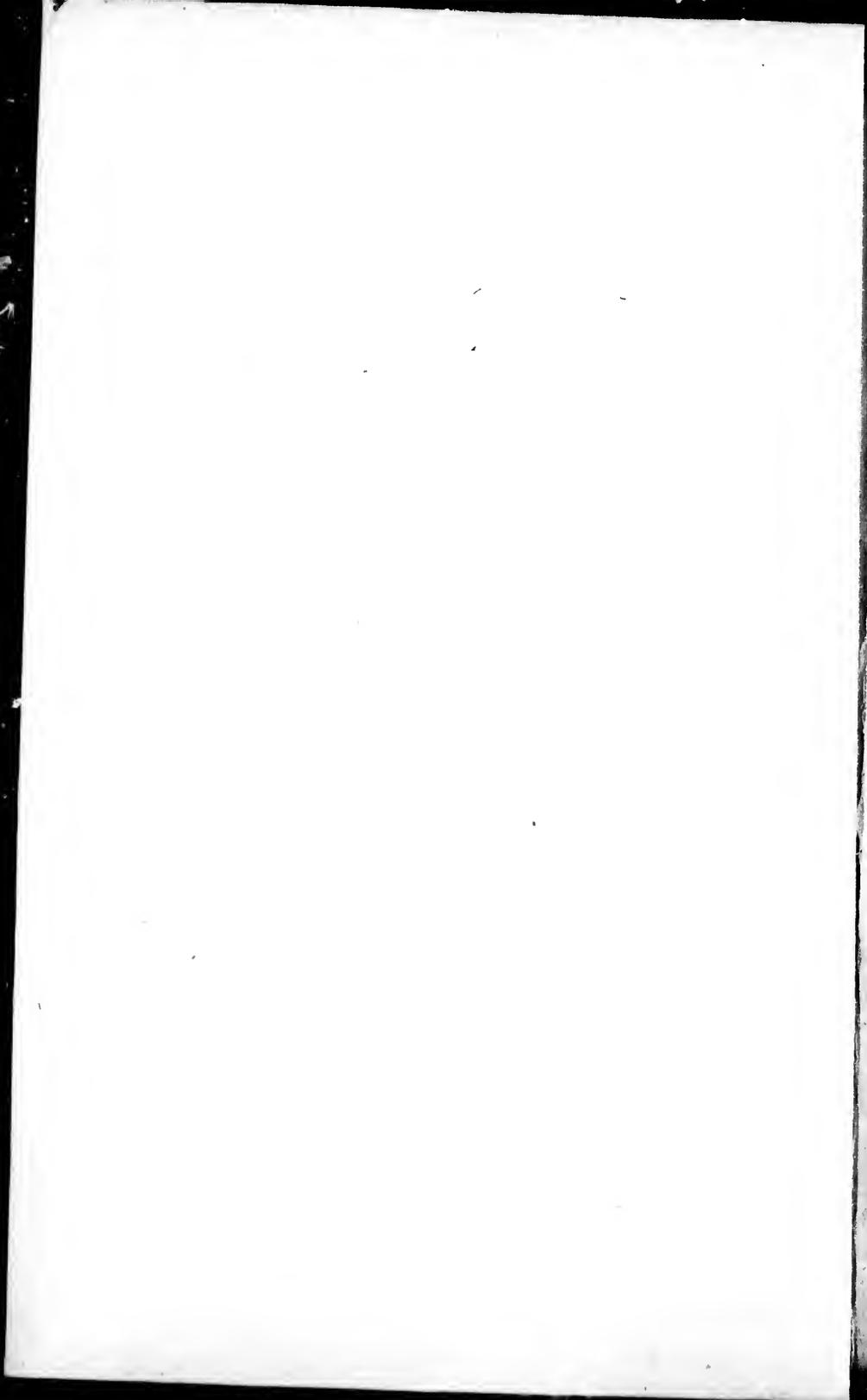
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# AN ADDRESS

ON THE

PRESENT CONDITION, RESOURCES AND PROSPECTS

OF

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA,

DELIVERED BY SPECIAL REQUEST

AT

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*On the 25th of March, 1857.*

BY

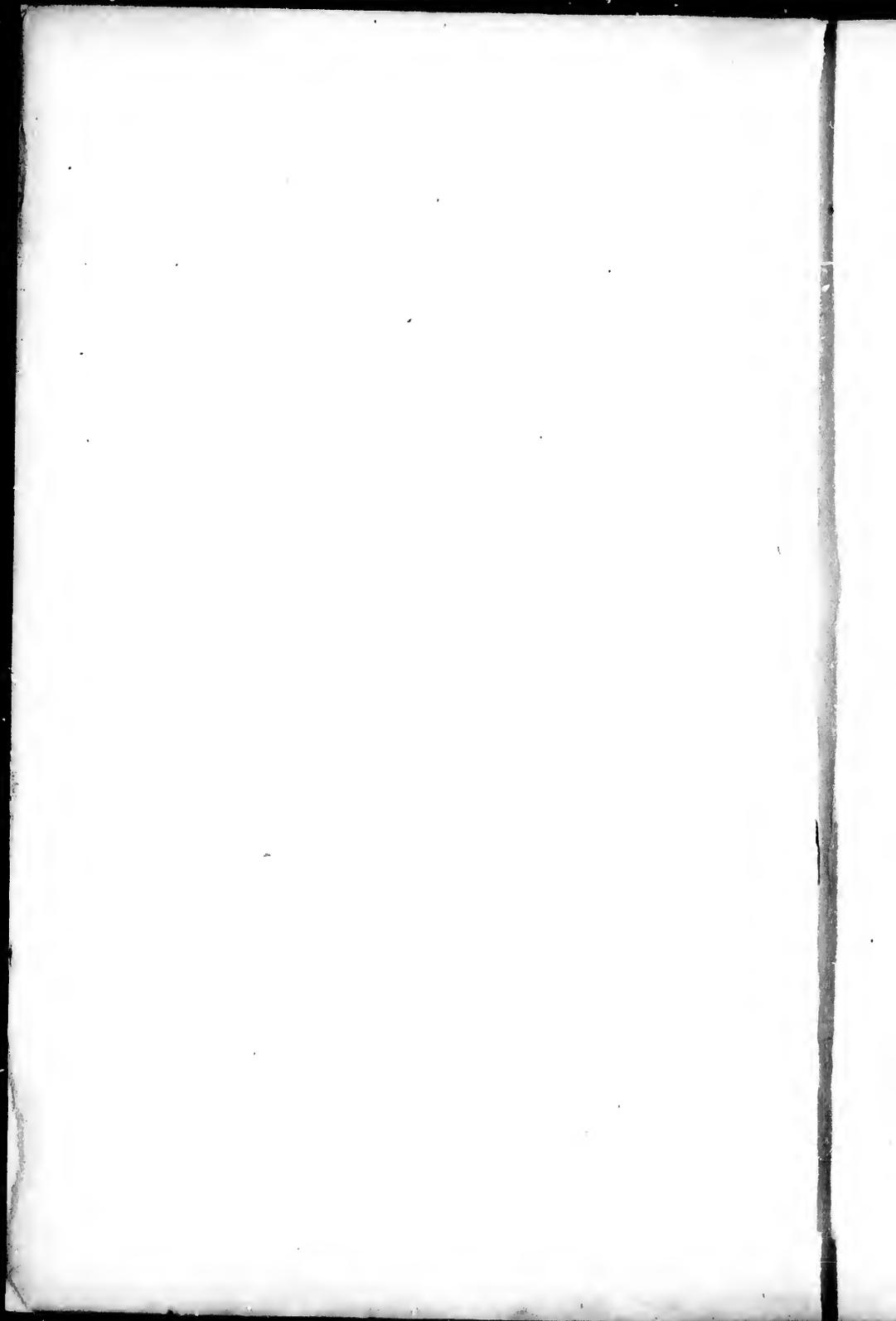
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1857.



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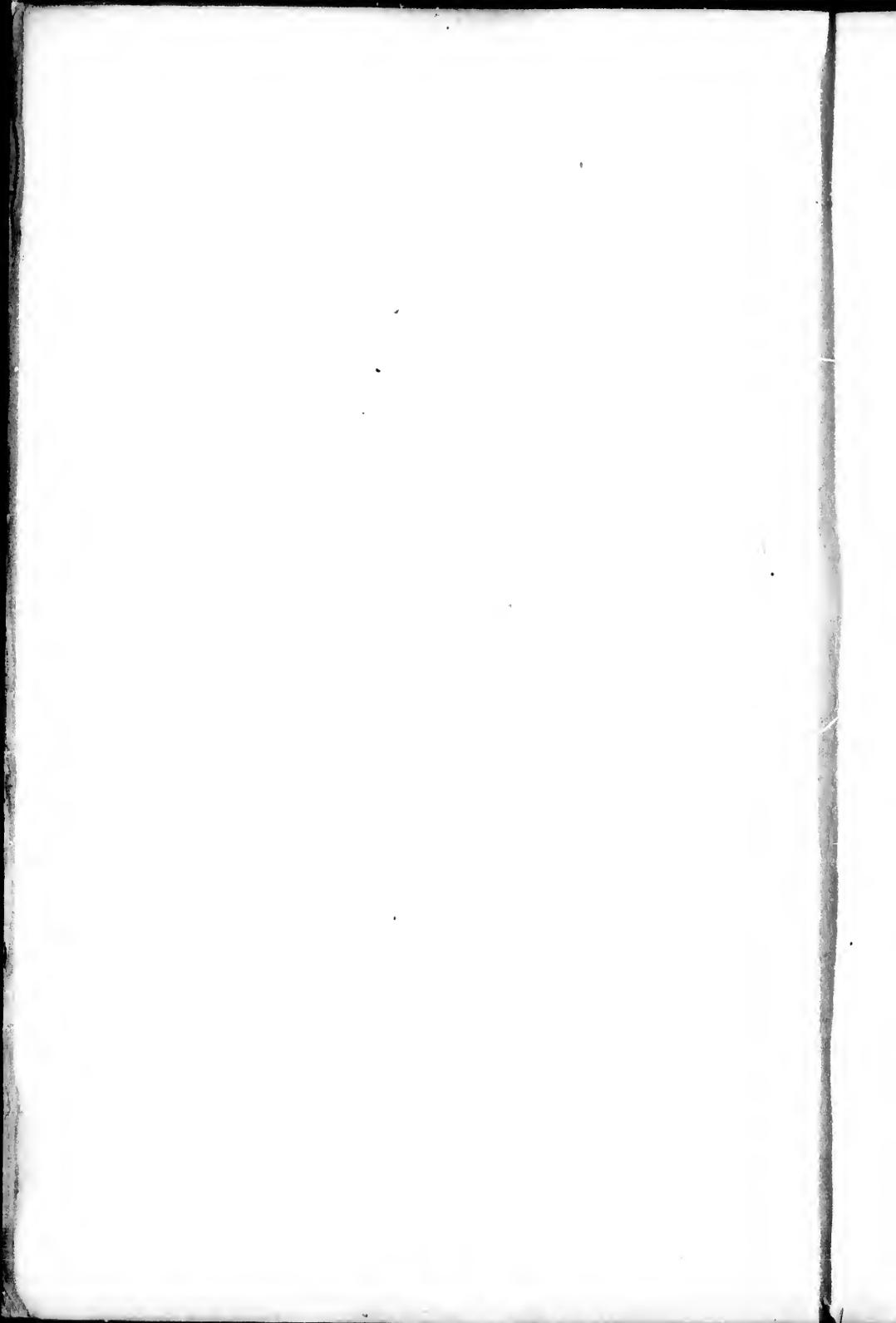
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## A D D R E S S .

THE Directors of this Institution having done me the honour of inviting me to address you on the condition and prospects of our North American Colonies, I beg to assure you that I have accepted their invitation with peculiar pleasure. Had I been requested to name the subject, I should have chosen this, above all others, as it is one of absorbing interest to me. But had the selection been left to myself, I feel that I could not, with propriety, have availed myself of the privilege, nor should I have had the honour of addressing you at all this evening. I am a stranger in this country, and that very circumstance would, from a feeling of delicacy, have prevented my obtruding upon you my country, and my opinions respecting it. I should have felt, (unnecessarily, perhaps, but still the feeling would have oppressed me) that I was presumptuous. It is on this account, among others, that I have declined similar invitations from many of the principal cities in England: Manchester being the only one where I have delivered an address on this topic, and at the risk of being considered irrelevant, I cannot suffer this opportunity to pass, without expressing the deep and grateful sense I entertain, of the kindness and hospitality I experienced on that

occasion. But as the subject has been chosen for me to-night, I must say, I have great satisfaction in entering upon it. I have an additional pleasure in doing so here, in Glasgow, the great mercantile emporium of this, my ancient fatherland. A Scotchman myself, by descent, as my name, once well-known on the borders, in the strifes of this country in by-gone times, may indicate, I feel, that when I address the citizens of Glasgow, I am not altogether a stranger in a foreign land. I feel too, nay I am certain, I shall find an indulgent audience; for who is there that hears me, that has not some near and dear relative, some valued friend, or some worthy, though humble, dependant in British America? Who is there that hears me, that will not be pleased to learn, that his countrymen, the Scotch, in the colonies where they constitute a very large portion of the population, form also the most respectable and respected portion of it, distinguished for their zeal, their intelligence, their industry, their morals, and (as a consequence of these qualities) their wealth also? Who is there, that will not be proud to learn that what Scotchmen have effected at home, they have also effected there, and as in Great Britain, so in the distant provinces, that they, and their descendants are among merchants, as enterprising, among farmers as practical, among lawyers, judges, and legislators as eminent, and among divines as laborious and well informed, as the best examples that can be produced from all those of different origins together? Connected as you are, therefore, with us by ties of kindred and of friendship, I am sure you will regard with indulgence my feeble advocacy of a country, of which I am a native,

in which I have lived more than half a century, and which contains, together with my descendants, the earthly remains of three generations of my forefathers. I should be something more or less than a man, if I did not entertain a deep and heartfelt interest in its welfare. For in the words of your own immortal poet :

“ Breathes there the man with soul so dead,  
Who never to himself has said  
This is my own, my native land.”

Before I enter upon the subject, however, it is equally due to you, and to myself, that there should be no mistake as to the character in which I speak, and no misapprehension as to my object. I appear before you to-night, clothed with no authority whatever. I am not the official exponent of the opinions or wishes of the colonies, or any one of them. Nor am I the agent, or delegate of any association, corporation, or legislature. I am not interested in any of their projects or schemes, whether canals, railways, or land speculations, but simply a private individual, expressing my own opinions—opinions, it is true, formed from a residence of my whole life in that country, and shared by thinking, and reflecting men of all shades of politics ; but still opinions for which I am responsible, and no one else. As such they are entitled to no more weight than you may think they deserve, when you hear them. It is right, also, that I should explain to you my object: It is one that I am certain you will approve, for it is loyal and patriotic. It is equally beneficial to you, and to the colonies—it will preserve them, and strengthen you—it will develop the

resources of that magnificent country, and strengthen and invigorate the parent state, while it will add to the stability of both.

My object is, to draw together, in more intimate bonds of connexion, the two countries, to remove distrust, to assimilate interests, to combine the raw material of the New, with the manufacturing skill of the Old World, to enlarge the boundaries, to widen the foundations, to strengthen the constitution, and to add to the grandeur of the Empire. My object is, to unite indissolubly the two portions of the Empire, so that there may be but one interest, one country, with one constitution, one parliament, one language, one literature, one and the same monarch, and one and the same great and glorious old flag, "that for a thousand years has braved the battle and the breeze." This is my object, and I trust it will be yours also, now, while it yet can be effected, ere separate interests, and the angry passions they engender, draw us asunder, too widely, and too rudely, ever to admit of reunion.

I propose to explain to you what constitutes British North America, and to pass in rapid and short review the several colonies, and their leading characteristics; to show you, that it comprises the largest, the best, the most productive, prosperous, and valuable portion of the continent, that it possesses the best climate, the greatest resources, and the most hardy and intelligent population in America; and by a few incontrovertible statistical facts, to prove to you, how much in all these particulars, it exceeds the United States.

Finally, I propose to show you the shameful neglect it

has endured, and still endures, the degrading political and commercial restrictions and disabilities under which it labours, the imminent danger there is of losing these colonies; and then to suggest some remedies, while remedies can be applied. I must crave your indulgence when I ask you to accompany me over this wide field, but I assure you I will endeavour to lose no time in digression, and to be as brief as is consistent with an intelligible view of the subject—indeed I do not wish you should have to say, when asked, “what my address was about?” what was once said of a sermon, “that it was *about* half an hour too long.” The British territory in North America contains four millions of square miles, and is larger than all Europe, and notwithstanding the boasting of our republican neighbours, who say theirs is “the greatest nation in all creation,” is larger than the United States.

Now, before I proceed farther, allow me to say, that I am not so absurd, as to combine together all the barrens, wastes, and frozen regions of the North, for the idle purpose of boasting of the magnitude of our great country. It would be very disrespectful to you, and shew a great want of self-respect, were I to attempt thus to mislead you. The greatness of a country cannot be simply represented by its extent, there are other elements of greatness besides vastness of size. Britain is a small country in its geographical extent, but still it is the *greatest* country in the world. The real greatness of Scotland is infinitely magnified, when we consider its very limited proportions. The area of it, including its islands, is only nineteen millions of English acres, of which only five or

six millions are cultivated. It would be idle to measure the importance of our country by its extent ; I shall, therefore, not fall into the American defect of boasting, although if I did, I might plead intercourse with our bragging neighbours, as an extenuation of the offence, for bragging, like the small-pox, is caught by contact ; in America it comes, like that, in the natural way, and both leave disagreeable marks—the one disfiguring the face, and the other, the character. Still, I am not disposed to undervalue the importance of extent, especially when the resources of the country, and its means of transport, are commensurate with it. With this explanation, therefore, I repeat the fact, and let it pass for what it is worth, that our British Territory in North America is larger than all Europe, and more extensive than all the United States. It is composed of the following countries : Newfoundland, Prince Edward's Island, and Cape Breton, insular possessions ; and Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Canada, and New Britain, continental ones. Of the first and last, that is, of Newfoundland, and New Britain, I shall say nothing—the one is devoted to fishing, the other to hunting. Of the imports and exports of Newfoundland, Custom-House returns will tell you all you desire to know—of New Britain, the Hudson's Bay Company will tell you nothing you wish to know. The one is chiefly settled by Irish, who are, generally speaking, as tranquil and as easily governed as they are in Ireland, especially when they have everything their own way. The other is principally held by Scotchmen, who, unlike you, are all out and out old Tories, and will not hear of any reform in their constitution. They

mind their own business, which is a very profitable one, and only request you to mind yours ; unlike Cobden, they do not belong to the Peace Society ; but they are all members of a far more respectable one, "the anti-poke your nose into other people's business society," which they strongly recommend you, and your representatives to join. Leaving both these countries, (which at present offer no temptation to settlers) and the inhabitants of one to follow the cod and the seals in the trackless ocean, and those of the other, to pursue the beaver and the bear, in the equally trackless forest ; let us pass on to

#### PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND.

But we have little time to pause here, beyond saying, that small as it is, containing only 1,365,000 acres, it is larger than all the Ionian Islands put together, and infinitely more valuable, being all of excellent land, so free from stone, as not to yield enough for building purposes, and productive to a degree that is almost incredible. It is divided from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick by a channel of about nine miles across. It contains sixty-seven townships of 20,000 acres each ; the population of this area is but 70,000 ; for, from causes which I shall hereafter name, it has been literally locked up from settlement. There is, however, room here for a moderate degree of emigration, with every prospect of a prosperous and happy home. Its imports, in 1850, were 631,000 dollars, exports 326,000. This extraordinary difference consisting in the value of vessels built and sold in Great

Britain, and Newfoundland, of which there is no account. Passing along the coast we come to the

#### ISLAND OF CAPE BRETON.

Of this place, which I know thoroughly, from having held Courts in five different sections of it, it is impossible for me to speak, in terms of sufficient praise. For its scenery, it is the most beautiful island in the world, and for its resources and advantages, in proportion to its extent, the most valuable. This, I admit, is strong language, it may sound extravagant, but to do it justice, I cannot say less. The French knew its political, as well as its intrinsic value, they considered it truly as the key of the St. Lawrence, commanding at once the entrance to Canada, the gulf shore of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and intercepting the trade of the old Colonies, now called the United States. They erected on this island, the strong fortress of Louisburg, at an expense of thirty million of livres, which required a fleet of 150 sail, to convey thither the troops under General Wolfe, for its capture. Of its strength, you may judge, when you hear that 220 pieces of cannon were found there.

At that early day, they had 600 vessels employed in the fishing trade, and exported to France 500,000 quintals of fish. No sooner had this magnificent island fallen into the hands of the English, than it felt the deadening influence of Imperial neglect. This second Carthage was doomed to destruction, it cost twelve thousand dollars to blow it up, and remove all trace of it from the face of the

earth, the island was closed to emigration, the few who went there, were squatters, having no title to the land they cleared, and no heart to improve what they occupied, lest ejectment should follow. Fishermen came in summer like water-fowl, and like them took wing at the approach of winter; and the wrecker and the outlaw lay hid there like vultures, to feed upon what the storms or the currents threw ashore.

It was not till 1820, when Sir James Kempt galvanized this dormant body, that respiration and vitality were restored to it, and even now it has scarcely recovered the effect of this long torpor. During the last 100 years, since it fell to us, the tide of emigration has flowed within sight of its shores, conveying hundreds of thousands—nay, millions of emigrants, to augment the strength of our rivals and unfriendly neighbours, the Americans, without a word of invitation to them to land, and occupy this vacant territory, the nearest to Europe of any part of the American continent, and the best and most promising of all those lands of promise. Happy, indeed, would it have been for us, if the Corporation of Glasgow, instead of the authorities of Downing Street, had had the direction of our affairs. If practical men, like those able and intelligent merchants, who preside over your city, and who by their industry, their talents, and their zeal, have raised it to its present state of wealth and prosperity, had had the direction of our destinies also. Alas! red tape may be strong enough to bind and compress despatches, but it is utterly worthless as a ligature to hold together the separate and disjointed parts of an Empire. He who

would govern us, must know us; he who would regulate our trade, must himself be conversant with commerce; a landsman cannot steer, and a sailor must be at his helm if he wishes it to obey his will—as well might your affairs be regulated at Quebec, as ours be directed in London. The presence of a partner, as you well know, is everywhere necessary in extended business at foreign stations. But to return to Cape Breton, whence we have been so long absent, that we can tarry there now only a few minutes.

It is separated from Nova Scotia by the narrow Strait of Canso, about a mile wide. It is 100 miles long, 85 wide, and 275 in circumference. The Bras d'Or Lake, navigable for first class vessels, nearly severs it in halves, there being only a small portage of about a quarter of a mile, through which a canal is now in course of construction. The land is generally of a superior quality, and well wooded. There are three splendid coal fields of the finest kind of bituminous coal, the largest of these covers an area of 120 miles, and is situated just where it is required for the Canada, Halifax, and American trade, and for the convenience of ocean steamers and men of war. Canada is, from its geological structure, destitute of coal, and here is an inexhaustible supply. It is in the centre of the Fisheries, and as there is no fog on the eastern shore, and the banks in its vicinity are covered with shell fish—the Cod are reckoned the best in the world. Brine springs, containing twelve per cent. of salt, are found close to the borders of the Lake, and the island contains some large, deep, and commodious harbours, besides numerous lesser ones, for small craft. I have not time to dwell farther on

the beauty, fertility, and mineral resources of this valuable island; well, indeed, may its inlet from the sea, that penetrates nearly through the island, be called "Bras d'Or," for it affords access to the richest country I know of. I will mention but one more fact respecting it, and then hasten on. The upper part, and marginal portions of this vast inlet, freeze over in winter, and settlers are in the habit of driving upon it, with their pony sleds, and in less than an hour, they load them with fish, with no other trouble than cutting a hole in the ice, and hauling them out. I strongly recommend this island to Scotch emigrants, who will be sure of a hearty welcome from their countrymen, who form, as elsewhere, the largest portion of the population. I recommend it also to the angler, for there is the best salmon and trout fishing on the coast, while the artist and the poet will find inspiration in the lovely scenery of Wycogomah and its legends. Let the unemployed poor man seek it, where God has given him good soil to cultivate, coal for his fire, fish for his food, and salt to cure it.

From Cape Breton we pass to

#### NOVA SCOTIA.

This country is now too well known, thanks to the Cunard steamers, which visit Halifax, its capital, once a fortnight, to need particular description, indeed, time forbids more than a general notice. It is almost an island, a narrow isthmus of a few miles, dividing it from New Brunswick. It contains 19,000 square miles, its shores

are every where indented with excellent harbours, there being more than double the number capable of accommodating the largest men of war, than in the whole sea-board of the United States, from Maine to Mexico. No part of it is more than thirty miles from navigable water; it is situated in the midst of the best Transatlantic Fisheries, and abounds with coal, iron, gypsum, grindstone, slate, lead, manganese, copper, and other minerals, whilst Dr. Jackson, the American geologist, (I would rather give such scientific authority than mine), says: "The shores of the Basin of Minas are strewn with agates, amethysts, jaspers, cairngorams, and the entire group of the zoolite minerals to be found in the amygdaloid trap." The two first named minerals, coal and iron, the most valuable any country can be blessed with, are in the greatest abundance, and what is very important, they are in close contiguity to each other. There are five large independent coal-fields; one at Pictou, spreading over an area of 120 square miles, and now vigorously worked; the second is at Pomquit, the third at Londonderry, the fourth at Cumberland, (also worked), and the fifth at Windsor. Of the superior quality of the iron, you have all heard, in the experiments lately made, in its use for cannon. The character of the land on the Atlantic coast, like that of the whole American sea-board, from Labrador to Mexico, is, with few exceptions, poor; but when you penetrate a short distance into the interior, you enter upon a country of great agricultural capacity, some portion of it, the dyked marshes (alluvial land,) being of inexhaustible fertility, having yielded grass and grain crops for one hundred years,

without the aid of manure. Its wonderful mineral wealth, its noble harbours, its fertile soil, its extensive fisheries, its proximity to Europe, for the purpose of steam navigation, its water power, (as it is called,) its temperate climate, arising from its insular position, and last, not least, its possession of the winter outlet, and through passage by railway, from England, to New Brunswick, Canada, and the United States, all indicate Nova Scotia as destined for an extended commerce, for the seat of manufactories, the support of a large population, and for wielding a controlling power on the American continent. A railway is now formed to connect Halifax with the Bay of Fundy, and another is in progress, to unite it with New Brunswick, and had it not been for the cold neglect, not to say ungenerous conduct of the Imperial Government, it would, ere this, have possessed a direct line of railway to Canada, to connect with the great Trunk line of that country.

Some of our people, indeed, go so far as to charge the government with a direct breach of faith, in first promising, and then withholding a guarantee. I am not sufficiently conversant with the negotiations to use that strong term; but this I will say, never did Imperial rule, wound colonists so deeply, or so materially injure British North America, as on that occasion, and besides the positive loss, and bitter feeling caused by this unworthy treatment, who can tell, but those who have had to endure it, the extent of the humiliation they have suffered from the derision of their republican neighbours, who exultingly ask, if this is a specimen of the blessings of English connexion!

In addition to these railway facilities, the country is everywhere penetrated by good roads, far better, than those of the United States, where railways and steamers have prevented due attention being paid to them, indeed all the surplus revenue of the province for more than half a century, has very wisely been expended upon them. Prominent beyond all others in North America, is Halifax Harbour, it is easy of access, deep, free from rocks or reefs, well sheltered, and sufficiently capacious to contain the united navies of England and France. This, I believe is well known, and nowhere better than in Glasgow, where was built the great Atlantic Royal Mail steam fleet, the first, the safest, the best managed, and the most successful in the world. I look back with more satisfaction to my successful advocacy of that mode of conveying the mails, than to any other public act of my life, and if my writings have worked out no other object than that, they have not been published in vain. Well, indeed, may Glasgow be proud of that noble line, and Nova Scotia, of having the name of one of its sons, the Honourable S. Cunard impressed upon it. But there is one fact, not generally known, it is an important one, and I am surprised it has never yet been put forward before the public. I wish to call your particuiar attention, and that of my Canadian friends also to it, and when you hear, as you will, I trust, ere long, of the construction of a railway from thence to Canada, pray bear it in mind, *Halifax Harbour is seldomer closed by frost than any other in North America, not excepting those in the Southern States.* Such an extraordinary event happens but once in many years, and

then it is of very short duration. North of Halifax, nearly all the harbours are closed in winter, but the farther south you go, this obstruction occurs oftener, and lasts longer than at Halifax; the same frost that closes Boston harbour, does not affect the other. Charleston, in South Carolina, and Richmond in Virginia, are repeatedly blocked up by ice, when Halifax is perfectly open; whether this exemption arises from a deflection of the Gulf stream, caused by the Isle of Sable, or otherwise, I shall not stop to enquire. It is enough that it is an undoubted fact, and it is one which in conjunction with other advantages, most wonderfully combined, renders this, beyond all comparison, the most valuable and important harbour in all North America. The number of vessels owned and registered in the province of Nova Scotia, on the 31st December, 1850, was 2,791, of 168,392 tons: this number has since greatly increased, but I have not the returns by me. The value of the fish taken, largely exceeds a million of dollars—the quantity of coal raised was 115,000 chaldrons; in 1851, the imports were 5,527,640 dollars, exports 3,542,310, inclusive of vessels built and sold abroad. The population is about 300,000, and the probable value of real estate alone, 33 millions of dollars.

In former days in this country, the terror held over naughty children by nurses, was a threat to "*send them to Nova Scotia.*" If I continue to bore you much longer about it, perhaps you may wish I was back there, so I shall avail myself of Halifax Harbour being now open, and sail to

## NEW BRUNSWICK.

And here let me tell you, this noble province has room enough for every unemployed man in the kingdom, and every one you may have to spare for years to come. It lies between Canada and Nova Scotia, and two-thirds of its borders are washed by the ocean, which teems with fish, while the Ristegouche, and the St. John's Rivers nearly embrace it, and make it an island; and the Madawaska, by the aid of a very short canal, would give it an outlet to the St. Lawrence. It contains an area of about 30,000 square miles, and is (as near as may be) as large as Ireland, but differing from it in these two great essentials, its population does not much exceed 200,000, and it is exempt from bogs and barren mountains. The surface is undulating, forming ridges of moderate elevation, between which are extensive lakes, connected by prodigious rivers. It abounds with rich valleys, productive plains, and noble forests.

Its water communication is so marvellous, that every part of it, is accessible to settlement. The river St. John is a magnificent stream, the extent of which may be faintly imagined by the fact, that it and its tributaries drain an area of nine millions of acres in New Brunswick, six millions in the State of Maine, and two millions in Canada. It is 450 miles long, to the portage of Metjamotte. Steamers ply to the capital, Fredericton, a distance of ninety miles, from thence to Woodstock, sixty miles, and from thence to the Tobique, fifty miles. Here are what are called the Grand Falls, which offer an impediment, and

require a portage, when navigation again commences, and continues for forty miles on the Madawaska. This branch is navigable for thirty miles to the Lake Tamasquota, which is twenty-seven miles long, and from two to six broad, and very deep, and from the head of this to the St. Lawrence, the land portage is but eighteen miles, so that two small canals, one at the Grand Falls, and another on the St. Lawrence at Trois Pistoles, would convert New Brunswick into an island, and give a direct water conveyance from Canada, into the Bay of Fundy. The eastern coast has been furnished by nature with numerous and spacious harbours, into all of which, rivers of magnitude, rising in the interior, discharge themselves in their progress to the sea; these are Shediac, Cocaigne, Buc-touche, Richebucto, and a port, whose river is well-known to you from its export of timber, the Meramichi, which is 220 miles long, and nine miles wide. Many of these names are unknown in any part of Great Britain, except Glasgow, whose commerce extends everywhere. The ignorance that prevails on this subject is equalled only by that young lady's knowledge of botany, who declared she knew the names of two flowers only—"Aurora Borealis," and "Delirium Tremens."

Long may Her Majesty reign over the territory of the Meramichi, and *merry may she be* that owns it; well may she be styled "the Lady of the Lakes," while she rules over her American Colonies.

Then comes the Bay of Chaleur, an enormous haven, ninety miles long, by thirty miles wide, containing numerous harbours of great capacity, such as Great and Little

Chippegan, Bathurst, which is three and a half miles long, and two miles wide; four large rivers fall into it. At the head of the bay is Restigouche Harbour; a river of the same name falling into it, which has five large branches, its name signifying "the River of the Hand." Its principal branch is 200 miles long, its source lying within a short portage of the St. John, over which the lumber men carry their boats, and descend the St. John. This river and its tributaries drain 4,000 square miles of excellent timber land. The capital of this noble province is St. John, containing a population of 30,000, and it has this remarkable feature attending it; its tonnage is about 100,000—a proportion to its inhabitants altogether unexampled, being over three tons to every man, woman and child. Besides this, 21,730 tons of shipping were built for sale in 1851, not to be found in any export table. Beyond this bald statement, time will not permit me to enlarge, but it would be unpardonable to omit its minerals. At the Grand Lake, near St. John's, is excellent coal of the coking variety; at Woodstock, (which is approached by navigable waters from St. John, and by a railway from St. Andrew's,) an inexhaustible supply of red hematite iron ore, making the toughest iron, and eminently suited to the manufacture of steel. At the same place are found manganese, and the largest bed of plumbago, in America. At Sussex Vale are saline springs, from which is manufactured the finest table salt, described by Dr. Jackson as being wholly free from the impurities of lime and magnesia. At the head of the Bay of Fundy, near the borders of Nova Scotia, is found that remarkable coal,

which from its solubility has given rise, like a similar deposit in Scotland, to a legal controversy, whether it be coal or bitumen. It contains sixty per cent of gas-making bitumen, and forty per cent of coke, which yields but half a pound of ashes to the cwt. Slate, gypsum, grindstone, lime, together with the above, have already been exported, and ere long, copper and lead will also be added to these exports. Such is this splendid province, intersected in all parts by rivers and lakes, penetrated everywhere by excellent roads, and now being rendered still more accessible by extensive railways. The emigrant who goes to this colony, and to Nova Scotia, will escape the usual hardships and privations that attend the new settlers of a country. He will find churches, schools, mills, roads, bridges, and markets, instant and remunerative employment, peace and plenty, which will soon enable him to acquire real estate, and as each succeeding wave of emigration advances farther, and farther, into the wilderness, he will soon find himself in the centre of a settled, and civilized community, and his property daily rising in value faster, and out of all proportion to his own exertions. He will not emigrate, as our forefathers did, with hope, but with a positive certainty of success. I bid him "God speed," let him go and prosper.

We now come to

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#### CANADA.

A country so vast, that it is difficult to convey an adequate idea of its size ; so fertile, that nothing short of

official returns will exonerate a description of it, from the charge of exaggeration ; so prosperous, as not merely to rival, but surpass all other countries on the face of the earth ; so healthy in climate, so beautiful in scenery, so abundantly supplied with magnificent lakes and rivers, so full of commercial resources, and so rich in minerals, that I am overpowered with the magnitude of the task I have imposed upon myself, in attempting to convey even a faint idea of it. As regards its extent, omitting the territories contiguous to it, under British sway, and limiting myself to Canada proper, it is 1,600 miles long, with an average breadth of 230 miles, being one-third larger than France, or Prussia, and nearly three times as large as Great Britain and Ireland. It contains an area of 350,000 square miles, or 240 millions of acres. Well, indeed, might the Count Joubert exclaim with bitter regret, whilst surveying the magnificent display of agricultural and mineral products of Canada, which obtained the Grand Medal of Honour, at the Paris Exhibition, " now we can form an estimate of the value of these few acres of snow, ceded to England by the culpable neglect of the government of Louis XV."

Accompany me, gentlemen, in one of your splendid steamers, and let us take a trip to Canada, and (without changing our vessel), ascend the St. Lawrence to Lake Superior, a distance of three thousand miles. Let us suppose ourselves arrived in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Three hundred miles from that vast outlet of the River, we pass the mouth of the Saguenay, a deep and noble stream, navigable for seventy miles, for the largest vessels.

Four hundred and ten miles' sailing from the ocean, and we reach Quebec, the great sea-port of Canada, with a large, and increasing foreign commerce. Five hundred miles sailing, finds us at the limit of tide water, and we now begin, in reality, to ascend the stream of the St. Lawrence. Five hundred and ninety miles bring us to Montreal, near where the Ottawa, or Grand River of the North, mingles its red waters with those of St. Lawrence. Seven canals, of different lengths, and great capacity, fitted for sea-going vessels, enable us to ascend 116 miles of river, and at 168 miles above Montreal, we are in Lake Ontario. This Lake is 180 miles long, from 50 to 60 miles wide, and 500 feet deep, and has an area of 6,600 square miles.

Swiftly traversing its expanse, in sight, probably, of hundreds of other vessels and steamers, we reach the outlet of the Welland Canal, through which, by means of 27 locks, we reach the waters of Lake Erie, 1,041 miles from the sea. Our passage is still on through Lake Erie, until we arrive at the Detroit River, 1,280 miles from the sea. We pass by the city of Detroit, in the State of Michigan, through Lake St. Clair, and the St. Clair River into Lake Huron, 1,355 miles from our starting point.

We may now sail on to St. Mary's River, and passing through a short, but gigantic canal, constructed by the people of the United States, enter Lake Superior, with a fresh-water sea as large as Ireland before us, and into which nearly 200 rivers flow, enabling us to attain a distance of 2,000 miles from the mouth of the St.

Lawrence. In 1856, the American vessel, "Dean Richmond," laden with produce at Chicago, passed the Canadian Canals, and waters, and excited unbounded astonishment at Liverpool; but the year previous, the Canadian vessel, "Reindeer," built at the same water level, and traversing the same route, excited no further curiosity in London, than a hopeless inquiry of "where is Lake Huron?"

The St. Lawrence has the advantage of three outlets; first, by the Straits of Belleisle, which bring Quebec nearer to England than New York; secondly, the middle channel by the island of St. Paul, which is also nearer to any port in Europe, Africa, or the Indian Ocean, than New York; thirdly, by the Gut of Canso, which affords a direct route to New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and the United States. The gulf is, on an average, fifty miles wide, affording a land-locked navigation, with ample beating room, is free from shoals, and is fortunate in affording unerring soundings. Poor old ships, with ignorant, ill-paid masters, in the olden time, (ere the coast was lighted, or accommodated with tug-boats, as now,) invested it with fictitious terrors; but at present fewer accidents occur in proportion to shipping, than happen in the British Channel. There is another access to Lake Superior, by the still shorter route of Hudson's Bay, the shores of which are not farther distant from the Falls of St. Mary, than Albany is from Buffalo. The stores of the Hudson's Bay Company have, for many years, passed by this route. The St. Lawrence is the River, *par excellence*, of Canada. Of its enormous tributaries, I have not time even to enumerate the principal

ones. I must refer you to maps and statistical works for fuller information.

I shall only mention one, and that is the Ottawa—it falls as I have said, into the St. Lawrence near Montreal. It drains, with its tributaries, a valley of 80,000 square miles, commanding the inexhaustible treasures of the magnificent forest of the North West of Canada, that cover an area of six times the superficial extent of all Holland. One of the tributaries of this noble river, itself a tributary, the Gateneaux, is 750 miles long, and nearly as large as the Rhine, being 1,000 feet wide, 217 miles from its junction with the Ottawa. Imagine innumerable other rivers of all sizes downwards, to the limited extent of those in England, and you have an idea of the rivers of Canada. The climate of this vast country naturally varies with its extent and position, but throughout it is healthy in the extreme, as the tables of mortality show us, that while the proportion of deaths to population is

In France . . . . .	1	to	42
„ Spain . . . . .	1	„	40
„ England . . . . .	1	„	46
„ the United States . . .	1	„	74
„ Upper Canada it is but .	1	„	102

But I will call your attention to the people, and the productions, as the best test of the climate—I ask you to look at the population of Canada, and compare it with that on its borders—no, I won't compare them. Comparisons are odious, nor will I boast of them, for all such exaltation

and exultation is vulgar, I will not tell you what they are ; but I will tell you what they are not. They are not hollow cheeked, sallow, bilious, gaunt-looking men, with long necks, narrow chests and flat sides, but athletic, healthy, rosy-cheeked, tall, well-proportioned, jolly fellows, that by no means disgrace the stock they spring from, and who testify to the salubrity of their climate by the silent eloquence of their looks. The productions bear witness, also, for the peach and the tobacco plant both arrive at great perfection, and are extensively cultivated south and west of Ontario, and on the peninsula between Huron and Erie.

Now, gentlemen, let me make good my assertion as to its superiority over the States, in other things besides extent. I do not come here to declaim, I come to state facts, I know I am addressing practical men, men who will value facts and not theories ; I have, therefore, prepared a short comparative statement of the growth of the population of both countries.

In 1800 the population of the United	
States was . . . . .	5,305,925
In 1850 . . . . .	20,250,000

showing an increase of eleven hundred per cent. in fifty years, or an increase of nearly four times. While in Upper Canada, from 1811 to 1851, a period of ten years less, the population increased ten times, closely approaching three times the increase of the whole United States.

In Lower Canada, where there is much less immigration, the population in twenty-five years has increased ninety

per cent. The comparison of towns is equally striking. Boston, between 1840 and 1850 increased 45 per cent. In the same time, Toronto, 95 per cent. New York, the greatest city in the States, increased, in the same period, 66 per cent, or 30 per cent less. Cincinnati, in the 30 years preceding 1850, increased 12 times, Toronto 18 times. In 18 years, the population of Hamilton increased 20,000. Brentford in 10 years has increased 300 per cent. Not many years ago, the site of the city of Ottawa, which now contains above 10,000, was sold for 80 pounds—the increase of the counties is also as marvellous. Megantic in seven years, increased 116 per cent. But I have said enough. Let us now look at the comparative production of grain in the two countries. In 1851, Upper Canada raised, at the rate of thirteen and a half bushels of wheat to each individual in it, while the United States in the same period, gave but four and a half bushels.

In the ten years preceding 1855, the wheat crop of the United States increased 48 per cent. In Canada, in the same period, it increased 480 per cent. So in Indian corn, the crop for ten years preceding 1851, increased 56 per cent; in Canada, 163 per cent. Her cereal exports have doubled every four years, and now equal half of those of all the United States.

The total imports, divided among the whole population on the 1st of January 1854, amounted to £3 14s. 10d. to each individual; in the United States, only to £2 7s. to each individual.

The total exports give to each individual	£2	15	0
“ “ in the United States	2	7	2

I think I have now said enough to redeem this part of my assertion, as to its superior relative climate and production; and I may add this observation, as to the quality of the grain—that American millers import it to mix with, and improve the sweetness of their own. The vegetable productions, in 1851, amounted in value to £5,200,000. The total value of imports and exports, in 1851, was £13,945,684.

I will now state a fact I wish every poor man in this country could hear and ponder over. Let it be written in letters of gold, and circulated through the length and breadth of the land. I wish it to be especially promulgated in Scotland, because, of all people in the world, Scotchmen are the most able to avail themselves of the inheritance, that we, their countrymen, have provided for them in the West—we have made the country for them, by years of privation and toil, of patient industry and consistent economy—we have erected cities for the artizans, and made farms for the agriculturists, constructed roads, provided employment and markets, erected school-houses, and built churches for them; and God has graciously been pleased to bless our undertakings. Let them come and possess it. Tell them this remarkable fact—that in Upper Canada the assessed and assessible property, exclusive of forest, timber, and minerals, is £50,000,000, which, being divided among the population, gives to each family, of five persons £200 4s. 2d., or £40 0s. 2d. to each man, woman and child in it—a state of prosperity almost incredible, but one that is positively on the increase. The wheel of fortune revolves

slowly in England. Those who are at the top of it, are retained there by the entailment of property ; and those that are at the bottom, are kept stationary by poverty. Here, labour will earn bread, but fails to accumulate a store. There it begins with plenty, and ends in affluence. Nor let the emigrant suppose his countrymen, the Scotch, and the old Loyalists, and their descendants, have left the cause of education neglected. They knew that knowledge was power, and that the pre-eminence of Scotland is owing to its devotion to education ; and they have followed your wise and excellent example. In Upper Canada there were, in 1855, in actual operation, 4 universities, 6 colleges, 65 grammar-schools, 29 private academies, 278 private schools, 3,225 common schools, in all 3,710 educational establishments, teaching 240,000 pupils and students, costing, mostly by self-imposed taxation, £230,000.

Of the minerals of Canada, it is needless to say more than, that, although they are inferior to those of Nova Scotia, they obtained the grand medal of honour at the Paris Exhibition, as I have before stated. Here, then, is British North America, containing, besides vast adjacent territories, five large colonies, covering an area larger than that of the United States, with more than 6,000 ships, 3,000,000 of inhabitants, and 500,000 men capable of bearing arms, and possessing a sea-board line longer than a line from Glasgow to New York, a country which will, in a few months, by the aid of the electric telegraph, be within speaking distance of London, and is now, as regards its navigation, nearer to you than any port in the United

States. In addition to all this, it possesses within it the direct route from here to China, through the St. Lawrence to Lake Superior, already available, and in use, and thence by land, a practicable route to Vancouver's Island, on the Pacific. Of this project I will not speak, nor will I quote Colonial authority, for it may be partial; nor English authority, for it may not be authentic; but I will call a jealous rival and an unwilling witness to speak. Hear what a high American authority, writing from New York on the 27th of March, 1852 says:

He states that the route "through British America is in some respects even preferable to that through our own territory. By the former the distance from Europe to Asia is some thousand miles shorter than by the latter. Passing close to Lake Superior, traversing the watershed which divides the streams flowing towards the Arctic Sea from those which have their exit southward, and crossing the Rocky Mountains at an elevation some 3,000 feet less than at the South Pass, the road could here be constructed with comparative cheapness, and would open up a region abounding in valuable timber and other natural products, and admirably suited to the growth of grain, and to grazing. Having its Atlantic sea-port at Halifax, and its Pacific depôt near Vancouver's Island, it would inevitably draw to it the commerce of Europe, Asia, and the United States. Thus, British America, from a mere Colonial dependency, would assume a controlling rank in the world. To her, other nations would be tributary, and in vain would the United States attempt

to be her rival ; for we could never dispute with her the possession of the Asiatic commerce, or the power which that commerce confers."

What a glorious future does this prophetic vision of our American seer unfold? From our side of the border Echo will reverberate his prediction, until prophecy shall accomplish its own fulfilment. Well may he regard this coming event as an eclipse, and contemplate with wonder its overshadowing influence on the political horizon of the Republic—well may her Majesty consider this empire in the West, as the most splendid heritage in the world—a heritage of flood and field, of strong arms and stout hearts, the land of the brave and the free. When the British oak shall have attained its destined size, and the full majesty of its power—when it shall have obeyed the inevitable and inflexible law of nature, which ordains and limits the period of growth, maturity and decay of all earthly things, and when it shall exhibit in its declining vigour the decrepitude of age, the eyes and the hopes of the world will be fixed on this noble off-shoot in the Western hemisphere, which, I trust in God, may equal the parent stock in intrinsic worth, as I feel, and know, it will excel it, in stature and in strength.

Gentlemen, I have to apologise to you, for having so inadequately described the country upon which I have addressed you—for the uninteresting manner in which I have dealt with it, and the great length of time I have occupied. But the field is so extensive, I have found it impossible to travel faster.

If you will be so kind as to indulge me for only a few

minutes longer, I will be as brief as possible in bringing it to a conclusion.

Hitherto, I have gone with the current, I have now arrived at a point where the stream is against me—grant me the privilege of an advocate—allow me to speak out plainly and in plain English. I must say a few words on the Colonial policy of the empire—I shall not abuse your indulgence—I have not the impertinence to come here and talk politics. I have nothing to do with Conservatives, Whigs, Liberals or Radicals; or with any of the great questions, that agitate the public mind just now.

The retention or loss of your colonies is, in my opinion, of infinitely more importance, than all others put together. We have heard of justice to Ireland, till we have caught the Irish accent, and more recently, with more reason, of justice to Scotland; but if you think I am going to raise the cry of "*Justice to the Colonies,*" you are mistaken. We are able to do ourselves justice, and most assuredly will do so, when occasion requires. I come not here to threaten you, I know you too well for that, and I come not to supplicate you, for I am too much of a Scotchman, and too proud for that also. But I come to warn you, in sorrow, and not in anger; seriously, but amicably; that if there be not a change in the colonial policy of this Empire, the distant extremities will inevitably fall off from the body-politic, from their own unwieldy bulk and ponderosity.

Previous to the American Revolution, Dr. Franklin visited this country, and warned the government, that unless its policy was more judicious, and more conciliatory,

it would lose the old colonies. His advice was unheeded, and his prophecy was fulfilled. I do not pretend to compare myself with him; I have neither his talents or his knowledge. But I know as much of the feeling of my countrymen as he did, and without any disparagement to him, I am infinitely more attached to this country than he ever was. For all my predilections are monarchical, and not republican. In like manner, I now warn you, that there are other subjects more important, than the bombardment of Canton, the fall of Herat, or the establishment of the Danubian boundary. And first and foremost among them, is the retention of British America. Don't mistake me, I am no agitator; I don't like agitation, even for a good object. I am not a man with a hobby to ride on perpetually—for such a person is a great bore; nor a man with a grievance, a character that is very troublesome; but a loyal colonist, very fond of his own country, enthusiastically attached to this, and an advocate for an intimate and indissoluble union of both. You may here say as has often been said, "you have a responsible government; you manage your own affairs, what do you complain of?"

I will answer this question, and I am happy to do so, here among practical, reflecting, thinking men, among men that will understand me when I do speak, and who, I am certain, will agree with me when they hear me. First, I say, we don't complain; and, secondly we not only don't govern our own affairs, but have no voice in their management, and are not even consulted about them. I say, we don't complain, and for two short reasons: 1st, we have nobody to complain to; and, 2nd, if we had, we have no

means of making ourselves heard. We have been told with much superciliousness by a noble Lord, who had the happy knack of embroiling himself with every colony in turn, that "when we are ripe for independence, and desire it, no objection will be made to it." We are obliged to him for his permission, but assure him, his consent is not required. He cannot accelerate it, or his insolence would long since have accomplished it; he cannot retard it, for no one values his opinion—neither do we govern our own affairs—we manage our local matters, and there our power ends, as I shall shew you. But if we don't complain, I will tell you what we say. We say, that our Eastern and Western provinces, together with our other foreign possessions, contain a population of one hundred millions of colonists, and that they are all unrepresented; that they are all so distinct and disjointed, that, England in her hour of need, as lately in the Crimea, could draw no assistance in men or money from them, though they were able and willing to have contributed both; and that where this is the case, there is something wrong in the organization of the empire. We say that, in North America, there are five colonies, *covering a space larger than all Europe*, unconnected among themselves, and unconnected with England: with five separate jurisdictions; five separate tariffs; five different currencies; and five different *codes* of laws; with no common bond of union, and no common interest; with no power to prevent the aggression of strangers, or of one on the other; no voice in the regulation of their trade—their intercourse with each other, with foreign powers, or with England. That they

are often involved in war without their consent, and that peace is concluded without their concurrence in the treaties ; —in short, that their very existence is ignored, or if they are named, it is only in the advertisements of Jews for old clothes for the provinces, or in the debates in parliament about converting them into cesspools for the reception of the pollution of the crime and villainy of the mother country. We say, that we are consigned to the control of an office in Downing Street, in which there is scarcely a man who ever saw a Colony, and who has, however clever he may be, and however well disposed (and we make no personal remarks—they are all honourable men) yet who has no practical knowledge of us. We say that there is a striking proof of the little interest there is felt about us in the fact, that in none of the electioneering speeches of the candidates of all parties, at this very day, is there any mention made of the Colonies. If I was not at Glasgow, where people know what they are talking about—if I was at an inland town, I would ask my audience, do you really believe there is such a place as Canada at all? When I was a boy, I learned in my geography that the Channel Islands were Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Sark. Now I never saw Sark, and never met a man that had seen it—I suppose there must be such a place as Sark, but I have my doubts about it. And then I would ask them, do you believe there is such a place as Canada at all? It is delineated in the map, but still it is strange if there are 3,000,000 of people there, and is as large as Sam Slick says it is, that is, “as big as all out doors;” it is passing strange, that not a single candidate has ever

mentioned it any more than he did poor unfortunate little Sark.

We say, that everywhere here, in private life, a colonist meets a cordial, a hospitable and a hearty reception, (and I must add, for myself, that I would be the most ungrateful and most unworthy of men, if I lost any opportunity of acknowledging it,) but we know and feel that if he has public business in charge, to transact for his country, he is utterly nowhere. He is neither Scotch, Irish or British; he is neither a native or a foreigner, an American, or an Englishman. He is neither fish nor flesh. He is less than a Yankee skipper, for he has his consul; and less than a Haytian nigger, for he has got his black ambassador. He has no nationality at all—he is nobody. He is “nullius filius.” Like the Yankee derelict boy, he may say, “he warn’t brought up, he grow’d up.”

Let me pause here and ask you, if this is a fit condition for a well-educated, independent, high-spirited man to be reduced to? and whether you don’t agree with me that he deserves this degradation, if he submits to it? We say that the colonies afford a field for promotion to others, while *their* people, are practically excluded from all imperial employment and preferment. That within a few years past, a constant succession of governors have been sent out, with large salaries, and no earthly duty whatever to perform there—unlike American Governors, they have no veto, but merely act a part in a pageant—and yet, for that dumb-show, four of them have been rewarded by seats in the House of Lords, a fifth advanced in the peerage, and

a sixth created a baronet, as a reward for the trying task of doing nothing, while not a single colonist has been thought worthy of being placed by their side—a paltry knighthood or two, being deemed a sufficient condescension, and a just estimate, of the value of provincial talent. But, do not let me be misunderstood as condemning our Governors as unfit, or unworthy; all of them have been respectable, and respected, and two of them—Lord Falkland and Lord Metcalfe, who introduced responsible government—won, by their judicious, and skilful management, the approbation of the whole population. What I wish to say of the rest is, that our own statesmen, who in reality administered our affairs, and who merited the honours, were passed over in silence, and the rewards they earned were bestowed upon others. Fair play in a fair field, is not an unreasonable demand. We say, that while we pay—nay, are compelled to pay (for we have no voice in the matter)—fees to British Consuls in the States—a grievous tax, amounting to £20 a year, upon each of our regular coasters, colonists are excluded from the appointments; that a whole province, like Prince Edward's Island, was granted away in one day, being first divided into sixty-seven townships, which were disposed of by lottery; that the Magdalen Islands, fifty-six miles long, lying directly in the mouth of the St. Lawrence, were some time since, granted to an old Admiral, and are now in strict entail, Canada having no deputy at the Colonial office, and no member in Parliament to prevent it.

We say, that our rights are bartered away without our concurrence, and without our knowledge, that recently a

treaty, relative to the fisheries of Nova Scotia, was entered into with the United States, with no other notice to us, than to choose delegates to attend and advise. The delegates were chosen, but were never asked to meet the Commissioner, and the treaty was signed without them. That the people were compelled to submit to, and adopt it, by a threat from the Americans, that they would punish their refusal, by discriminating duties. This was done in such haste, that the fishery limits were left unsettled, and greater confusion and trouble has ensued than previously existed.

When Lord Ashburton ceded more than four millions of the best timber lands of New Brunswick, together with nearly 150 miles of the St. John, and a right of passage through the remainder of the River to the Ocean, (also the best mail route to Canada,) we think it not unreasonable that the people of the Province, should have had a voice in the arrangement of the treaty, or the right, and the power to call him to account in Parliament. We ask, if Canada had had a representative, in the House of Commons, or delegates in the Colonial Office, whether Newfoundland would have been permitted to grant, as it has done, a monopoly to an American company, for a European line of telegraph, to her exclusion, so that she must now derive her English news from New York; or if Great Britain thinks proper to give a permission of registration to Americans for their vessels, without an equivalent, whether it is equally right to grant a similar privilege to them in the Colonies, without their consent, or in like manner, to grant them a coasting trade, without reciprocity

in our ports, whereby our commerce is crippled in a way only intelligible to merchants. For instance, an American steamer can leave Boston, with freight and passengers, for St. John, New Brunswick, touching at all the intermediate ports of the States, but a colonial vessel must proceed direct to her port of destination, nor can she take a freight from any port or place on the Atlantic, to California or any port in the Pacific, because that, they interpret to be a coasting voyage. I stop not to enquire if this is right or wrong, but it seems to be no more than decent, when the rights of others are legislated away in this manner, that their concurrence should at least be asked. It may be as well here to state what our neighbours the Americans say, who never lose an opportunity of sowing the seeds of disaffection among our people:—"Why do you," they say, "continue in the degraded position of a dependency to England, when you might become free and independent by joining us? Instead of having your territory ceded to others, your fisheries bartered away, and your rights denied or withheld, you would be protected and incorporated with us; you would return above a hundred members for Congress (you are not entitled to one in Parliament); you and your children would be eligible to the highest offices in our great nation (you are excluded from all in Great Britain); your real estate would be increased in value, and your commerce immensely enlarged, and you would at once take your place among the nations of the Earth; but there is no accounting for taste, bondage may have its charms, though we do not understand them," and so on. On all this I have but

one observation to make, and it is this—an allegiance like ours, that neither neglect or indifference can extinguish, nor reward or ridicule seduce, would, in the estimation of any other Government under Heaven but that of England, be considered above all praise and beyond all price. In your turn, you may well say “do you put forward your bonfires, your illuminations and rejoicings, at our success at Sebastopol, (if success it be); and your legislative grants in aid of the compassionate Lord, as a suitable contribution to the expenses of war?”

It is a reasonable and a rational question to ask, and here is an answer to it. An offer was made to raise two regiments in Canada, and conduct them to the Crimea, to be commanded by colonial officers, but to be, like others, under the command of the General-in-Chief, whoever he might be. The offer was returned from London unanswered, *it had been addressed to the wrong office*. I will not repeat the indignant comment made on this contemptuous, and contemptible conduct; the offer was not repeated, and its reception is not forgotten. But I have done—I have stated to you a situation of affairs that cannot last. There are four remedies:—1st. Annexation to the States. 2ndly. A Federal Union of the Colonies, a Colonial Board of Control, instead of the Downing Street Bureau, and what the Americans call Territorial Representation, that is Delegates, in Parliament, to advocate colonial rights, and vote on them, *and them only*. 3rdly. Incorporation with Great Britain, and a fair share of full representation. 4thly. Independence. Time forbids me to enter upon these topics,

I submit them for your calm and deliberate consideration. The period has arrived when you and your colonists must take counsel together, all my wishes and my hopes point to a union between you, and my last words are "esto perpetua." If you wish any further information relative to your colonies, I ought to tell you where to seek it. Enquire of the American Ambassador in London, or the Secretary of the Treasury at Washington, and I am ashamed and grieved to say, and they will be able to tell you more than anybody else.

If the English neglect us, we are an object of great interest to the Americans. Do you see this book of 1000 pages? Congress sent an agent over every part of the British provinces, to every lake, and river, forest and city, harbour, and fishing bank, to every custom-house, and registry office, to collect information, to procure official returns, and report to them. And here is the report, the fullest, the clearest, the most comprehensive, and the best book extant on the subject. It is called "Andrew's Report." The *secret* report that accompanied it, about our militia, our arms, our fortifications, our assailable points, our political feelings, and so forth, is doubtless a document of the greatest value; but it is for their information, not ours. Alas! alas! is it any wonder that we are overreached in our treaties? *Fas est ab hoste doceri.* Gentlemen, I must now make my bow and retire. Before doing so, however, I am bound publicly to thank the Hon. John Young of Canada, Mr. Whitman of Nova Scotia, Mr. George Sutherland of Glasgow, and Mr. Perley of New Brunswick for the valuable aid I

have received from them. Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you with all my heart for your kind and cordial reception, for your indulgent and patient hearing, and last, not least, for the gratification I have felt in having had the unexpected honour afforded me of addressing the citizens of this great commercial capital of my ancient fatherland.

THE END.

