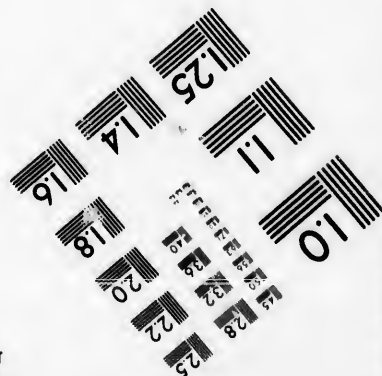
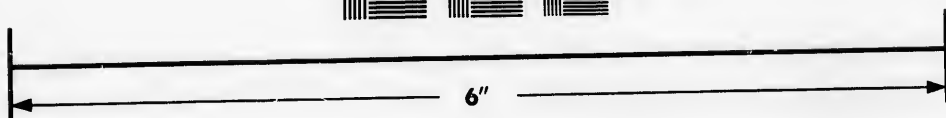
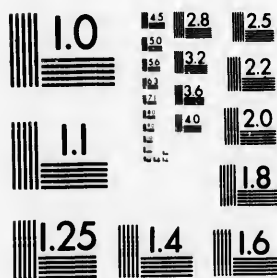


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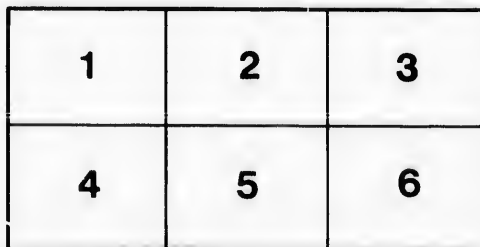
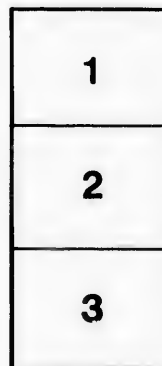
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"OUR ANGLO-SAXON EMPIRE;"

BEING

A REVIEW

OF

THE PRESENT POSITION OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND HER COLONIES.

BY

GEORGE TROUP,

EDITOR OF "THE DAILY MAIL,"

GLASGOW.

LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, & CO.
EDINBURGH: SUTHERLAND & KNOX.
GLASGOW: GEORGE GALLIE.
1850.

Price Twopence.

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OFFICE OF THE WEST OF SCOTLAND RECIPROCITY AND
NATIVE INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION,

8, PRINCES SQUARE, BUCHANAN STREET,

GLASGOW, 1st January, 1850.

The Committee of the WEST OF SCOTLAND RECIPROCITY AND
NATIVE INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION, having ascertained that the
following article has been extensively reprinted and favourably
received in the Colonies, particularly in British America, have
decided to circulate it in this country, considering that it would
be useful in aiding public opinion in the inquiry regarding the
existing position of the Colonies, and the present duty of Great
Britain towards them.

*All Letters and Communications for the Association to be
addressed to the Secretary as above.*

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OUR ANGLO-SAXON EMPIRE.

THE past month is celebrated as the termination of one vast and marked period in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race. Nations, like individuals, grow and increase in stature, strength, and wisdom—hitherto, like individuals, to perish in their strength, or to sink into decay, dotage, and imbecility. Dating from the birth of Alfred, a fair landmark in history, the Anglo-Saxons enter in this November on the second millennium of their strange and noble career. The past thousand years have their vicissitudes of defeat and triumph; but, borne onwards and upwards, the flag that has at last “braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze,” has attained an influence and power far over the highest flights that the Roman eagle, in his ambition, reached. The Norman conquest of England, and its infusion of Norman blood and manners, is but an incident in Saxon history. The Normans are only branches of one great root with the Saxons—a “wavelet” in one tide of humanity, that, sweeping down from “the Persian mountains,” from the world’s centre, from mankind’s cradle, through many lands, to the northern coasts, the ends of the earth, were destined there to become, for a time, the agents of civilization, the teachers of the inhabited, and the conquerors of the wild parts of the earth. We do not confine these remarks exclusively and strictly to the British race—one member, only, of a family—the youngest, and now the most powerful—a family to which the sea-kings of old were patriarchs, and whose branches occupy the

north-western coasts of Europe to the present day. The curious questions connected with the origin of this race are not hidden in mystery so inexplicable that they may not, even yet, be traced out and solved. Investigation and research have not yet been earnestly and fully turned upon this subject, and when they come to be employed in its elucidation; language, mythology, and usages, will throw, if we misapprehend not greatly, a very curious and startling light upon their original history. With that inquiry, undoubtedly a most interesting examination, we have little or nothing to do at present. We are confined to modern history, to the last thousand years, by our own terms, and use them only to furnish the ground for speculation on the future. The Norman invasion we regard, in every sense, as more an apparent than a real inroad on Saxon rule. The invaders were, in reality, part of the same original stock, and they never occupied any great portion of the country, except as its proprietary. They forced back on the Northern English counties, and into Scotland, the Saxon nobles; and for a long period bitter animosity existed between the countries—bitter and unrelenting as the strife of brethren—but the Norman section of the race never greatly promoted the substantial interests of the country, for their victories in France were idle and worthless triumphs; and they are not the men who levelled the forests, tilled the soil, constructed our roads, built up our towns, drained our marshes, made highways of water over our mountains and through our valleys, explored the earth's recesses for their wealth, built and navigated our ships, invented new mechanisms, discovered new countries, extended our manufactures, improved our arts, planted our standard by the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, by the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Indus—who supplanted animal by steam power, and made the mighty

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engines that traverse land and sea, running to and fro upon the earth, and causing knowledge to increase. The Norman share in these triumphs is small, simply because the Normans, as the term is commonly circumscribed, are few. Their share is large as their numbers are great, if within the descriptive title are included all those to whom it really belongs; namely, the greater part of the north-eastern population, as distinguished originally from those in the centre, the western, and the southern districts of Britain. Some of Alfred's admirers regard him as the founder of a separate monarchy, who struggled long against the adverse Danish race. They have not, we think, any good reasons in historical facts, so far as they can now be gleaned out and substantiated, in considering his struggles as materially different in character from those of Robert Bruce against the English Norman Kings, except that the latter were more powerful combatants, and the persons more numerous who were involved in the issue. The difference between the English and Scotch wars, and a war between the British and the Russian people at the present age, is perceptible without much historical knowledge. The former might be more implacable than the latter, without a change of race following victory on either side. There are examples precisely illustrative, in the existing state of Europe. The Danes and Swedes have waged violent wars; and yet they occupy, not so much in territory as in race, the position of the English and the Scotch in former times towards each other. The triumph of either Danes or Swedes would not involve any radical change in Denmark or Sweden; but the conquest of either, or of both, by the Russians, would be a widely different affair. Then, in the attacks of the British fleet on Copenhagen, and in the alliances of the Danes with France against Britain, the Danes themselves found something unnatural; and the inhabitants of

the eastern, and especially of the north-eastern districts of Scotland, participated in their feeling, because the connection of the races is stamped, like the brand on Cain's brow, in lines perceptible to all, and the intimate assimilation of language makes the proof of identity distinct.

The birth of Alfred stamped a broad mark in the history of the British Empire, rather on account of his legislation than his wars. He gave consistency to the laws and power of the British Saxons, by collecting and embodying the scattered fragments of both. He ruled as king, with the assent, and after the instructions of the people, in their Parliament. His reign was, in every particular, prefigurative of the subsequent progress of the nation. He was a scholar, a warrior, a legislator, and the munificent patron of discovery and navigation—in themselves the origin and means of commerce. Alfred's reign commenced a millennium in British history, which has now closed. Hitherto we have gone forward in power, increasing in population, in influence, and wealth. Hereafter shall we retrograde into the insignificance of eastern kingdoms and empires, that seemed born only to grow and die? The answer closely concerns all our population, and should be pondered well. The withdrawal of the United States, at the close of the last century, neither, we think, increased British influence, nor improved American manners. The United States are not so free from vice as prudent parents would wish to see their children in their youth, or early manhood. They seem to be hot in dispute, prone to quarrel, and fond of casting every misunderstanding into the scale of war, opposite their swords. They have displayed towards weaker races little of that philanthropy which should be the chivalry of our time. Their position presents many palliating circumstances; but, as yet, ambition and avarice unfit the democracy of the States

for noble deeds. If we look upon the map of the world, we find the possessions of Britain scattered over every quarter. A superficial glance will leave the impression that they are disjointed and fragmentary; and we only reach the conviction that they are compact and naturally knit together, after a careful examination of their position, population, and produce. We hold it essential for the interest of the people in this country, of the inhabitants of our possessions, of our colonists, of great principles in commerce, great objects in morals and science, and a mighty result in religion, that this empire should be maintained and upheld. It can be destroyed only from within, unless through some great intervention, which we have no reason to anticipate. Its chief danger is, therefore, from within—from ourselves and our errors. Some years ago, the aristocracy did all within their power to alienate our colonists, and destroy our possessions. They refused to the former participation in our commerce, in our legislation, in the management of our affairs, and treated them as aliens. The selfish principle blinded them even to their own self-interest, and they treated the colonies, and ultramarine possessions, as warming-pans for scions of their families. The great power of the empire was never conferred for that ignoble purpose, but to that end it was prostituted. A day of retribution arrived. Another party rose into power, deficient in sentiment, careless of any influence not connected with ledgers and Adam Smith—as destitute of chivalrous feelings as their predecessors were devoid of justice—and they threaten to cut off the colonies. The influence that retains the British people together must be strong, to resist years of successive and violent temptations to separate. The design of casting off the colonies is now openly avowed by the subordinates of the Government; but, if ever their superiors propose a bill

for that purpose in Parliament, they will learn that they have completely miscalculated the temper of the people.

The Ministry will not follow that plain path. They will continue to insult, misgovern, and oppress, in expectation of the consequences. They will sustain Torrington, the Governor, and priest-whipper, in Ceylon; they will give certificates of good conduct to the More O'Ferrals, who may turn our fortresses into the tools of the Jesuits—knighthood to Wards, who hang Cephalonians like the Haynaus—peerages to the Elgins, who hide in the woods from the presence of the colonists whom they have successfully involved in trouble—and all manner of support to the dozens of governors in over-taxed islets who demand for themselves more money than the colonists earn. This is the habit of the Colonial Office. An effort to part the colonies from home, made avowedly and manfully, would not be successful. The people would at once lay the treason prostrate. Therefore, a deeper scheme is invented. The colonists are teased, tormented, and smothered with constitutions. Here they are threatened with an inundation of paupers; there with an infusion of felons and felony. Now they are pressed to the earth, and money squeezed out of them hydraulically to pay governors and officials, over whose appointments and dismissal they have no power; again, they are forbidden to employ labourers, except with permission, behest, and benison, from Earl Grey. In one quarter land is rendered of dangerous and difficult attainment; in another it is squandered away in grants to favourites and pets, with guilty profusion. An immense and valuable island, the property of the people of this country, is gifted bodily to an idle company, who immediately advertise its former owners, through the newspapers, that they are at liberty to come and buy portions of their own land

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back again at a reasonable price ; and the Colonial Secretary, Under Secretary, and the whole bundle of officials, read the advertisements without blushing, in the company of honest men whose property they have squandered. Losing shareholders in railways talk bitterly of Hudson, and have never a word to say of Hawes. We believe Hudson to be comparatively upright, for he never gave away a whole concern in bulk to Mr. Secretary so-and-so, or to self and others, like the York and North Midlands, or the Eastern Counties; but the transaction of Vancouver's Island with the Hudson-Bay Company is a commercial story that will never tell well for the present Ministry. We hope that none of them, or of their connections, relatives, subordinates, and menials, hold deeply in the Hudson-Bay Company ; for in that case, instead of playing over their remains "the fool's step," it would be necessary to employ "the rogue's march." Both Hudson and Hawes are the victims, in their several lines, perhaps, of a bad system ; but the victimising may incapacitate them for managing public affairs. This is the charitable conclusion ; and yet meek charity confesses, in a constrained whisper, that mortals of their calibre seldom give away their own property with the recklessness apparent in one of these cases. At home we are told assiduously that the colonies don't pay. Of course they don't. They would be very remarkable colonies, indeed, if they did pay. Though their log roads were paved four inches deep with beaten gold, and their ploughshares glazed diamonds, how could they pay, with a determination, on the managers' part, that they should cost more than they produced ? The interest, dignity, and honour of the empire, are trampled down beneath fictitious crotchets and absurd fantasies, in the name of liberal government and constitutional freedom. In the name of freedom ! Did ever a democracy so govern colonies, oppress industry, and rob

its component parts? Give us a democracy, and we shall see, in three months, a different style of government, inaugurated amid a federation of colonies and states, zealous for their mutual honour, profit, and power. The crush is coming because we are governed by an aristocracy of money, and a conglomeration of pothouse legislators. The aristocracy is pitiful, for they have no power in their own house, but are screwed up by the Iron Duke when he wants them. In mechanics, now, workmen call any great power employed by them, a last shift, in doing work—an ultimate resort of mind struggling with matter—"the Whigs' Iron Duke." The theory of management in politics is comprehended in workshops. When a clever tailor wants to press down a stiff and rebellious seam, he does not ask the boy for the goose, but says, "Hand me the Iron Duke, Tim;" and up to the board it is borne, hot and hissing, to do its work. The legislators, in the Commons, are not pothouse members more than any other legislators, in the ordinary sense of the term. Perhaps there are more sherry cobblers used by the gentlemen of Washington, than goes of gin by the gentlemen of Westminster, in a session. We know not the prevailing custom, though occasionally honourable members do get drunk; but we do not call them pothouse legislators on that account, for they comprehend a large body of most decorous and respectable men; our reason arises from their official, and not from their personal capacities. Are there six borough members amongst them elected without the consent and by the influence of the spirit-shop and beer-house interest, especially if in the calculation the votes of licensed victuallers be included? We confess that the latter class of tradesmen, except in small boroughs, where mine host goes with his customers, and puts it in the bill, give good votes, and many of the former also, or we should have a parliament of brewers, distillers, and refiners solely;

but the fact remains, that, from the forms and peculiarities of our franchise, the interest named can often return the member against the world, and always so turn a point as to make their own bargain. Let us now return to our subject. This Anglo-Saxon empire is hastening onwards to a precipice. Is it worth while to turn the chase, save our position in the world, and use the gifts of Providence for our own and other nations' good? We hold that a variety of interests are concerned in averting a catastrophe:—

- 1st, The interest of the people at home.
- 2d, „ „ of the Colonists.
- 3d, „ „ of commerce and genuine free-trade.
- 4th, „ „ of morals and intellect; and
- 5th, „ „ of religion.

The first and the second may be stated together with great brevity. A common argument by those who have given to the subject all the advantages of very shallow study is, that we should sell and buy as freely and profitably with the colonies, after they were independent states, as in their present position. So we should, of course, if in the case of any large firm—Brown, Smith, & Co., for example—Mr. Brown would have the same interest in Mr. Smith's doings and earnings, and Mr. Smith in Mr. Brown's, after the dissolution of their partnership, as during its continuance. A partnership dissolved by mutual consent would not be followed by a result of that character. The parties might say and believe that they could each do better separately; and this is what some writers say and some thinkers believe regarding the colonial connection. A company might, from that motive, be amicably dissolved; and, if no difficulties arose regarding the accounts and settlements, the partners might remain on terms of personal intercourse and friendship; but the mutual interest in their respective personal

endeavours would immediately cease. They might make more money individually than each had obtained for his share in their collective profits, but they could not have the same mutual interest that had previously subsisted. The assertion we combat runs not that the colonies and the mother country would both gain by a separation; but that they might and would transact, after that event, the same amount of business together that now takes place between them. This assertion is neither consistent with reason nor experience. The United States occupy towards us the same position now that the colonies would necessarily take after their separation. The United States afford a most favourable illustration, because, on account of the British habits and tastes of their population, no other country takes so large an amount of goods from our producers. The purchases of British manufactures in the United States do not at present exceed 7s. 6d. for each of the population. The purchases of British manufactures in the poorest colonies approach to six times that sum. The Australian colonies form an exceptional case, on account of their small population and general prosperity; but, in 1845, their purchase of British manufactures amounted to £2,189,000, which, according to Mr. R. Montgomery Martin, was equivalent to a sum of £7 14s. 3d. for each of that colonial population. Incidental causes, always following great legislative changes, have injured the trade of the West Indian and North American colonies; but their purchases of British goods have always amounted to five times the quantity taken by the inhabitants of the United States, individually. We expect that Mr. Montgomery Martin's new work on the history and resources of the British colonies* will be useful in explaining more fully, and in a more popular style than has yet been done, the value of these possessions.

* Published by J. & T. Tallis, London.

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At page 20 of the first number, he recapitulates the general average exports to the colonies thus—

British India and Ceylon, ...	£6,000,000
North American Colonies, ...	4,500,000
West Indies, ...	3,500,000
Australian Colonies, ...	2,000,000
African Settlements, ...	2,000,000
European and other Settlements,	2,000,000

£20,000,000

Let us suppose that by casting off the colonies we reduce this trade to the proportion of our best foreign customers, the United States; then divide 20 by 5, and we have 4—that is, £4,000,000 of annual exports as the result, instead of the present £20,000,000; and a deficiency in our annual sales of £16,000,000. We have not the means of reckoning, at present, the precise sum produced by this trade after paying for the raw material required in these various productions, and imported from foreign countries; but we produce, at home, part of all the various raw materials required for clothing fabrics, except silks, cotton, and dyes. We produce wool, and now flax and hemp, in large quantities; and they enter into part of all the finished goods, in their class, which we export. In the hardware, iron, and metal trades, we produce the raw material in this country. We therefore reckon £12,000,000 the amount of wages which, in cutting the colonial cord, we are advised to throw away—that being three-fourths of the deficiency of £16,000,000 which the proposed change will cause, if our colonies—after their annexation with some other state, or after their independence has been achieved—purchase from us on an equality with our best foreign customer.

The value of these extra purchases does not appear from the money paid in wages. That sum alone now yields employment to a great number of men, and sup-

port to many families, for whom, when it fails, provision must be made in some other way—probably from the poor-rates. The nation could consume itself, and that operation would go forward until our debts were repudiated, our credit destroyed, and the earnings of the most industrious classes mortgaged. We are told of a remedy. If we sell not, it is said we cannot buy; and it is said truly, that we cannot buy after our money is done, and our credit gone. The evil, it is confidently asserted, will cure itself. All evils cure themselves in the same way. Fevers wear themselves out, but they leave their subject weakened or dead; extravagance comes to an end, when the spendthrift is poor or ruined. We must buy less, say these Jobian comforters; so we must buy less, eat less, and wear less; but what availeth it to the paralysed arm of industry that it has been bound up by extravagance on the one hand, or old monopoly on the other? If nations do not trade with us, we are assured that they must injure themselves; but what do we gain by their loss? That helps us not. They may become wretched, in sharing our misery, without alleviating our distress. The disjointed colonies, we are told, will not increase their import duties on our goods after they are fairly in business for themselves; but who authorised any man to make that statement? The lying spirit that tempted statesmen to believe Mr. Bancroft, and trust in his promises of reciprocity from the United States. The democracy of the colonies will do what all other democracies in all ages have done, will yield to the temptation of apparently providing for their own interests, and will protect labour. The only difference between them and our old aristocracy is, that they will not protect game, or large estates. In other respects they will obey natural instincts until they be philosophised; and that process cannot be completed in our times. We have no reason to presume that they will

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adopt any other course. The Canadian Parliament has already shown its disposition. Canadian parties have avowed their tenets. The strongheaded British League, and the less substantial French conclaves in the lower province, agree in one part of policy—protection to Canadian labour—taxes in favour of Canadian shuttles, forges, awls, and needles. They yield to a human passion; untempered, in their case, by “Smith’s Wealth of Nations,” the cheap edition, with notes analytical and practical. The patriotism of the native Canadian joins with the disaffection of many of the Irish emigrants in accomplishing the adoption of measures that seem to yield at least the immediate sustenance of provincial artisans. A similar course will be commenced in all the colonies. When our flag is expelled, our goods will follow. They will be taxed out of them, to the loss, we believe, of the colonists themselves; who will sink, in less productive employments, the labour and the money that should be employed in clearing forests and cultivating farms.

The sacrifice of the colonies is the demission of property by persons who cannot pay their debts. It is a fraudulent assignment, by an embarrassed nation, of property, without any benefit. The value of fixed property in Great Britain is reckoned equal to five times the national debt. One gentleman, we believe, makes it equal to ten times the debt, and proposes one great tax of ten per cent. for its extirpation. That is an open course. Let us be just ere we be generous. Let us pay that debt ere we further weaken the security; for these valuations of property are perfectly fictitious, but the debt is real. How many landowners and mortgagees have discovered that debt and its interest were fixed, while the price of land was moveable. Fixed fasts and moveable feasts are the fate of the embarrassed. Cholera reduced travelling, for a few weeks in August and Septem-

ber. The weekly receipts in railways fell in consequence; the London and North Western line being some £8,000, in all, short of last year's fares. Terror immediately seized weak holders. The number of sellers became greater than that of buyers, and the stock was affected 10 per cent. The value of the London and North Western Railway fell by £2,000,000 on account of this £8,000. All other railway property was diminished in value, by similar causes, in a greater or lesser proportion. But if all railway property were offered for sale together, it might be had for an old song, yet the debentures would not change. An Irish estate, from which all the farmers have combined to sweep off corn and cattle, and pay no rent, will bring very little in the market. A man with ten thousand a-year may die of starvation, in one of his own ditches, under these circumstances. A cotton mill will be had wonderfully cheap, if there be no cotton to spin, or merchants refuse the yarns at any price. All these catastrophes will not affect the weight and sharpness of the debt pressing on the English people. It must be paid; and, therefore, they must have business out of which to make profits and pay interest. So they cannot voluntarily cast away their colonial trade without dishonesty. "Never fear," indeed, say those who inferentially or directly advise that course, "never fear—trade will flow in—demand will arise—if you buy you must sell somewhere, and to somebody." These are all nice generalities. They are mere assumptions, laid down without any proof of their accuracy. Hopes and expectations are very fine, but they cannot be put into a ledger. We desiderate facts, and behold we are offered anticipations, wishes, desires, hopes, Will o' the Wisps—mere bog candles, the miasma of morbid minds. We can only buy if we sell. True: when our money is done; when our accumulated stock is squandered; but we may neither sell nor buy largely;

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and is it a comfort to our operative classes that they are to be led into misery by the new road instead of the old? To all these statements, the ready answer is in questions—Are not the working classes comfortable now? Is not food cheap, good, and abundant? Are not work and wages fair in amount and quantity? We do not deny these statements, but in the meantime we have our colonial trade, impaired in some instances, but still existing, and in the present year greatly increasing. Even with its increase, our exports have not kept pace with our imports. The returns of the Board of Trade, quoted in the press as the evidence of growing prosperity, prove the reverse. All the journals quote them exultingly, because these returns are one-sided. They give a money value to our exports which is presumed to be correct, and is, nevertheless, a mere assumption. The price put down may be realised in the continental and colonial trades, but many exports to the independent States of America do not produce their nominal value. Some large manufacturers treat the States' markets as safety valves, into which they throw their surplus goods, and take their chance of prices. We cannot, therefore, feel assured that our exports produce the value put on them in the returns of the Board of Trade; but the price of the imports can be easily ascertained. The returns in the meantime are deceptive. The figures are not cooked, but the system is doctored. Mr. Newdegate, a protective member, anxious to return to protection and monopoly, published a pamphlet, some time ago, in which he endeavoured to show that the balance of trade for several years was largely against this country. The pamphlet was vigorously assailed, and holes were cut in it by the exponents of the existing nondescript system of trading in this country. They found out, or said that they had discovered, one mistake here and another there; but the plain and vexing fact remains,

that while our exports have increased in 1849 over 1848, yet our imports have grown far more rapidly. If any man will take pen in hand, and calculate the cost of grain imported in 1849, he will discover the excess of the present year hitherto over 1848 to be more than all the increase of our exports, even at their nominal value. We have also been importing other articles more largely; and the balance of trade is this year, up to 10th October, against us by a sum of at least £4,000,000, likely to be made £5,000,000 or £6,000,000 before we close. A minute examination into these details will disclose the fact, that our great additional sales have been colonial, or to those markets where our goods are admitted almost free—to China, to Turkey, and equally liberal powers; for, strangely enough, the Heathens are wiser than the Christians in this respect. Those new tariffs, again, that the Christian states, by courtesy so called, have recently passed, are injurious to us. The United States talk of raising their duties. Hamburg has joined the Zollverein. Switzerland has raised its rate of taxes on imports. The new Spanish tariff is an increased tax on many goods, and on all secures the carrying trade by a differential duty of greater amount than the freight added on goods brought by any except Spanish vessels.

All these facts will drive us backward, unless some decisive measures be soon adopted. Happy in a Parliament that may live until 1852 or 1853, the Whig Ministry, more powerful in the press than any preceding Administration, rejoice over their salaries—handsome in amount, and paid quarterly: But they do know, that the elections, as they occur, are not gratifying to their supporters. They have Ireland demurely recurring to murder, as a daily practice, and adding thereto the wholesale theft of crops. They have all the colonies at war with their secretary and

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his staff. They have Jamaica, Guiana, and other possessions, refusing to levy taxes, and running up arrears which this overpressed British people must clear away. All these misunderstandings exist because the Colonial Office, in a body, have registered a vow, at the respective bankers of the various gentlemen, against paying to their friends, or taking for themselves, a penny or a pound less than is in the bonds. The Cape Town colony refused one of our exports—our surplus felony—and by their determination beat Earl Grey and his “merry men all;” but the Cape Town has a talented soldier as governor, and who, while he expressed his determination to enforce the law, concealed not his conviction that the imports of felons were unnecessary, and highly prejudicial. Port Philip, most assuredly, will gain a similar triumph. Any colony, not in the fangs of the family, can beat the Office in the long run; but those unfortunate possessions, once handed over to one of “our cousins,” are in a bad way for constitutional redress.

The colonies are in danger. The empire is parting. We are in the progress downwards, and commence our second millennium, as Anglo-Saxons, with bad prospects, unless our policy be decisively and rapidly changed.

What, then, do we require? We are neither retrogressive, conservative, nor obstructive. These terminations suit us not. We are for progress. It is a good word, and implies a necessity. We must progress backwards or onwards. Now we are going back. Peel's impulse sent us on a bad track. He is a plausible leader; and, accused by his party of deserting them, he may only have played a deep game for their good. Quintus Curtius like, he rode his horses, pride and place, into the gulf, and bade it close to save his friends. He found true free trade inevitable, unless he could hit out a mixture, under the name, that would

not work, with the hope that the patient would fall back into the practice of the old pills, and the prescriptions of the old doctors. This is one solution of his movements, and it may be not less true than others.

We want free trade as a world's blessing—a bond of peace—a source of mutual and ever-growing happiness and prosperity; but it is the trade expounded in Colonel Thompson's catechism of the corn laws, when the weaver here may freely exchange his web with the farmer elsewhere for a barrel of flour, or whatever the former requires and the latter can sell. This result is not yet obtained. The State, for public purposes, intervenes, and charges a high sum for license to make the transaction. The only advance made is, that our Government gets, in many cases, no share of this money contributed by two nations; for wherever a high import tax is charged on goods, it is paid partly by both buyer and seller. The absurd idea that we have no interest in the tariffs of foreign countries is abolished. No sane man would now name it before an intelligent audience. Some men say that we do well in spite of high tariffs, but they will not deny that we could do better without them. Let us, therefore, try for the better fate, and not rest contented with cuts of prosperity, when we may pluck the fruit unchipped and unblemished from the tree. The position of our trade with the United States and the European powers, with few exceptions, is that of a taxed business, in which the proceeds of the tax are all paid over to foreign governments. The trade with the colonies, with China, Turkey, and some other countries, is also a taxed business, but one in which we keep very nearly all the proceeds of the taxation. The system is, therefore, unequal and unjust, and demands an immediate revisal, in justice to China, to Turkey, to foreign Heathens and colonial Christians—but the latter class of sufferers, in Canada, take re-

paration into their own hands. The decomposition of the empire would be most injurious to free trade principles, for it would add the colonies to the taxing countries; while the existence of the empire would be highly beneficial to free intercourse, because it is at once a great British League, superior to the Zollverein, to the United States, and to Russia; within which alone we can show, by example, the beneficial operation of our theories. This circumstance should influence the conduct of liberal politicians. Foreign nations may refuse to reciprocate our purposes; but the colonies desire nothing more than untaxed trade between them and the home country, which should be only the centre and heart of the empire. Foreign nations may decree exclusive dealing in times of such distress and scarcity as we have felt and seen, but the stores of the colonies are always open to our population, and no arbitrary decree can ever come between them and our requirements. The union between this country and its colonies should be complete—a federative union, in which they should be fairly and fully represented. The advantages and honours open to the Queen's subjects in the Lothians or Lancashire should be equally open to them in Jamaica or in Canada. Objections of a chimerical character may be made to this arrangement, on account of distance and other difficulties, but Halifax, in Nova Scotia, is not now farther from London than Edinburgh was at the period of the union, while the difficulties and dangers of intercourse in the first case are fewer than they were in the last. A difference in taxation is already recognised in Scotland, and in Ireland especially, so that this provision need not mar the scheme. A small tax on now waste public lands, as they may be allocated, would meet the colonial share of taxation, and would not injure the colonists; for their great interest

is bound up in the rapid sale and cultivation of the wastes and forests around their homes.

This position brings us to another and important argument for maintaining the empire in its present extent and strength. The people of this country are responsible for a heavy national debt. A large part of the sum has been incurred for the benefit, defence, and maintenance of the colonies. If they are sacrificed, we lose all that money, although we must continue to pay the interest, and finally, perhaps, the principal. The unallocated lands of the colonies may fairly be regarded as security and value for part of this debt; and as our legislators pass them away, they abandon the value which the people of Britain possessed for a great transaction, but compel them to pay its price. A committee of investigation into the conduct of these trustees, like those committees recently appointed to examine the affairs of railway companies, would present a black report on past grants. Our government has no more right to deal with public property as they have dealt, than the directors of a railway have first to construct a branch by payments out of the company's funds, and then make it over to a few private individuals for nothing. The Hudsons and the Glyns would be held personally responsible, to their last shilling, for a proceeding of that nature; and the Greys had better watch warily their conduct, for a great infusion of the popular principle into the House of Commons might be dangerous to them. This superiority over the colonies may have been, in practice, balanced off against trading privileges; but on their abolition, which is occurring rapidly, we would lose everything except the debt.

Are these trading privileges valuable? The returns of exports answer that question. A great portion of the press quote in triumph the increased exports of 1849. They form a legitimate subject of triumph,

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but they have mainly occurred in the colonial trade, and the business with countries that charge on our goods a colonial duty. They illustrate the great advantage of untaxed intercourse, but they do not support the hybrid measures which modern statesmen dignify by the name of free trade.

If material interests alone stood in the way of those pestiferous projects of decomposition entertained silently by some men, whispered in treachery's silken dialect by others, spoken complacently as a foreknown doom by political fatalists, we should still oppose them with what energy we could command. But interests dearer still than profit or property—treasures nobler much than those of gold—are staked upon a conflict, with the existence of which the people of this country seem scarcely yet acquainted, although in it they are so deeply interested. The progress of science, of intellect, of morals, and faith, is ultimately associated with the existence of this empire. In times, and ways many, we have actively sinned against the interests of the aborigines in our colonies and possessions, the uncounted millions committed to our care; and in instances innumerable, we have neglected them. Now, at least in many minds, a new sense of duty is awakened. Our responsibilities are acknowledged. The power of our position for almost infinite good is felt. The woe that must fall from neglecting our talents for a merciful mission on the earth is perceived. The East looks to us for light and liberty, and we dare not wisely reject the appeal. The West offers homes for our race, and we need not ungraciously cut off from us for ever those of our number who accept the invitation. Africa is friendless amongst the nations in its barbarous and cruel traffic if we abandon a noble and self-imposed task. India illustrates our power and increases our responsibility. Only a few years have passed since India was considered merely a *terra in-*

cognita where adventurous spirits sought death or fortune. The interests of the people were contemned, and yet, how marvellously they clung to the strangers from the west! Now, our Indian connexion is changed. Our power is no longer employed to prevent the influx of knowledge, of capital, and skill, into Hindostan. Our steamers breast its noble rivers. Our engineers are employed in the construction of its future railways. Our men of science engage in devising means for its improvement. Our language is spoken, read, and written, by its merchants in their commercial dealings. Our books are bought—our science learned—our literature sought with avidity by the Hindoos. Our schools are established in their cities, and our churches are scattered, not profusely, but as the seed of a great harvest, over the Eastern land. And what has India done for us? Some years since we charged a differential duty against Indian sugars in the home market, and their quality was bad. That duty was equalised, and the sugars of Benares are now the highest-priced of our imports. A similar result will occur with cotton. The impediments to its transit will be removed, and India will furnish more than our spindles can work or our looms can weave. We want no raw material that India cannot produce, and is not willing to give in exchange for our manufactures. The intercourse requires no money from us. It is one entirely of barter, on which, therefore, we have a double profit. Its finances fully meet its expenses, and yield a dividend on all the money invested in its management. Its sons fight our battles—under our flag they have won their way from the plain to the mountains. Once more they have placed the Anglo-Saxon race on the Highlands of Central Asia; and on us rests a deep responsibility if we light not on their summits the torches of all knowledge, and of all freedom's blessings, until the old home of the human race arise

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again in more than the splendour that it bore when noble cities studded the Euphrates and the Tigris, and busy millions lived and struggled on that river's banks which has its springs among the mighty mountains, from which mankind have twice descended to cultivate and inhabit the plains below. A nobler destiny could not be imagined for any people than to redeem Asia from its dreary night of thick darkness and superstition; to build again its "old waste places"—to turn its neglected plains into fertile fields, once more to train upon its terraced mountains the culture long abandoned—to lead its multitudes into the paths of peace, and science, and religious faith; to be the prophetic "Kings of the East," living with its many nations in amity, and ruling where we rule, through the law of love; in justice and in mercy.

We believe that the interests of morality, intelligence, and religion, are deeply concerned in the maintenance of this empire. The facilities and security afforded by it to those who have information to convey; to those who oppose the cruelties practised by, and often on, the aborigines of distant lands; and especially to those who are engaged in propounding the great religious truths which comprehend all other information in their progress, are of unspeakable value. Let Tahiti teach to the contributors of missionary societies the importance of this empire. They expended men and money on Tahiti, to render the island, its people, and the liberty that they had been taught to enjoy, a more desirable prize for the spoiler. Within the British possessions, they have the security of the British power that no similar event will interrupt the progress of their missionaries who go forth under the flag of their country, their friends, and their supporters. Half the danger of missionary labour is cleared away to them. The law, that made the homes of their youth peaceable and secure, casts its protec-

tion over their steps through all their generous pilgrimages. Their voluntary exile is shorn of half its sadness. The symbols of their country's power, assuming gradually the character of symbols also of its justice, are around and above them. The shield of their nation's greatness is interposed between them and aggression. The prestige of their country's fame favours, or it may be made to favour, their exertions. A charm hangs over their language to the Hindoo. He seeks to know the history, the literature, and the condition, of the once strange western race, who are slowly assuming towards his people the position of guides and allies, rather than of conquerors. The influence is powerful; for the man who wants to learn our language, to read our history, to study our literature, will reach his objects through our faith. The missionary has torn himself and his family from the endearments, associations, and advantages of home. The land to which he has wandered is strange to him and them. The companionship they loved is severed for long, or for ever—for ever in time. Even the inanimate existences around speak not to them the language of past years. They miss the trees of their own country, and the olive compensates them not for the pine. The flowers which they cherished and tended in their northern home are the wayside weeds of the southern and eastern lands. Their flaunting, gaudy colours speak not to the stranger's heart like the deep green of an English field. Hills covered with roses would not repay the northern wanderer for the purple heath of his own mountains. The sky above is not like that on which their infant eyes first rested, as, from gowany banks and braes, they looked, and watched, and wondered, at the strange shapes that floated far, far above the land, and marvelled whence they came, or whither they were going, and whose hidden hands were piloting their course. The sun of day is not the kindly sun whose presence ever

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cheered and made glad their home, but a searching, scorching fire, from which they shrink and hide as from the pestilence, for the stroke of death is in its potent beams. The stars at night are new to them, and are not those on which they looked in childhood, and grew to know and love, and measure winter evenings by, from their place in the heavens. All things are changed but one—the flag that floats on public days in public places is still the same; still its folds, thrown out to the warm wind, show old figures and familiar colours, and bring a host of associations to the mind—genial, warm, and blissful—not less valuable than the shield this flag spreads over the meanest subject of the empire which it represents. The wanderer feels still the force of that one potent fragment. It averts the stroke of persecution, secures an interest in his wondrous story, imparts force to his argument, and gives him a place at once amongst those for whom he works, that long years of faithful service might not command. Its presence includes other considerations. It indicates the neighbourhood of his countrymen, and leaves him not the solitary representative of his race. Some men, with kindred feelings, are near, to stand by him in danger, to cheer him in depression, to aid him in trouble, in sorrow, in sickness, to bury him in death. All these advantages are not to be estimated statistically. Their worth cannot be charged in pounds sterling—their existence does not affect the exchanges; and yet they may be worth more than gold can buy, they may lift up hands that are waxed feeble, impart consolation to hearts that are bruised, and vigour to spirits fainting under many cares. No man can look over the world's map, read the history of our possessions on the globe, form an acquaintance with the position of their inhabitants, and not feel that we may decline the task that these possessions imply, resign the advantages that they afford,

give the world another example of an empire crumbling by the degeneracy of its people; but not thus fulfil our apparent destiny, not realise our real responsibilities, and not repay by our knowledge whatever of evil may have been inflicted in the attainment of our empire.

The French republic has followed the monarchy in shielding the Pope, and aiding the Propaganda. We have no wish to deprecate such just measures as France may adopt for that purpose. France, with a faith of any kind, would be better than France with frivolity. A deep, strong tide of superstition would be a richer stream in France than the shallow theories that have run over the land. But French statesmen say that they are bound to be not only the propounders of the faith, but *fidei milites*. They want the general business of Romanism. They keep the Pope, as Pharaoh's Premier was supposed to keep a cup, wherewith to divine. M. Thiers and M. Barrot care no more for the Pope than they do for the Grand Lama. They hardly esteem him so highly as General Cavaignac, who described him as that "respectable person." Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, we fear, can scarcely have an estimable character in those nunneries where vows are religiously observed. Unless in the article of absolutism, these French gentlemen have little traffic of an ecclesiastical nature; and even in that case they take the matter greatly into their own hands. A human being in sacerdotal office could not contain the confessions that they would whisper if they made a clean breast at regular intervals. Devout Roman Catholics may not like these defenders; but although they are not much in earnest regarding religion, they desire power, and they want to "cozen" the priesthood, who, in the end, will prove to be the most sagacious diplomatists. These French gentlemen say that Russia helps the Greek Church, England the Bible Societies, and France must take the Pope by the hand. We deny and re-

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pudiate any fighting aid to Bible Societies from England. All that they can expect is protection in their transactions. Britain promises only fair play within her dominions to different religions. That is something widely different from those holy twenty-four-pounders used for converting purposes in Tahiti and Cochin China, used nominally in that way. The demission of our power now would merely give these buccannere *in nomine fidei* freedom to knock down every mission station in the world. Liberal-minded Roman Catholics want no such triumph. They seek a willing assent to their tenets, like other professors; but French statesmen, who merely use the Church as a cloak for political objects, teach by the sabre, convince by the bayonet, take bullets for dogmas, artillery officers for priests, and marshals of the republic for bishops of the Popedom, want no such just dealings.

The religious public have a thrilling and vital interest in maintaining this empire, that they may work beneath its shadow. Our crimes have been many in its formation; yet are we now the only permanent and powerful state to which outraged men and women, stolen, sold, and tortured, may look with confidence for aid. The anti-slavery party in every land should remember that fact. We gave twenty millions for the negroes of the West India Islands, and many millions more to prevent and punish the crime of man-stealing. The annexation of these colonies to the United States would undo all that has been completed. The twenty millions would be lost for ever, and that would be the smallest loss. The United States' immigrants would insist on restoring slavery. The negroes would necessarily oppose that scheme. They have now amongst them men of information—members of the legislature, and of the learned professions. They would want neither will nor leaders for war; but it would be a cruel contest, invoking all the horrors

of domestic strife. The anti-slavery party in Britain must re-awaken. They have been hounded by political narcotics. In the West India Islands they hold the keys of negro freedom and Africa's emancipation. They might make these isles schools for Africa. It would be better and cheaper than an armed nautical blockade of Africa to purchase the negroes as they are brought to the coast, ship them to the West Indian islands, employ them in field labour, bestow on them intellectual and industrial education, place them under the care of missionaries; cultivate, through them or the native Negroes, all the islands, and make them depots from which, in a few years, the once timid captives will be returned to the African coast, civilised farmers, Christian citizens of that great continent, who will effectually blockade the rivers, stop slave traffic, and teach the value of labourers to the chieftains, by demonstrating their power to earn all that Europe can sell, from their labour.

That is the way in which a mortal stab can be given to slavery and the slave trade. More teaching and tilling, more produce, more civilization, are the chinks in its armour. Freework will beat slave labour, if justice be done; but there must be no intervention between the labourer and the planter, except such intervention as everywhere can be called into force between the employed and the employer.

But do the Anti-slavery men of this country now seek the extirpation of slavery? Are they not content with its expulsion from our own territories? Do they not even participate in its gains? Say they not we are not the Artful Dodgers, but merely the Fagans of the profession? Are they not averse to steal, but willing to be reseters of stolen goods? Because they say we must buy cotton, do they not maintain also that they should buy all other slave-grown produce? Do they not hold that if piracy, robbery, and murder be

only committed openly and avowedly, they may lawfully share in their bloody gains? Having neglected cotton culture till it has fallen almost entirely into the hands of slave-owners, do they not now reason that these men should also be allowed to establish, by most brutal crimes, a monopoly in the growth of all tropical produce?

We cannot answer these questions, but we know that freedom is dear now to the people of Britain as it ever was—that Christian principle is not weaker than before—that they will not prefer a theory to morality—that if shown a better way than any which they follow now, they will turn into that path, even though it should be beset with apparent difficulties.

What, then, do we ask? To revive old monopolies?—to resuscitate protection?—to galvanise dry bones?—to shovel out the Atlantic with a dustpan? Certainly these ideas are not sought by us. We seek freedom in all transactions—all possible and profitable freedom; but, preferring the interests of our own people to those of any other nation, when asked if we can continue to fight hostile tariffs with free imports, we answer that we may, but we dislike fighting, and prefer equal terms, justice, and friendship. We have no desire to see our soldiers or sailors commencing a conflict with an arm each tied up, and clogs chained to their ancles. That, however, is now the dilemma of our operatives. They are commercially crippled. The currency monopoly, the land monopoly, and heavy taxes, are their clogs, while the hostile tariffs tie up their arms. A small demonstration would cast off both clogs and cords. Whenever the United States, Germany, France, Spain, and Russia learn that we are dreaming of a Zollverein, of a federal union amongst our colonies, forming the world in miniature, producing all that we require, offering larger fields than we can cultivate, and a greater demand

than we can supply, a genuine free trade party will arise in all those countries, and we shall be near the realization of free, unchecked, untaxed intercourse with the world. The result is sufficiently great to warrant the experiment. It is a result in which all are concerned—the members of trades' societies—the advocates of sanitary reform—the friends of education—the supporters of ten hours' bills, of anti-truck, anti-female-mining, and anti-female-stitching-to-death associations—the opponents of slavery and serfdom in all lands—the propounders of justice to weak races, and the propagators of the glorious faith that breaks every bond it touches, and scatters freedom's light and faith's peace and joy over every heart and every land to which its knowledge penetrates.

This Anglo-Saxon empire must be saved, to work out at home, in the colonies, in Africa, in Asia, in America, a noble mission of love and truth. Let it die now in its first millennium, and it will leave a checquered memory on earth. Let it live to exhibit generosity and power for a century—to employ its great means for the good of even one generation—to educate, emancipate, and enfranchise, wherever its power extends; and its name will be a household word, spoken with love, in countless homes, for ages.

The last thousand years present a varied but a noble history. We have reached the power to do good, to struggle successfully against want, crime, ignorance, superstition, and injustice, amongst a greater population than ever were previously banded together. But the links are loose, the chain is weakened, and these objects can only be effected by concentrating our colonies, by eliciting their resources, by assisting them heartily and sincerely, by regarding them as the safest investment for capital, and the surest field for labour and skill, by inviting them into the grand Council of the State, and by making them truly and practically extensions

of Britain. They have been alienated and neglected, with loss to them and us; but their effective junction and fusion into one great state will realise the largest conceptions of the wisest men, and the brightest visions that genius ever formed. The union of a few scattered Saxon tribes signalised the reign of Alfred, and the commencement of the last thousand years. The reunion of their descendants, on equal terms, in a firmer bond, should distinguish the reign of Victoria at the commencement of the second great period of the empire; not merely for a commercial purpose, nor a political end—necessary as are both objects—but for the effective discharge of duties that have grown round us; to secure trophies that will be neither dimmed by tears, nor cursed by blood; and to print our footsteps upon time, not in the conqueror's crimson hue, but in the clear, stainless light of Christian chivalry.

The first of these is the fact that the
 anti-slavery cause has been a
 continuous one for centuries. It is
 not a new movement, but an old one
 which has been revived in our day.
 The second is the fact that the
 anti-slavery cause has been a
 moral one. It is not a political
 movement, but a moral one. It is
 not a question of power, but a
 question of right. It is not a
 question of expediency, but a
 question of principle. It is not a
 question of interest, but a question
 of duty. It is not a question of
 gain, but a question of loss. It is
 not a question of life, but a question
 of death. It is not a question of
 health, but a question of disease.
 It is not a question of strength,
 but a question of weakness. It is
 not a question of victory, but a
 question of defeat. It is not a
 question of triumph, but a question
 of shame. It is not a question of
 glory, but a question of dishonour.
 It is not a question of honour, but
 a question of dishonour. It is not
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 of contempt. It is not a question
 of esteem, but a question of
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THE ANTI-SLAVER CAUSE IN GREAT BRITAIN

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PRINCIPLES OF THE WEST OF SCOTLAND RECIPROCITY AND NATIVE INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION,

Adopted at a Public Meeting, held in the Merchants' Hall, Glasgow,
18th May, 1849—

Sir JOHN MAXWELL, of Poloc, Bart., in the Chair.

1. That as "the annual labour of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessaries and conveniences of life," the first duty of all governments is to maintain native industry, to encourage and preserve profitable employment for labour.

2. That the present condition of the industrial classes in this country calls for the serious consideration of the Legislature, the necessities of said classes requiring to be provided for before those of foreigners.

3. That the employment of large portions of our population has been diminished in quantity, or in remuneration, or has ceased—increased numbers are dependent on poor-rates (which are now excessive)—many thousands have emigrated—much of this loss of employment has arisen from the decline of our colonial trade, and from the severe competition of foreign industry, in our home, colonial, and foreign markets.

4. Considering *absolutely* "free trade" as an open question, but seeing that the concessions and sacrifices made by this country to other nations have not yet obtained adequate reciprocal or equivalent benefits, it becomes a matter for consideration whether it is incumbent on this country to continue that experiment, to the detriment of British interests, without obtaining some security from foreign states that reciprocal benefits shall be conceded to us.

5. That as "free trade" implies relief from burdens and restrictions on the home trade, as well as on the colonial trade, it was the duty of the British Legislature to have relieved domestic industry of a load of taxation, and to have established free trade with the British colonies to the utmost extent warranted by the state of the imperial revenue.

6. That, in the natural order of things, all arrangements and advances in the direction of free trade ought to have been begun and completed in our home trade, and in our colonial trade, *before* proceeding to give to our foreign rivals in trade the unrestricted, untaxed, unreciprocated privilege of competing in British markets with heavily taxed British industry.

7. That free trade with our own colonies would contribute largely to increase and consolidate the industrial, commercial, and political relations of Great Britain, not only with said colonies, but also with foreign powers.

THE OBJECTS OF THIS ASSOCIATION ARE—

I.—To obtain a free trade at home, by relieving domestic industry from various undue burdens and restrictions still remaining upon it.

II.—To obtain free trade with the British colonies, recognising them as integral portions of the empire, by treating coasting and colonial trade on similar principles.

III.—To obtain free trade with foreign states, on the basis of a true and equitable reciprocity.

IV.—To procure and circulate authentic information regarding native and colonial industry and interests; to watch the character of all measures introduced into the Imperial and Colonial Legislatures, which affect our industrial interests; and to promote and maintain a harmonious intercourse between all sections of the British empire.

