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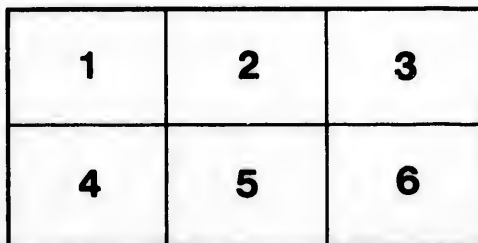
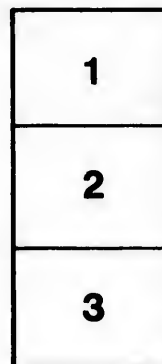
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*Lord Mansfield*

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**COLONIAL POLICY,  
MILITARY COLONIZATION,  
AND  
THE BOUNDARY QUESTION.**

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

RESEARCH REPORT

NO. 100

# COLONIAL POLICY,

WITH

HINTS UPON THE FORMATION

OF

## MILITARY SETTLEMENTS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

OBSERVATIONS ON THE BOUNDARY QUESTION

NOW PENDING

BETWEEN THIS COUNTRY AND THE UNITED STATES.

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“Cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.”

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LONDON:

JAMES COCHRANE AND CO., WATERLOO-PLACE.

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1835.

PRICE ONE SHILLING.



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# COLONIAL POLICY,

&c. &c.

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EMIGRATION having now become a topic of general interest, few apologies on my part are necessary in communicating to the public the ideas I entertain upon the subject. Having seen the principal parts of our North American provinces, as well as a considerable portion of the United States, I have had an opportunity of witnessing, in all its stages, the advances of civilization in the New World. A continent that, but a couple of centuries ago, was the abode exclusively of the Indian warrior, now teems with a population speaking the English language, having transported to that hemisphere the habits and luxuries of Europe.

Cold, indeed, must be the heart which can contemplate the successful result of the emigrant's industry, without feeling proud of the nation that has sent him forth as one of the founders of an empire that, in a future age, may equal the glory and prosperity of the mother country!

It is gratifying to observe, after many years of comparative quiescence upon this subject, that the nation is at last turning its regards to the advantages that emigration holds out to the mother country, as a favourable means of providing for the redundant population of the empire. Is it not then of the first importance that every exertion should be made, in order that the industry and enterprise of the emigrant should be well directed—that he may not only benefit himself and his adopted country, but become an immediate consumer of the manufactures of Great Britain? If, therefore, as I conceive,

emigration constitutes a prominent feature in the duties of a statesman,—if it be considered of paramount importance to this country, no opportunity should be lost in obtaining every information upon the subject; and an individual, however humble he may be, should not hesitate to submit his opinions thereupon to the judgment of his countrymen.

By reference to the history of the early formation of new colonies, few, if any, have been observed to prosper from the commencement, unless founded upon military principles, or religious zeal. Witness the settlements of the Puritans of New England, and that of the Quakers in Pennsylvania, as well as our recent penal settlements in New Holland. Whence comes it that bigotry and despotism, in an inverse ratio to the generally received opinion, have contributed so beneficially to the prosperity of new communities? It is easily explained. Under their influence each individual, voluntarily, or by compulsion, joins in supporting the general interest. "Union is strength," as we learn in the fable of the bundle of sticks; but, in the other case, the adventurers not having either of these bonds to unite together, fail in their undertakings, from the want of unanimity in their councils. This, I believe, will be found the true reason for the failure or tardy improvement of many former colonial societies. In illustration of the beneficial effects resulting from religious fervour, I may refer the reader to the history of a German community, under the direction of an enthusiast of the name of Rapp, that exists at the present moment in the state of Ohio. That settlement is very prosperous, and its interior economy is much admired. Rapp unites in himself the power and influence of priest and king; he regulates and disposes of the property of his followers for the general benefit; the produce of the labour of each member of the society being for the interest of the community. I merely mention this circumstance, to illustrate the power religion furnishes to some individuals, whereby to control the proceedings of others; but in nowise do I recommend it to be followed as an example. It is rather to shew the necessity of some systematic plan of emigration being adopted, in preference to allowing it to take its own course, as seems the present policy of the government. In the disposal of the uncultivated land now in the hands of the crown, due consideration should be exercised. The object to be attained,

being to secure to the *capitalist* who emigrates a certainty of meeting with a supply of labourers, which can only be effected by putting such a price upon the land, that the poorer class may be prevented from becoming, immediately proprietors of the soil, as was the case when grants of land were dealt out to every applicant. The strong innate feeling to possess landed property urged many to attempt settling in the wilderness, without having sufficient capital to meet the first outlay, as well as being novices to the customs of the people, and to the climate of the country. In many cases these poor emigrants, after suffering numerous hardships and privations, have given up their grants of land with disgust and disappointment, and found they were obliged ultimately to hire themselves out as labourers, a course prudence would have dictated to them to have pursued in the first instance. I have invariably found that the settlers who have succeeded the best in the Canadas, have commenced by labouring for other settlers during the first two years—thereby acquiring, by degrees, a knowledge of the country. A settler who pursued this plan, when Mr. Peter Robinson, as agent for the government, superintended the establishment of several hundred Irish paupers in the vicinity of Peterborough, is now possessed of a thriving farm, well stocked, the whole value of which he estimated at a thousand pounds. Some others, who at once located themselves upon their grant, notwithstanding the liberal encouragement afforded by the government in rations for the first two years, and every necessary utensil and farming implement, have become disappointed, and unable to cope with their difficulties.

This instance, amongst many others I might quote, sufficiently demonstrates that it is not advisable for the poorer class of emigrants to become forthwith farmers; therefore, no injustice is done them; on the contrary, a kindness, in withholding from them the facility of acquiring land.\* To make emigration prosper, every class should be

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\* In answer to persons who may be favourable to giving grants of land to emigrants of all descriptions, who may draw their conclusions from the accounts of the successful result of indigent emigrants settled in that manner in some of the townships in Upper Canada, I have only to remark, that these *indigent settlers* have received every necessary assistance from the government; and consequently, though *indigent* at home, found themselves accommodated with a CAPITAL, to provide all their wants for the first two years. In fact, the *indigent* emigrant became a *capitalist*.

benefitted ; and it is to arrive at this result that I have taken up my pen.

Feeling confident I shall meet with little opposition to this principle, *from persons who have studied the subject*, I will endeavour to point out (from various circumstances that naturally suggest themselves) what price per acre I should recommend to be established in our various colonies. Land must not be at so high a rate as to put it out of the power of *respectable emigrants with moderate fortunes* to purchase ; otherwise this valuable portion of the community would be discouraged from leaving home, and poorer emigrants would not meet with employment. On the other hand, land should not be at too low a rate, as it would render abortive the principle of securing a supply of labourers for the encouragement of capitalists to emigrate. Great care should also be taken that the price be regulated so as not to deprive the labouring class of the pleasing expectation of becoming in a few years, by their industry, owners of the soil. It is of importance that the land should be permanently sold at a fixed price ; it would be equally beneficial to the government and to the emigrant, as a great deal of trouble and expense would thereby be avoided. The emigrant, by that means, would be enabled at once to settle upon his location, instead of awaiting the period of the government auction taking place. In some seasons it is of vast consequence that the settler should proceed to his land as early as possible, in order to prepare it for the first crop. Evidently, by the present mode of disposing of the land, much valuable time is lost after the emigrant has selected the lot he wishes to purchase, having perhaps taken a great deal of trouble to examine the country at considerable expense. By the regulations now in force, the land is rated at a minimum price ; in some of our colonies at five shillings currency per acre, in others at ten shillings. At stated periods auctions take place in the different districts, generally once every three months, which is duly notified in the gazette. Any person, during the sale, wishing to become a purchaser of a lot of land, names the number of the lot he wishes to have put up to auction, which is immediately done ; he then bids an advance upon the minimum price per acre, generally one penny ; and if there are no other bidders, he, of course, becomes the purchaser, and is then required to pay one-fifth down, the remainder he is allowed to pay in four annual instalments with interest. But it sometimes happens that he is over-bid by persons who endeavour to

avail themselves of the experience and knowledge of those who have travelled through the country, and have discovered the most valuable situations and the richest soil. The request for a particular lot of land to be put up to auction of itself points out the selection that has been made. This is a great evil in the present system, and it opens the door to spiteful people to vent their malice in raising, by opposition, the price. This is no ideal picture; it has been done in Upper Canada and elsewhere.

The works recently published upon our possessions in New Holland prove that the same inconvenience attends the system of disposing of the land by auction there, as in our North American possessions. In the United States, the whole of the public lands are sold at a fixed price—*viz.* one dollar twenty-five cents per acre (five shillings and sevenpence-halfpenny sterling); the purchaser pays the money down, and immediately receives the title-deed of the property, blank forms of conveyance being kept in the possession of the United States' land-agent in the several stations, signed, I think, by the President—at any rate, by the official officer of that department residing at Washington. This arrangement prevents delay, and the inconvenience of forwarding the document subsequently to the settler's residence, which may probably be at a couple of hundred miles from the land-office.

When I was at Detroit in 1832, I had a letter of introduction to Major —, the United States' land-agent; and during an interview I had with that gentleman, at his office, I witnessed the disposal of three or four lots of land, which scarcely interrupted our conversation. The words that passed between the officer and the applicant were as follow: "Now, you'll *jist* look if lot No. —, in the township of —, in Franklin county, is vacant; because I guess I am going to locate there, if it is." By reference to a register, he was answered in the affirmative; a printed form was filled up at once, containing the number of the lot and the agent's signature; this the applicant was directed to take to the cashier next door, which authorized the receipt of the money, and the settler thereby at once became a legal proprietor of the lot of land. And it was transacted in much less time than I am occupied in writing the account of it. The lot of land is then immediately subject to a tax, the amount of which unfortunately I have forgotten, but I perfectly remember to have heard it differently

stated to exceed the amount of tax imposed in Upper Canada (the Detroit river separating the two countries) by ten or twenty times. Notwithstanding so disproportionate a difference, persons, whose opinions I could rely upon, expressed themselves favourably towards the United States' system; the tax raised being appropriated to making improvements in the country, such as roads, bridges, &c., the result was highly beneficial to the community.

This tax has also the good effect of preventing land speculators from keeping their property out of the market in a wild or uncultivated state, in hopes of ultimately receiving an exorbitant price from the increased value it may acquire from the industry of the neighbouring settlers. Serious inconvenience now exists from that cause in the most valuable townships in Upper Canada.

The proximity of our North American Colonies to the United States, must have an influence in determining upon the price to be fixed upon unsettled tracts belonging to the crown. That republic possesses many millions of acres of the richest soil, situated in every climate. As I have previously mentioned, the whole is sold at five shillings and sevenpence-halfpenny per acre; and when one reflects upon the endeavours that are made by that nation to decoy the British emigrants from the Canadas to her own soil, it must be apparent that it would not be prudent to dispose of our lands at a higher price than demanded for land equally good on the other side of the frontier line. This makes it desirable to fix a price, if any thing, lower than theirs; and I imagine I shall not err much by recommending the crown lands in all those colonies to be sold at five shillings sterling per acre.

It must be borne in mind by those who have had no experience in the colonies, that land of inferior quality is much enhanced in value by the occupation and cultivation of the neighbouring richer soil, and ultimately will sell at the same price the latter originally fetched. The early emigrant will naturally look out for the best situations, and who will grudge him the reward of his superior judgment and enterprise?

Persons who may consider the price of five shillings an acre as too low, in order to accomplish the object I have in view, of insuring a sufficient supply of labourers to the enterprising capitalist, I must beg them to reflect that this price being received only in ready money, no credit in any case being allowed, will in reality very much increase the

difficulty that the poorer class may have in becoming purchasers. Besides, the labourer, before he has determined upon purchasing wild uncleared land, will, no doubt, first ascertain whether his little capital is sufficient to enable him to stock his farm, and subsist himself and family for the first year, and until he have a return from the soil; if not, he will hesitate before he make a purchase.

It was otherwise when the government granted land to poor emigrants; they, in that case, would locate themselves upon it without reflection as to their means, regarding the grant as of little value, because, forsooth, they got it for nothing. And it is very well known that capital bears a much higher interest in our colonies than at home; in New South Wales ten per cent. is commonly received for money borrowed. Therefore it must be evident, that the difficulty of paying five shillings ready money for each acre of land, will almost be equivalent to paying ten shillings for the same in annual instalments. Should the ready money price of five shillings per acre be found upon experiment too low, it will be very easy to raise it; yet I should recommend that in case of the prosperity of the colony admitting of an increase, that the price be raised gradually—for instance, by adding one shilling every year, until the admitted proper price be arrived at; otherwise, a sudden change in the value of property, already occupied, would take place, in proportion to the increased price of the wild land, which might induce the colonists to speculate upon such a change, representing it as necessary to the government, with a view to their own advantage. As in all other commodities, the value of land is regulated by the quantity in the market, and the difficulty and facility of acquiring it. If further evidence were necessary to be adduced, it will be found amongst the whole of the early settlements in North America. Since the *far west* has been opened to the enterprise of the emigrant, the value of land in those parts has not increased—in many cases it has actually fallen; instances of which may be observed at the head of Lake Ontario, in Upper Canada. Of course I do not allude to those parts of the country that have become sites for towns and their vicinity; those spots have risen in value to an enormous amount.

One of the great advantages resulting from selling all lands, whether good or bad, at a regular fixed price, would be in causing the settlers to concentrate themselves; the whole country being equally



open for purchase at one price, there would not be the same inducement held out to wander afar in search of a cheap location, or as the Americans term it, "a good fix." The French, in their settlements in Canada, have borne this object in view; and a very material one it is to the advancement of a colony; few who have not been in a new country can sufficiently appreciate the reciprocal benefit arising from contiguous settlements. The French system of seigneuries was admirably adapted to the age in which they were established; with a few modifications it would not be found inapplicable to the present feelings of society. The Lower Canadian farms have only three acres frontage upon the high road, or upon the river, which gives the country the appearance of one continued village. Such concentration of the inhabitants conduces admirably to preserve civilized habits, and engender kindly feeling towards each other.

As long as the stream of emigration flows into a colony, it is presumed that the annual receipts arising from the sale of wild lands, in addition to a small duty upon imported goods, would be equivalent to defraying the expenses of the government, civil and military, as well as providing an income for making general improvements in the colony; I allude particularly to roads connecting distant parts of the country, the construction of harbours, building of light-houses on the coast, &c. The facility of collecting such a revenue must be apparent.

In order to provide for local improvements, and the expenses attending the interior government of each county, a land-tax should be established throughout the colony, at a certain uniform rate per acre in the first instance, which can be subsequently raised, by application to the provincial legislature, as each individual county may deem it advisable under its peculiar circumstances.

It must be recollected, as I have before stated, that one of the great objects in raising a revenue from the land, is to prevent, as much as possible, the speculator purchasing uncultivated tracts at a low price, and keeping them out of the market until their value be enhanced by the industry of the surrounding settlers. In Upper Canada there is already a light tax upon waste land, but so small that it has not the desired effect. The cultivated land is rated at one pound currency per acre, the uncultivated at four shillings currency, and the tax is levied at the rate of one penny in the pound, thereby taxing actually the industrious settler more than the absentee specu-

lator. I would rather reverse the valuation. No doubt this law was passed with the *benevolent intention* of not taxing too high the settler, upon his first locating himself upon his farm. Supposing his purchase to have been one hundred acres, he would not be able to clear annually more than five acres without assistance. It was very proper to have had compassion upon the *poor fellows*. I guess the *uninterested* members of the provincial parliament, who felt so much for the situation of the poor emigrant, were few of them possessed of less than twenty or thirty thousand acres of excellent *land, totally in a state of wilderness*. An advantage, from this simple mode of taxation, is the great facility it affords of being collected. The number of acres belonging to each man is known at the land-office; therefore no excise-officer is necessary, a receiver of taxes only is required at the county town. It is usual to permit the farmers to commute their taxes for labour; this has its convenience, as the making of roads is one of the principal expenses incurred, and the settlers have the repair of the portion that is in their own vicinity, besides having to clear, in the first instance, one half of the road in front of their own lots. I subjoin an account of the mode of assessment for the collection of the local taxes, or district rate, in Upper Canada;\* and I put it to the impartial reader, whether the system does not engender a future host of tax-gatherers, and whether it would not be more prudent to adopt the easy mode I recommend, before the artificial state of society and of property in that colony render it an imprudent measure to alter existing customs. The townships for the most part, in Upper Canada, consist of sixty-nine thousand acres, or nine miles broad, by twelve miles long; four of these generally form a county, consisting of two hundred and seventy-six thousand acres. Provided the whole county were in the hands of private individuals, according to the above recommendation, the whole would be assessed uniformly; and, if rated at *three pence* per acre, the amount raised would be 3,450*l.* per annum—a very ample sum. But when it is considered that the greater portion of that money would be expended in im-

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\* Land and other property is valued by law at a fixed rate, and the local taxes are raised upon that assessment, in the proportion of one penny in the pound. The following is a specimen of the mode adopted. Every framed brick or stone house of two stories, and not more than two fire-places, £60.; ditto or every additional fire-place, £10. Oxen of the age of four years and upwards, £4. Milch cows, £3. Every waggon kept for pleasure, £15, &c. &c.

proving the country, by building bridges and constructing roads, and that the amount raised would be generally in commuted labour, I am sure the settlers would find no difficulty in paying it. In the first stages of the formation of the county, I am convinced the rate per acre I have fixed would not be too high; it is a question whether it would be high enough, but it is usual to join several counties together into a district, to which one court-house and jail suffices, until the counties are rich enough to separate, and build their own establishments. This tax, together with all the lands at the disposal of the crown, being open for purchase at one regular price, would deter the speculator from holding his land in hopes of getting a better price; the annual outgoings would be considerable, and, without he were a man of some capital, could not be met. I object to farmers occupying so large a number of acres as they generally do; there are few farms in Upper Canada so small as one hundred acres, they are generally of two hundred, and out of that large quantity it is rare to see forty-five acres under cultivation. In my opinion, ordinarily they should not exceed fifty acres; forty-five, well cultivated, with five acres left in reserve for fire-wood and other purposes, would be as much as most farmers, with their families, could manage properly. The annual tax, and the certain knowledge of being able, at a future time, to purchase land at a reasonable rate for the farmer's rising family, would induce him to consider such a farm large enough. As it is, he says—"Why should I not speculate in a small way upon the improvements arising from my own exertions?" But, had he to pay the tax, he would probably decide differently. However, none has a better right to speculate in this manner than the resident farmer, should he be so disposed.

I remember meeting, on my way to Pennetanguishine (our naval station upon Lake Huron, the road to which I may certainly call abominable), with a respectable settler, possessed of some considerable property, who informed me that he had established himself in that district about fifteen years ago, in the expectation that his example would be followed, and that in a few years he would find himself surrounded by a thriving population; but he had been grievously disappointed. The wild lands (a colonial phrase), he discovered, when too late, belonged to gentlemen residing at the seat of government (York, now Toronto), or to military officers serving or residing

in different parts of the world, and to whom no reference could be found. This is one of many similar cases I had an opportunity of observing during my travels in that country.

A very serious obstacle exists to the improvement and prosperity of the colonies, in having two-sevenths of every surveyed township *reserved* for the use of the crown and clergy. These reserves are, consequently, denominated crown and clergy reserves, and are not disposed of until they have acquired a considerable value by the surrounding improvements. Each township is divided into lots, containing two hundred acres; and when surveyed, the *reserved* lots are chequered throughout, so as to place them in as isolated situations, as regards themselves, as possible. The emigrant, being aware of this, naturally avoids settling in their immediate vicinity; for he is obliged, together with his neighbours, to cut the road in front of these lots, or to remain without the means of communication. In fact, it is a real grievance to the colonists, and should be altered as speedily as possible. The crown and clergy, in this manner, place themselves in the situation of the private land speculator, whom I have already described as so much to be guarded against.

In new countries, land being so easily attained, every person is desirous of cultivating his own property; it would be therefore difficult to find tenants for the occupation of these reserves; at any rate, very long leases would be required, which, perhaps, would render it preferable for the crown to dispose of them for ready money.

In Prince Edward's Island, the usual leases given are for 999 years, and many instances occur of legal disputes between the landlord and tenant. The system of granting leases should be particularly avoided when the landlord is represented by the crown and clergy.

I think I have said enough to prove the impolicy of the system of *reserve* now in operation; and, at the same time, to show the necessity of equally guarding against the *private speculator*. At the future formation of a colony, it will be very easy to adopt a different line of policy; but to alter the system now in force to the one I propose, requires caution. May I suggest that the *reserves* in the old-established townships be valued; and, without much difficulty and expense, I think that may be accomplished at the seat of government, from the plans in the Surveyor-General's office. As soon as the governor in council has satisfied himself that the valuation is a correct

one, those lots should be open for purchase, at ready money terms, in the same manner as the other lands are disposed of.

It is needless to observe more upon the subject of the clerical property, than that one-seventh of the general annual receipts might be applied to the church establishment, which would have one good effect—it would deprive that portion of the community hostile to the established church of an every-day grievance, which, being constantly before their eyes, tends to inflame the minds of the colonists against an institution of which they, otherwise, might be zealous supporters.\*

With respect to the wild land *now* in the possession of private persons, I suggest that, if the annual tax of threepence per acre be twelve months due, that the land shall be taken out of the proprietor's hands, *valued*, and sold *by the government, for the benefit of the proprietors*, under which arrangement the land should be exempt from tax until disposed of; and many would be induced, voluntarily, I am sure, to submit to such an arrangement, to whom the amount of taxation might be a serious inconvenience. The proprietor would get a fair price for his land, and, not having contributed to the improvement of the country around, could not legitimately consider himself a loser, in consequence of any additional value his property may attain from the enterprise and industry of the emigrants. In fact, he would get the value of his land the moment there were purchasers, it being always open for sale. Great care, however, should be taken by the governor not to have the private lands valued *too high*; otherwise, the government, indirectly, would become a supporter to the land speculator, by freeing him from the burden of taxation.

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\* Perhaps it would be advisable to establish a tithe upon all lands, for the support of religion, upon the same principle as that instituted amongst the Roman Catholic population of Lower Canada, which amounts to one twenty-sixth upon all produce, obliging every individual so tithed to support *one* of the three most prevalent religions, namely—the Episcopalian, the Scotch Presbyterian, or the Roman Catholic. There are so many of the last two persuasions in the North American Colonies, that it would be but justice to afford them every facility, to enable them to follow their own mode of worship, and, by that means, it is presumed, that the other dissenting sects would be deterred from raising any opposition to the Episcopalian church establishment. To attempt to uphold the Episcopalian church exclusively, to the prejudice of all other denominations of Christians, in a colony contiguous to the United States, would be both dangerous and impolitic.

It is my firm conviction that the only opposers that would be found to a bill framed upon the above principles being brought before the colonial legislature, would be the *land jobbers*, who, though a powerful body at the seat of government, would find themselves in the minority amongst the representatives of the people. In fact, a measure calculated to be of such service to the welfare of the country, would be hailed as a most liberal boon by the colonists generally.

I am inclined to think that the wild land in our colonies in New Holland should be sold at the same price as that in British America—and for this reason. In New Holland there exists no neighbouring republic that has thrown off her allegiance to the mother country, and which at the present period is exerting all her endeavours to induce emigrants to resort to her territory. Therefore, in New Holland we may be guided entirely by circumstances peculiar to that country; and although the distance the emigrant has to transport himself is very much further than to North America, yet the rate of labour in all new countries is so much higher than at home, more particularly in the remote colonies, that the price of five shillings per acre is only sufficient to secure to the capitalist a supply of labourers, who would assuredly leave him were the land sold at a lower rate. I consider the delightful climate of New Holland as equivalent to the richer soil of Canada, and to the increased expence of the voyage there; and I have observed in America, that the settlers upon the lighter or inferior soils are generally more prosperous than those who have chosen a richer country. This is accounted for from the increased expense of working, or bringing the latter into cultivation.

But still I must not forget that the farms in New Holland are principally for raising sheep, consequently differing very much from the ordinary mode of farming in North America. The quantity of land necessary to an emigrant for grazing, bears no comparison with what is necessary for agriculture; and it appears customary in those colonies for the government to rent out large tracts of land in the remote districts for the express purpose of being grazed. Whether it would be advisable to make a distinction between the price of lands available for agriculture, and those only available for pasture, I will not pretend to decide. Yet I have heard that many grazing farms in Van Dieman's land would fetch (if sold) a pound an acre; if so I am still of opinion that the government, even in those colonies, should

adhere to one uniform price, which might be at the same rate as I have recommended for the North American colonies.

A great mistake has been made in Canada, by encouraging emigrants of all descriptions to penetrate into the wilderness in search of *locations*; it perhaps arises from the present mode of disposing of the lands; but whatever the cause may be, it is decidedly an erroneous system. The colony should grow from the parent root, that is to say, the older settlers should make way for those newly arrived; they generally will be too happy to dispose of their cultivated farms for ready money, and will purchase an uncleared lot in some distant settlement; they then become the pioneers, and are better able to undergo the difficulties that must be encountered.

It is a common custom in America for persons to sell their "*betterments*," (improvements upon a lot of land, comprising the log hut, out-houses, and the ground cleared of trees), and remove to another spot to go through the same work again, and perhaps again sell and remove further into the wilderness, some preferring to reside at a distance from other settlers. I remember hearing of a person of that description in Upper Canada, who actually removed, because settlers were locating themselves within thirty miles of his habitation.

A great number of officers have settled upon their grants of land, and I am confident, with few exceptions, they would have been wiser to have refused their grants upon the terms of actual residence; and to have purchased, in preference, small cultivated farms with buildings upon them in a well settled part of the country. In the end it would be a cheaper purchase; the expense of removing themselves, their baggage, furniture, &c. over miserable roads is very great, and their ignorance of the customs of the country would soon make itself apparent in the diminution of their purse. The Canadian back-wood's-man goes "into the bush," with his axe over his shoulder, with the addition of a barrel of pork, a barrel of biscuit, and some common whiskey, and thinks himself well provided; he contents himself with erecting a *shanty*,\* until he can conveniently supply its place by a log-hut; he then exclusively applies himself to the clearing of the ground. To reverse this picture, and to demonstrate the different mode of proceeding adopted by the officer upon his grant, suffice it

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\* A shanty is a temporary hut formed with boughs of trees, having the front open, at the entrance of which a blazing fire is kept up to warm the inmates.



to say, I have heard in the back-woods a harp played as divinely as in any drawing-room in England ; the officer and his family are very happy and contented until the first excitement of settling is over ; but then they look around, and find they are, in a measure, cut off from society, and at a great distance from places where the necessaries and conveniences of life can be procured. The church, the doctor, the mill for grinding his corn, the butcher's shambles, together with many other wants, are not to be procured except at a distance, and withal it has cost him more money to place himself in this inconvenient situation upon his grant, than if he had given it up altogether, and made a purchase of a cultivated farm. But as it is of importance to encourage persons of his situation in life to settle in the colonies, the officer should be entitled to his grant without being obliged to locate himself upon it, provided he binds himself to remain a certain number of years in the colony, and, in that case, should have the option of placing his grant in the hands of government for sale at the regulated price, in preference to subjecting himself to the annual tax.

I am a decided enemy to the plan of the government now pursued of chartering "land companies ;" I cannot understand why the government should resign to a body of speculators the opportunity it possesses of well settling the country ; the only advantage a land company attains over the government is by *puffing*. There would be no necessity for puffing, provided the government only follow the plan I have suggested of selling all the land at a uniform fixed price for ready money, without making any reserves, except certain spots selected as the sites for towns ; and every emigrant, in communicating with his friends at home, if he merely state the simple truth, would be the means of inducing many to follow his example.

An anecdote of an Irish labourer writing home to his friends about Upper Canada, may not be *here out of place*. After praising the country in various ways, he added, that he had meat twice a week ; upon showing his letter to his employer, he was reminded that he had meat every day of the week, as well as three times a day. "Faith did he not know that by the same token, but sure his friends would *disbelieve* all he had said if he told them *that*."

The settlement of a colony should go on progressively ; remote parts should not be prematurely called into notice, as in the case, for



instance, in respect to that tract of land in the eastern townships of Lower Canada, now belonging to the North American Land Company. It is situated upon the frontier line dividing that province from the United States, which of itself is a reason why its settlements should be deferred until the intermediate country be inhabited. There is plenty of excellent uncultivated land between the company's tract and the St. Lawrence river, either in the hands of government or of private individuals, much more eligible for the settlement of emigrants. The climate of the most southern portion of the eastern townships is as rigorous as in the immediate vicinity of Quebec; it is a mountainous district, which accounts for the severity of the winter. The settlers near Stanstead (the frontier town) are obliged to house their cattle five, if not generally six months out of the year; maize (Indian corn) is frequently cut off, and even wheat is a precarious crop, but oats succeed admirably. When I was at Stanstead, in 1833, the inhabitants were dependant upon Montreal for their supply of bread. I met on my journey to Montreal many waggons laden with barrels of flour; and when the distance of eighty miles is considered, principally over a very bad road, its value must have been considerably enhanced; a very great drawback to the emigrant selecting that portion of the country, as he must necessarily purchase his daily food at an exorbitant price for a considerable period. Montreal is half a degree of latitude north of the frontier line, and yet the harvest upon the island of Montreal, and upon the borders of the St. Lawrence, was decidedly a fortnight earlier than at Stanstead, when I happened to travel from one place to the other, in 1833. The difference was most evident as soon as I passed the Richelieu river.

In the course of time, the company's tract in the eastern townships will become eligible for settlement, but I consider the present period premature. Numbers of persons have supported the formation of this company with the object of rendering their own lands, situated between the company's tract and the St. Lawrence, more valuable; a great quantity of land might have been purchased prior to the formation of the company, at half a dollar per acre. I now perceive the company's minimum price is one dollar and a half; consequently private individuals, I have no doubt, have raised the price of their lands accordingly. I can without hesitation remark, that if a company can afford to speculate in the improvement of a *remote district*, it would

be equally advantageous for the government to do so, and at the same time might more effectually concentrate the population.

In order to assist upon an extensive scale the redundant population of the empire in emigrating to our North American colonies, I propose that a portion of the cost of their passage be defrayed by the government. Passages from Liverpool and Belfast, to Quebec or Montreal, are procurable for thirty shillings; therefore, if twenty shillings were paid to the owners of vessels for every emigrant above ten years of age, and ten shillings for every child under that age who shall be *actually landed* in any British port in North America, many poor persons wishing to emigrate, would be enabled to pay the difference, and provide themselves with food for the passage.

To guard against persons who might endeavour to escape from justice by availing themselves of this assistance, it would be necessary that the government agent for emigrants at the port of embarkation should require a certificate from the officers of the parish (to which each person applying for this assistance in procuring a passage may belong), stating that the applicant is not suspected of having committed any offence against the law, and that he or she has notified to them, his or her intention to emigrate fourteen days previous to the date of their certificate. Upon which the agent would deliver to the applicant a passport, which would be a sufficient warrant for the commander of the vessel in which the emigrant embarks, to procure at the port of disembarkation an order upon the treasury for the amount; provided, however, that the regulations regarding the treatment and accommodation of the emigrants on board shall have been *strictly complied with*. It is preferable that the government should only defray a part of the expense; otherwise, the emigrant would not sufficiently estimate the advantage afforded; he might embark without sufficient reflection, and afterwards might blame the government for having encouraged him to leave his native country. Very few would return; the industrious would soon feel the benefit of the change—the idle and dissipated would not have it in their power to procure a passage back.

In a colony it is almost impossible to undertake any public improvement, if proper judgment be used, without receiving a handsome return for the capital expended; and it is of importance that the indigent emigrants upon arrival should be accommodated with im-

mediate employment upon government works, as contiguous to the port of disembarkation as possible, but at a rate of wages under the average rate of the country ; this would oblige them to lose no time in endeavouring to procure a more remunerating occupation, for which purpose they would spread themselves into the interior, and thereby leave room for those emigrants more recently arrived to be employed.

One of the greatest evils afflicting our colonies is the system the settlers have of speculating upon credit, paying for the money borrowed at an enormous interest ; the facility afforded to the farmers of obtaining goods at a long credit, induces these people to get themselves unawares into pecuniary difficulties, and, once embarrassed by the contraction of debts they are unable to discharge, they become totally in the power of the merchants, who speculate upon ultimately possessing themselves of their property. Considerable fortunes have been made in this manner ; whether it be an honourable mode of doing so, I will leave to the opinion of the reader. The circulating medium being very scarce in the colonies, the creditor takes an opportunity to distrain. The property of the debtor being sold by auction, probably does not realize one quarter of its value, and is purchased possibly by the creditor, or he may have a mortgage upon the estate, amounting to a little more than a third of its value, the whole of which he becomes quietly the proprietor, thus ruining the prospects of the unfortunate farmer.

The storekeeper, or merchant, makes use of the influence he thus acquires over the farmers in debt to him, to control their votes in the election of members for the House of Assembly, which is a sufficient reason why the ballot should be substituted for open voting in the colonies. In order to obviate these abuses and difficulties, I suggest the abolition of imprisonment for debt ; also, that the property of the debtor seized by the creditor be valued by two magistrates, and according to that valuation be handed over to the creditor, in proportion to the amount of the debt, for its acquittal. The debt should also be satisfactorily proved to have been actually contracted to its full amount ; otherwise, speculators might be tempted, in order to insure a loan, to give notes of hand for a larger sum than virtually received. Consequently merchants would take care not to trust individuals upon whose integrity they cannot rely ; therefore, honourable persons

would reap some benefit from the good reputation they may have acquired.

I must say a few words upon the form of government, which, in many colonies might be advantageously altered. The form of government in our North American provinces consists of a governor, or lieutenant-governor, as his majesty's representative, assisted by an executive or privy council, whose opinion he must ask in some cases, but he is not bound to *act* upon their decision ; a legislative council, composed of persons appointed by his majesty for their lives, who in a measure are supposed to correspond with the House of Peers in England ; and a House of Assembly, the representatives of the people, elected in most colonies for four years, but liable to be dissolved at any moment by the king's representative, and the parliament must be assembled once a year.

It is unnecessary to make any comment upon the appointment of the king's representative, or upon the admirable arrangement which has given him the assistance of an executive or privy council, which also acts as a check upon his conduct. But the appointment of the legislative council is not equally faultless. There exists no class of men in a colony, from whom can be selected a body who may assimilate to the aristocratic branch of the legislature at home. By an aristocratic body, I not only understand a set of well-educated men, but a body whose political power and influence in the colony may be felt beyond the walls of the chamber they occupy, owing to their *permanent private property*. I do not hesitate to say, that there exists no such class in any of our North American colonies: *whom* then does the *legislative council* represent ?

Of what import can be their deliberations ? Their political influence ceases at the threshold of their chamber ; they have no weight in the consideration of the people. Upon an examination of the names of those who compose the legislative council, it will be observed that the members have been selected from the civil functionaries under government, and from amongst the most wealthy merchants ; and these persons are *appointed for life*, without regard to the caprices of fortune, in mercantile speculations ; so that it may happen that a legislative councillor may become a bankrupt. Whether merchants in their most prosperous days should be members or not of such a house, I will not *venture* an opinion ; at any rate, a merchant whose

private affairs are not in a good condition, ought not to be considered the proper person to be entrusted with so much power.\* In short, that body, as it is now composed, is a clumsy imitation of our house of peers, comprising all its defects and possessing none of its important advantages. The measures of the legislative council have only the effect of taking for a moment the odium and the responsibility from the shoulders of the governor, and transferring the animosity of the colonists towards the government at home; and their interference considerably adds to the difficulty of carrying on the machinery of colonial legislation.

The *representative of majesty* requires no support—no interlopers between him and the representatives of the people. He should rely solely upon the king and the parliament of Great Britain for the support of his dignity and power. Being appointed by the sovereign, he can maintain his rank and station in the colony, without the assistance of an intermediate branch of the legislature. It is different in a republic like that of the United States; there the president, deriving his power directly from the people, it becomes necessary to have an intermediate branch of the legislature elected for a longer period, and in a different manner, than are the representatives of the people, in order to guard equally between their hasty democratic resolutions and the ambition of the first magistrate, or his truckling to the caprices of the people. Recollect, in that government, a majority of two-thirds in Congress renders invalid the president's *veto* to any bill; therefore, it is doubly necessary that there should exist a second chamber, or *senate*. Not so in our colonies, where the chief magistrate is appointed by the king. Those persons who now form the legislative councillors, would in reality be of more use to the crown, in occupying seats in the other house, to counteract any democratic tendency existing there. By the present mode, the colony is deprived of many useful servants.

As a proof of the inutility of the legislative council, I may refer the reader to the political state of Lower Canada. Has the council been able to counteract the proceedings of the Lower House? On the

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\* Let not the governor of the plantation (say Lord Bacon) depend upon too many councillors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number, and let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen than merchants, for they look ever to the present gain.

contrary, one of the grievances complained of by that assembly, is the mode of appointment of the council.\* The House of Assembly proposes that it should be elective: I see many reasons to disagree upon the propriety of such a measure. Let it be entirely done away with, and the machinery of government will be much easier to manage. I would suggest that the members of the Assembly should be elected by farmers occupying fifty acres of land (the smallest quantity sold by the crown), as regards the county members, and the members of towns *incorporated*, by householders paying a certain annual tax towards the expenses of the town. Incorporated towns should only be allowed to return members. By this arrangement, I think there would be no fear of a democratic preponderance in the House of Assembly.

Whilst upon the subject of the internal government of colonies, I may be allowed to say a few words upon the mode of carrying on the general government of our numerous colonies under the sole management of a minister of the cabinet. Is it probable that a gentleman appointed to that office, who possibly may never have left the British shore, should all at once thoroughly comprehend the various interests, the feelings, and habits of men dwelling in regions, the climate and natural resources of which are as widely different as the two poles are asunder? To prove that this is deeply felt in the colonies, I may be excused from quoting a sentiment to that effect, expressed by Mr. Andrew Stuart, a most eloquent member of the late House of Assembly in Lower Canada, on the occasion of a dinner being given to him by his political friends at Quebec, on the 17th of November last.†

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\* In reference to the political differences existing in Lower Canada, I may be permitted to suggest the immediate reunion of the Upper and Lower Provinces, the capital of which should be placed in a central position. By-town, on the Ottawa river, presents a favourable situation, being at some distance from the frontier line. These provinces never should have been disunited; the free navigation of the St. Lawrence river being equally necessary to both, their separation was only laying the foundation of future disputes.

It would appear that the statesman who carried into effect this measure, had in contemplation to transplant to the western hemisphere a cause for a *system of protocol upon protocol*, which the discussion upon the free navigation of the Scheldt, has originated in this quarter of the globe.

† I am indebted to Mr. Andrew Stuart for much valuable information upon colonial policy, gathered during the many agreeable hours I have passed, and I flatter myself not unprofitably, in his society at Quebec. If that highly-talented gentleman should ever peruse these pages, I hope he will forgive the freedom I have taken in mentioning his name on this side of the Atlantic.

In adverting to the unhappy existing differences between the Lower House and his Majesty's Government, Mr. Stuart says, in reference to the proceedings of that party, "It is true, with a certain class of politicians in this country, the names of the British isles are used as a reproach. For my part, I shall never learn to be ashamed of our blood and lineage, nor feel any other sentiment than that of contempt towards the men who can attempt to cast a stigma upon it. The British islands want not a defence from my feeble voice, nor from any other arms but their own. I pity the man who can read her history, without feeling his moral energies and patriotism invigorated, and who shall not be disposed in all humility as to himself to say, in shutting these illustrious pages, 'AND I, TOO, AM A BRITON.' Whence then has arisen this daring in certain quarters, this forgetfulness of all the favours conferred upon them by England, this open bearding of her authority? Gentlemen, I must speak to you with the same frankness upon this subject as I have tried to do upon others. It has proceeded from the frequent changes in the Colonial Office, both of persons and policy, and from the want of an efficient system of Colonial Government. So great have been the changes which have taken place within the last half century, that their effects could not but be felt in the colonies, and a system of government which might have done for the feeble beginnings of the British Colonies after the separation of the old colonies from the empire, will not do for its present more advanced condition. In stating this, I, of course, mean not to cast any reproach upon the several gentlemen who have, in succession, held the office of Secretary of the Colonies. I am too well aware of the difficulties of a colonial minister—too well satisfied that the burthen cast upon his shoulders is too great for any man. Mistaken notions of economy produced the suppression of the Board of Plantations, the plan of which was originally conceived by the great Lord Bacon, and without which there can be no stability, uniformity, or efficiency of action in the colonial policy of the empire."

I am not aware what was Lord Bacon's plan for the formation of the Board of Plantations; but I think there would be little difficulty in the composition of such an assembly, by appointing the members of it from amongst those gentlemen, who have filled the situation of governor in the colony they may be individually called upon to represent, through whom the correspondence should be carried on. The



personal acquaintance they must have acquired during their government, with the several interests of the colony, on being by them communicated to the board in session, would diffuse amongst the members a general knowledge of all our possessions, and their deliberations would be regulated accordingly: over this board the colonial minister might preside.

To give an idea of the extent of information the colonial minister is expected to make himself master of, I subjoin a list of our colonies under his control, and leave it to the contemplation of the reader whether such a task can be expected to be ably performed by any one person; by which means I think I shall have done enough to prove the inefficiency of the present system. It has been said that over the British possessions the sun never sets. The mind of the individual entrusted with watching over their destinies should be as all pervading as is that bright luminary in spreading his rays over these extensive regions in every portion of the globe.

#### THE BRITISH COLONIES.

##### *Europe.*

Gibraltar.  
Malta.  
Ionian Islands.  
Heligoland.

##### *America.*

Lower Canada.  
Upper Canada:—  
Nova Scotia.  
New Brunswick  
Prince Edward's Island.  
Newfoundland.

##### *West India Islands, &c.*

Jamaica.  
Bahama Islands.  
Barbadoes.  
St. Vincent.  
Grenada.  
Tobago.  
Antigua.  
Montserrat.  
St. Christopher's.  
Nevis.  
The Virgin Isles.  
Dominica.

##### *West India Islands, continued.*

Demerara.  
Essequibo.  
Berbice.  
Trinidad.  
St. Lucia.  
Bermuda.  
Honduras.

##### *Africa.*

Cape of Good Hope.  
Sierra Leone.  
Gambia.  
Mauritius.

##### *Asia.*

Ceylon.  
*Note.* The Indian possessions, being under the directors, are not mentioned.

##### *Australia.*

New South Wales:—  
Van Diemen's Land;  
Swan River; and the recently chartered colony of  
Southern Australia.



## MILITARY COLONIZATION.

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The interesting subject of colonization has led me to consider whether our married soldiers might not be encouraged to emigrate, with great advantage to themselves and to the colony to which they may repair, as well as to the mother country, by ridding her of a portion of her redundant population—for it does not signify from which class of the community the vacuum is made; whether soldier or citizen, his place would shortly be filled up, and it would be highly gratifying, if, in consequence of such a happy prospect being afforded to the deserving soldier, a better description of men were induced to enter the army. The monotony of a soldier's life in time of peace, is not very encouraging to persons of enterprising spirit; the recruit sees before him nothing but dissipation and punishment; the remote prospect of getting a pension is not sufficient to induce him to enter the profession of arms. Twenty-five years' service is a long period to pass in performing mere garrison duty; consequently, few recruits are obtained that are not naturally idle and discontented, excepting those who enter in times of commercial distress. I am anxious to hold out to the soldier every encouragement, and I think that that might be accomplished by a well-organized system of colonization.

Why should we not take example from the Romans? Where are the monuments of art erected in our numerous colonies, to hand down to posterity the power and grandeur of the British name? It is melancholy to contemplate the vast quantity of valuable labour locked up amongst an idle and dissipated soldiery. Is there then no remedy? What advantage would the soldier-emigrant have over the civilian? He would land on the shores of his adopted country, surrounded by his comrades; it would be to him but as a change of quarters; whereas the civilian has to form new acquaintance, and his thoughts are perhaps perpetually wandering to his native village. Recollections of home will fill his breast, for he sees none of those around him, as the soldier does, whose faces were familiar ere he took a last farewell of the country of his forefathers. The long absence from the paternal roof will have weakened in the soldier's mind the recollections of home; a busy and active scene in camp or quarters will ere this have reconciled him to the separation.

A society already formed is a great advantage to a new colony. The inconvenience arising from emigrants having no previous knowledge of the persons with whom they are to associate, can be easier understood than described; they frequently land without the most remote idea of the country they propose to adopt, and are, in many cases, upon their arrival, misled by designing scoundrels, for the purpose of inducing them to spend their money in the gin-shops. All this would be obviated by a systematic military plan of colonization, and I hope without injury to the service to which I have had the honour to belong. Few commanding officers of regiments would object to parting with their married men; they are always a source of great annoyance, from the impossibility of providing them or their wives with any remunerating occupation; and the pay of a private soldier (thirteen pence a day) is but a small sum upon which to maintain a man, his wife, and family. Notwithstanding the regulations to check as much as possible matrimony amongst the soldiery, the numbers increase to a fearful amount; and I am acquainted with a general officer, who stated he would point out all the men of a regiment who were married, judging from their emaciated appearance. This I think calls for some interference on their behalf; they, poor fellows, find themselves bound to a profession which prevents them from engaging in any other more profitable employment. The advantage of barrack-room, coals, candles, and other allowances, are of little use to the soldier as soon as he is married. Allow me to observe, that the man's military services are not lost to the country by sending him, as a settler, to the colonies. Who will more willingly or ably defend the country of his adoption from foreign aggression, or domestic turbulence, than the veteran? How, may I ask, are we to put so numerous detached colonies in a posture of defence, in case of war with any maritime power? Our fleets cannot be in all parts of the globe, and we should have to double or treble our present garrisons abroad, in order to secure them from sudden expeditions of the enemy. A few thousand military settlers, who could be embodied, in case of necessity, would give confidence to the colonists, and render their shores free from insult. I think then, in point of economy, the mother country would be wise in so disposing of a class of her citizens, who would find themselves materially benefitted by the arrangement. The soldiers would be glad to emigrate; the service would be benefitted by getting rid

of them ; the colonists would be happy to receive them ; and the mother country would be relieved of a portion of her redundant population. Posterity will be astounded by the fact that the first maritime power in the world, possessing ships that are rotting in ordinary in her harbours, colonies that have millions of acres of unoccupied land, most admirably fitted for cultivation, is groaning under an annual tax of seven millions of pounds sterling for the relief of the poor, five millions of which are computed to be paid to able-bodied paupers in a state of starvation, because they cannot get employment. How long is such a state of things to exist ? To what colonial minister is Great Britain to be indebted, for awakening the energies of the nation to such a glorious and philanthropic undertaking as the furtherance of colonization, and the foundation of future empires ? Have the conquests of the greatest heroes we read of in history, led to such beneficial results to mankind, as that conquest that is now open to us, over the desert wilds, by means of emigration ? Let then the sons of Albion carry civilization to these distant shores, and a future age will applaud their enterprise. Providence has been bountiful in her gifts of territory to this happy country ; should we then neglect her favours ?

The attention of the government should also be directed to the state of society in our penal settlements. By the perusal of those works already before the public, there appears ample evidence to prove the immoral degraded state of society existing in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. The writers of these publications are naturally anxious to place their adopted country in as favourable a point of view as possible, and I observe they invariably endeavour to represent the convict population as scarcely any drawback ; they sometimes even venture to state, that the prosperity of the colony depends upon the supply of convicts from home. Yet, now and then, "truth will come to the top of the well ;" and I find, in Bennett's Wanderings in New South Wales, page 56, that he suggests that the colony may be no more used as a penal settlement, the *emancipists* having become a very powerful political body.\* Having seen the Penitentiary in Philadelphia, which prison is conducted upon the principle of entire

\* "It is a shameful and unblest thing (says Lord Bacon), to take the scum of the people and wicked condemned men to be the people with whom you plant, and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation ; for they will ever

solitary confinement, and which, from all the accounts I collected in that country, appears to have succeeded admirably, I hesitate not to say that we have the means of more *effectually punishing, and reforming at the same time*, the convict at home, than by transportation. As commissioners have been sent to inquire into the several systems of prison discipline in the United States, whose report may be expected shortly to appear before the public, it will be unnecessary for me to enter here into minute particulars of that admirable establishment; suffice it to say, that the prisoner is perpetually kept in solitary confinement; that he is overlooked by the gaolers by means of small apertures in the wall; that he is not *compelled* to work, but only allowed to do so as an *indulgence*, when that species of labour is afforded him that can be managed without assistance, such as shoe-making, &c.; that, from the moment of his confinement to that of his liberation, he is completely cut off from the world, and from any knowledge of his relations. The only individuals with whom he is permitted to hold any converse, are the clergyman of the establishment and the gaoler, who are strictly enjoined to adapt their conversation exclusively to the duties they have to perform, in order that the prisoner may not have the slightest intelligence of what is going on out of the prison doors. The annual receipts produced from the labour of the prisoners not only defray the expenses of the prison, but yield a profit to the State, and that without a single whipcord being used to shock the feelings of humanity. The whole establishment is conducted in the most praiseworthy manner, and the building admirably constructed for carrying the system into operation. To shew the effect this mode of punishment has upon the opinion of the community at large, regarding the improvement of the *morale* of those confined, I may instance a case, in which a person of the medical profession had been imprisoned some years for forgery. Upon his release, he returned to his native town, and was received by his former acquaintances, and, in 1833, was in the enjoyment of as extensive a practice as previous to his transgression. This person was allowed, during his confinement, the perusal of such medical works as, in the opinion of the directors, might be beneficial in the study of his profession. If, then, it can be satisfactorily

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live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certifie over to their country to the discredit of the plantation."

proved that there exists no necessity for transporting the convict, either as a punishment, or for his reformation, a great saving to the country would result from that system being abandoned.

The convict population in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land are already so numerous that they actually require a very strong military force to keep them in subjection. I have before me a return, showing the number of male convicts in Van Diemen's Land on the 31st October, 1832, which amounts to 10,735, besides which there were twelve who had received free and conditional pardons; twenty-four whose sentences had expired; and 264 who had absconded, or were missing. The annual expense attending the transportation of convicts, their maintenance, and surveillance whilst in the colonies, must amount to a large sum, more than would suffice to build prisons upon the Philadelphian plan, particularly as there are many prisons that might be altered to that purpose at a small expense.

Experience has proved that the encouragement held out by his majesty's warrant to discharged soldiers, to commute their pensions, and settle upon their grants of land in the colonies, has failed; so unsuccessful was the result, that the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada recommended to his majesty's government that no more pensioners should be sent out to that colony.—(*Vide War-Office Circular, dated 12th August, 1834.*) The cause of this is easily explained. These men being discharged were no longer soldiers, and ceased to be under military control; many were worn out from long service, or otherwise disabled; and some were habitual drunkards; moreover, they were totally inexperienced in the use of the axe. The British labourer is much inferior to the Canadian back-woodsman in the use of that implement; therefore, it could hardly be expected that old soldiers should be very expert in the laborious task of felling timber and clearing the ground.

I had an opportunity of visiting Drummondville, in Lower Canada, the residence of Colonel H., who was intrusted with the superintendence of settling some disbanded soldiers in that neighbourhood. For the most part it was a failure, owing, as the gallant Colonel observed, to the men having been *discharged*; consequently he had no power to retain them upon their locations until the first difficulties were overcome. Those who remained, and persevered in conformity to his advice, are now reaping the reward of their industry, and are happy, contented farmers. Unfortunately, a small portion of the land in the

settlement was found to be very inferior soil, which gave a colouring of truth to the exaggerated reports of the discontented, who, in order to exonerate themselves from their want of energy, made no hesitation in condemning the whole tract as entirely unfit for cultivation. Had these men been possessed of a little perseverance, or been obliged to remain upon their grants, I have no doubt they would have ultimately succeeded, as the light soil can be cultivated at much less expense than that of rich deep mould, and the roads are easier constructed and much better, which is of considerable importance in the early stages of a settlement. Under such circumstances, the advantages and disadvantages are nearly balanced.

From a calculation I have made from the returns of the number of married men now serving in nine battalions of infantry of the line, the total number of which amounts to 887, I may conclude that the 103 battalions of infantry would return 10,151 married soldiers, or in the proportion of ninety-eight to each battalion. Besides which, the total strength of the seven battalions of the Foot Guards, exclusive of officers, amounts to 4,962, of whom 1,017 are married, being upwards of one-fifth. The number of married soldiers in eight regiments of cavalry amounts to 711. I may allow about 2,310 to the twenty-six regiments of cavalry, which is in the proportion of one-third. From the above I may form a calculation that there are as follows—

		MARRIED.
By returns from the seven battalions of guards.....		1,017
Probable number in 103 battalions of the line .....		10,151
Do. do. 26 regiments of cavalry .....		2,310
Total .....		13,478

This is exclusive of the artillery and sappers.

If, then, the number of married soldiers now serving in the army amounts to so large a proportion as is estimated above, notwithstanding that every endeavour is made to discourage marriages—so much so, that it is almost considered a crime to marry without the consent of the commanding-officer—how much larger the proportion would be, were the soldier permitted to act in that respect as he might feel inclined. The conduct of the soldier might be improved; he is now driven to the pot-house from want of a home to pass his evenings, and thereby contracts habits of intoxication, which is the cause of most

military offences. A very melancholy case occurred when I was in the service. A well-behaved man (a lance-corporal) married in defiance of the refusal of the commanding-officer to give his sanction, and of course, according to the instructions upon that head, his wife was not permitted to reside in barracks, nor was he allowed the indulgence of sleeping out of quarters. After passing a few months in the hope that his indiscretion might be overlooked, and finding that the commanding-officer was determined to act up to the regulations of the commander-in-chief, the poor fellow, in a fit of despair, put an end to his existence. I heard the report of the shot whilst I was writing in my quarters, and shortly afterwards saw the unfortunate man, weltering in his blood, a lifeless corpse. It is but right to add, that a subscription was entered into both by officers and men for the disconsolate widow, to which the officer, whose duty had impelled him to be the indirect cause of the unfortunate transaction, voluntarily subscribed.

Many officers may object to my plan of military emigration on the score of losing old and efficient soldiers to the service. By an *old soldier*, I understand, a man who has fought and bled for his country; he who has victoriously followed the great captain of the age from the lines of Torres Vedras to the Adour; whose bed has been the bare ground, and canopy the heavens, in presence of an enemy, hitherto accustomed to victory. That man is an *old soldier*, he has practically learnt the art of war. But who is the old soldier of these peaceful days? Why the man who has been for years the daily visitor to the pot-house, whose frame of body is debilitated by habits of debauchery—this is the sort of man they wish to retain in the service. In foreign services it is not the custom to enlist men for life. By the regulations of the French service, a conscript is generally allowed to return home at the end of five years' service, the period of his engagement being for six years. In the Prussian service, the soldiers of which are very well drilled and in a high state of discipline, the period of service is only for three years. With these examples before us, are we blindly to believe that the army is improved by being composed of men who have contracted drunken habits, which are too apt to follow an engagement to serve as soldiers for life? Let the non-commissioned officers be men of experience and well-selected, and the more young flesh and blood the legions are composed of, the better. Who fought and gained the battle of Waterloo? Newly-recruited



second battalions. And many a soldier in the Peninsular campaign has found himself upon the field of victory, whose occupation was at the cart-tail but three months before. The redoubtable troops of Napoleon were not, in all cases, veterans—more frequently soldiers of a month's standing, gaining laurels at Marengo and Austerlitz.

The private soldier in the British army has but little to awaken his ambition, or engage his attention; and I am in hopes that the prospect of being enabled to marry and settle comfortably in the colonies would not be without its good effect upon their conduct. I here subjoin a lamentable instance that occurred in New South Wales, mentioned by Dr. Lang, in his admirable work upon that colony; it is so applicable to the subject I am treating upon, as well as a convincing proof of the necessity of guarding against a recurrence of a similar nature, that I may be excused for making the quotation.

“A sergeant or corporal of the 48th regiment, had been stationed some time before the period I allude to, at Cox's River, another military station on the Bathurst road. He had been an industrious man, and had accumulated some property both in goods and cattle, in the colony—as much even as amounted to £300. But the regiment being ordered to India, and no interest or entreaty being available to procure his discharge, he disposed of his property; and, on coming to Sydney, in a state of mind which the reader will doubtless commiserate, he commenced drinking the price of it with some of his old companions in right earnest. In this inglorious employment he was unfortunately so successful, that in the space of six weeks he had left himself quite penniless, and was consequently ready to embark on equal terms with the rest of his company for India. Though I cannot, by any means, defend the soldier for thus sinking under the pressure of adversity, I cannot but pity him; and I cannot help regretting, moreover, the operation of a system which thus deprived the colony of an industrious and deserving individual, who would, in all likelihood, have reared a virtuous family, and been a blessing to his neighbourhood, for the purpose of landing an additional drunken soldier on the ramparts of Fort-George.”—“There is another subject of regret connected with the military system of the mother country, as it regards the Colonies and the Indian empire. The regiments of the line that are stationed in the Australian colonies, of which there are always two in New South Wales, and one in Van Diemen's Land, are uniformly sent on to India after five or six years' service in these colonies. At the expiration of that period there is always a numerous flock of interesting sprightly children, belonging to the regiment, about to proceed to India, all of whom must, of course, follow their parents to that deadly climate, when



both parents and children are mowed down like the standing corn before the sickle of the reaper."—"Now there might surely be some better and more humane arrangement effected, without detriment to his majesty's service; the families being allowed, for instance, to remain in the colony, and a few unmarried recruits being forwarded from the mother country to supply their places. It would, doubtless, be the interest of the colony of New South Wales to reimburse the mother country, from the colonial revenue, for all the additional expense which such an arrangement would cost, to procure so large a periodical accession to its free population."

This paragraph proves that my plan will meet with support, even from civilians in the colonies, and also, more particularly calls for the early consideration of the Colonial Secretary.

I shall mention another instance out of Dr. Lang's work. In pages 225 and 226 will be found a long account of the detection and punishment of two soldiers, Thompson and Sudds, belonging to the 57th regiment, who committed felony for the purpose of becoming convicts, thereby admitting that they preferred a convict's situation to that of a soldier's; and, however erroneously they may have judged, yet it is a strong argument amongst many that might be brought forward, to prove the utter detestation the service is held in by some individuals in the army. This arises from various causes; the recruit enlists without much reflection, and cannot be expected to have made up his mind, whilst he is taking *the shilling*, to be always attached to a soldier's life, under all circumstances, and in whatever clime he may be quartered. During a period of war, the mind is otherwise occupied, and the man of spirit pants to be led before the enemy: honour and glory are before him, the most powerful incentives to brilliant actions. Enlistment for life is too long a period: even husbands and wives find it difficult, in some instances, to preserve the vow solemnly made before the altar.

However different may be the projects for systematic colonization, on one point all are agreed—namely, that there is plenty of room in the colonies for a great increase of emigrants; and although I am far from wishing to confine the assistance afforded by Government merely to the army, yet it is of importance, in the first instance, to infuse amongst the population of our distant possessions a number of settlers upon whom the crown may rely for the protection of the inhabitants.

It is not only to the lower orders that I think my plan will be of benefit; I sincerely hope that, from the well-organized state of society

which would result from it, that respectable persons of small fortunes would be induced to emigrate; it would give a strength and bond of union to the social order, which might cause many to roam afar in search of a home where they might see their offspring around them in independence, and laying the foundation of future affluence, instead of remaining in their native country, dragging on a miserable existence of shabby gentility.

I have already observed, that were this system of military colonization adopted, many more recruits might probably be obtained. I am borne out in this opinion, as it is strongly suspected, by officers high in rank at Quebec, that numbers have enlisted into the regiments serving in British North America for the express purpose of deserting to the United States upon the first favourable opportunity; the number of desertions that take place justify this suspicion. I have ascertained that there were 266 desertions during one year from the regiments serving in North America; about seventy are supposed to have been retaken, or to have rejoined their respective regiments; upon which one may fairly conclude, that during the last twenty years, there were 200 deserters that made their escape annually, amounting to a total number of 4,000 men. I am sure that calculation is within the actual number, because our army is not so large now in those colonies as formerly. How many more would desert were it not for the precautions taken to prevent it, which make the soldiers almost prisoners, I am not prepared to answer. It becomes a question, Of what use such men would be in case of internal disturbance, or in time of war? If this military colonization scheme be ever put into operation, the temptation to desert from the regiments serving in the North American colonies would entirely cease; consequently no example would be required in order to deter the soldiery from committing that crime. Would it not then be highly advantageous to those provinces, if his majesty were graciously pleased to grant a pardon to all those who have deserted *since the war*, who have not *used violence*, or committed *felony* in so doing; and further, to allow them the privilege of residing in the British possessions abroad? I am certain very many would be delighted to return, and settle under the British flag: that desire is stronger in their breasts than may be generally known.

When I was at Detroit, in 1832, it was mentioned to me that a

merchant of that place, who had accumulated a considerable fortune, had formerly deserted from the British army. Though living in sight of the Canadian frontier he dared not venture across the river. This separation from his own countrymen so preyed upon his mind, that he was then using every interest with the governor to obtain his pardon, expressing his wish to pass the remainder of his days under the protection of his native country. Should this be clearly ascertained, how much more readily would men enlist, with every facility afforded them of settling respectably in our own colonies, without committing the crime of desertion, or having the unpleasant reflection that they have expatriated themselves? It is well known that in the army there are men who have learned many professions or trades, a slight knowledge of which would be very useful in a new colony, and might be employed very much to their own advantage. *Superior* workmen can get better wages at home than in the colonies; there the man who can turn his hand to any thing is most likely to succeed, as few things are required to be finished in first-rate style; so that, in proportion, the inferior class of handicrafts meet with better encouragement. Now, supposing (without reference to the advantage of having a set of colonists trained to the use of arms, at all times in readiness to defend their adopted country) it were attempted to send out labourers and mechanics from the several parishes, what an expense would attend their removal to ports for embarkation! Besides, it would be necessary to establish a regular system of recruiting throughout the country, for each emigrant should undergo a surgical inspection; otherwise, upon his arrival in the colony, he might be thrown on the government for support, owing to his bodily infirmities. This is all avoided by taking the soldier, and the discontent of these rustics must not be forgotten upon finding themselves removed from their homes, without their accustomed associates.

I am inclined to believe, from what I observed in Upper Canada, that if every thing did not go on perfectly to their expectation from the outset, these people would become greatly discontented, and would blame the government for having encouraged them to emigrate, and, being unaccustomed to control, would be found a very difficult set to manage.

If I could prove (which in my own mind I have no doubt of) that a great saving might be made in respect to pensions granted to worn-

out soldiers, it would be a very great argument in favour of the adoption of my plan. The total number of pensioners, by the present returns, amounts to eighty-three thousand and ninety-four, whose pensions average one million, three hundred and twenty-seven thousand, eight hundred and forty-eight pounds per annum. I leave to the reader's imagination to speculate how much this army of pensioners might have been reduced, had military colonization been adopted from the commencement of the peace to the present period. Should the plan be even now carried into effect, I have every reason to believe that many able-bodied pensioners, with families, might be induced to join the colonial battalions; but in order to give the scheme a fair trial, it should be put into operation by volunteers from the standing army; afterwards, the pensioners may be encouraged to follow their example.

The mother country should be prepared to expend a certain sum of money, in order to render the vast tracts of wilderness that Providence has thrown at her disposal, a source of profit to her commercial enterprise. Whoever heard of any great gains being made by a private individual without a certain expenditure of capital? Then why should not the government take upon itself the task of encouraging a spirited commerce by a judicious application of the public money?

“Planting of countries (says Lord Bacon) is like planting of woods, for you must make account to lose almost twenty years' profit and expect your return in the end. For the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand with the good of the plantation, but no further.”

Having in the preceding pages made some observations upon the government and interior regulations of colonies in general, I may proceed to show how the military emigration may be carried into effect, without deranging materially the present organization of regiments. In the first instance, every married soldier having completed five years' service, should be allowed, if stationed in a colony adapted for emigration, to hire himself out to the settlers; for which purpose he should receive “*a furlough until further orders,*” with the understanding that he would not be required to perform military service

except in cases of emergency. On the other hand, the soldier, whilst on furlough, should receive no pay, nor be allowed to reckon as service towards pension the period whilst so employed.

As in cases of application for discharge, thirty days should be allowed to elapse between the commanding officer giving his sanction, and the married soldier's application to retire from active service, in order to reside in the colony by exchanging into the colonial battalion hereafter to be formed. Until the number of military settlers become numerous, they may be attached to their own regiments, or to the nearest military detachment, and required to attend the monthly muster, upon which day they must receive pay. Sergeants and corporals ought to be mustered and receive pay as privates. When the formation of colonial regiments shall be carried into effect, then the non-commissioned officers will be selected from amongst those who have served in that rank.

The commanding officer on the station might use his discretion in proscribing a limit from the head-quarters, beyond which no soldier on permanent furlough shall be allowed to reside; this naturally will be extended as the numbers increase. Of course each man's residence, employment, and every particular respecting him, will be registered at the head-quarters of his regiment, as well as at the office of the brigade-major of the district, under the superintendence of the inspecting field-officer of militia.

The soldiers whose wives may be at home, might have them sent out to them at the expense of government, upon making the required application to retire and settle in the colony, provided they shall have served five years. The unmarried soldiers might have the same option granted to them of retiring, in case they should marry in the colony.\* It must be understood that the granting of this indulgence must depend in a measure upon the arrival of reinforcements from home; but great attention should be paid in reducing the sentries to

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\* It is probable that the unmarried soldiers, having held out to them the prospect of hereafter marrying and establishing themselves comfortably in the colonies, might be induced to place the surplus of their pay in a regimental savings bank, instead of spending it in the grog shop; the amount of which, bearing interest at five per cent., they might receive upon discharge, or upon settling in the colonies, to which regulation they should be obliged to conform upon their subscribing to the savings bank.

as small a number as possible, which in most garrisons abroad might be extensively done. The soldiers on furlough, being required to reside within a short distance of the fort or town, can be readily called together, should their services be considered necessary for the defence of the place. At Quebec, as an example, it would be decidedly advisable to require a portion of the men to sleep within the walls, and by degrees the distance might be extended to five or ten miles from the citadel, but confining them to the left bank of the St. Lawrence. All the married soldiers, with their families, should be forwarded from the *dépôt* to join the service companies stationed in the colonies, provided they previously enter into an engagement to settle. These men will have their turn of getting permanent furloughs, as fresh detachments arrive from home. All soldiers, prior to retirement upon these terms, should be thoroughly instructed in the artillery exercise, in order that they may be made available in that branch of the service, should circumstances require it.

The royal sappers and artillery soldiers should not be allowed to settle in the colonies until after *ten years' service*, as it requires a long period to instruct them in that branch than is necessary to form an infantry soldier; besides, they receive an increased rate of pay, which would compensate in a measure for the increased length of time they would be required to serve. Until the formation of the colonial battalions, the artillery men and sappers that settle should be attached to their own corps, under the superintendance of the brigade-major and inspecting field-officer.\*

The married soldiers serving in regiments, not stationed in colonies adapted for emigration, should be allowed to volunteer, or exchange into those regiments, in proportion as recruits join to fill their places in their own corps. Those now serving with their regiments in the West Indies might easily be conveyed to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton, &c.; for the future, married soldiers wishing to emigrate would exchange into colonial battalions, prior to being sent

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\* The soldier-settler of course should be obliged to keep his knapsack and regimental necessaries in constant readiness to be employed upon service. The arms, accoutrements, and great coats should be kept in store at head-quarters, excepting in those situations where it may be necessary to guard against surprise; in which case, the soldier should have charge of his own arms and accoutrements.

out to the colonies unadapted for settling in. Whenever the number of married soldiers wishing to procure employment exceed the demand, it should be the especial care of the local authorities to find them occupation upon the public works (as in the case already alluded to for the employment of civil emigrants upon arrival). I subjoin an extract from the regulations upon the rate of extra pay allowed to soldiers on working parties, which rate might serve as a guide in carrying into effect this system in the colonies.\* The total amount the soldiers would receive upon this scale per diem is much under the average rate of wages in the colonies, so that there would be no temptation to the soldier to remain upon the government works longer than would be necessary to find other employment.

But still it must not be overlooked that soldiers would find it easy to procure menial situations in the colonies, and frequently would be employed as merchants' clerks, should they possess any education. After the colonized soldier has attained that age which in the colony may be considered as an exemption from the performance of military service, he might be discharged or retained in the service upon the superannuated list, which would continue to him the benefits to be derived from the military hospital.

As a general principle, no land should be granted to non-commissioned officers and soldiers, as it has been found not to succeed; but as there may be some important situations where it may be advisable to settle a military force, land may be granted advantageously under such circumstances to industrious soldiers of *very good character*, and they should be materially assisted by the government in establishing themselves upon their locations; every thing should be provided for that purpose, and they should have rations for themselves and families

\* Extract from the regulations upon allowance granted to working parties :

Subaltern officers .....	4s per day.
	Summer.      Winter.
	s.   d.      s.   d.
Non-commissioned officers as overseers, one } for every twenty men. .... }	1   0      1   0
Ditto or privates as artificers .....	1   8      1   4
Privates as labourers .....	0 10      0   8

In summer, the hours of actual labour are ten; in winter, eight.

The summer period commences on Lady-day, and the winter period on Michaelmas-day, in each year.



for the first year, and until they may be able to reap a return from the produce of their industry. A permanent force by this means would be established at a cheaper rate than by keeping soldiers regularly paid.

Whether such a plan would be applicable to our West India possessions, I leave to the judgment of those officers who have served in those islands, and who understand the nature of the climate, and their natural resources; but it appears reasonable to suppose that, located in the vicinity of towns, the military settlers occupying *upon rent* small farms, might find a ready sale for the produce of their industry.

With a view to economy in the formation of the colonial regiments, I suggest that the officers composing the establishment of two companies belonging to each regiment stationed in the "emigration colonies," be transferred, for the purpose of forming the nucleus of these new corps; for field manoeuvres, four companies would be found more handy than six, the total strength of rank and file not being reduced. I think it by no means improbable that two captains, and four sabalterns (if married) might be induced to volunteer from these regiments to the colonial battalions, upon receiving permanent full pay, for the purpose of settling in the country. Their services need not be lost to the government; if they be men of intelligence, with a trifling addition to their pay, they might be usefully employed in exploring the country, in surveying the districts, acting as magistrates, superintending public works, as well as in attending to the arrangement of the military settlers.

In time of war, the knowledge of the country they would have acquired by that means would render their services very important in all military undertakings.

The private soldiers would, in like manner, habituate themselves to a back-woodsman's life, which would enable them to carry on a guerilla warfare with great advantage; a species of fighting in which our regular troops were found very deficient during the late war in America.

There are five regiments at present stationed in the two Canadas, besides the companies of artillery and of sappers and miners. If two companies were reduced in each regiment, there would remain ten companies for the formation of colonial battalions. They might be stationed as follows:—



One company at Quebec,  
 Montreal,  
 Three Rivers,  
 By-Town,  
 Kingston,  
 Cornwall-upon-the St. Lawrence.  
 Toronto,  
 The Head of Burlington Bay,  
 Pentanguishine (the naval station upon Lake Huron),  
 and one at  
 Amherstberg.

The officers of each company, consisting of one captain and two subalterns, would thus become the *nucleus* of future battalions; each company might consist of at least three hundred men. In time of war, the half-pay officers now settled in the Canadas, of course would be called upon to complete the establishment; every inducement should be held out to those married officers on full-pay to retire on half-pay, receiving the difference for the purpose of settling; their vacancies, of course, being filled up from the half-pay list.

There are three distinct classes of colonies belonging to the British crown. First, the military, such as Malta, Gibraltar, St. Helena, &c.; those only adapted to be cultivated by negro labourers, as the West-Indies; and those eligible for extensive emigration, such as the North-American, South African, and New Holland colonies.

Regiments embarking for foreign service, might in the first instance, be sent either to the West Indian or to the Mediterranean station, where they should respectively remain four or five years,

These regiments should subsequently be sent to the "emigration colonies," in order to give an opportunity, both to their officers and men, to become settlers. In tour of duty, these battalions would be returned to England.

I consider the Mauritius, and perhaps the island of Ceylon, might be available for settling a portion of the soldiery. If I am mistaken, at any rate these islands may be made a stepping-stone to New Holland. Whether the mode of enlisting for regiments serving in the East Indies might be advantageously altered, is a question of too much moment for me to attempt to discuss at present; but soldiers, after *ten years'* service in that country, should be allowed to exchange into the colonial battalions, stationed at the Cape, Algoa-bay, or in New-Holland, as opportunities may offer for their transport.

I subjoin a return of the number of regiments of the infantry of the line now stationed in different parts of the globe, by which it will be perceived that the number of regiments employed in the Mediterranean and the West Indies are nearly equal.

	Battalions.	Remarks.
In India .....	21	Military colonies
Ceylon ... ..	4	} Probably unadapted to the settlement of soldiers
Mauritius ,.....	5	
Mediterranean .....	16	Military colonies
West Indies .....	17	Adapted only to negro labourers
North America .....	9	} Emigration colonies
Southern Africa .....	2	
New Holland .....	4	
In the British Islands .....	25	
Total.....	103	

It is probable that the married soldiers of regiments of cavalry might be advantageously settled in the eastern district of the colony at the Cape of Good Hope, to be embodied, as occasion might require, to repel any hostile aggression of the native tribes.

Instead of confining officers serving in the colonies to the headquarters of their regiment, it would be advisable that they should frequently have leave of absence granted (consistent with the good of the service) to enable them to make excursions, and explore the interior of the country, it being required that they should keep a detailed journal, stating therein their observations upon the feature and natural resources of the districts they may pass through, as well as remarking upon their capabilities in a military point of view ; which, upon their return, should be submitted to the inspection of the governor and senior officer in command.

It is presumed much valuable information might by this means be communicated to the executive.

A young officer occupying himself in such a manner would be preferable, on all accounts, to that of idling away his hours at the billiard table, or in dissipation at the mess.

In the case of an officer shewing intelligence, some extra allowance should be given to enable him to defray in part the expense of his journey ; but a wish to acquire distinction, the prospect of making agreeable excursions, and escaping for a time from the monotony

of a garrison life, would cause many officers to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded.

Having perused a letter in the *United States' Journal* of January, this year, signed by Lieut. Henry Winship Dodd, of the Royal Navy, suggesting a plan to enable him to borrow money upon the security of his half-pay, for the purpose of emigrating to New South Wales, stating that for more than nineteen years he has been endeavouring to get out to that colony, and that he has only been prevented in consequence of not having the means to accomplish his object, I am induced to say a few words upon the subject. Is it not evident that it would be of great importance to encourage loyal and respectable individuals to emigrate? Their example in a colony is of much benefit, and officers of the army and navy are very eligible to perform the duties of a magistrate, which situation it is by no means easy to find proper individuals capable of occupying from amongst a new community.

I, therefore, venture to propose a plan I think more simple than that of the gallant officer. To officers of the army and navy, government allow a certain remission in payment for the purchase of wild land, in proportion to their rank and length of service. Mr. Dodd says his would amount to 200*l.* I propose then (stating his case, which I hope he will excuse me for doing), that he and his family should be assisted out to New South Wales by the government paying his passage, and deducting from the 200*l.* the amount so paid. Let us suppose, for instance, that 100*l.* would suffice for that purpose, then 100*l.* remain for the purchase (at five shillings per acre) of four hundred acres of government land; a quantity of land quite sufficient for an officer to undertake to manage without much capital. But suppose Mr. Dodd declines occupying "a bush farm," preferring to purchase a small farm already cleared, in the vicinity of some town, let him then select his grant of four hundred acres, and surrender it to the commissioner of crown lands to be sold for his benefit at the established government price; but should he prefer keeping the property in his own hands upon the speculation of its rising in value, he should pay, as well as other proprietors of land, the annual tax of threepence per acre. What will become of the individual of whom he has purchased the farm under cultivation? The probability is that he will purchase land of the government in the interior

of the country, and thereby possibly more than repay to the government the sum of money advanced for that officer's passage out; at the same time the colony receives a valuable additional member to the community.

There are so many officers living at home, or on the Continent, in similar distressing circumstances as described by Mr. Dodd in his own case, that perhaps it would be a judicious measure to employ some troop ship to convey to our colonies as many half-pay officers as may volunteer, upon their forfeiting (upon the above plan) a portion of their remission money to defray the expense. An advantage would arise from their going out together in the same ship, from the intimacy that would be formed amongst them, which, as I have before described, is highly necessary in the formation of new communities. The superior arrangement and accommodation that would be found in a king's ship, might induce many to venture with their families upon the wide ocean, who otherwise would not undertake such a voyage. All officers who have served in the army or navy are entitled to a grant of land; but it would not be prudent on the part of government to assist any out to the colonies who are not in the receipt of half-pay, as the half-pay would be a security to government that the officer, upon his arrival in the colony, would not be without the means of supporting his family.

I think, were His Majesty to carry into effect such a beneficial measure for half-pay officers, it would be but justice to the nation that all those officers now residing in foreign countries should be ordered to return to the British territories, or to forfeit their half-pay. The general reader should be made to understand, that by the present regulations, no officer of the army or navy is allowed to reside out of the United Kingdom, without having obtained His Majesty's sanction.

P. S. Since the foregoing pages were sent to press, accounts have been received from the Cape of Good Hope, of dreadful devastations having been committed by a recent incursion of the Caffres into the Albany District, and to within a very few miles of Graham's Town, the capital. Had my system of military settlements been established in that colony, it is more than probable that these savages would have been speedily repulsed, and their knowledge of the existence of a large military force might have prevented their assuming a hostile attitude.

## THE BOUNDARY QUESTION.

I AM induced to add a few lines upon a subject that I consider of primary importance at this moment; namely, the question of the disputed *boundary line* between the United States' territory, and that of the British North American provinces.

When we reflect upon the vast tract of country that was disgracefully surrendered, through ignorance, to the revolted colonies, at the period when their independence was recognized by this country, it should make us doubly anxious to guard against any further encroachments on the part of the Americans, who are now attempting to overreach us by a misinterpretation of the *words* and *spirit* of the treaty. At the termination of the revolutionary war of independence, it was the intention of the British Government to retain in our possession the whole country which originally formed the French American empire. But so apathetic appears to have been the conduct of the administration of that day, that the archives at Quebec were not even searched to ascertain what was designated the territory of "*la Nouvelle France*," when it was surrendered to the British arms under the gallant Wolfe upon the plains of Abraham. What unaccountable indifference, after having wasted millions, and the blood of thousands of our countrymen, in an unsuccessful attempt to subdue the revolted colonies! It is said that, on the return of the British commissioner (Mr. Oswald) to England, he burst into tears upon the discovery of the mistake he had committed. The valuable country he thus threw away comprises some of the richest portions of the Western States of America.

The tract of country *now* in dispute amounts to about ten thousand square miles, which, if ceded to the Americans, would place their frontier within *six miles* of the St. Lawrence, *cotoying* the southern or right bank of the river for more than one hundred miles below the island of Orleans near Quebec. But the question is not now whether it be advantageous, or the contrary, that the frontier of the United States, should approach so near to *la grande fleuve du Canada*. It resolves itself simply into a question of *right*, and if it can be proved

satisfactorily that the intention of the British commissioner, was that the *boundary line* should be *that* which we claim, and to this day occupy, then I say Great Britain must appeal to arms before she yields to the unjust pretensions of the American republic, or even suffer herself to be *cajoled* into an absurd reference to a neutral power. Are the days of chivalry so far gone by, that we are unable to protect our own honour? Would it be believed, that owing to the pending negotiations our own subjects are forbid to cut down timber in the disputed territory? so that a very important trade to the province of New Brunswick is at a stand-still, in a part of the country favourably situated for conveying the lumber by the St. Johns river down to the sea-port; the consequence of which is, that the inhabitants of that district are so dissatisfied at the protracted delays in the adjustment of that question, that they either flee from the country, or entertain a bitter feeling towards a government that appears to take little interest in their welfare.

In the autumn of 1833 I travelled from Quebec to Fredericton, by crossing the *portage* from the St. Lawrence to Lake Tamisconta; thence descending in a canoe the Madawaska river, which joins the river St. John, I followed its course to the capital of New Brunswick. I thereby had an opportunity of hearing that question freely discussed by the settlers in the disputed territory, and consequently was enabled to form an opinion upon the claims advanced by the State of Maine.

If I am correctly informed, the treaty runs as follows, "From the the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, *viz.* that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of the St. Croix river to the *high lands*, along the said high lands which divide those rivers which empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean to the north-westernmost head of the Connecticut river," &c. &c. &c. It would appear that the misinterpretation of the spirit of the treaty arises from an error in establishing the *point of departure* for the further demarkation of the boundary line, forming the basis of the treaty, *viz.* "from the north-west angle of Nova Scotia." The treaty proceeds to give an explicit account of its situation, *viz.* "that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of the St. Croix river to the highlands;" it must be conceded that the *high lands* here alluded

to by the British Commissioner are the first mountainous range arrived at in a northerly direction, which is at a point called Mars-hill, part of the Aroostook range of mountains. This is the "north-west angle of Nova Scotia," and the *point of departure* for the *further demarkation* of the boundary line. The treaty then proceeds to say, "along these said high lands which divide those rivers which empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean to the," &c. &c. By this it appears the British Commissioner was ignorant that the waters running north of this chain of mountains fall into the St. John's river, and ultimately into the *Bay of Fundy*. But his ignorance of the topography of the country cannot alter the *POINT of departure* from "the line drawn due north from the source of the river St. Croix to the *highlands*," or "the north-west angle of Nova Scotia." Therefore, there can be no doubt that the British Commissioner intended that the boundary line should extend from that point in a westerly direction upon the *RIDGE* of *THAT* chain of mountains until it arrived at the source of the Connecticut river.

It is not probable that it ever was intended to describe by the word "*high lands*" a comparatively insignificant range of hills *cotoying* the southern or right bank of the river St. Lawrence far beyond the range of mountains or high lands *intersecting* the "line drawn due north from the source of the river St. Croix."

By taking into consideration even that part of the treaty, *viz.* "the high lands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the *Atlantic Ocean*," it is apparent these high lands can only be discovered at the southeasternmost source of the river Chaudière in Lower Canada, and the head waters of the Kenebec river in the State of Maine, it being recollected that the river St. John empties itself into the *Bay of Fundy*, not into the *Atlantic Ocean*.

It must then be evident that (by adhering to the words of the treaty) were the northern line prolonged beyond the *proper point of departure* at *Mars-hill*, it would not traverse any range of mountains separating rivers flowing on one side into the *Atlantic*, on the other into the St. Lawrence.

It becomes a question whether the point of departure, now claimed by the United States, a few miles south of the river St. Lawrence,



formed a part of Nova Scotia at the time the treaty was made, the Ristigouche river at present forming the northern boundary of New Brunswick, which was formerly a part of *Nova Scotia*. I should perhaps rather say the *point of departure* which the Americans are anxious should be considered in that light, is the *source* of the river St. Croix, and not the "north-west angle of Nova Scotia," of which (as before mentioned) the subsequent sentence in this treaty merely explains the position. I consider *this* as the *fundamental error* that many in the British interest have overlooked.

I understood, when I was in the United States, that were the question decided *against* that republic, it was the intention of the State of Maine to dispute the power of the general government to interfere to the prejudice of the *sovereign* State of Maine, by surrendering any portion of *its territory*, and that this would be used as an excuse for postponing the settlement of the question.

In the foregoing pages that I have written upon "Colonial Policy," I have suggested the immediate re-union of Upper and Lower Canada, recommending the capital to be placed in a central position, namely at By on the Ottawa river; but at that moment I omitted to take into consideration the important advantages that might be derived from uniting the three provinces of Upper and Lower Canada and New Brunswick under one government, in which case the capital for the whole would be nearly centrally placed at Quebec, having a strong fortress already in existence for its protection. When the valuable resources of New Brunswick are brought into notice, the utility of connecting that province to Lower Canada will then become apparent. The navigation of the St. John's river might easily be improved, and a road constructed along its banks, which would afford a ready communication with Canada at a period when the navigation of the St. Lawrence is obstructed by ice, the port of St. John's being open for the arrival of ships at all seasons of the year. These three provinces combined would form an effectual barrier to the crafty designs of the neighbouring republic.

The distance that some of the members of the colonial parliament would have to travel to the seat of government would be great; but when it is considered with what facility the beautiful snow roads are passed over during the winter months (the period generally selected for the session of the legislature), that objection to an union of the



three provinces would not counterbalance other advantages that would be derived from it. It does not appear necessary that the executive part of the administration of each province should be removed to Quebec in consequence of the legislative bodies being consolidated there. The public offices belonging to the provinces of Upper Canada and New Brunswick might still remain respectively at Fredericton and Toronto, and the governor-general of the three united provinces might carry on their government through the medium of the lieutenant-governor in each province. The duties of the governor-general becoming more arduous and responsible, it would be necessary that the lieutenant-governor of Lower Canada should be obliged to reside at Quebec to assist him in the executive department. The mother country, in founding colonies, ought to bear in mind that she is laying the foundation of future empires, which should be no longer retained under her protection than until the colonies rise into manhood and are able to protect and govern themselves. The fostering care of a watchful government would so essentially attach the infant colony to the mother country, that it would require circumstances of no ordinary nature to destroy the mutual friendship and interest that would exist between them.

In conclusion, I find it incumbent upon me to say a few words regarding the Lower Canadian peasantry, who are stigmatized in the British Parliament as ready to rise in rebellion against the mother country. *This I deny in toto.* Those who entertain such an opinion are little conversant with the habits and feelings of these people. On the contrary, his majesty does not rule over more loyal subjects, or a population more happy and *contented*. They are lightly taxed, and have no grievances to complain of. The *habitant* is warmly attached to old customs, which, though it may render him less enterprising when compared with other Canadians of British origin, yet it has the good effect of preserving those honourable feelings for which he is so justly proverbial.

In fine, Mons. Papineau and his *tail* do not represent the sentiments of the Lower Canadians.

But though the *habitant* is well disposed towards this country, yet there is no calculating how far he may be imposed upon by a designing FACTION, who, for the purpose of forwarding their ambitious views, may work upon the minds of the people, until they imagine

themselves aggrieved by the British government; for the *habitants* are generally illiterate, and therefore unable to judge rightly of the misrepresentations made by this party.

The elections are, for the most part, in the hands of *pettyfogging lawyers* and the *storekeepers*; and, as I have before observed, were the *ballot* to be substituted in place of open voting in the colonies, a much better class of men would probably be elected to serve as representatives in parliament.

The only serious complaint I heard made by the Canadians of French origin, was, that the IRISH emigrants who settled amongst them were so *riotous* and *quarrelsome* that many were induced to change their abode in order to avoid their society. Trifling as this may appear, it has not been neglected by the Papineau party as a means to excite the people, who are styled "*les enfants du sol*, whose RIGHT and TERRITORY are invaded by a race having no sympathy in common with them." They are told "the British Government has no claim to the disposal of the wild land which has been handed down *aux enfants du sol* for their exclusive benefit.

It would consequently be politic in the government to *direct* as much as possible the tide of emigration to parts of the country remote from the settlements of the HABITANTS; yet it is but right to add, that the HABITANTS make a wide distinction between the Irish, Scotch, and English settlers: the two latter they do not appear to dislike, finding their habits are more orderly and similar to their own.

Hoping that allowances will be made for the want of arrangement, and any incidental errors that may exist in the foregoing pages, I remain in anticipation that my opinions will not be uselessly laid before the public.

Junior United Service Club,  
March 14th, 1835.

W. B. C.

THE END.

