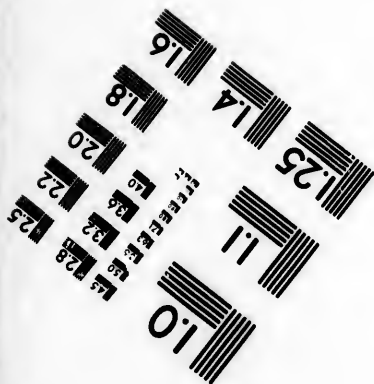
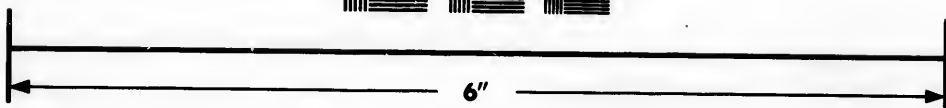
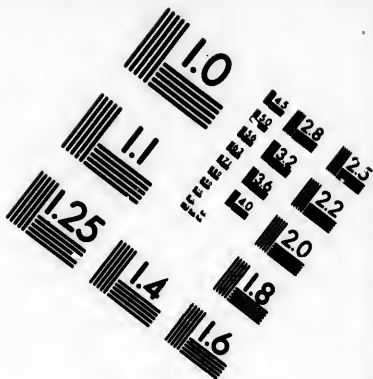




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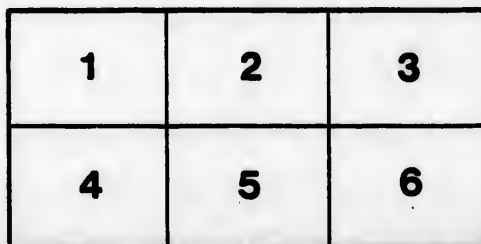
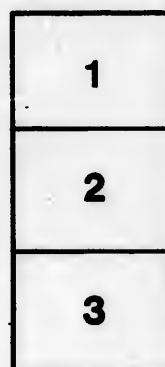
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CONSIDERATIONS

Le Séminaire de Québec,
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ON THE

PAST, PRESENT & FUTURE CONDITION

OF THE

CANADAS.

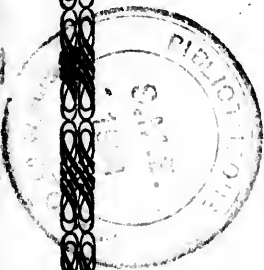
BY HENRY TAYLOR.

No. I.

MONTREAL :

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY JOHN LOVELL,

SAINT NICHOLAS STREET.





CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE
PAST, PRESENT & FUTURE CONDITION
OF THE
CANADAS.

BY HENRY TAYLOR.

No. I.

MONTREAL:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY JOHN LOVELL,
SAINT NICHOLAS STREET.

1839.

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PREFACE.

PREVIOUSLY to entering on the consideration of the separate Articles enumerated in the Prospectus of the following Work, it may be advisable to inform the public that several of them have been for some years the objects of my attention. During a residence nigh Quebec from 1819 to 1829, I had published in a Periodical paper (the Enquirer) several articles calling the attention of the Houses of Assembly to the necessity of a plan for diffusing a knowledge of the modern system of Agriculture through the Province, by which a great increase of agricultural produce would be gained. The Houses of Assembly however appear to have been too deeply involved in their political differences with the other Branches of the Legislature to attend to what would really have produced great service to their country; and the members to whom I addressed myself were contented with observing there was a Committee of Agriculture

appointed by the House. But the operations of this Committee were confined to granting certain sums to the Societies of Agriculture of the Province and these Societies requiring the full amount of the sums granted for the bestowing of premiums for raising the best vegetables and the fattest cattle, were unable to embrace the more general and extensive plan I had contemplated. That these Societies have been serviceable is allowed, but the great desideratum in this Province is the increase of the production of wheat and grain of all sorts, and this can only be accomplished by instructing the habitant farmers through the Province in the superior mode and yield of the modern agriculture, and by prevailing on them to practise it.

By the plan stated in the following Work, an intimate knowledge of the modern agriculture, its advantages and superior yield can be practically and generally diffused through the Province, and it will then be probable that the habitant farmers, or many of them, will adopt a mode of agriculture so much more consonant to their interests.

Finding, at the above named period, that my endeavours to call the attention of the Houses of Assembly to this important subject were fruitless, I presented the plan to His Excellency Sir James Kempt, whose approbation it obtained, and I was informed by his Secretary that he had expressed an intention of recommending it to the House of Assembly; but, as I sailed for England that fall,

and Sir James was called home the same year, nothing more was done respecting it.

The second and third Articles in the Prospectus being engendered by the late disastrous events, have, of course, to be considered for the first time.

The fourth Article, on the expediency of an application being made to the Home Government, or to the Imperial Parliament, for the exclusive supply of the British West India Islands and Settlements, has engaged my attention for several years. On this subject, I beg leave to mention that, during my residence in Halifax, Nova Scotia, being one of the Committee of Trade of that town, I exerted myself, with the other members, to obtain the exclusion of American vessels from the supply of those Islands with fish of all kinds. During nigh twenty years, we annually sent home memorials and documents, proving the great detriment suffered by the fisheries and trade of Nova Scotia from the Americans, and it was not until the time arrived, when the British Provinces could prove their capacity to furnish all the fish required for the annual supply of those Islands and Settlements, that we obtained the exclusion of American vessels with those articles.

In 1834, I repaired to Toronto, and resided there till January last. In the Sessions of the Provincial Parliament, previous to leaving, I presented a statement to the Legislative Council on the subject of this fourth Article, stating the losses

that had occurred to the Province by the exportation of wheat to Great Britain, the capacity of the Mother Country and the North American Provinces for the total supply of the West India Settlements, and the great advantages which would result (by the direct supply of those with flour, bread stuffs and provisions) to the British North American Provinces.

A Committee was appointed by the Council to consider the memorial, but it being late in the Session it was postponed, and the late outbreak intervening, put an end to my proceedings.

On the fifth Article, namely, a consideration of a Representative Union of the British North American Provinces and the Parent State, I have to say, that about the year 1822, in an article I then published in the *Montreal Herald*, I first mentioned the idea to the public of the necessity that would probably arise for a Representative Union of these North American Colonies with the Parent State, by Representatives sent to the Imperial Parliament, and I engaged to resume the subject at a future period. During my stay in London, from 1829 to 1834, I was much pleased to find this idea supported and brought before the House of Commons, in the first Session of the Reformed Parliament, by Mr. Joseph Hume, who, in a very luminous speech, developed the resources and population of all the British Colonies in the East and West Indies, Mediterranean, &c. and strongly advocated the necessity and expediency of hav-

ing them all represented in the Imperial Parliament. The plan itself was not disapproved of by the Ministry but, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer observed, it was impracticable to enter on the discussion in the first turbulent Session of a Reformed Parliament, Mr. Hume withdrew his motion, declaring however his intention of bringing forward the measure in the next Session. In the interim, he having been drawn into a correspondence with the now renegade Mackenzie, and others of that stamp in Upper Canada; he had addressed to him or to them his notorious "baneful domination" letter, and during the second Session of the Reformed Parliament he appeared to have entirely given up his intention of bringing forward his motion for the representation of the Colonies in Parliament.

On my observing this to be the case, and finding that notwithstanding the British Parliament had recently granted to the Canadian House of Assembly, the disposal of the proceeds of 14th Geo. III. on condition they would grant a permanent Civil List; finding, I say, that the House of Assembly did not comply with this condition, and being much disappointed in that, the differences in the Provincial Legislature still continued to augment, I addressed a letter to Mr. Hume, stating the satisfaction I had felt on his motion for the representation of the Colonies, and expressing my conviction that nothing would prove more effective in terminating the differences, than such

a measure well accomplished. To this I received an answer by letter, the substance of which was :
 " that as long as the Colonies were continued
 " under the direction of the Colonial Office, he
 " was of opinion they should be represented in
 " the Imperial Parliament ; but that his own *wish*
 " was, that the Canadas should be *set free to govern*
 " *themselves as the United States do*, adding that
 " some arrangements should at same time take
 " place by which their connection with Great
 " Britain should be regulated, and concluding with
 " an observation that unless good government took
 " place here, the country could not prosper." On
 my return to Canada, I found his domination
 letter in the public prints, and observing the
 coincidence of it with his letter to me, I could
 not but conclude that his correspondence with the
 leaders of the disaffected party in Upper Canada
 and his views formed thereon, concerning the
 Canadas, had been the cause of his abandoning his
 measure for the representation of the Colonies, a
 measure by which I verily believe he would have
 succeeded in rendering them great, solid, and du-
 rable advantages, and have contributed to the con-
 solidation of the Empire itself.

As this representation of the Colonies has been
 advocated, both before the separation of the old
 Colonies, (now the United States,) and since, by
 some of the first writers in Great Britain, and as
 the events that have occurred during the last
 twenty years in the Provinces, and more especially

their lamented consequences in the last and present year, have all been gradually proving the necessity of a *closer union* with the Parent State, we trust the reasoning in favour of it in this Work will be successful in attracting the attention of the British Government to the plan proposed.

I have now to explain the causes that during the almost exclusive occupation of the public mind, in the means of defence of the Province, I have ventured to call their attention to the abovenamed important objects in the following work.

It was with deep felt emotions of regret and surprize that I, as one born in a country almost proverbial for the moderate taxation of its inhabitants, beheld a large part of it involved in all the horrors of Rebellion. The causes which led thereto have been ably explained by numerous pens, who generally agree in referring it to the misplaced indulgence, and unlimited desire, of conciliation pursued by the British Government with regard to the party opposed to them, and on this subject of conciliation I beg leave to remark, that, if by that term be understood the constitutional redress of real grievances flowing from a reasonable wish, to preserve the peace and harmony of the Province, it is certainly so far praiseworthy ; but when once the leader of that party had presumed to avow republican doctrines or predilection in the Parliament of the Province, all subsequent concessions might have been foreseen to be fruitless, and ought to have been con-

sidered as derogatory to the Government. The original error, however, seems to have been the giving up of the disposal of the proceeds of 14th George III. to the Houses of Assembly; since that concession, no House of Assembly could be depended on for the proper supply of the wants of Government. To this cause may be added the imprudent and wavering declarations of some of the British Ministry in the House of Commons. It was stated by Sir John Russell, that were it not for the declared resolution of the British portion of the Province (Lower) to insist on the present Union with the Parent State, and also the necessity of retaining this Province as a Key to the Upper, "He should have no objection to cast the French population loose to themselves." A declaration of this kind must of necessity have acted like a talisman on the propensities of every disloyal leader of that population; accordingly, and no doubt with a view to bring about this object, we find among the late acts of Mr. Papineau, an expression of his entire readiness to meet the Upper Province to any extent in the public improvements relating to a communication by canal to Montreal. The hot-headed confidence of the popular leaders, in allowing a part of the people to rush into premature rebellion seems to have overthrown the deep designs of the arch leader, and we may observe, that these rebellions have had at least one good effect, they have shewn the futility of the boasted numbers of

the French population to maintain a successful one. These leaders have desired to try the power of England to retain the conquest of the Province achieved by the immortal Wolfe, and the dreadful result is now before them; and this event, like many more of the dispensations of Providence bringing good from evil, will probably produce a long duration of peace and security to the Province.

And this peace and security, if followed up with proper vigilance on the part of Government, in preventing the introduction of munitions of war from the neighbouring States, cannot even be long interrupted by what has been erroneously called the sympathy of the adjoining States. Neighbouring nations, have indeed frequently allowed their subjects to take part in the internal broils of others, but this has always been when both parties were fairly in the field, if we except the infamous decree of the French Convention, calling indiscriminately on the Nations of Europe to assemble against their Governments, and declaring its readiness to assist them. And in this particular the sympathizers may be said to be acting in conformity to this infamous decree, but with a greater degree of turpitude, inasmuch as being situated so nigh the Canadas they must be aware, they (the Canadas) enjoyed the blessings of a free Constitution.

It is impossible to conceive it can be the wish of the majority of the American people to go to

war with Great Britain on account of the Canadas. That they would endeavour to fraternize them, were it not on this account, I do believe. But the interests of the commercial part of that nation, are diametrically opposed to such a war. The interests of the Southern States, the cotton growers, are particularly so, and the consumers of British goods, through the Union are all interested in peace and in avoiding the expence of war. That the depredations of the sympathizers can be allowed by the national congress to proceed any longer, is, therefore, hardly to be conceived. As to the sympathizers themselves, should we allow, for sake of argument, that a great proportion of those who furnish money to the invaders of Canada, do so from a real wish to engraft American institutions in it, yet, as they must now be convinced, by fatal experience, that the majority of the Upper Province, at least, are decidedly resolved against the introduction of these institutions, they, the real sympathizers, cannot, according to their own declared deference to the will of the majority, persevere in their absurd attempts. As respects the Lower Province, it is true a portion of the inhabitants of the District of Montreal, have been most foolishly persuaded, or compelled, by ignorant and wicked men, to array themselves in two rebellions against their country, yet I do not hesitate to declare my belief, that were any considerable body of men from the States to prepare an invasion of this Province, that, in several parts of it, Govern-

ment would, with proper management, find enough loyal battalions of Canadian Militia ready to act against the invaders ; precaution in this case might indeed be prudent, and, thank God, we have now in the Provinces sufficient British troops with the aid of the British population, to keep down both internal and external foes.

That the British Government has not yet adopted that determined and resolute tone in its negotiations on this sympathizing subject with the American Government, which a due regard to the peace and security of the Canadas demands, is, I believe, but too visible. The raising of a sufficient force by that American Government to put down this sympathizing invasion, directly ; or, an immediate declaration by Great Britain that she would consider herself justified in pursuing those pirates into the neighbouring states, was what the honour of the Empire required ; and that a declaration of this kind, or of immediate war, must be the result of the late audacious proceedings of the sympathizers, it is impossible to doubt.

The Government of Great Britain dare not any longer suffer itself to be trifled with by the diplomatic declarations, or by the proclamations of the American Government ; should they venture on so weak, so pusillanimous a conduct, the British nation, which has never allowed its honour to be sacrificed either to its commercial interests, or its love of peace, would soon effect the dismissal of those ministers ; and I have not a doubt that the

loud and general voice of every British subject in the Canadas, would demand of the British Government, in terms not to be rejected, the *right of the second Law of Nature, the right of retaliation, and would no longer continue to endure their sufferings without exerting it.*

It is on the foregoing line of reasoning, that I have come to the conclusion, that the peace and security of the Canadas is nigh being reestablished; and I have, therefore, ventured in the following pages to call the attention of the public and of the Government to what I conceive the most efficient means to advance their industry, prosperity and welfare.

We shall now proceed to the discussion of the various Articles of the Prospectus, and our statement of the past, present and future condition of the Provinces will be comprized in the various Chapters of the Work.

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CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE CONDITION
OF THE
C A N A D A S .

CHAPTER I.

A Plan, to be hereafter proposed to the Government of the Lower Province, for the increase of Agricultural Science, Practice and Products, accompanied with an Address to the Canadian Agricultural Population.

THERE is, perhaps, no country in the world, in which the low state of Agriculture has been more generally lamented by agricultural writers, than that of Lower Canada.

The habitant farmer himself, learns from his forefathers that the land formerly produced much more abundantly ; but, unacquainted with the real cause of this deterioration, he ascribes it to the seasons having changed for the worse, and the lands being worn out.

In Great Britain, the zeal of eminent land holders for the science of agriculture has diffused the practice of the science through all parts of the

country. In this Province, the great mass of the agricultural population, being almost entirely unacquainted with the English language, can derive no advantage from any treatise written in it, and being also wedded to their own mode of agriculture, though long exploded, even from that part of France from which their progenitors came, have not profited by the example of the few old country farmers residing among them.

It was on this account I presented to Sir James Kempt the plan for introducing the modern system, generally through the rural parishes, and considering the almost insuperable difficulty of ever inducing the habitant farmers to begin of themselves a more productive system of agriculture, it would seem an object worthy of the efforts of an enlightened government to enable them to acquire a knowledge of such a system, and to lead them to the practice of it. Accordingly, Sir James, as I have stated in the Preface, gave his approbation of the plan, and intended to have recommended it to the House of Assembly, but was called home that autumn ; since that period, two important circumstances have occurred to call more forcibly for the attention of the Legislature to this subject. The first of these is the ravages which the fly, or other insects, are occasioning in the wheat crops of the Province ; in some parishes, I have been informed, many habitants have been obliged to substitute other grain for their own consumption. But a country which cannot produce sufficient

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wheat for that purpose, it is said, can never become wealthy, and a falling off of this kind is of itself almost sufficient to produce discontent among its inhabitants. No mode of destroying these insects has, I believe, been as yet discovered; but I have been informed by an intelligent agriculturist that sowing the wheat late will generally enable it to escape the insect, and I should conceive that a better mode of husbandry, by enriching the soil would, by giving the plant greater quickness of growth, thus make up for the loss of time by late sowing. I have also been led to conceive that the cause of these enemies of the crop, being so much more abundant in this country than in others more cultivated, may be, their being first engendered in the swamps and low wooded lands; therefore, if a plan can be suggested which would enable the Government to introduce a knowledge of the modern agriculture, and the practice of it generally through the parishes; the habitant farmers, finding themselves more enriched thereby, in a few years would be both willing and able to clear off more land on their farms; and, perhaps, thus prevent the increase of those destroyers.

The other important circumstance which now calls for the attention of Government to this subject, is the excited state of mind regarding the political affairs of the Province, which has been so many years artfully, and with untiring industry, diffused over the mass of the agricultural population. These efforts have resulted in producing

two rebellions in one of the most populous districts of the Province. They have, indeed, been quelled by the prompt and energetic steps of our Commander in Chief, and the troops and volunteers under his command; but it is not to be doubted, that covered attempts may again be made to keep alive the same excitements, and though they may, by the vigilant regulations that will doubtless be established by the Government, be prevented from breaking out into future insurrections, they may yet impede the acquisition of that knowledge of agriculture, and the application of it, which would appear to be the thing best calculated to produce the tranquillizing of their minds.

By the plan hereafter stated, it will appear that it is to emanate from the Government; that many of the habitant farmers will be directly interested in it, by the hiring of their farms for the formation of agricultural school-farms, and that a sufficient knowledge of the modern agriculture, and its superior yield and profits, may be thereby very generally diffused through all the rural parishes in the Province.

If, therefore, the plan should meet the approbation of Government, if by its means, the minds of the agriculturists may happily be drawn from the pursuit of unreasonable discontents against the Government, to the acquirement of a zeal for the practice of a more profitable mode of agriculture (their proper business,) thereby increasing their own comforts and the advancement and wealth of

their country it would seem worthy of a benevolent and enlightened Government to produce this great result.

The lands in the District of Montreal are I believe, generally of good quality, and under a proper system of agriculture could be made very productive, but, from about 60 miles above Québec to the Eastern Boundary of the Province, they are worn so miserably low, that I have known a habitant wait fifteen years for a crop sufficiently profitable to enable him to thatch his barns.

We shall now proceed to state the outlines of the plan to be proposed to such permanent Government as shall be finally established by the decision of Parliament.

No. 1.—A “terre” or farm in every fifth parish in the Province (or if it shall be thought advisable to make the experiment on a smaller scale) in one or more districts in the Province, shall be hired, as stated in No. 4, by Government; from any of the habitant farmers, who shall be found to offer his farm in the lowest terms, and who shall agree to remain with his family on the farm, and to assist in the working thereof, under the direction of a person thoroughly acquainted with the modern mode of agriculture, to be appointed by a board of inspectors of the agricultural school-farms mentioned, in No. 8.

No. 2.—The said agricultural school-farms in each fifth parish in the districts determined upon, shall be legally hired and rented by the

Government, or by the board of inspectors appointed by it as in No. 8, for a number of years not exceeding seven years, and shall be cultivated and worked according to the instructions given to the agriculturist on each farm by the board of inspectors.

No. 3.—A proper and intelligent agriculturist having been placed by the inspectors in No. 8, on each of the agricultural school-farms, either at a fixed salary, or a share in the profits of the farm with; such additional helpers as the labour of the said farm may require; the said inspectors shall provide such requisite implements and tools and seed grain as are wanted on each farm, for the carrying on of the modern system of agriculture in the most profitable manner.

No. 4.—The habitant farmer owner of the farm, shall have a certain annual rent granted to him for the use of his farm, in addition to his having a sufficient part of the produce of it for himself and family to live on. He shall declare himself willing, and ready to recommend and bring into practice, the modern system of agriculture, when he shall have acquired a sufficient knowledge of its practice, and of its superior yield and advantage.

No. 5.—The agriculturist thus appointed to each agricultural school-farm, shall, immediately on receiving the proper tools, implements and seed for the farm, take an account thereof, and give a receipt for the same, to the inspectors, and shall forthwith

commence the proper fencing and working of the farm to the best and most profitable advantage, according to the most approved system of modern agriculture.

No. 6.—The agriculturist on each school-farm, shall duly attend to all duties required to be performed on the same, and adopt every proper measure for enabling the farm to pay its own expenses by the choice of the most profitable crops, &c. &c. and on housing the same, shall enter into the book of the farm, an exact account of all the articles produced on it, also an account of the expenses and charges incurred, which accounts duly attested shall be annually presented by him to the inspectors of these agricultural school-farms; and he shall take from the said inspectors their directions concerning the sale of the produce and crops.

No. 7.—The agriculturist on each farm shall in the said farm-book, enter an exact account of all sales of produce effected, with the names of the buyers, when such can be obtained, and shall exhibit to the said inspectors, a monthly account of all sales so made, and of all disbursements on account of the farm.

No. 8.—A board of inspection of these agricultural farms to be established by Government, consisting of men sufficiently acquainted with agricultural affairs to inspect into the proper and economical conduct of the agriculturist appointed to each agricultural farm and to receive and inspect his monthly and annual accounts. Each of

these inspectors to engage for the inspection of a certain number of the parishes in which the agricultural school-farms are established, and the annual accounts thereof, when inspected, shall be presented by him for the final sanction of the board of inspectors at their annual meeting.

No. 9.—It is hoped that for this purpose of inspecting these agricultural school-farms, many gentlemen, possessed of a patriotic zeal for the advancement of the provincial agriculture, will be found, gratuitously to exercise these functions of inspectors; and will endeavour, by the influence their situation will give them, to point out to the habitant farmers, the advantages of the modern mode of agriculture, and to lead them to adopt the same on their several farms.

No. 10.—And in order to extend this influence, it shall be at the option of the inspectors, after the term of hire of each agricultural farm is expired, to give up the same to the owner thereof, who may then be supposed to have been made thoroughly acquainted with the modern mode of agriculture; and to hire from any other habitant farmer in the same, or neighbouring parishes, his farm for the same purpose of forming an agricultural school-farm for a given number of years so that by the alternate hiring of various farms, one agricultural farm in each parish in the Province may be established in course of time, by such rotation.

No. 11.—It is hoped and trusted, that by a

judicious appointment of persons to conduct the farming on these agricultural school-farms, and by the attention and zeal of the inspectors such an economical, intelligent mode of management of the agricultural farms will be adopted, and such precautions taken to prevent fraud and waste, that each farm will nearly pay its own expences. If this desirable result should ensue, a knowledge of the modern agricultural practice may thereby be diffused through every rural parish in the Province, and so strong and general an evidence of its superior yield and profits be made known to the French Canadian farmers, that it is hardly possible they should not, in course of time, adopt the practice of it on their farms.

No. 12.—And to further this great end it may be advisable to publish, in the French language, an annual account of the various charges attending each farm, with an account of the annual sales of produce, and a balance, shewing the profits of the farms. A sufficient number of these statements to be affixed in the most public places in each parish.

No. 13.—In order to extend, as much as possible, a knowledge and love of the modern agriculture among the youth of each parish, it may be advisable to allow them, freely to inspect the mode of managing and cropping the agricultural farms under proper restrictions, and also to employ as many of them as may be wanted in the same.

No. 14.—In case it shall be found that by the prosperous conduct of the agricultural school farms, any revenue should arise from them, the balances shall be applied in giving premiums to any of the habitant farmers, who shall introduce and successfully practice the modern agriculture on his own farm, &c.

ADDRESS.

To the Canadian Agricultural Population of Lower Canada, containing a concise retrospective view of the past and present state of the Province, and demonstrating, from the experience of the miseries of the past, how they may be avoided in future; with notice of a Plan to be hereafter proposed to the Provisional Government for producing an increased knowledge of the Science of Agriculture, and a more profitable practice of it through the Province.

Countrymen and Fellow Subjects,

A sincere friend to the peace and happiness of Canada, now addresses you. Born in the country he has no other wish than to restore and preserve for you those blessings; and he claims the right, at this important crisis, to employ such means as the God of Nature and of Reason may have bestowed on him, for that good purpose.

In the concise retrospective view of the former state of this Province, I need make no further observation on the period between the first settle-

ment of Canada, and the cession of it by France, to Great Britain, than, that during this period, the Government of the Province was, what is called by writers on Government, Monarchical; that none of the privileges of civil liberty, peculiar to free governments, were then enjoyed by the Province, and that its militia were liable, and I believe frequently *were*, marched thousands of miles for the conquest or defence of other possessions of the French crown.

On the accession of Great Britain to the possession of Canada, the Government was vested in a Governor and Council until the year 1791, when the privileges of the British Constitution were granted, by an act of the British Parliament. On a comparison of the two periods of time, the former of 32 years, and the latter of 47 years, namely, from 1791 to the present year; the former shews us, that peaceable and contented state of the Province, on which the author of this Address has often had conversations with old French Canadian habitans, who stated, that the Province was never more tranquil and happy than during that period. On the second period, namely, from the grant of the Constitution in 1791, to the present year, we have, unhappily, to make a very different remark, as to the greater part of that period. Up to the year 1819 indeed; when the author returned to Canada, after an absence of forty years, the possession of that Constitution was a theme of congratulation among the French inhabitants of the

Province, which it was cheering to an admirer of the British Constitution to hear. But near this time, the Houses of Assembly had begun to seek for the right of disposal of the proceeds of 14th George III; and almost during the whole intervening period, from that time to before the late unfortunate outbreak; a scene of constant differences between the several branches of the Legislature took place, during which, every department of the public service was, for years, unprovided for.

It was previous to the termination of the Houses of Assembly, as part of the Legislature, that Mr. Papineau made his declaration in Parliament in favour of Republican Governments; an audacious crime against the Constitution of his country, considering the (then) influence of his opinions, and proving that he was both incapable of setting a just appreciation on the value of *that* Constitution, and unworthy of participating in its blessings; and meeting, under the ordination of Providence, with a natural and retributive punishment on himself, compelled to flee to the country he so much applauded. Had he and the leaders of the late House of Assembly been sufficiently acquainted with the Constitution of the Province, they would have known, that as long as they abstained from exciting the people to acts contrary to its laws, they, the leaders, might, by patient perseverance, in a constitutional line of conduct, have obtained every constitutional redress of positive grievances. The

long duration of the efforts of the Catholics of Ireland, to obtain Emancipation, and the still longer duration, (30 years) of the efforts of the Reformers in England, until the Reform Bill was finally passed, are undoubted proofs of the above assertion.

In lieu of this patient conduct in the pursuit of redress by these leaders, the people were excited in tumultuous meetings all over the Province; and no wonder that, in the erroneous estimate of their strength, consequent on such meetings, they were led to commit those offences against the laws, in the compulsion of Magistrates and Militia Officers (constitutionally appointed by the Governor) to resign their offices, which led to the late revolt.

There is no Government under Heaven, my Countrymen, that could have endured such grave and important breaches of the Laws without resisting them; since, if they did, they must cease to exist as a Government; and, I now appeal to your good sense and to your reflection, whether there were real, solid and sufficient causes for this revolt, by a portion of your population?

The only justifiable cause of revolt by a people, are, I conceive, two in number, first a continued violation of the rights and liberties of the subject as by law established, on the part of Government, and affecting a great part of the people, or the imposition of heavy and insupportable taxation by unconstitutional means: now, the House of As-

sembly in the year 1828, obtained the right of disposal of the proceeds 14th. George III. on the express condition that they would provide a specific and sufficient Civil List; and whatever motives they may have assigned for not doing so, were inadmissible; because they should have stipulated every condition, before they accepted the parliamentary offer; and having thus failed in their agreement, the government was thereby compelled to provide *pro tem.* for the public service, hoping, no doubt, this difference would be adjusted by a future House of Assembly. In every other respect, there has not, to my knowledge, occurred any material instance where the public or private rights of the people have been invaded.

With respect to taxation, there is not a more true or solid way of determining the merits of a government, or the comparative welfare of a people. The more usual and fertile cause of opposition to government has arisen from those who were out of place, and wished to get in. But, in this Province, it is of little consequence to the people, who are in or out of office, as all are amenable to the laws. But by the scale of taxation, the Government of Lower Canada can be justly weighed, and by it ought to be considered and allowed to be the mildest to be borne, and the people the least oppressed of any, perhaps, in the world.

Compare your taxation with that of France, of Great Britain, or even the boasted United States of America, and you will find them all much higher

than the taxation of Canada, even with allowances being made, for greater facility of means to pay it.

It was, therefore, with unfeigned and deep regret that, during my late residence in Upper Canada I heard of this unhappy revolt; for I had, for nigh half a century, known you for a virtuous, peaceable and harmless people, and it was on that account, I felt the greater indignation against those men who had excited you to this revolt, because, independently of the high crime of rebellion, I cannot but believe, they must have been conscious of what would be the *result of it*, and accordingly those instigators abandoned those they had thus misled, at a very short period after its commencement. And even now, notwithstanding this experience of the past, these very men, who have fled their country and no doubt, feeling themselves safe from its consequences, are, we are given to understand, endeavouring to excite you to a second revolt. Countrymen, I cannot believe it possible, that any considerable numbers of you will suffer yourselves to be again misled by these absurd and unfeeling instigators. In an article published by me in the Upper Canada papers I foretold the result, and deprecated the consequences of the conduct of the late House of Assembly: And I now, here solemnly dissuade you from again committing yourselves by any such dangerous steps. However much the sad events of the late revolt are to be deplored, those instigators, and those who followed them, have themselves to

blame for the sufferings they have met with. They could not expect the Government to neglect their duty, by not securing the defence of the laws by force of arms. Let therefore, the veil of oblivion be drawn over the past. The peaceable and unmolested pursuits of life, are yet at your option. In the bosoms of your families, continue to enjoy the blessings they will afford you. Listen to the soothing voice of religion, and here I call upon your Ministers to exert their just influences in persuading you to a wise and peaceable conduct. Those Ministers, have no doubt, a just knowledge of the power of the great empire of which this Province has the honor to form a part, and for this cause they must see, more clearly than you can, the bitter consequences of revolt. For myself, I can assure you, from my knowledge of that power, and my conviction of the determination of the Imperial Parliament to preserve the integrity of the empire; that, should you unhappily be induced to follow a different line of conduct, from the wise and peaceable one now recommended; should you allow yourselves by any means, to be drawn into another revolt, I have no hesitation in foretelling to you the result. You all see the force that is already sent out from Great Britain, for the preservation of order and the laws. And should you even, in the outset, meet with some temporary success, this will only serve, to draw on you greater miseries. The great additional numbers that would soon be

drawn up against you from all parts of British North America, the West Indies and the parent state, would render the consequences to you, terrible to think of. Therefore, I solemnly beseech you, to resist the efforts that may be making to draw you from the path of reason and peace. Return to that loyalty to your Queen, which is, I am convinced, more congenial to the Canadian character, and will be found the truest source of your happiness.

And ardently hoping that such may be the result of your cool reflections on this important subject, I take my leave of you, informing you that I hope soon to have the honour of presenting to the Government, a plan for the more profitable practice of agriculture in the Province. This is a subject which in the present depressed state of our agriculture is worthy of your greatest attention, and energy, and I hope to obtain from the Government and from yourselves due approbation of the plan to be proposed for that salutary end.

A WELL WISHER TO THE PEACE AND
PROSPERITY OF THE CANADAS;

Since addressing the above to you a second rebellion has broken out in the District of Montreal, which, as predicted in the above address, has terminated in a dreadful punishment to many of those concerned, in the destruction of their property, in the imprisonment of great numbers, in the arraignment of others for the high crime of treason.

and in the forfeiture already by seven persons, of their lives. The miseries those rebels have thus inflicted on their families, is deplorable; this second rebellion suggests however one observation, which perhaps, may have a salutary effect in future, namely, the total disregard with which the inhabitation of the country, ought ever after, to receive the promises held out to them of effective assistance from the adjoining States. It is so entirely contrary to the interests, and I believe, the wish of the great majority of the American people to go to war with Great Britain on account of Canada; that it is almost impossible to doubt the Congress will pass efficient laws, and raise a sufficient force to put down every breach of neutrality on the part of the adjoining States; and even, should this not be the case, it would only serve to constrain Great Britain to send out troops sufficient to prevent and punish these infamous proceedings on the part of those adjoining states, and, very probably, to proceed to a just and dreadful retaliation. You cannot but be aware that the Militia of Upper Canada is even now, with a great sacrifice of their indignant feelings, restrained from this retaliation, and indeed, I have little doubt that if any large body of americans should presume to march into this Lower Province, that many loyal battalions of your own Militia would be found willing, and ready to march against them, if required, and allowed so to do by the Government, since as has been justly remarked by an eminent statesman; that where

the complaints of a people are founded chiefly on imaginary grievances, they are cured by the hand of time, and I trust I have shewn in the foregoing Address, that this province has comparatively less cause to complain of than any other country. There can be no doubt, therefore, that under a mild and just Government, the affections of all true and loyal Canadians will return to it.

Hoping, therefore, that a durable peace will hereafter be enjoyed by this province, I have only now to state to you, that having completed the plan for the introduction of a more profitable system of agriculture through the parishes, I hope, so soon as a permanent government shall be established by the Imperial Parliament, to present the same for its approbation; and by this plan I hope and trust, the agricultural produce, both in grain and cattle, will be much increased, as well as the individual comforts of every habi- tant farmer in the Province.

A WELL WISHER TO THE PEACE AND
PROSPERITY OF THE CANADAS.

Having thus stated the plan by which it appears to me the modern agriculture may be happily dif- fused through the province, it now remains to make some observations, on the additional advantages which may result from it.

We have already mentioned, that one important end may be expected by it, namely, the changing of the minds of the habitant farmers from that

political discontent, which artful and disloyal men have so many years been endeavouring to infect them with.

For, should a zeal and love of the practice of the modern agriculture become, through the influence of government, and the establishment of these agricultural farms, prevalent among them; nothing, I verily believe, would be so effective in calming their minds and removing the excited discontents.

There is, however, another very important advantage that might be judiciously obtained by the government, by these establishments through the country. Hitherto, the rural parishes and their population, have been almost entirely under the influence of the leading men of French extraction, and their proceedings, there is reason to believe, have been almost beyond the knowledge and the reach of government. The experience of the past will, however, no doubt suggest the necessity of some mode by which the government shall be enabled to keep a more intelligent eye on the country. By the plan above stated, as many agriculturists, or persons in the interest of government, would be employed on these agricultural farms, and more especially as the inspectors would frequently have occasion to visit them, the required intelligence could by the means of these persons, be easily kept up, with every part of the country.

It has also, been of late, frequently maintained in the public prints, that if this province is to be re-

tained by Great Britain, the country must be "Anglified." What the precise meaning, attached by these persons to this novel term, may be, I am not aware. That the French population have a right to their own language, religion and customs, I presume, is not intended, by the above term to be denied. And the proper sense in which I conceive the term should be applied, is, that *English* benevolence, *English* science and arts should be as much as possible, diffused among the Canadian population, and this, not from sinister motives, but in order to produce an extension of their comforts and their general prosperity; and I humbly conceive, moreover, that this will be found the most efficient way of producing, and gradually augmenting their gratitude and attachment to the British government, and their friendship for their fellow subjects of British descent.

We trust to have shown in this chapter, that the lands of the Province were, in past times, in a much more productive state than at present. That the French Canadian population were great gainers by the accession of Great Britain to the dominion of the province; that they were grateful and contented when a share of the British Constitution was imparted to them; and that by the want of vigilance of the British Government in allowing them for many years to be deceived and deluded by designing and disloyal men, a large district of the province has been brought into a state of re-

bellion, which, being now happily ended, brings us to the *present* state of the province.

This, it must be confessed, is yet a lamentable one, and much like the state of a patient after a paroxysm of violent fever, and some years may elapse before the disturbed political feelings of a large portion of the population may be restored to rest: but the reanimating spirit of the British Constitution, justly adapted to the existing state of things, may yet restore its vigor and prosperity, and if my humble endeavours in this chapter to call the attention of government to a plan, by which its agricultural population may be led to acquire a zeal and love for their proper pursuits, and by which also, the government may be enabled to keep a vigilant eye over any that should attempt again to disturb the public peace and happiness, I shall be well repaid for my efforts to advance the prosperity of the *future condition of the Province*.

CHAPTER II.

A consideration of the most eligible and efficient form for the future government of this province, in which will be treated on, first, the revival of the former government, with certain modifications. Secondly, the Union of the two Canadas, in which will be set forth, the advantages to the Lower Canadians of a restoration to a share in the government of that extensive part of the Canadas, the Upper Province.

ON the contemplation of the numerous disadvantages and disorders under which this province has laboured during the last twenty years, from the political differences in its Legislature, and their late dreadful results, it must be confessed that a decision on the most eligible form of government for it, is attended with much difficulty. It is certain, in the first place, that, when the province was under the government of the Governors and Councils from the time of its cession by France to Great Britain, up to the year 1791 (when the representative form was granted by the British Parliament) the province enjoyed a state of quiet and security. And, it is further certain, that it would now be much more conducive to the interests of the British

population of the province, that its administration should be conducted by a Governor and Council ; than that the provincial affairs should again be abandoned to the unenlightened domination of such Houses of Assembly as we have seen.

It is indeed very probable, that owing to the late violent events, the British Parliament may not consider it prudent, immediately, to restore to the province, a representative form of government. It is true, that many of the instigators of the late disturbances, have quit the province, but the turbulence of parliamentary election, if it took place too suddenly, after these disturbances, might produce too great an excitement. Time, therefore, the great cooler of political heats, especially when not arising from real substantial causes, may be required to allow those heats to subside. Should such considerations determine the conduct of government in this particular, it is one consoling reflection to the loyal population ; that there is every probability the government, at this crisis, will be reposed in worthy and efficient hands ; and the bitter idea, that every man attached and aware of the advantages of a free constitution must feel, that he, a British subject has been thus, for a time deprived of his birthright by the folly and violence of others, will be further soothed by the confident conviction that his rights and liberties will be safe in the justice, honor, and paternal care, of the British Legislature.

It is indeed possible, that the British govern-

ment or parliament, may take a different view of this subject. It has, by eminent writers on government, been said that rebellion or revolution is much less likely to happen in representative, than in despotic governments. The complaints of the people, finding a natural mode of stating their complaints, by representation.

This reasoning may indeed be founded on facts when applied to ancient and established despotisms, but, as to this province, it has been stated by the ministers of Great Britain, that it is not intended to deprive her of a free constitution any longer than another one can be formed, adopted to the real state of the province, and as Britons who have once known and enjoyed the blessings of the British constitution, will look for its reinstatement; we have now, only to consider the best time and mode in which the event can be brought to pass.

Fortunately, the British constitution possesses the power of adapting itself to, and of overcoming every dilemma. By the generous nature of its character, by the ardent spirit of freedom which animates and by the sagacity and vigilance whereby it provides for the true liberty of the subject, it is indeed admirably calculated to excite and secure the strong attachment of every man, sufficiently acquainted with its history. But its excellence is not bounded by this quality of exciting attachment. Like the parent who has the deepest feeling for the welfare of his children, caresses them when they

do well, but restrains them from ill, by proper punishment, so the British constitution can command and ensure a just obedience to the laws of its councils. Thus, if it has appeared by the experience of past years, that the majority of the population of Lower Canada, from what ever cause, either of want of sufficient education and its consequent liability to be deceived and deluded by artful or disloyal men; or from a dormant principle of national hostility revived by the aforesaid causes, if by those means, this majority has not only shown themselves to be incapable of appreciating and enjoying the constitution bestowed on them but are also preventing the loyal and more intelligent part of this province from so doing, it then becomes the duty of the national councils of Great Britain to adopt such change in the former Constitution of the province as shall remedy this, evil.

What then is the change by which this end may be accomplished? The great cause of the difficulties, and disturbances, has been the establishment of the Civil List. Let, therefore, this list be henceforward appointed, enacted, and declared by the Imperial Parliament. In its moderation and justice the inhabitants of the province may securely confide.

The proceeds 14 Geo. III. and such permanent acts for raising revenue as still are in force, to be employed for the payment of the list. If the proceeds should not suffice, an act or ordinance could

be past (for raising the sum wanted) by the provincial government.

And with some alteration, in the representation of the seigneuries, adopted to the recent events; and the giving to the townships a fuller and more proper scale of representation adapted to their continually increasing condition, and the intelligence of their population, it is probable, a provincial representation may be formed, which, (the great source of contention, the civil list, being removed) would work sufficiently well for the transaction of the other provincial business.

We have thus given our idea on the best mode of adapting a representative form of government to the existing state of things in the province.

But there are several reasons for believing that, (although the above important charge, the appointing the civil list by parliament should take place), that the Legislative conduct of the provincial affairs depending on the Houses of Assembly, will not come up to the expectations of the more intelligent and commercial part of the province, such are the appointment of Register Offices to secure good titles to the purchasers of landed property, the salutary changes required in the tenure of it. So ignorant indeed have the Houses of Assembly shewn themselves of the usages of trade that they would not even allow the duties to be drawn back on goods reexported, and I have myself suffered by their conduct in this particular.

Notwithstanding, therefore, that it is possible

a future House of Assembly might take advantage of the experience of the past, to conduct themselves in a more friendly way to the interest of the government, yet, until the advantages of education are more diffused through the province, and especially among the French Canadian constituency, there is little hope of the great commercial interests, being properly advanced by future Houses of Assembly, and we shall terminate this subject with observing, that both the past and present state of this province, loudly call for a more efficient representation to ameliorate and render prosperous its future condition.

This more efficient form we hope to point out in the second part of this chapter, namely :

The Union of the Two Provinces:

This is a subject which has been very extensively discussed in both provinces.

In this province, I take it for granted there are few or no intelligent persons among the British population who do not consider it as the true panacea for the harrassing difficulties they have so long struggled with. But, it is said, that many of the leading French Canadians are averse to this Union. We shall, therefore, first offer some remarks to them on this subject.

When we consider, that the vast tract of country now called Upper Canada, was, previous to the year 1791, entirely under the government of the Lower Province, it will appear surprising that

Lower Canadians of any denomination, should not be glad to see the province reinstated in a share of its former possession. Countries in general, have considered it as one of the greatest acts of despotism, when their territory has been dismembered from them. Witness the frequent partitions of Poland. It is true that country was well peopled and had fallen under a despotic government.

But there is still one advantage which would result to the Lower Province, by a share in the government of the Upper, that we shall here endeavour to explain.

On the south side of the St. Lawrence, the greatest part of the lands belonging to the French Canadian seigneuries, are, I believe, already conceded to the habitants. It is chiefly therefore, on the north side of that river, that the increasing population can be in future, located. But the climate north of the present concessions is not supposed favorable for agriculture; on the contrary, there are many thousands of acres north of the settlements in Upper Canada, not yet granted by government, and *that* also, without going so far *north as is the latitude of Montreal*, which lands, on application of the Canadian United Legislature to the British Government, would probably be allowed to be conceded to the habitant farmers of Lower Canada. There are several reasons rendering it probable this would be the case; first, the lands in question, are not sought after by emi-

grants coming out from the old country, who generally prefer settling in the south west parts of the province; secondly, these lands are therefore likely, unless settled from Lower Canada, to remain many years in a wild unprofitable state, and particularly so, as emigration has been seriously checked by the late events in the province, and has, it is feared, been drawn into other channels. Thirdly, the lands in question would well suit the habitants of Lower Canada, because they would be found in a latitude something to the southward of the lands from Montreal to Quebec, therefore these advantages are recommended to the attention of all Lower Canadians. Fourthly, there may be a sound political reason for drawing off from the Lower Province some part of its growing population, to a quarter where I have no doubt, they would soon form peaceable, loyal and industrious settlers, as indeed the generality of Lower Canadians settled in the Upper Province really are.

In addition to this, there are other advantages likely to arise to Lower Canada from a Union of the two Legislatures. The opening of a canal communication, is certainly one which will facilitate the trade and communications of both, and this, it is probable, would be among the first objects of a united legislature; and the great spur this will give to the agriculture of the Upper Province, will not fail, in years of scarcity, to prove of greater advantage to the Lower.

Having thus stated our idea on the advantages which would result to Lower Canadians being restored to a share in the government of the vast tract of fertile territory which had been severed from them, we now proceed to consider the great question of the capability of this union to act as an efficient remedy for the evils which have so long affected this Lower Province, and we shall then endeavour to point out the advantages which will result to the Upper Province from the same.

It is true, that at the first view of this question of union, the mind is struck with the idea, that to bring so heterogeneous an assembly, as English and French representatives, forming one House of Assembly, to act in concert for the general good, would be fraught with great difficulty.

This, indeed, was the great argument urged against this Union, when under contemplation, some years since. How, it may be asked, are the English members to understand the French speaking, on any question, or how are the French to understand the English? We answer first, the French population had been graciously endowed by the British Parliament, with an assembly of their own. Had their representatives been duly informed of the true nature of the British Constitution; had they had patience sufficient to have persevered in a constitutional manner in obtaining the redress of grievances, had they not led a great part of the people so near the precipice of

rebellion, that they ultimately fell into it; they might have finally obtained the redress of every real grievance in this constitutional manner.

As the case now is, some more efficient mode of conducting the public affairs of the province, has to be discovered and employed, and any inconvenience resulting to themselves therefrom, the French Canadian leaders have themselves to blame for.

The difficulty above stated I conceive, however, may be easily got over. The speakers on both sides will probably be few, compared to the whole of the representatives, and the arguments of each speaker may be easily translated, previous to their delivery, by proper persons appointed by the House, or interpreted on the spot, at the time of it.

Previous to discussing the capability of the union of the two legislatures, to afford an efficient remedy, for the evils, so long suffered by the Lower Province, it is incumbent on me to endeavour to remove a serious cause of objection to this Union, which was stated at the public meeting held in this city, on the occasion of addressing Earl Durham on his intended departure from the province. This objection came from Mr. Adam Thom, who, if I understood him rightly, conveyed the opinion that there would not be a sufficient number of constitutional or loyal members from the Upper Province to counteract the disloyal portion in this. Mr. Thom proceeded by arithmetical

calculation to maintain this opinion, and it is possible, that, reckoning the quantum of loyal or constitutional members from the actual state of the numbers in the last House of Assembly of that province, the relative numbers of them and of their opponents might be correct. But, there is reason to believe, that a great change has, or will have taken place among those who yet stile themselves reformers, before this union can be formed. The province, it is evident to all who stand aloft from the excited party spirit which has so long raged in it, was not by any means in that state of misrule, which would have justified the extravagant height to which that party spirit was carried; as sure proof of this, we may instance the fact allowed, I am assured by men of intelligence even in the United States, that there is no portion of it that has advanced faster in settlement and population than Upper Canada. By the late disastrous events in it however the province has now suffered sufficiently, to cool down this virulent spirit; setting aside the fact, that mostly all the leaders of the opposing party are driven from it. The reformers themselves, who remain, will have time to reflect on the destructive consequences of the late revolt, and probably will be cautious to bring on, again such a state of things, without solid, and almost, indispensable reasons.

The chief objection that has been stated to the constitution of the Upper Province, has been, that the Executive Council is not made responsi-

ble, and therefore subject to be removed by the House of Assembly, as is done by the House of Commons in England. This desire to assimilate the Government of the colonies, to the Home Government, arises from the same cause which on other occasions, I have observed to produce the failure of men in other undertakings. Thus a person possessed of some degree of wealth who has followed agriculture at home, brings his property to these colonies, buys land, and often proceeds to carry on his farming in the same expensive state as he has been accustomed to at home, and finds, too late, his property vanishes from him without even knowing the cause; he does not perceive till taught by experience that the vast multiplicity of small farmers who *do their work themselves*, although producing perhaps far less on acre than himself, meet him in the market, keep down the prices and deprive him of sufficient profit to pay his more expensive mode of agriculture.

And I beg leave here, to mention a case illustrative of the subject we are upon, which occurred to me when last in London: I had entered into a conversation with a *sapient republican*, who was very warm in his praises of the American Government, and insisted that its expences were a proper model for the Government of England. I agreed with him, as to the fact of American Government being cheaper, but asked him how long, supposing it were possible to transport America to

where Great Britain now stands, how long the Government of America would be likely to last, in her close vicinity to so many despotic nations; he appeared to feel the argument had strength, and was silent. He might have been sure that the licentiousness of America, if not restrained in its new position, by stronger government, would draw down invasion from all quarters.

When we take a view of most republics, we shall find, that no two of them agree exactly, as to the quantum of democracy. They are all influenced by some unknown causes, to partake more or less of the aristocratic principle. The history of the republics in Italy are particularly evidence of this circumstance.

So it is respecting the idea stated above, of the reformers wishing to assimilate the Executive Councils of these provinces with the Government in England.

Almost all the leaders of the late rebellion in the Upper Province, were people from the old country. They had, probably, first imbibed their political creeds in it; and coming out to Upper Canada, have adhered to them without those modifications which the nature of the country of their adoption required. In England, the government has now nothing what ever to fear, either from the contagious habits and manners of the neighbouring nations, or their hostile intentions. The reverse is the case in the Upper Province. Its near vicinity to a republic, and the number of persons

continually emigrating from it into that province, who seldom fail to retain, and even to promulgate to their neighbours their predilection for republican institutions, require continual vigilance on the part of government. The outside appearance of these institutions is seductive, and it requires the intelligence of a mind convinced, by enquiry and observation, of their inadequacy long to preserve the peace and welfare of the nation referred to, to resist those seductive appearances. That the members of the government of Upper Canada should constantly administer the same with justice and impartiality, and that they should accommodate their manners to the nature and habits of the people, there can be no doubt. But, besides these respectable qualities, they require to be invested with energy, strength and power, to enforce the laws, and to maintain that share of the British Constitution we possess ; and I firmly believe, this to be the true way to preserve that constitution, and the loyalty for which that province is generally distinguished, pure and intact. It is moreover to be observed, that in forming a new scale of representation for the United Parliament, it is probable that reference would be had, to the continually increasing number of townships in the Upper Province, by which the number of representatives to the United Assembly would be somewhat augmented.

For these reasons, I cannot but believe, that a great majority of truly constitutional repre-

representatives would be returned from the Upper Province for a United Canadian Parliament.

And we trust we have shown the probability that Mr. Thom's arithmetic, as far as regards the Upper Province, may not prove quite correct. We now advert to that part of it which relates to the Lower Province. Of the exact number of constitutional representatives which Mr. Thom reckoned upon for this Province, I am not aware. But I should not myself be surprised, to find a much larger number not only of Constitutional Members, but of members well disposed to vote the proper supplies for the government: for this plain reason, that the experience of the past must have proved to them, that a repetition of the same conduct could do *no good*, and that having already run a risk of losing the political power *they had*, a continuance of the same system must in *the end deprive them of it in toto*. Mr. Thom observed, that in the scale he contemplated, for the entire Lower Province representation, he had put the number as low as he thought it *could* be. But the fact is, *that* scale, under the past and present condition of the Province, would have to be brought down *exactly to the point*, which would serve to produce a thorough *Constitutional Parliament*. Things must actually be managed in such a manner, in the formation of a scale of representation for a United Parliament, that *no doubt whatever shall exist on this subject*. The Upper Province would, I believe, never agree to a union

unless, on these considerations; and the dreadful experience we have had of the past and the present state of the provinces, will justify them in this determination.

The French Canadian population cannot fairly and reasonably expect to be reinstated in the same degree of political powers, as was formerly bestowed on them. All they can reasonably look for, (after the warning the Government has had, of two rebellions) is, to be allowed to send a certain number of representatives to the Parliament, for obtaining grants of money, for their roads and bridges, or other improvements, and for the education of their children and the passing of local laws for the public welfare.

It will probably be a number of years before they will be allowed any greater extent of power than is sufficient for the above purposes; and in the meantime, I would recommend the leading men among them, to form institutions in which their youth may be taught the nature, character and invaluable principles of the British Constitution; may be brought up in the love and reverence of it, and above all, that it may be duly impressed on their minds, that it is not by insurrection or rebellion, but by peaceable submission to the laws, that they can expect to acquire a full participation in its blessings.

Trusting we have now shown that instead of returning a majority of unconstitutional members, that the reverse must, of necessity, be the result.

of a representative union with the Upper Province, I now proceed to show the capability of the union to produce an efficient remedy for the evils so long suffered by the Lower Province.

It is a fortunate circumstance, that the last House of Assembly of the Upper Province contained members who would be found worthy of applause in any Assembly in the empire. This circumstance, and the result we have above stated, (that it will be indispensable for government to adopt proper regulations, in the establishment of a representative Union of the Provinces,) would appear to be sufficient of themselves to produce the effect we are now contemplating.

Further, there is every probability that the two branches of the new legislature, will exhibit that zeal, industry and spirit of harmony which is now so much required to heal the wounds of the provinces. By a law passed some years since in the Upper Province, a permanent establishment for the salaries of the public officers was enacted; and there is no doubt, the same, or a similar course, would be followed in the United Legislature.

By the late unhappy state of these provinces, they have suffered a loss this year of eighteen thousand, industrious and valuable settlers. This evil will no doubt obtain the early attention of the United Honorable House of Assembly. The privation of a register office and the laws relating to the tenure of lands, that incubus on the advancement of the province, will, no doubt, be re-

mediated. It appeared in evidence in one of the late trials for High Treason, that one cause for which arms were resorted to, was to have the "Lods et Ventres" done away with. Many other regulations, which the agriculture, trade and commerce of the province requires, will no doubt be discovered and attended to; and there is little cause to doubt that the energy and wisdom of a united Legislature, formed on the above principles, will not only prove an efficient remedy for the evils which have so long past afflicted the Lower Province, but most probably be able to discover sources of advancement in it's future prosperity, yet unthought of.

We shall now endeavour to point out the advantages which will result to the Upper Province by the same Union.

To do this, will perhaps be found the least difficult part of our subject. The Upper Province has long felt the want of a Port of Entry and Export where the duties and charges upon their goods and produce might be fixed by Legislative enactments of their own. This I presume will be the case if a Union be established. Another great desideratum for that province, is the formation of a canal to Montreal for her produce, by which she may be enabled to transfer the same beyond the seas. To accomplish this object she has already incurred immense expense. To effect its completion is at present I believe beyond her means; but we have been informed by the public prints,

that the application of Earl Durham, has met with success, on the part of the British Ministry, and that surveys are actually directed to be made. Should the ministry therefore take up the completion of this work themselves, as a general provincial high-way, it will, indeed be well for both Provinces; should this design, however, fall through in that quarter, it is not to be doubted that the Upper Province, will expect their representatives immediately to bring the subject before the United Parliament; and it is equally certain that this Lower Province is bound to do her part, for the completion of this important work. The supply of the West India Islands with flour, bread stuffs and provisions of all kinds, is what the lands of the Upper Province are admirably calculated for. By a proper canal to Montreal, she will be enabled to make up assorted cargoes exactly suited to the W. I. markets, as her own vessels can be sent there during the spring, summer and fall months; taking in a portion of fish of all kinds either at Gaspé or some Port in Novascotia. With respect to the winter months, it being in contemplation to cut a canal through the Bay of Verte in Novascotia by which vessels can get from the Gulf of St. Lawrence into the Bay of Fundy, depots of the Upper Canada produce will no doubt be formed in either St. Johns, St. Andrews, or some more convenient part in the Bay of Fundy from either of which ports, vessels to the West Indies can sail at all times during winter. The

said Upper Canada produce thus sent to these ports can either be sold immediately there, or shipped on account of the owners to the West Indies by agents residing in these ports.

In the discussion of the fifth article of our prospectus (namely the expediency of an application to the Home Government or British Parliament for the exclusive supply of our own West India Islands ; and which discussion we shall enter on in its proper place) I trust it will appear of what great importance it will be to the Upper Province, that this application to government should be successful, and I have great hopes the measure will be approved of by a United Parliament and the subject be taken up by it.

I merely mention this measure here, to state my opinion, that an application, of the kind made by a United Parliament, would probably have great weight, and to shew the importance of this Union to the Upper Province on this account.

That many other cases may arise in future, by which the advantages of this Union to the Upper Province will appear, is very probable. Certain improvements in the internal communications in the Upper Province may hereafter be suggested which may be found equally advantageous to the Lower Province, and it may therefore prove to be for her interest, to contribute to these improvements.

Trusting therefore to have proved to the satisfaction of our readers, how the *past and present*

evils of the Lower Province, may be cured by this Union, how the Upper Province will reap advantage from it, and how the *future* condition of both may be ameliorated thereby, we now conclude the present chapter.

CHAPTER III.

A Brief Consideration of the plan of a Federal Union of the Provinces of British North America, said to have been in the contemplation of Earl Durham's government.

WERE we certain the readers of this work concurred in the last paragraph of the last chapter, we should not have occasion to extend the present to much length. The chief argument stated by Mr. Thom, at the public meeting formerly mentioned, in favour of the plan of Federal Union, was the opinion, that a union of the Upper and Lower Provinces *only*, would fail of the desired effect. "If, therefore," said Mr. Thom, "you cannot get a sufficient quantum of loyalty from the two Provinces, draw on the loyalty of all the remaining parts of British North America, for the balance required." But if we have proved that the sad effects of past experience may, in both Provinces, occasion an increase of constitutional principles—if a conviction of the power of the British Government, aided by the loyal part of their population, to maintain and preserve the principles of the constitution of the Provinces, be as tho-

roughly impressed on the minds of all, as we conceive it will be—the inutility of unconstitutional opposition will be evident to all parties. It is, therefore, probable it will not be offered; and I would here ask of Mr. Thom, or of the supporters of this Federal Union, from whence they have gotten their proofs of the due want of constitutionality in the Upper Province? Was it upon the immediate march, when called upon by Sir Francis Head, of nigh ten thousand militia, or volunteers, to the defence of the metropolis?—was it the immediate dispersion and flight of every rebel force in the Province; or the subsequent unwearied constancy of these militia corps during the severity of winter, in the defence of the frontier against the *sympathising gentry* of the other side? Was there, in short, ever a country that has presented to the world a more complete and determined attitude of defence of the constitution it possessed, than Upper Canada? And after this clear and evident declaration of the Provincial will, is it probable that the remaining reformers will again incur the public indignation by further attempts on that constitution?

The subject of this chapter has been ably discussed in the *Herald*, of this city—which comes to the conclusion that a Federal Union would ultimately produce the separation of these Colonies from the Parent State: an opinion which, I believe, is very generally entertained by the British population of this Province, and several others,

who have publicly expressed their opinions on the subject.

His late Excellency Earl Durham, is said to be a great favourer of this measure ; but, (as the public was informed at the meeting above mentioned) a very important part of the original plan, namely, the entire abrogation of the Legislative Councils of each Province, was abandoned by his Lordship. By the altered plan, however, the members of this Federal Body were to be chosen, not by the three branches of the Legislature of each Province, (as they ought to be, to preserve the principles of the British Constitution,) but these members of the Federal Body were to be chosen, if I understood aright, directly *by the people* ; thus rendering this new Federal meeting entirely democratical.

Earl Durham is said to have been one of the originators of the late English Reform Bill. With a great part of the British nation, I believe his Lordship has received great credit and applause on this account. And conceiving there is a sufficient fund of good sense, moderation and attachment to the constitution of their country, not to allow those reforming principles to extend far enough to endanger it—I am certainly of opinion, that reform in the English representation, within those limits, was wanted. But, it is to be observed that, sweeping as this measure of reform of Earl Durham's was, it was yet strictly restrained within the limits of the British Constitution. It was only, in

fact, purifying and restoring that Constitution to its original state.

But in the measure now under our consideration, (the Federal Union of the British North American Provinces,) his Lordship, *be it observed*, has not contented himself with reforming their Constitutions, but has actually brought forward a new measure, which would virtually *destroy* these Constitutions.

The Federal Assembly is intended to be chosen by the *people direct*; and it being a Court of Appeal, any measure which has been constitutionally enacted in the Provincial Legislatures, may be upset and annulled by this democratic Assembly.

I conceive, therefore, such an institution to be, for the reasons stated, unnecessary, unconstitutional, and dangerous to the welfare of these Provinces. Indeed, its very name is ominous to British constitutionalists.

Thus we are under the necessity of concluding, that neither the cure of the *past or present* evils of these Provinces, nor the advancement of their *future* prosperity, are at all likely to be effected by the measure under consideration in this chapter. And I the more willingly dismiss this subject, that in the fifth chapter a Federal Union of a very different and, I trust, superior nature and more constitutional character, will come under discussion.

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