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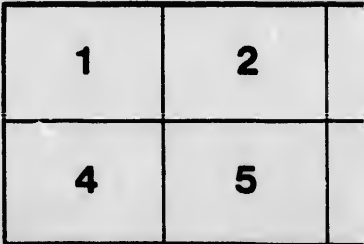
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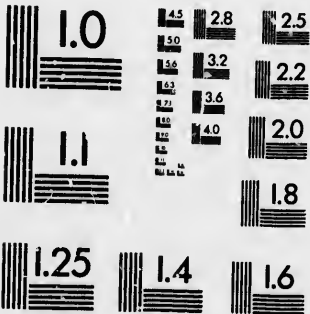
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LECTURE.

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE MECHANICS' INSTITUTE,  
OF HAMILTON,

On Wednesday Evening, November 17, 1847,

On the Connection between the Agriculture and  
Manufactures of Canada.

~~~~~  
BY THE HON'BLE R. B. SULLIVAN.  
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HAMILTON:

Printed at RUTHVEN'S Book and Job Printing Office, James Street.

1848.

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# LECTURE,

Delivered by the Hon. R. B. Sullivan before the Mechanics' Institute, on the 17th November, 1847.

THE HON. MR. SULLIVAN having been invited to open the Course of Lectures of the Mechanics' Institute of Hamilton, and the choice of the subject being left to himself, he accordingly visited this city on the 17th instant, and delivered in the presence of the members of the Institute, and of an audience composed of many Ladies and Gentlemen of the city, the following Lecture.

## LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

The subject I have selected for your entertainment on this occasion is "The connection between the Agriculture and Manufactures of Canada,"—one which needs no apology for itself, though I trust many excuses for the manner and substance of my address will suggest themselves to you who know how I have been occupied since you asked me to give a Lecture, and who may suppose how difficult it is in the few hours which can be stolen from arduous professional duties, and in the midst of their attendant fatigues and anxieties to give a subject, foreign to one's ordinary pursuits sufficient consideration to make a Lecture upon it interesting or instructive. I feel much flattered by the request to come from Toronto to deliver the opening Lecture in this Institution, and the professional avocations which prevent me from being a stranger in your city will, I hope, place me beyond the reach of the criticism to which one who intruded himself upon your audience, and who had more opportunity for preparation might be justly exposed.

From infancy to old age, every individual man is undergoing a process of change, which is constantly altering his desires, the objects of his pursuit, his powers of attainment, and the value of what he acquires. The "something still which prompts the eternal sigh," is still



before him, forming the hope and interest as well as the disquiet and discomfort of his existence; but that something is forever putting on different shapes to allure the pursuer. The nursery plaything is disregarded by the school-boy, the wild sports of boyhood are laid aside for deeper and more passionate enjoyments of youth; these again are swallowed up in the cares and anxieties of manhood: marriage, parentage, widowhood, success, failure, abundance, privation, public position, private gains, old age, loss of friends or health, all have their effect upon the value of external objects. All and each produce changes of plan and pursuit; they divide the life of man into periods, or epochs; and rules of conduct which apply to one are found inapplicable in another. The prudent man prepares for the abandonment of the present, and for the coming of the inevitable future. He who makes no such preparation is taught by the severe monitor, experience, whose lessons have this fault, that they ever come too late.

Earnestness, energy and industry, are the great means of success by which a man is enabled to equal or surpass his fellows. In proportion as the society of which he forms a part, is generally active and energetic, the necessity is cast upon him of possessing the like qualities. A man may be idle amongst idlers, or dissolute amongst the dissipated and extravagant, and yet enjoy comparative impunity. He who lives alone may indulge his own fancies. But the man who mixes with the busy and earnest world in the race of life, must keep forward in the course, or he is not only passed by and left to neglect and disgrace, but he is trampled under foot by his competitors. Something like this progress of an individual is the advancement of a nation. Each community has its different stages of progression. Amongst the favored races of mankind, change and improvement are rapid and perceptible. National character may remain traceable, but the people of the present are wonderfully different from those of former ages. Their interests, their objects, their relations to the external world, are continually changing. No country, no community can with safety be

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erest as well as the stationary. To improve with the improving, to advance  
 ce; but that some, with the advancing, to keep pace with the foremost, or  
 shapes to allure the, sink into contempt and poverty, or what is worse into  
 disregarded by the, slavery and dependance, seems to be the fate of nations.  
 d are laid aside for, By themselves, or left to themselves, they may remain at  
 ts of youth; these, rest, but they cannot so remain in the neighborhood of  
 d anxieties of man-, superior enterprise or higher activity. The introduction  
 d, success, failure, of a few trading posts and counting houses led to the sub-  
 private gains, old, jugation of the mighty Indian empire. The North Ame-  
 e their effect upon, rican aboriginal races have faded away in the presence  
 and each produce, of white emigrants from Europe. Mexico, rich and pow-  
 de the life of man, erful when first discovered, fell before a few Spanish sol-  
 conduct which ap-, diers, and the empire built up through their means is now  
 other. The pru-, rapidly sinking into ruin, beneath the steps of a few ener-  
 nt of the present, getic invaders. The history of the world contains but a  
 future. He who, series of instances of the same kind. Preeminence has  
 the severe moni-, not followed natural advantages, nor has subjection or  
 s fault, that they, destruction been the consequence of their absence. On

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the contrary, wealth has been the lure which drew the  
 spoiler to pray upon the wealthy, fertility and amenity of  
 climate, the very causes which induced the slavery of their  
 possessors. Extended empire, and mighty armies, and  
 refinement and luxury, have crumbled to pieces before  
 even barbarian activity. To stop in the course of ad-  
 vancement, to be satisfied with any position, however  
 high, seems to be but the prelude to downfall; and as  
 providence has hidden from us the limits of human inven-  
 tion, skill and enterprise, as man knows not the ulterior  
 boundary of the exercise of his own powers, while the  
 depth of his debasement may be observed in every aspect,  
 and in every place, the law of progress upwards seems to  
 be a fundamental rule of his nature; while he is aspiring  
 after higher destinies, he is fulfilling his mission upon  
 earth; when he ceases his onward movement he perishes,  
 like the traveller who lingers in the desert, whose bones  
 whiten in the sun, a terror and a warning to future way-  
 farers.

As there is no condition of the individual man so hap-  
 py as the one of improvement, so there is no state of a  
 country so happy as the state of advancement. It scarce-

ly matters what is the present condition of a community, and whether the people are happy, if that condition is becoming bettered. In old states, and with crowded populations, the question is as to the mode of advance is often perplexing and difficult to solve; but it is, nevertheless, solved by the genius and insight of great communities. In new countries, like Argentina, the way is more obvious; in fact there are many ways leading directly or indirectly towards the same end. Let us suppose that we are to arrive at the goal some time or another, it is not absolutely necessary that we should select the shortest road, but if we run a race with others who enjoy the same advantages with ourselves, and who have the power and judgment of proper choice, we must fall behind, if our choice be wrong. We have the elements of wealth, prosperity and advancement scattered around us; even with the use of a few of these we have a degree of success; but if others gather these elements with more judgment, industry and courage than ourselves; if they take a wider range, and exhibit more extended enterprise than we do, we are inevitably beaten in the competition. I fear this has been too much the case with our country hitherto. We are in the immediate neighborhood of great energy, activity and progress, which we have been far from equalling. We have in reality used but one of our native resources, at least one only has been used for our benefit; our only productive industry has been agriculture. Those who live amongst us, and who are not agriculturists, do not reciprocate the benefits they receive from it by productive industry of their own. Hence arises our want of progress, in comparison with that of our neighbors; and hence the danger of our falling into an inferior position, unworthy of the race from which we have sprung, of the Empire of which we form a part, and of the glorious land which has been given for our inheritance.

Each of the natural resources of a country, as they successively become used, should, besides paying for and maintaining their own use, leave something of their products for the future, in the way of Capital, moneyed or fixed, otherwise they are unprofitable; they should leave these results to the country itself, otherwise they are

ion of a community profitable to that country, however much they may have is becoming better added to the resources of others. I have only to mention tations, the question of the modes in which the resources of Canada perplexing and difficult have been realized, to show that they have been to us the genius and inseparable. Unfortunately this requires little detail, and no new countries, like argument. The facts and results are alike evident and act there are many capable of contradiction.

ards the same end. Let us take, for instance, the Fur Trade, the first source her, it is not above wealth that invited adventurers from Europe into this the shortest road part of America. The trade was important enough to enjoy the same advantage the formation of two colossal English Companies, ve the power and in the prosecution of it vast sums were realized, but fall behind, if our nevertheless it has been of no use to Canada. The adts of wealth, prospective did not become citizens of the country in which and us; even with many of them lived and died—the profits of their enterprise of success; but prize were realized at a distance, or were remitted thither. re judgment, in: Those who became by that means possessed of wealth, they take a wider looked to a home and friends beyond the Atlantic. No prize than we do, capital realized by that trade remains with us; no men tion. I fear this like the American, John Jacob Astor, no settlements, no try hitherto. We towns, no churches, no colleges, no manufactures, not a eat energy, acting road, or a bridge, or a building; the only results of by far r from equalling. the greatest fur trade in America, except the North-west native resources, House in Lachine, and the ruined village of Queenston. benefit; our only Such are the remaining fruits of a commerce carried on e. Those who for nearly a century, by which millions of pounds sterling liturists, do not in profits have been realized. Had these been realized m it by produc for, as well, as in Canada, had they been or were they es our want of now available, in addition to other resources, I leave it neighbors; and to you to calculate and consider what the consequences ferior position, would, and must have been, to our present condition. sprung, of the Our next greatest branch of commerce has been the e glorious land Timber Trade. A little more connected with the coun-

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try than the Fur Trade, it has been somewhat more beneficial; but its seat was in remote and unsettled territory. The persons engaged were, and are, separated from the other population. The capital employed was not Canadian. The trade is not of the country; a very small portion of the profits only remained, or can remain in Canada. Vast as the commerce in timber has been, it has

only helped to keep the city of Quebec in a half state of questionable prosperity. Few merchants belonging to the g Canada have been enriched by it. It employs probably not s a thousand large ships, of which not one-twentieth are c owned on this side of the Atlantic; yet this is a commerce. W carried on by the native wealth of the country. Its bene. Whe fits to the Mother Country have been questioned on our o grounds of which I am unable to judge. If, with my Cana limited opportunities I should venture an opinion, it would Amer probably not concur with the present opinion entertained cultur in England by those who have all the materials of calcul- who t lation at hand; but to this Province I am able to say, that for, c in proportion to its magnitude, the Timber Trade has At le of Gilmour & Co., may, from their present number of erto b four hundred, be increased to a thousand without making Gove a town in Canada the tenth part of the size of Rochester the in or Pittsburgh, and they may all be sunk in the sea, with- gages out causing even an underwriter in Canada to look for in ye his pocket handkerchief. Whole townships may be pur many chased by them, and stripped of the exportable timber, thing without any results to us, that I am aware of, but that of coars depriving the land of value in the hands of the future set- use, a tler. You would have been perfectly surprised if, a few Per years since, you had traced the course of the Ottawa, to cause see how little of real contrivance, economy, or enterprize for t was displayed by these great lumberers, even in their own them business; to see the wreck of property, and the loss of in the labour caused by the want of a practicable road over a broug water-fall, to see tons upon tons of provisions for men and spinn horses brought in through mere tracks in the woods, or would or m in bark canoes up the rapids, when they might, to the great would good of the interior country, and to the saving of the mer- grow And t chants, have been raised upon the spot. One glance at a larg the country and the trade, would have shown you how come come merchants in the country out of which they were reali- places places zing vast fortunes. I can understand the benefits of the accum- tion m lumber trade on the Grand River, in this neighborhood; or on the Otter, in the neighboring District; even of the indus

pec in a half state of commerce, diffused as it is through the country; but of  
 hants belonging to the greater portion of the timber trade of Quebec, I can-  
 t employs probably not see any benefit, in proportion to the magnitude of  
 one-twentieth of the commerce.

t this is a commerce. We now come to the product and exportation of  
 country. Its bene- Wheat and Flour, almost our only resource arising from  
 een questioned on our own labor and enterprize. The settlers in Upper  
 dge. If, with my Canada were the U. E. Loyalists, and soldiers of the  
 n opinion, it would American revolutionary war; they became simple agri-  
 pinion entertained culturists, as did also the great body of the Immigrants  
 materials of calcu- who followed them. The first importations were paid  
 m able to say, that for, out of the expenditure of the Home Government.  
 mber Trade has At length an export trade in wheat arose which has hith-  
 the great house erto been going on, steadily increasing; but this and the  
 esent number of Government expenditure did not nearly suffice to pay for  
 d without making the importations. The country became involved in mort-  
 size of Rochester gages, debts, and law suits, from which the money brought  
 in the sea, with- in yearly by settlers helped to redeem it; for many, very  
 ada to look for many years, the people of this country manufactured no-  
 hips may be pur- thing for themselves; and up to this day articles of the  
 portable timber, coarsest and most simple fabric, and in the most common  
 re of, but that of use, are brought in ready-made in vast quantities.

f the future set- Perhaps the Government expenditure was the first  
 rprised if, a few cause of disproportionate importation. Had it not been  
 the Ottawa, to for this, the first settlers must have manufactured for  
 y, or enterprize themselves, and been satisfied with what could be made  
 en in their own in the country. The same demand and necessity which  
 and the loss of brought blacksmiths & shoe makers, would have brought  
 le road over a spinners and weavers. Locks and hinges, and linen,  
 ns for men and would have been made as certainly as shoes for horses  
 the woods, or men. The tradesmen employed in manufactures  
 ht, to the great would have founded villages and towns, which would have  
 ng of the mer- grown with the growth of the agricultural community.  
 One glance at And these towns would have furnished a home market for  
 own you how a large portion of the produce of the land, and have be-  
 f the lumber- come as they did in the early times of English History,  
 y were reali- places in which the Capital of the country would have  
 enefits of the accumulated. However slow and difficult the accumula-  
 ighborhood; tion might have been, we still should have the fruits of  
 ; even of the industry ready to be expended in new enterprize. Capi-

tal would be reproducing capital, and town and country; acting and re-acting on each other, to the advantage of both.

According to the course of events, as they have been, the profits of the manufactures consumed in this Province have accumulated in England. The profits of exportation and transport have enriched England; and lately the United States, even the importing merchants have been branches of English houses. They have realized profits in the country, but the results have been sent away, and when we look for the means of carrying on the enterprise and improvement necessary to the country, they are not to be found amongst ourselves. We have to look to England: fortunately for us, English capital has not been expended here with a sparing hand, but not one half so beneficially as if the capitalists had been here themselves, and the money expended by and under the superintendence of its owners.

The poverty and debt induced in this country by the importation of all articles of manufacture, has been continually redeemed by emigration. Vast amounts of money have been constantly brought here by settlers; sometimes in large, sometimes in small, but numerous sums. Many of our people are deriving yearly incomes from England: our exports in the articles of wheat and flour are enormous, in proportion to our population; and yet this province is scarcely able to pay for its importations of manufactured goods and foreign produce.

Fortunately for the people of this country, very many of them are land owners, and the land was obtained by them for nothing, or at nominal prices. The value of the land, apart from improvement or expenditure upon it, has always been steadily increasing; and the sums of money brought in by settlers have been invested principally in this increasing price. Thus, the farming population have been, in a great measure, redeemed from debt. They have sold land, or their mortgaged land has, by the disposal of part, redeemed the whole. I can myself well remember when almost every farm on Yonge Street was mortgaged for a sum, which, upon sale, it would not rea-



and town and country; and when every farmer was in debt for more than  
 to the advantage of his whole property were sold. I have  
 reason to believe the same state of things existed almost  
 everywhere in Upper Canada. The farmers owed the  
 Store Keepers; the Store Keepers the Montreal Mer-  
 chants; the Montreal Merchants either belonged to or  
 were indebted to English houses. Gradually things came  
 round; land increased in value; bad debts became good;  
 the worst portion of a merchant's assets, namely, the lands  
 which he had taken in payment of debts, became the best  
 part of his property, worth his monied realizations ten  
 times told. Thus the country has become comparative-  
 ly rich, the farmers generally independent, and the mer-  
 chantile affairs of the Province, and of those who dealt  
 with it, tolerably prosperous. But I am not afraid to say  
 that this improving state has not been the product of the  
 import and export trade, or of the profits of agricultural  
 industry used and disposed as they have been. I think  
 we have been able to meet an otherwise ruinously exten-  
 sive import trade; not by its proper equivalent, the ex-  
 ported produce of the country, or the increased movea-  
 ble property, or improvement upon the land, which when  
 exchanged for imported capital would show that our in-  
 dustry had equalled our expenditure; but on the contra-  
 ry, by the increasing population, and admitted by the ve-  
 ry low price or value of land in its original condition.

In all countries where there has not existed this con-  
 stant importation of capital, there has arisen a necessity  
 that people should manufacture for themselves. In no  
 country out of the tropics, that I know of, on the face of  
 the globe, does there exist so great a backwardness of  
 manufacturing industry, as in the British North Ameri-  
 can colonies, and these we know suffer under reproach of  
 want of enterprise and activity, as compared with the  
 neighboring States, which it requires all our self love and  
 self admiration to bear with patience, or to deny its jus-  
 tice with any show of plausibility.

Had there not been this continual importation of capi-  
 tal, and corresponding rise in the value of land, money  
 would probably have been more scarce than it has been,



but there would have been a far less importation of foreign goods. We should have been forced to manufacture for ourselves, and a community of artisans would have grown up and increased with our farming population. The people would have used and worn more rude and homely articles, but then there would have been manufacturing capital everywhere. There would have been a capability of adopting the mechanical improvements of other countries; and had a community of business men, of mechanics, prospered amongst us, we should have had funds of our own, for new enterprise and improvement. Without the importation of money, our progress would probably have been slow, but certain; but add the two elements of prosperity together, and suppose that in addition to the growth of capital invested in manufactures, and accumulated by means of manufacturing industry, we had also our present immense advantage of a yearly accession of wealth by the means of settlement and immigration of men possessed of money, then the state of this country would have been indeed enviable, and its progress rapid beyond precedent.

Our want of this progress indicates inactivity, mispent industry, and extravagance. The country should have done better with its means than it has done; and it must do better for the future, or it will fall irretrievably behind, in comparison with other nations, and especially in comparison with our neighbors.

To illustrate this position, I ask what would you say to a young man, who by inheritance became possessed of a number of lots of land, or of one lot, which by good fortune, became the site of a village or town, and thus, without any exertion of his own, became very valuable—suppose him to have sold from time to time, and lived upon the interest received? You would have called him prudent, but idle and unenterprising. He might have added his own industry, in some active line of life, to the income from his money. He might have used his capital in business, with great advantage over others who had no such aid. He might, by means of the capital usefully employed, have been of advantage to himself and many others;

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but all that is gained by the money of others expended in the purchase of his inheritance, is a life of idleness. All that his neighbors have gained is, that there is one individual taken from the industrious and productive class, to become a drone in the hive. But go a little further, and suppose him to live on the capital, on the purchase money from year to year, spending what he receives for lot after lot, of his inherited property. I ask you whether any value attached to the remnant of that comparative state of wealth he may be in, compared with his original condition, will redeem him from the combined charges of idleness, improvidence, and extravagance. This latter picture represents this country of Upper Canada. It inherited from Nature, and without incumbrance, lands very fertile and valuable. These have been yearly realizing prices, which should be accumulating capital; the money which formed these prices has come from abroad. All that has been brought into the country for the last fifty years, and which has been invested in land, by purchase from the government, or from individuals, should have remained in the shape of capital, but all this, and the whole exports of the Province, and the whole expenditure of the British Government, and all the monies borrowed, and all the debts due by our merchants, have gone to pay for our imports—for imports of articles of daily use, dissipated and gone as the year of their importation passed away. Now this is what I think you will call national improvidence and extravagance.

And are we saved from these charges, because a town lot which fifty years ago was not worth a dollar, may be now saleable at a thousand; or because land in a favorable situation is worth ten times what it would sell for twenty years ago? We are not—because that land represents none of our industry; it is not the fruit of our labor; it is the same that nature made it; and when its price comes to be realized; and if so far from being ready for investment in the business of the Province, it shall become but a drop in the exhausting stream of foreign trade—this is extravagance, and a species of extravagance which may well account, *not* for our poor condi-

tion, because the country and its inhabitants are not poor, but for our truly helpless state as regards money, when it is required for any enterprize, and for our strangely backward condition, notwithstanding almost unequalled advantages.

This is exactly what might be expected from our course of conduct as a community—before we can have moneyed capital in the country, we must have the classes of men in whose hands money, in the nature of things, will accumulate in large and disposable quantity. The farmers are not one of those classes. A passage which I met in the Westminster Review, for April last, will illustrate this position. “The Agriculturists,” says the Review, “whether it be their fault, or not, do not make colossal fortunes like the men of Manchester and Glasgow—the Bakewells, Webbs, Elmans, and doubtless many others may be quoted as exceptions—but we venture to say, that south of the Tweed, and excluding parts of Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and a few other favored regions, farmers, as a body, do not gain more than a comfortable livelihood, that they are just able thereby to establish their children in a rank of life, corresponding to their own, and that more than this is not practically attained. Compare the fortunes amassed even in our generation, in some branches of manufacturing industry, with the modest result of twenty-five or thirty years of care and frugality in the Agricultural line.” Now if this be true speaking of England, and I have no doubt it is true, not only regarding England, but all other countries, how much more applicable is it to Canada, where so little has been done in the way of Agricultural improvement, in comparison with what remains to do. If our farmers, not being men of capital originally, with great care and industry and frugality, are enabled to clear, fence, and cultivate the lands; to erect comfortable houses, barns, and stables; to accumulate stock; to purchase the necessary agricultural implements; to educate their children, and to place their increasing families, as they grow up, in their own condition of independent owners of the soil they cultivate, we justly call them successful. We do not look

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amongst them for money when a road has to be macadamized or planked; when a canal has to be dug; a Railroad to be constructed; when a steamboat is to be built, or a manufactory to be erected. If they should be asked to subscribe, the prudent amongst them shake their heads and refuse. Those who are ashamed of the want of enterprise exhibited in the country, or anxious for something in the shape of improvement, offer a promissory note, to be discounted at a bank, and probably afterwards to be recovered by execution against their lands and tenements. Others will attend public meetings, and sign petitions to the legislature; and insist upon their representatives asking for public aid from an exhausted treasury, and an overstrained public credit; but the farmers themselves have no money to spare for such things. We see their whole capabilities exercised in the District Council, where they are freely and fairly represented. We find them acknowledging that the roads are bad, and bridges broken, but mark how they shrink from the increased taxation, the produce of which would be expended directly for their own comfort and convenience. If they had money to spare, would they, do you think, consent to pay heavy tolls into the public treasury, rather than make their improvements themselves? Would they, when roads are profitable and return (as they in fact do) more than interest on money expended, even managed expensively, as they must be, through the officers of a central government. Would the farmers; the owners of the whole soil of a district; the payers of the tolls—would they gladly give up the privilege of making improvements with their own money, expended by themselves, and for the profit of their own districts? Would they do this if they had the money? But the money they have not, or rather they have more than enough to do with what does fall into their hands. As a farming community they may be very prosperous and improving without surplus money; without more than is wanting for their own private agricultural operations. Farmers have the advantage over others, that the result of their industry are, in the long run, certain. They cannot

make large fortunes, but their fortunes, such as they are, are certain. They undergo none of the racking anxieties, and terrible vicissitudes of trade, uncertainties which always attend the possession and management of moneyed capital; which make the Whittington of yesterday, who owned only a cat, the princely and purse-proud merchant of to-day, and to-morrow the heart-broken and commiserated bankrupt. In compensation for this, farmers do not become the possessors of moneyed capital in quantity. But this money in quantity, is the life-blood of enterprise and improvement. The smallest rill of water will serve for irrigation; a pond will do for the watering of cattle, but as a motive power water must accumulate in larger streams; it must be dammed back, and gathered together; unless the localities exist in which it will thus flow, and in which it may be thus collected—in vain do the clouds pour out their floods, and the living springs open their fountains—there can be no water mills. The locality so circumstanced must depend for their grinding upon their more fortunate neighbors, where the rills unite. And so, unless you have in your country the classes of men in whose hands money will accumulate, the nature of whose occupation make them the natural reservoirs and conductors of money, as the motive power of enterprise, you must, as a country, be, and continue helpless, dependent, and inferior. And it is not the country, in the abstract sense merely, which suffers, for as the farmer, though he does not share the tolls of the miller, is still the greatest loser by the want of a mill—so the agricultural population, though they may not directly share the profits of moneyed capital, yet still they are the greatest sufferers, from any state of things which prevents its life-giving presence.

In Canada, as I before observed, there is scarcely any productive industry, but agriculture. This ought to pay for our imports, and leave a surplus. But we have besides, yearly imported capital, brought in both by the British government and by settlers. All this flows away in the course of our trade. Then let us ask ourselves is that trade profitable to the country? Does money accumulate

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ing, give it forth again in quantity, so as to make the coun-  
try powerful and advancing? In other words, are we  
backward or forward in the race, and if the former, where-  
in lies our fault or our misfortune?

Questions like these are always answered best by an  
appeal to facts; but it is necessary sometimes to sepa-  
rate the facts which form the aggregate of statistical ta-  
bles, and by looking at such of the details as pass under  
our own eyes, to procure the certain conviction of truth  
which arises from the evidence of our own senses.—  
“Seeing is believing,” the proverb says; and for men like  
ourselves, who do not pretend to learning, or theoretical  
knowledge, it is a homely, satisfactory, and mechanical  
way of arriving at the truth. Let us ascertain, then, that  
our sight is good; that we believe what we see; and act,  
as if we do really believe.

A mere balanced account, which would show, that im-  
ports exceeded exports, would in itself prove nothing of  
value. The excess of imports may be in articles which  
would in themselves add to the capital of the country.—  
A miller who lays out more in a year in the purchase of  
machinery and wheat than the amount of that year’s sales  
in flour, is not therefore carrying on a losing business, for  
the expenditure of this year in machinery, is expected to  
be returned to him in future years with profit. So far as  
our excess of imports can be proved to be turned into fix-  
ed capital—for example—if the goods imported are used,  
and so far as they are used in the improvement of the  
country, or in the hire of labor for that improvement; or  
in the erection of Towns, or houses, or mills; or in the  
clearing of land; or in short, in any things that are re-  
productive—then so far as this is the case, we are all the  
better, even though we should be getting in debt; and if  
we can pay for the importation by the price of our lands,  
or by the money brought into the country by settlers, so  
much the better for us. So far as I am able to judge,  
we are not in this position; if the excess of importations  
over exportations had been for the last twenty years in-  
vested in productive property, the balance of trade would

at length have begun to change in our favor ; but of this I see no sign. Still the same course is being pursued ; we borrow and we bring in money, and we raise wheat for exportation ; and still all is scarcely sufficient to pay for our imports.

But it is not of mere balance of trade that I am complaining. Mercantile affairs and balances may be going on well or ill, without affecting my argument in the least. What I find fault with, is a state of things which leaves this country without moneyed capital of its own. This is produced by our not having manufacturing enterprise, and capital here. Our manufacturing towns are in Great Britain, and the United States ; whither the profits of our industry flow, without our having the benefit of capital in the country ; creating, reproducing more capital, as it should be under a better system.

To make my meaning plain and familiar ; let us speak, as I before hinted, of things as we see them. Many merchants, to our own knowledge, have many thousands of pounds employed in the import trade of this town. Let us take any one, and suppose him to bring in and sell fifty thousand pounds worth of manufactured goods, made in Great Britain or the United States. What are the benefits conferred by his business on the country ? He has paid certain duties towards the support of the Government ; but this is, after all, but an indirect mode in which the consumers of the goods have paid taxes, which they are no better able to pay, because the goods have been imported ; and therefore the payment goes for nothing. He has paid freight and forwarding charges through the province ; so far he has helped, by enabling the forwarders and ship-owners on the lakes, to realize profits, and he has contributed to the support of public works—so far he has contributed to the reproductive wealth of the country. He has built warehouses ; so far, again he has done good. He employs half a dozen clerks—some of whom probably save money from their wages—these live at boarding-houses, and enable the keepers to realize profits—again good is done. Perhaps, however, he has imported his goods through the United States, when his

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contributions to the forwarders, shipowners and public works must be deducted. This extensive business has added by six or seven consumers to the market of the farmers in the neighborhood. He makes a fortune himself, which is remitted to London, or Liverpool, or Glasgow, and he speaks of himself as a man interested in Canada, as he may well do; though our present question is not as to his interest in Canada, but as to the interest of Canada in him.

It is manifest that with the few and small exceptions I have mentioned, the whole profits of his trade,—I am not now speaking of the cost of the goods, which must have had their cost let them be produced where they may—but the whole profits of his trade have gone, not to be again seen here in the way of reproduction.

What has he exported in return for the goods imported, and disposed of? Probably one half the amount in wheat and flour and pork, the farmer's only exportable articles—for the rest, the merchant has transmitted the money coming into the country from the sources I mentioned before.

Contrast this with the effect produced in the Town and Country, by the manufacturer of fifty thousand pounds worth of shoes and boots, leather, castings, blacksmith work, machinery, such as we make; in building, stone, brick, and carpenters' work; ship-building, or such other trades as we have. How many men are benefitted by the production? How many are growing daily richer by the transactions to which it gives rise? How many families are fed, and clothed, and educated? How many are added to the population of the town? How much is added to the reproductive wealth of the country? The importing merchant makes a small percentage; it is gone to swell some overgrown capital far away. The artisan makes money in greater proportions; he extends his trade, he builds him a house, he buys town lots, all he accumulates is for the place he lives in; his gains and those of the persons in his employment, reproduce money at every turn. If *his trade were but extensive*, he would become the possessor of large capital; that capital would be again employed and invested with the same activity



with which its accumulation commenced; thus would a town population and manufacturing capital be created; and we should have the class we want, ready to forward the enterprise of the Province, and to enable us to keep pace with our neighbors.

What would this town population do for the farmer? Why, it would furnish him with a market for his cattle, his sheep, his hogs, hay, oats, poultry, butter, cheese, eggs, potatoes, vegetables, milk, and other articles not now exportable; and which, without a town population, would be worthless in his hands. A farm in the neighborhood of a large town is worth twenty times as much as at a distance from it; though both be equally convenient for exportation, and for the simple reason that every thing which the farmer can raise has an immediate moneyed value. How little of this invaluable home market then, is produced by the importing merchant and his clerks? How much is or could be produced by the presence of manufacturing capital in full activity? A very slight consideration of these questions will show how far the farmer is interested in mechanical arts being followed in his neighborhood, and how inevitably his profits must be reduced, and his business languish, in a country which imports nineteen parts out of twenty of the manufactured articles consumed.

When I was first called to the bar, not thinking that I had sufficient talents or confidence to cope with the difficulties of a town practice, I went to reside in one of the most retired and quiet neighborhoods in the Province, in the vicinity of Long Point, and just at the same time Messrs. Capron and VanNorman established a small foundry near Vittoria. Bog ore, as it is called, lay upon the land, and there it might have been to this hour, for any thing that the Long Point farmers knew or cared. Yet there never were a people more puzzled for the means to buy a sugar or a potash kettle, or a pot to boil their potatoes. The long store account, with interest and costs, and sheriff's poundage, and costs of writ, and costs of travelling and all other incidental expenses, were well understood. The people were the kindest and most hospi-

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table in the world—to call at a farmer's house at any hour of the day, and not to eat or drink, was to be proud and unneighborly, and if you paid four pence for a letter at the post office, you might take six pence of the money out in old Long Point whiskey, at the generous hands of the post-master. But there was no money. Wheat was worth three york shillings a bushel in trade, and in such trade!—tea at ten shillings a pound, factory cotton three york shillings a yard, and other things in proportion. How the farmers ever paid their accounts, or the store-keepers their bills, I did not remain long enough to learn. But the foundry was established, and Capron and VanNorman bought horses and other articles in exchange for hollow-ware and stoves, or when these were not immediately wanted, a credit on the foundry, payable in that cast iron currency. Then the farmers, when they wanted a raise, hauled ore to the foundry or they made charcoal, or they sold a horse or two; they then had not only their stoves and hollow-ware articles of pecuniary importance cheap and abundant, but they had a credit at the iron bank, which passed current. One of my first fees was an order on the furnace, with which I built a chimney, and I learned a lesson worth more than ten dollars worth of hollow-ware; namely, the vast importance to the whole community of that single manufacturing establishment. I asked myself what would be the difference if Capron and VanNorman had been peddlers of iron pots instead of manufacturers; had the hollow-ware been made at the other side of Lake Erie; and I could not but see that the distinctions were these.—Possibly hollow-ware might have been as cheap one way as the other, but then the profits of the price of the ore enriched the land owner, its carriage enriched the teamster, its smelting gave a value to charcoal, and when made into kettles, it enabled the manufacturer to buy horses. The manufacturers themselves became wealthy, the men they employed purchased food from the farmers and clothes from the store-keepers. They saved money and became land-owners. They had families and they made a village. Village lots became worth money. And at length part of the capital

created at the Long Point foundry, which soon became an exporting establishment, was the other day employed in the purchase of the great Marmora works, which English capital and Legislative aid had failed to keep alive, or more properly speaking, in blast. There I most sincerely hope that capital may reproduce its equivalent twenty times over.

Now I am not afraid to say, that all the stores of imported goods in the whole District, were not of the real consequence to the country as that one establishment. Although probably the men engaged in business there were belonging to the Province, and their gains remained in it; but if they had been all burned in a night, you would not have a yard of cotton or a pound of tea less in the neighborhood in six months after the catastrophe. The selling of goods is a kind of enterprise exceedingly plenty in all countries, it would be difficult to find the place where there are purchasers and no sellers. But some how or other it required the active and really enterprising spirit of a Yankee artizan to create a manufactory, and the man who did it would have been a real loss, had any thing happened to cut him off in the progress of his industry.

At the other side of Yonge Street, and opposite to my bed-room window, lives a manufacturer, of no less an article than Corn Brooms, where in the winter mornings I have seen that man's light in his window, and himself passing busily backwards and forward before it. I have thus moralized.—There is a man very industrious in a branch of trade new to this country. He has a comfortable house and lot, which I hope is his own, for he deserves it. He has made a market, such as it is, for broom-corn. He consumes in his family a quantity of farming produce which could not be exported. If his trade be successful, and it looks like it, he will become a small capitalist. That capitalist will expend itself in some direction beneficial to the town, by and by. In the meantime, he pays his share of taxes and helps me and my fellow townsmen to maintain our beloved corporation, and to light and pave Toronto. He would not sell a

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broom by retail, as I found on sending for one. Thus he did not interfere with the little shops around, which I observed were plentifully supplied with brooms; and he has made his business an export trade, for he continually sends brooms to Lewiston. Now had that man been under the impression that to make brooms successfully, it was necessary to live out of Canada, we should, in Toronto, have had one industrious citizen the less; and had he lived at Lewiston the house would have been built and the lot purchased there, and brooms would have been imported, and the profits, such as they are, would have gone to another country.

The Hamilton family were amongst the first builders of steamboats on Lake Ontario. Captain McKenzie, of the Frontenac, was however, the first; after these, we have my enterprising townsmen, Mr. Bethune and Capt. Dick; you have Captain Sutherland, and your townsman, Mr. Gunn; and there are numerous owners at Kingston, and on the Bay of Quinté.

Whether it was the navigation laws which, by preventing competition, or whether it was courageous enterprise which originated this large shipping interest in Upper Canada, it is not necessary now to inquire; but one thing is certain, namely, that from very small beginnings it has grown, from its own profits principally, to its present magnitude; much money has been made in the trade, many of the persons employed have become comparatively wealthy—the profits accumulating now belong to the country, and there is the foundation laid for extension of the business as the country requires it.

Now, supposing that the persons who have successfully engaged in this trade turned shopkeepers, or had Mr. Bethune remained like myself, a useless practising lawyer; had circumstances permitted our neighbors to have supplied us with steamboats, freight and passengers, all the trade would have fallen into their hands, and had we now to commence a competition, a hundred thousand pounds would have been the first requisite. A far greater value than that amount floats upon Lake Ontario, but it is the produce of the trade itself, and when money has

been made, beyond what the other trade required, it has been invested in various ways, all beneficial to the country.

The Niagara Dock and Harbor Company, made up principally of retired officers and gentlemen, not in business, built most of these boats, which certainly are noble vessels, and a great credit to the builders. They have also constructed the two best and fastest boats on Lake Erie, besides numerous propellers and fine sailing craft.

Now this company had to struggle and still have to contend with difficulty, arising from the want of manufacturing enterprise in the country ;—with a disposable capital of perhaps fifteen thousand pounds, they erected works which cost nearly twenty-five thousand ; the consequence was debt, through which it has cost them all their efforts to work without dividend or realized profit ; but notwithstanding this and heavy losses besides, they have had the determination to persevere. A short time more will see them free from liability, with their noble property ready for the increasing business of the waters now open for trade. They commenced with the infancy almost of ship building on these lakes ; hundreds of families have prospered in their employment ; their expenditure has helped to keep up the otherwise sinking town of Niagara ; their works have been a market for the farmer ; their vessels are an honor to the ship-building and engineering arts in Canada, and their capital belongs to the country.

Had but a small portion of the capital employed in a losing and unprofitable import business in Niagara, been invested in that company, it would have been the most flourishing established city in Upper Canada. Merchants have failed in Niagara for ten times more than the whole capital invested in the Docks ; they have passed away, and left no trace by which their existence, as merchants, can be remembered. Their trade could not make a town, nor the loss of it unmake one ; but this could not be said of the ship-building establishment, for with scarcely more capital than would stock a retail store in Hamilton or Toronto, it has materially advanced the shipping interests on the British side of these lakes, and it has been

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the means of employment and settlement to many, who otherwise would never have come to the country, or if they had come, would not have remained.

I have watched with very great and increasing interest the rise and progress of the woollen manufactory at Cobourg, owned and conducted by Mr. McKechnie. There is at this establishment an expenditure in building and machinery, of perhaps twenty-thousand pounds. How trifling a sum compared with the investments in our import trade, but how vastly great in comparison with a like portion of capital employed in that import trade, in its results to the country. How pleasant it must have been to the farmers of the Newcastle District, to learn for the first time that there was a price for wool, and that sheep might be profitable stock. How interesting to them it immediately became, to improve the breed of sheep upon their farms, and to look out for the most economical means of winter fodder. To them the course of farming business had been to sell their wheat and to buy clothing, to shear their sheep and put the wool in a loft, and complain that it was worth nothing. A bad wheat harvest or bad prices left their year's industry unavailing, and left them in debt to the store-keepers. Now they have one article for sale to depend upon, besides wheat; now they can have clothing from their own wool, and consequently less occasion to go in debt, or to purchase.—They have also before them the growing prosperity of the Town. Not a man or woman employed in that establishment but may, and probably will, become possessed of town property. Not one but is a consumer of farming produce which could not be exported. Capital will, I hope & believe, grow and accumulate in the hands of the owner of the works. It will also grow in the hands of those he employs. It will be employed in the business and enterprise of the country. A dozen speculators, in mere buying and selling, may prosper or be ruined, and no one else in this country feel much the better or worse for the event; but who in the District of Newcastle is there who would not feel the success and increase of that manufacturing establishment, a private or public benefit. Or who

would not feel shocked by its failure, as a private and public calamity.

The Hon. Thos. McKay, a man whom I am proud to call an intimate friend, furnishes a striking instance of the benefit of capital accumulated in the industrial process in the country. He commenced business as a working stone mason; he was successful; he became a contractor on public works in the United States; he afterwards became a contractor on the Rideau Canal, & was fortunate enough to realize a large sum of money. He did not pack up and be off with his gains, but remained in the neighborhood—he built large mills at Bytown. He thus created a good market for the farm produce of the lands bordering on the Rideau Canal, and supplied the lumberers on the Ottawa with flour. He is now engaged, as I was informed a few days since, in the erection of a large woollen factory, in which he purposes to expend twenty-five thousand pounds. Think then, how many persons will make money in his employment; how much the whole country round will be benefitted; how soon a town population will grow up about such an establishment; how many tradesmen will be employed in its erection; in the putting together of the machinery; in the fabrication of cloth. How fortunate for Bytown, and its neighborhood, that the contract fell into such worthy hands. Had he been an importing merchant, or merely inclined to buying and selling, he would have gone into the competition of an overstocked and worthless trade; his gain would have only helped him to grasp more of that trade, to the injury of others; he might have lost all in a lumber, or flour speculation; in either case, the country might have looked on indifferently; capital in his hands would only have kept other capital away; ruin to him would have only brought others, too glad to take his place—dry goods, or soft goods, or hard goods, would have been no scarcer; the crop of gimlets would have been plentiful, though he ceased to supply the article. Had he been indifferent to the country, in which his money was made, he might have purchased an estate in Scotland, or he might have betaken himself to London, to enlighten the Colonial Minis-

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ter upon Canadian affairs, with all the advantage of being an impartial and disinterested adviser. But he has bound up his fortunes in the prosperity of Canada; and there is no one who wishes well to the country, but must be anxious at the same time for his welfare and success.

If you ask me what interests me most in Hamilton, placing aside for the moment your railroad, which I wish was finished as well as commenced, (and I say this truly, without any disposition to doubt of your success,)—but if you ask me in my small way, what interests me most,—it is this,—that every time I have visited your town, I have discovered at the foundry in James Street, the establishment, I believe, of Messrs. MacQuesten and Fisher, some great increase and improvement. Every time I come, I see more machinery at work, more buildings erected, more men employed, and a greater appearance of industry. Whether Hamilton or Toronto imports the most goods for the supply of the interior, is a question that interests me little; but I feel no such indifference on the question, whether the country is using more machinery, and whether that machinery can be manufactured by ourselves, by means of mechanics forming the population of our towns, and living and prospering amongst us. I look upon the success of that establishment, yet in its infancy, with interest, because it proves a problem in which the whole country is interested; and its even now, the nucleus, around which capital earned, retained & re-productive in the country can gather. Small as the establishment is, in proportion to what such an one should be in a country like this, it will in the end have more substantial effect upon the prosperity of this town, and the neighboring farming population, than any five whole-sale stores in Hamilton. And yet probably it has its difficulties; and when the import trade can command the purses of money lenders, and monopolise discounts at the banks, it is not unlikely that this establishment is left to work its own way, unaided. Knowing nothing of the facts, I may speculate in this mode without offence; what I mean to say is, that in Canada there is very little manufacturing enterprise, and very much unprofitable trade



that is to say, unprofitable to the country ; and that, generally speaking, the latter is the trade assisted and promoted, and that the former is too often considered visionary and uncertain, and unworthy of credit and support, until struggling against difficulty, it rises by its innate strength above suspicion.

I have a great regard for the town of Dundas, because more than any other place in Upper Canada, it appears to depend upon its factories ; its situation in the midst of a fertile and beautiful country ; its ever working stream, turning wheel after wheel, and keeping in movement factory after factory ; the neat cottages of the artizans, and the snug, comfortable, and unpretending appearance of the whole place, are highly interesting to the stranger. Its growing wealth and importance is of particular interest to the farming community. As capital, created by industry, gathers there, you will find the fabrication of article after article now imported from abroad introduced ; you will find, that successful enterprise in manufactures, reproduces itself, more naturally than any other kind of enterprise. The horse power in a country brewery, induces the steam engine ; the steam engine requires, in its construction, the founder, the turner, the machine maker ; he brings the boiler maker ; and so on by degrees, until every article belonging to the trade is made upon the spot. All this leads to the enquiry, in how many ways steam can be employed. The blacksmith who commences by shoeing horses, and tiring waggon wheels, finds that he can repair, and finally that he can make axes ; from this he proceeds to the manufacture of other tools. Those who use the tools find that the home-manufactured articles are better than the imported ; they learn that some of the cheapness of the latter is owing to their want of goodness, and they discover that there is no worse economy than the use of inferior implements however cheap. The common carding machine, adds to itself the spinning jenny, and the power loom ; the place which begins as a manufactory for the immediate neighborhood, becomes a place for exportation : a large town arises by degrees, peopled by ingenious, skilful mechanics, who are ever plotting how they can set their newly-

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gained capital at work, in the increase of the old, or the establishment of new works. Improvements adopted in other countries are sought after, and adopted; strange mechanics come to examine and set up for themselves: thus the manufacturing city arises, and the farmers around find a market for all their produce; they raise new articles; hemp, because of the new rope walks, and the certain market; flax, because of the linen factory; land is turned to better account; agricultural machinery is introduced; more hands are employed in agriculture; the country becomes thickly populated; there are more tax payers, and less taxes upon each; better roads, and lower tolls, because there are more persons to use & pay for them; civilization, wealth, refinement, and accumulated capital follow; and we have a rich country, because it contains the two elements of riches, namely, a town and country population. As we are now situated, we are like a man who would make an effervescing draught with the soda or the acid, without the other ingredient; his drink may be as sour, or as salt as he likes, but it would never be soda water.

I have often been asked, what is the cause of the prosperity and increase of Toronto? No doubt there are many reasons, but it is amongst the rest ascribed to the fertile back country, and the number of shops necessary to supply the large farming population in the rear, who are very thriving and very industrious. But besides, and perhaps beyond this, an inhabitant of Hamilton may see a great difference between the two towns, in the vastly greater number of working tradesmen in Toronto. Shoemakers, tailors, watchmakers, papermakers, silversmiths, blacksmiths, whitesmiths, coppers and tinsmiths, foundries, machine, engine and boiler makers, pail factories, brewers, bakers, distillers, millers, hatters, saddlers, harnessmakers, ropemakers, furriers, glovers, carriage builders, chair factories, cabinet makers, furniture makers for exportation, carvers, gilders, painters, book binders, engravers, architects, stone masons, bricklayers, carpenters, carpenters, axe makers, cutlers, and others,—not forgetting my corn-broom maker. These are in great numbers, and apparently very prosperous, for if you enquire

into the ownership of any of the hundreds of handsome houses and cottages yearly springing up, you find them belonging to successful tradesmen, who thus invest their capital; all this has been going on for considerable time; the capital accumulated is showing itself to have remained, and it is not allowed to be idle. Some new contrivance is springing up every day; some new steam engine puffs out its industrious hard breathing, to help the mechanic in his labors. The market offered by the consumption of twenty-two thousand mouths, is enriching the neighboring, and the market gardeners, and these men are a numerous class; things which at a distance from town are of no value, all sell for money; and thus natural advantage and prosperity of town and country, is brought about, in a manner and to an extent, which could not take place if the farmers merely sold wheat and pork, and the town were built up merely of shops, selling imported goods.

And yet, I do not call the tradesmen of Toronto a very enterprising body of men, in the way of their trades. I do not like to see hatters importing hats; and shoemakers selling foreign shoes; and tanners offering foreign leather as superior articles. The Spaniards of California export millions of hides, and they pay five dollars a pair for bad shoes, made of their own leather in the United States, and re-imported; for this they are called lazy and extravagant barbarians—our case is only different in degree; our artisans should aim at more than they do. The English people were electrified the other day, by an irruption of a whole cargo of Cuckoo clocks, from Connecticut, selling for nothing, as it almost seemed to them; but they soon discovered that they could make a cheaper and better article themselves; and so could we, whose country is inundated with Yankee clocks, even make clocks for ourselves—surely we have curled maple and black walnut in sufficient abundance; wages are just as high in Connecticut as they are here; and the way is long; the expense of travelling and transport is great; and the duty considerable; and the interest of money, and profits of sale and resale; all count upon a Yankee clock before it is brought in to tempt a farmer's wife in

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Toronto. Why then, should we not have the clockmakers here ; why should not their savings add to our natural wealth ; and why should we pay thousands of pounds for this article of ornament, or luxury, or use, if it be either, when we should have clocks of our own making, as we should have it, if we had the enterprise of Americans ?

Take up any advertisement from a newspaper, and read it ; ask yourselves, are we belonging to the same nation ; are our people the same as the all-enterprising, and all-successful monopolizers of Great Britain ? For example, one man advertises his stock in trade as "imported direct from Sheffield, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, and New York ;"—"English," "Banks," "Russia and Swedes Iron," "Cast Steel," "Blister, Spring, and German ditto," "Copper," "Canada Plates and Sheet Iron ;" "Bar Lead," "Sheet ditto," "anvils," "vices," "sledges and hammers," "chains," "nails and spikes ;" "Joiners' and Carpenters' tools ;" "hand, cross-cut, circular and Philadelphia Saws ;" "Saddlery mountings, and Carriage Trimmings," "patent Axles, and patent Leather ;" "spades," "shovels," "forks," "hoes, and ploughs ;" "Cooking Stoves," "Parlor, Dundee, and Three Rivers ditto ;" "Hollow Ware," "Tea Kettles," "Sauce Pans," "Stew Pans, and Gridirons, &c." Some of these articles may, without particular remark, be imported any where ; but look at the majority of them, and they give you the idea of some semi-barbarous and helpless country, inhabited by some simple and uninformed people, who, wanting ingenuity and enterprise to make and manufacture for themselves, must send abroad for the most necessary and common articles of consumption. Who would believe, that in many parts of Canada, we have iron ore of the finest quality, without the trouble of subterraneous mining ? And when we know that the superiority of the Russian, and Swedish, and German iron and steel, arises from the use of charcoal, which cannot be used in quantity in England. Who, that reads that advertisement, would believe that this is a country, five-sixths of which are covered with forest, the wood of which is of no value, except for the very purpose for which it is not used ? Are these articles of Russia and Swedes Iron given for nothing to the English merchant ?

And does he sell them for a small per centage on nothing to us, that they can bear the expenses of double exportation, shipment and re-shipment, freight, port duties, warehouse charges, forwarding five hundred miles into the interior, besides a heavy import duty, and yet be so cheap as to command the market in the face of a native article which might be manufactured from the ore, lying on the surface of the ground ; smelted by means of the wood covering the country all around ; hammered by the power which dashes from fall to fall over the iron beds ? Is the manufacture of cast steel and blister steel such a mystery as not to be penetrated in our state of almost negro darkness and simplicity ? Must our spades, and shovels, and forks, and hoes, be made in Sheffield or in Pennsylvania ? Must we send wood to England, and bring it out again at twenty times, nay, fifty times its original cost in the shape of a spade handle, than which a better one could be made by a squaw in her wigwam ; or which a New Englander would make by the million, by a machine, with little more personal trouble than the calculation of the profits. We make our own axes, only because the English *cannot* make them ; and we import our hammers, and chisels, and adzes, and scythes, and sickles--the very bad ones from England, and the good ones from the United States--and we pay freight, and duties, and profits upon the importation ; apparently, because it requires less contrivance to buy than to construct. We walk on carpets and sleep under blankets, made in distant England, while our farmers sell their wool to American pedlars, to pay a heavy import duty on going into the United States, another heavy duty on being reimported here, manufactured into cloths and satinets. The great Lord Chatham, in the fire of his patriotism for England, said "he would not have the plantations in America make a hob nail for themselves."—What a pattern for a plantation is this country of Canada, where this very figure of exaggerated hyperbole, is true to the letter ; as we import our hob nails *direct* from Birmingham and Sheffield !

I am told by political economists, that it is better to import, if we can import cheaper than we can manufacture. They say, that your population are profitably em-

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ployed in raising wheat and pork, and you should not detach them from that profitable employment to set them to work at manufactures, which will not support themselves; and he adds an assumed fact, which is not true, as regards a large proportion of the articles imported,—namely, that we can import them cheaper and better than we can make them.

My assertion is proved to demonstration, with respect to any article of manufacture imported from the United States, and sold here in the face of English importations, and of import duties. It is also proved, as regards every article manufactured in the United States, and exported from that country to foreign markets. It is just as true respecting a carpet, or a blanket, or an ox chain, or a chisel, as it is when we speak of a wooden pail, or an English spade handle, or a Yankee hay rake. Wages are higher in the United States than in Upper Canada, and are very much higher than in Lower Canada; and there are not better, or more ingenious workmen in the world, in any of the arts cultivated in Eastern Canada, than the French Canadians. Our builders and stone cutters show no such work in Hamilton and Toronto as the French Canadians have executed in Montreal. The splendidly carved capitals, and other ornaments of the front and portico of the Bank of Montreal, were executed by a Canadian who could not read, or write, or make a calculation in figures; and he did not spoil a block, or chip off the point of a delicate leaf in all that elaborate stony foliage. At the foundry of St. Maurice, near Three Rivers, generations of workmen have toiled for nearly half a century, at the wages of half a dollar a day, payable in stoves, which they were obliged to sell at half-price, to the great damage of the market of their very calculating employers! It is true, that the master of the works used the patterns of the year One; and though his stoves would have been a very good purchase as pig iron, on account of their weight; as stoves, they were undersold by lighter, and handsomer imported articles. The establishment had every earthly advantage, but it wanted contrivance, and head, and enterprise. The iron was there, and the hands were there, and the water-power was

roaring in their ears, and they had a country of three or four leagues in breadth, with depth *ad libitum* reserved for fuel; and yet, I am not aware that they ever made a flat iron, or a half hundred weight, or a cannon ball. It was, when I saw it, the *beau ideal* of British Colonial manufacturing enterprise.

Again, it is not true, that the establishment of manufactures amongst us would detach our population from agricultural pursuits; since the first settlement of the Province, tens of thousands of citizens have passed thro' because they could find no employment in their trades; and tens of thousands have been deterred from coming here from the same cause. The people who would be employed in manufactures are *not* here; but a single letter would bring as many of them as you want. They are more easily procured than imported goods; for they would require neither discount, nor duties, nor money; and so far from taking from the agricultural population, it is as manifest, as that one and one make two, that without them, and without the towns which they would inhabit, we never can have an agricultural population thickly settled, or really rich and flourishing.

The English or French gentleman travels in America; were he only to come to Canada, and were he to enquire into its progress only, he would admire the fertility of the soil, the comfort of the farming population, in comparison with the peasantry of Europe; he would be delighted to see cities like Montreal, and Toronto, and Hamilton; and he would be surprised that such places should have sprung up in so short a time. He would also admire the shops, so full of goods; and congratulate himself upon the pleasing fact, that, unless among strangers and new-comers, there was no such thing as abject poverty. He would look at the surplus of the teeming land, as it found its way for shipment and exportation; he would perhaps wonder a little at the bad cultivation of our farms, and say—"what a country it must be when men can prosper by such agriculture."

He crosses the line into the United States, a country very like ours, but not so fertile; he finds land four times the value it is with us—for one town of ours, he finds ten

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in the same distance—he had seen our streams brawling through the solitary forest, idly expending their giant energies like strong men at play. In the neighboring country, the deep rumbling of the wheels, and the heavy fall of the hammer, and the hum of a busy population are added to the music of the waters. Every where he sees contrivance, ingenuity, invention, new and strange undertakings. He wonders how a people, who have already too much to do, should be forever seeking some new means of employment. In Canada, he has speculated on what a country *might* be—he has gone but a few miles, and he discovers what Canada *might* be, by finding what the American territory really *is*—he falsely ascribes the different conditions of the places to political institutions—he prognosticates the loss of Canada to the empire ; and he returns to Europe to express his wonder how the Canadians have so long borne a connection for some occult reason, so depressing, so disheartening.

The American visits his Canadian neighbors on a tour of pleasure ; or, perhaps, to sell his clocks, or his rakes, or his tomb-stones,—for, strange to say, so infatuated are our people with foreign luxuries, that they cannot be buried without the assurance of a ghostly mile-stone of dirty white, imported all the way from the State of Maine, standing over their graves, looking like a bad imitation of a badly painted two inch board ;—well, he comes into Canada, and is perfectly astonished to find such natural capabilities—"privileges," as he very significantly calls them. "Why," he asks, "is there not a paper mill *here*, and a woollen factory *there*, and a cotton factory *there*, and a trip-hammer on *that* stream, and a pail factory at *that* fall, and a town on *this* location, and *this*, and *this*, and *this* ?" He brings his hemp from Ohio to sell, under the firm belief that it will not grow to the north of the line ; and he finds it overtopping his head in the lanes, and behinds the barns ; a weed which the farmers "cannot keep from growing !" All our strange inactivity, he falsely attributes to some mystic influence of kingly government—he tells his Canadian acquaintances of the wonderful inventions of republican ingenuity ; with ingenious exaggeration, adds two or three stories to the



brick houses moved on rollers in New York ; describes the wonderful self-acting pin-making machine, of Boston, which they have to keep chained, lest it should bury the town, and fill up the harbor with pins ; and ends by telling his hearers, what a fine country Canada *will be*, when the Mexican war is over, and when his countrymen can find time to take it !

And yet, it is not ; nay, it cannot be, any difference in the form of government, which places us under these fearful disadvantages. It cannot be that we are worse off because England pays our military expenditure—a serious outlay of the United States. It cannot be a difference in the people, because they are of the same race, and many, very many, contemporaneous emigrants. No man in his senses can question, but that a connexion with the United States would soon place us in the condition that they are ; and yet, our backwardness, as compared with them, *cannot*, with any show of reasoning, be attributed to any necessary consequence of our dependance upon England.

To account for one or more of these reasons, has been the object of my lecture ; and I think the solution of the difficulty in part rests here.—In the United States, both before and since the revolution, they have been more of a manufacturing people than we have been. They have, from the profits of an originally small trade, created a large trade, and trading capital amongst themselves ; from an originally small shipping interest, they have created the largest mercantile navy in the world, except that of England ; and they have done more, for the surplus profits of that trade remains with them, in the shape of capital. Our export trade of Quebec requires a thousand ships per annum ; but their gains or losses are nothing to us ; no man in Canada becomes rich because freights are high, or loses because they are low. The American ship-owner lives and accumulates money in Nahant, or Boston, or New York ; and when he has more capital than he requires in that trade, he is ready to invest it in another. The owner of the ships employed in our trade resides in England ; to *him* this country is a plantation, *not a colony*. The great trader in lumber has a few clerks, or a junior partner or two, banished for a time to Cana-

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da—he follows the trade year after year; he becomes very rich; but his riches are not the riches of Canada—to *him* this country has been a plantation, *not a colony*. The importing merchant resides at Glasgow, or Liverpool, or London; he accumulates money by means of clerks and junior partners, placed here for a while; he monopolizes the credits of the banks; he buys up the wheat and flour of the country, to answer his remittances; he gains, he loses—but what are his gains or losses to Canada? The country to *him* is one of the plantations; *it is no colony*. The profits on the manufacture of the goods used by us, accumulate in Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, Glasgow, Boston, Pittsburgh, Russia, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden; to all these places we bear the same relation as the negroes at the Bight of Borneo—we *are not colonized*—we have no hands in which capital can accumulate; and therefore, money, the main-spring of enterprise, is wanting. Like Job, we are rich in flocks, and herds, and patience; and though rich, we have no money; much of our very banking capital is owned abroad, and its profits sent away; for English capitalists send and lend their money, *but they do not colonize* English plantations; the money lent in the way of banking is almost wholly absorbed in trade, which is drawing from us the life-blood of prosperity. You may borrow a hundred thousand pounds to speculate in wheat, or to buy goods in England or the United States, when you could not raise a hundred to spend in any useful project. The whole of a town that I know, felt the want of a steam mill to grind their wheat, and a mechanic there had the ingenuity and courage to build a mill; to make an engine; but he could not, with the aid of all his friends, and the parties interested, raise funds to buy a boiler, though transactions in money, in what was called legitimate banking business, were carried on in the same place to twenty times the amount, every week. This is but a picture, in miniature, of all our constructive enterprise; in truth, it is not strictly a legitimate banking transaction; wheat does not return the money lent, in sixty or ninety days. It is with money invested for a long period that manufactures must be established; they

are therefore little aided by banking, in their erection and establishment.

In this state of affairs, how could this country prosper? True, it had for a long period the cover and advantage of high protecting duties, in England, upon foreign wheat, and foreign timber. If, with these advantages, we did not prosper hitherto, how are we now to get on when these are removed for ever? But has the richest country on earth, in natural productions, the East Indian empire of England, prospered, merely by protection of the same kind? Have they benefitted by most of their merchants and manufacturers becoming foreign; though their goods become cheaper, and their business better managed? I fear not! Have the British West Indies prospered?—scarcely have they been maintained by means of heavy protecting duties! Does Nova Scotia or New Brunswick compare with the State of Maine? No! all these places called colonies, have been *planted not colonized*; none of them are able to do, or undertake any thing without money borrowed; they are behind, and backward in the race of prosperity; for, they have wanted the resident wealth, accumulation, energy, and activity which the mother country kept at home, or imparted in a small way, in the way of loan, which the so called colonies, are little able to repay. An English manufacturer finds his goods shut out of France, or Belgium, or Russia, or the United States by protecting duties, or by competition; he removes himself, his machinery thither, with his capital—this is colonizing, though the place be not a Province of England. He sends his goods to Canada; he sells them here; he buys wheat; *this is not colonizing, nor any thing in the nature of colonization.*

Let us look, for an example of our condition, at one of the most interesting kind, in the mining transactions of the last year; here, in our neighborhood, copper mines are discovered upon Lake Superior; they are immediately worked by Americans; who, besides paying large duties to the State, are able to realize immense profits. Why were they worked, and by whom? Not by the British merchants trading in or to New York; but by means of capital in the country; the accumulated result

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of Home enterprize. How will they continue? Why, by means of their own profits; where these profits are more than is necessary for the works, then again is the surplus ready for future enterprize of another kind.

Almost at the same time, we have, in Canada, discovered, on our side of Lake Superior and Lake Huron, immense mineral treasures of the same kind; is there any want of speculation and enterprize?—Not in the least—a dozen companies start into existence at once—the state requires not duties—the mines are procured at a nominal value, and we make great progress—in selling shares! The Americans have exported upwards of a million pounds weight of copper—they have ten millions of pounds weight in progress of smelting—and we, half a million of *shares* in the market, which no one will buy! And yet, this is a province of, and should be attached as closely to England, as the shores of Lake Superior to New York. Here, we place mighty England—manufacturing England, wealthy England, mining England, a country which was exploring the bowels of the earth for minerals, for centuries before America was dreamt of—in the scale, against new, half-settled, half-colonized America, and she rises in the balance! Would this be the case, had the copper of the lakes been found in Cornwall? Or had this Province been *colonized*?—that is, had we capitalists and manufacturers, and manufacturing towns in Canada.?

I have myself spoken to several of the tradesmen in Toronto; I have asked them to establish a company for the smelting and rolling of copper, even on the smallest scale; I represented to them, that there was already got out, more than sufficient for their purposes, within three days' journey and voyage of their city; I told them, or rather, they told me, of the hundred uses which they were daily making of the article of still-worms, brewers' vats, copper and brass-kettles for manufacturers of various kinds, the bolts and sheeting required for the ship-building at Quebec. They even showed me how our buildings might be roofed with copper instead of tin, and within the probable expense of tin; I showed them how the city might be made a factory, and an export place for works in metal; and how many thousand articles dearly

imported, might be made cheaply by ourselves;—but alas!—we were not in England, *nor in an English colony*; but in one of Her Majesty's *plantations* in America. Our merchants, manufacturers, and manufacturing capital, was in distant England, and in the hands of persons who probably would look upon any one as a swindler, who would ask them to invest their money in mining and metals, in a British Province.

I leave to those who understand the subject, abstract reasoning on the subject of protecting duties to Home industry.—I am neither prepared to do as they did once in England,—to vote for acts of Parliament to protect makers of buttons with the stems on, against the makers of button moulds; or to enact, that the dead shall be buried in woollen, to protect the woollen manufactory; neither am I disposed to establish, by means of protecting duties, unprofitable manufactures for which our productions, or the state of our country render us unfit. I cannot on the other hand be brought to admit that temporary encouragement in the way of protecting duties may not wisely be afforded to well chosen fabrics, which we are capable of making ourselves, but which we have delayed making until competition even at a distance, is more than we can easily overcome. Instead of theorizing generally upon true or false abstract propositions, my mental constitution, a narrow education, leads me to particularize before acting—I do not know what is good or bad for England, in the way of protection, or of free trade. But I *do* know that if the shoes and boots made by fifty tradesmen in Toronto, were supplanted in the market, by a like quantity of shoes, and boots made in the state prison at Auburn, Toronto would loose two hundred of her citizens, who build houses; pay taxes, make money, and keep it, and that the farmers would lose so much of a market for every kind of produce; I should lose myself more fees than would pay for all the boots and shoes used in my family. House rent would be effected in proportion to the diminution in the number of tenants; town lots would fall in price in proportion to the number of purchasers; there would be fifty men less, for the defence of the city in case she required it; and the accumulation of

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profit from the industry of these fifty citizens, would be lost to the long future. My own feelings would lead me to regret, even if we got the imported shoes for nothing; but reasoning strictly, it would be a question of degree; fifty per cent might be too much and five per cent not too much to pay for the privilege of having our own shoemakers, if it were necessary to pay for it at all.—I should not be disposed to weigh the matter too strictly; a York six-pence, or a York-shilling a pair, would never lead me to banish my fellow townsmen; but, I may be wrong.

It is not, however, protecting duties we want; we have, for the sake of revenue, a duty which on many articles, would be highly protective, had we the capital, and the persons here to take advantage of the circumstance. The wide ocean is a protection; freights on the lakes and canals, are protection; interest of money invested, is protection; delay, in the realization of capital, is protection; profits on buying and selling half a dozen times over is protection; bankruptcy, and loss arising in the course of foreign trade, is protection; our misfortune, is not the want of protection; *but the want of anything to protect*; and this, I fear, must be our want, until we have, in addition to an emigration of laborers, and shopkeepers, *more of the artisans, and more of the manufacturing capital of England amongst us.*

I have spoken out plainly on this subject: I think in a proper place, and before a proper audience; the Mechanics' Institute of Hamilton. I am quite prepared to hear it said, that I know nothing, and *can* know nothing, on a matter so foreign to my ordinary pursuits; my notions of my own knowledge, and capacity to lecture on the subject are very humble; they can scarcely be lowered by any reception my opinions may meet with. Your time will not be lost, however, if I shall have made my address sufficiently amusing to set you thinking and talking on questions so deeply interesting. I have before this, attempted in public, to draw distinctions between *plantations* and *colonies*; between *emigration* and *colonization*. The first we have; the second we *never have had*, unless in the most narrow sense of the term. There is, I am happy to say, a growing spirit of inquiry in England, into

the value of her transatlantic possessions. The English people are wise enough to know, that to be good customers it is not necessary we should buy everything we use; they must also see that if they wish to compete with the Americans in this market in many articles, it must be by manufacturing *here*, not in England; they will see, that there are fortunes to be made in Canada, by manufactures, as well as comfort and independence by agriculture. When they are convinced of this, we shall have villages, and towns, and cities, maintained by real, beneficial, and legitimate commerce; when this is the case, we shall import more in amount than we do now, because we shall be better able to afford it. We shall learn that it is no more a wild or difficult, a complicated transaction, to keep ten thousand pounds together in a manufacturing establishment, than it is now, in the purchase of ten thousand pounds worth of flour here, to be sold five thousand miles away, and nine months hence, at a price dependant upon the seasons and harvests all over the world. As New York, and Connecticut, and Maine, and Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, are parts, and portions of an empire, sharing in the enterprize and capital, and industry of the whole; the one colonizing the other,—so should we be a part, and portion of the British Empire; *not a Province, or a Plantation, merely, but a Colony in the true sense of the word.*

This Province is no longer an infant country. It has passed through one important stage of its history. Nourished by protection, and an exclusive market in England, it contended against the constitutional disease of want of home manufactures; or in other words, the absence of those, who gained by manufacturing for us; absence of their money; their enterprise; their intelligence. The decision of the question of free trade in corn in England, has introduced us to another and different period. The last year's experience is not encouraging; a crisis has probably to be met, how it will be met, is the question. We have no longer an exclusive, or certain, or high market, for our only export.

*Then shall we,—or shall we not, remain without the only equivalent,—domestic manufactures, and town population?*

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