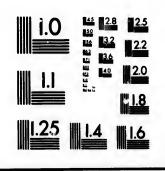


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ADDRESS

TO THE

People of British America,

UPON SUBJECTS RELATING TO THE

PROGRESS OF THE PEOPLE

AND THE

IMPROVEMENT OF THE COUNTRY.

BY.

DR. A. McDONALD,

FUBLISHED
BY THE FAUTHOR.
1853.

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AN ADDRESS

TO THE

PEOPLE OF BRITISH AMERICA.

Many years since, I had contemplated addressing the people of British America, through the medium of a few printed pages, upon subjects which I believed to be of vital interest to their future prosperity and the welfare of their country. This idea was suggested by contrasting the condition of the people here with that of our neighbors in the United States. That there is a clearly defined and marked difference, no candid mind can deny. And to the character and cause of that difference, I now propose to confine the remarks addressed to

MY COUNTRYMEN: -

It is the duty of every good citizen, whom circumstances has favored with information or knowledge of a useful and practical character, to impart its advantages to his fellow-men. The motives that would prompt its concealment 'en its publicity would lighten the burdens that weigh upon a single member of the toiling community would be illiberal, mercenary, and unworthy a manly character.

Many of our people have told me that my little pamphlet would accomplish nothing that I desired, and, in the end, do no good—that the people at home were better off than those in the United States, and that a comfortable living was as easily obtained here as there: and by such talk had nearly discouraged me from undertaking the task. But the more I have thought upon the subject,

the more thoroughly convinced have I become that they are entirely destitute of a correct knowledge of the state of things which exists at this moment in their own country, and that it was my duty to do all in my power, so far as I had opportunity, to enlighten them.

I have travelled through British America and the United States, and have observed with care the difference in the condition and prosperity of the two countries, and have now determined to set aside all those national prejudices which attaches too strongly to all of us, and talk of things as they are.

I am a native-born citizen, and have suffered the hardships of life among you, and shall carefully avoid saying anything that may be construed into an unjust disparagement of my country. Yet any one who does not feel for the poor, "down-trodden and oppressed" inhabitant, must have a "conscience seared as with a hot iron," and would properly merit their rebuke, if, having the power, he did nothing to alleviate their distresses. Some are "born with silver spoons in their mouths," but many more with a hoe in their hands, and it is this latter class that most needs our sympathies and our aid.

Reader, cast off your prejudice when you read this little book, for the writer will take no one-sided views, nor exhibit the selfishness of party spirit. Inquire among the inhabitants of his native place, and you will learn, that in early life he was of the same mind and advocated the same sentiments as those here expressed. In the year 1850, when he lectured on agriculture, he found two-thirds of the people willing and ready to change their old system, if they knew how and where to find a better.

It is very natural that those who are agreeably situated in the lucrative offices of government, should not desire a change in the present state of things. They do not feel the pangs of poverty which prevail among the people. They do not mingle with them in their avocations, nor sympathize with them in their trials. Under the sanction of law they receive an abundance from the scanty and laborious earnings of the industrious masses. Their interests are opposed to those of the people. They are allied to the past and the present, while the changes of the age revolve toward the future, and are in favor of progress and the people—national and individual progress. The holders of government offices are, therefore, unfit to lead the people of to-day. The people must lead themselves. They

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unfit to They must learn that government is made for the people, and not people for the government. They must learn that they are the government, and that all government should emanate from them; and when a change in its administration is required, that they, and they only, have the right to make such change as is most agreeable to themselves.

INFLUENCE OF KNOWLEDGE IN PROMOTING CIVILIZATION.

Do not fear, dear reader, that I am going to advocate the giving up of our national existence, and yield everything for a speedy annexation to the United States, -no such thing. Time will take care of that. My object is to turn your attention toward the sources of knowledge, without which prosperity cannot exist. Knowledge be-· gets-ideas, and ideas are the parents of active creation—exalting nations and leading mankind into unexplored fields of usefulness. Ideas build ships and spread their sails to the ready breeze. Ideas build steamers and put into them the vital energy that drives them swiftly and safely across the trackless ocean. They build railroads and locomotives that bear the products of the earth, with the velocity of the wind, to the borders of the sea, where they find a market, and return to the farmer a quick compensation for his labor and toil; they call the lightning from the clouds and make it the servant and messenger of man. They create the means by which all of these are to be brought into existence. Ideas are, to a nation, what electricity and steam are to the mechanical world, -they are indispensable to progress and prsoperity. Ideas are the servants of God in working out the destiny of man; and that nation who has most of them, will, through His instrumentality, point out the path that leads to progress and civilization among nations.

The American people are a nation of ideas, developed through the instrumentality of their educational system. They rush along the path of knowledge, converting all obstacles into weapons of usefulness. They turn not back for power, nor look to the past for precedent. They gather from the way-side a propelling force, whose power increases as they penetrate the future. The germ of national liberty, which abides in every human breast, they early planted upon the American continent, and through the active influence of industrious ingenuity, knowledge, and indomitable perseverance,

they have succeeded in raising a mighty tree, whose vigorous and stately branches have already spread over the fairest part of the Western Hemisphere, and acquired a magnitude which cannot fail to be seen by all the nations of the earth. It stands before the setting sun, and its shadows, which are cast across the distant waters, fall like a pall upon the dying despotisms of the Old World. Under the hand of science its rapid growth cannot be staid, and ere another generation has passed away, our own Provinces, and the other governments upon this continent, will partake of the invigorating influence which it imparts to all who seek a shelter under its spreading branches.

EDUCATION.

One of the greatest, among the numerous wants of the people of the British American Provinces, is education—education in regard to their true situation, their rights as a people, and the immense national resources and advantages of the country which they occupy. To demand these rights from the Crown, and the removal of all obstructions from the legitimate growth of the country, is the duty of every citizen of the Provinces. Should we not feel disgraced when we see the flourishing States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, Ohio and Michigan, which lie along the boundary of British America, flourishing in trade and manufactures, and dotted all over with school-houses and colleges, while the Provinces themselves are kept under an iron and arbitrary rule which restrains them in their industrial pursuits, and keeps them in ignorance and degradation.

These things can be accounted for upon no principle save that of false government, and lack of spirit and energy in the people. Although the lack of energy is, in a great measure, the result of a long standing and erroneous system of government, yet the people can, if they will, do much towards regenerating themselves and invigorating their country, by stern and persistent demands upon those in authority.

The pride and glory of United States is their schools and seminaries of learning. It is the common and free school system that has given to that people the power to progress thus rapidly, and not its superior local advantages. The official thus whice cann dare

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nd semitem that and not The money which our people pay a standing army and foreign officials, is spent in our neighboring States for educating the people, thus preparing them for the active pursuits of life. It is a truth, of which the States are satisfactory proof, that an educated people cannot be enslaved, because they "know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain them."

Then the great duty of ...! British Americans in this respect, who have the prosperity and happiness of the Provinces at heart, is to imitate their neighbors, and instead of supporting standing armies and pensioned officials, demand that their money shall be expended for the education of their children, and that these children shall be those from whom the governors and officers of the Provinces shall be chosen. Is it not a disgrace that the governors of our Provinces must be brought from among strangers on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean? Is it true, that no man among our own people can be found capable of discharging the duties that pertain to the office of Governor? It is a slander which your pride should repel.

These things accomplished, and half a century will not clapse before we shall become flourishing Provinces, equal to those of the States immediately adjoining us.

Let our ministers educate the people, in morals and religion, upon the principles which Christ laid down. We do not want them to plunge themselves into political affairs, but rather let them labor to evangelize and moralize the people, instead of filling their heads and minds with bigotry and superstition.

In all ages, tyrants have made such laws and regulations for the government of the people as would keep them in ignorance, knowing such steps to be necessary to retain them in servitude and slavish fear. But tyrants must yield to the innate sense of right, which still lives in the breasts of the masses.

USURPATION OF UNIVERSAL RIGHTS AND SUFFRAGE.

"The history of every nation proves the tendency to centralization of power, and consequently to oppression.

"This proceeds from an apathy on the part of the masses of the people, in investigating the nature of their natural and artificial rights. They surrender from time to time, and inch by inch, the rights and privileges which all, in common with their fellow-men,

should and would enjoy, but for the usurpation of a few, and surrender by the many. In our own country, indeed, this tendency is gradually developing itself.

"The term government—to which, with many, it has already beome second nature to look with feelings of almost superhuman devotion, and awful reverence—is rapidly being perverted from its true
signification, to the promotion of most unholy and damnable devices
and purposes. Already in our own country, the sentiment that
government is an identical, living, independent, formidable monster of itself, is sanctioned and tolerated by too many, who, listlessly
pass by the events of the day, as pass the breezes of the mountains
through the forest trees.

"It is a very common remark made by many, who only expose their ignorance when they make it, that government will do this and government will do that. It would be little less absurd for the members of a large mercantile firm to say, my clerks will do so and so—and we are in doubt where or how our business will terminate, for it is all under the management of our clerks—thereby evincing an idiotic disregard of their own business, and trusting to the care and prudence of others to do that which they should know and manage themselves.

"We will suppose, for the sake of illustration, that three thousand people, men and women, are placed upon some portion of territory, over which they, as a body, have control and ownership, without any laws or rules—and without any system of procedure in the affairs which concern them as a state.

"Now, upon what principle could any five men usurp the power to manage and control the affairs of this community, independently of the wishes of all the others, except upon the principle that enters into the operations of the highway robber and pirate? And yet how little different is this illustration from the Russian dominion and usurpation over its millions of depressed and beggared inhabitants? Nor are any of the European countries in a much better condition than Russia. Even England, with all her vaunting magnanimity and philanthropy, presents a little more equitable aspect. Her North American Provinces wear the black impress of that odious system of usurpation and dominion, justified upon no principle but that upon which the Czar of Russia justifies his bloody

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and execrable deeds of butchery towards those upon whose necks he holds his heel.

"Their people are depressed and worn out, their energies relaxed, and nearly exhausted. They have been despoiled of their means to help themselves for so many generations, that the life blood of energy and encouragement no longer flows in their veins. But is this the position of all coming under the broad wing of the English nation? By no means. There is a class of salaried officials who live above board, and are free from the painful pangs of penury, starvation, and a living death. And yet, strange as it may seem, the masses of the people are imbued with the quiet belief that this state of things is perfectly in accordance with the decrees of the Almighty, and continue, from generation to generation, exercising a still stronger forbearance to inform themselves of their true and legitimate relations to man and to the world.

"There is one distinct point which every people should keep in view, viz.: that all who are in any way connected with the management of public affairs, are no more than the servants and clerks of the mass of the people, and that the very moment they abuse the functions of their servitude or clerkships, that very moment they should be dismissed from their positions.

"The very moment that those in authority abuse, or in any way betray the confidence reposed in them by the people, that instant they should be hurled with disgrace back to the retirement of private life. Nor is this all. The howers of wood and drawers of water should keep themselves so well informed, that they will not require the aid of a proxy to point out any irregularity in their business, as members of a free and enlightened country."

COMMERCE.

The British Provinces of North America are among the most extensive offshoots of a colonizing nation in the world. No country of the Western continent is more blessed with all that a bountiful nature can bestow than these Provinces. They stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and belting a continent with natural and ample water communication from one end to the other—thus possessing a fresh water coast of more commercial importance than any other on the globe. Every natural advan age which ac-

crues to the United Americans who live upon the south shore of the lakes and the St. Lawrence, also accrues to the British American this great upon the northern borders.

The Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia are no ant, as t among the least favored. There is no country in the world so the Unit bountifully wooded and watered as New Brunswick. Two-thirds of its boundary is washed by the sea. The country can every policy, fo where be penetrated by its streams. The St. John is navigable for in the na steamers for one hundred miles, and bordered by a country fully forces up equal to that of the Hudson. The country abounds in the most abundant forests of the finest timber, while coal is to be found in abundance. The scenery is rarely surpassed by any country on this continent, and the whole surface of the Province is dotted with beautiful lakes filled with the most delicious fish. St. John Harbor is one of the best on the Atlantic coast. Nova Scotia has half a dozen of the finest harbors in the world, and is situated in the midst of a fishing region unsurpassed on the whole globe.

Many other advantages might be enumerated, going to show that nature has left nothing unprovided, which a lavish hand could bestow upon a country.

Notwithstanding these manifold resources of wealth and prosperity, the short-sighted and contracted policy of the British Government has kept the commerce of the Provinces far behind that of the neighboring States. While the trade of the States upon the lakes amounts to over \$300,000,000 annually, that of the Provinces, with equal advantages, in proportion to population, reaches only about the sum of \$40,000,000.

By a wise and judicious arrangement between the United States and the Provinces for commercial intercourse, the latter could at once reap an incalculable benefit by sharing equally in this immense business.

There is no doubt, should the Government improve the navigation of the St. Lawrence, and widen and deepen the Welland and St. Lawrence canals, so as to allow vessels of a large class with their cargoes to have ingress and egress to the ocean, and the free navigation to all vessels of those waters, it would result in building up a commercial city upon that line which would, in the course of time, rival that of New York in importance as a mart of European trade. The valley of the great lakes, embracing a territory of more than

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th shore of the 300,000 square miles, would naturally supply themselves through ish American this great channel or trunk communication.

Reciprocity between the two countries is becoming more import-Scotia are no ant, as the great lines of Railroads are being constructed between the world so the United States and Provinces. It is a matter of surprise, that . Two-third while all the rest of the world has been awake as to its commercial try can every. policy, for a quarter of a century, little or no change has been made s navigable for in the narrow and contracted policy which the British Government a country fully forces upon her North American Provinces. This is as unwise for Britain as it is unjust to the people of her colonies.

> The Provinces of Canada East and Canada West, the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, which includes the Island of Cape Briton; the Island colonies of Newfoundland, Prince Edward's Island, Labrador, and the wide-spread region extending from the latter to the Pacific, including Vancouver's Island, the most important position on the Pacific coast, exceeds four millions of geographical square miles. This immense and almost illimitable country is less important for its geographical position, for the numerous resources it contains, than for its great capability of improvement; the increase of which its commerce is susceptible, and the extensive field it presents for colonization. From the recent report of Israel T. Andrews, Consul of the United States, for the Canadas and New Brunswick, which contains full and accurate tables of the extent, population, trade and commerce of our Provinces, I take the following statements, in order to show by similar tables, the comparative growth of the New England States. The condition of a people can be ascertained by its growth, trade, and commerce, as well as by any means that can be devised. These tables will serve to lead the people of the Provinces to inquire why there is such a vast difference, in a commercial and intellectual point of view, between the two countries, and I trust will lead them to institute means, and commence a policy that will redeem us from our present almost inactive state.

> It will be seen that the exports of only six of the border states, containing an area of only 104,800 square miles amount to \$85,238,-833 annually, while the exports of all British America, (New Britain excepted,) containing an area of 450,500 square miles, amount to but \$21,664,721, thus showing a difference of four to one against the Provinces, notwithstanding their superior advantages.

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Although, as has been stated, the British Provinces have every ause the go possible natural advantage of the New England States, and were ts wants. most of them settled at an earlier date, yet it is true, as the tables ts. trade fa exhibit, that they are immeasurably distanced by those States in pop-masperity t ulation, education, wealth and commerce. To the mind of him who o choose ou has the good of his country at heart, the inquiry comes forcibly home : with a pub "What has occasioned this difference, and what is the remedy?" As soon as I arrived at years of discretion, and began to take part prosper und

in the politics of the country, I clearly saw that there were he British many things in our government which needed remodeling. There if national is too much party spirit among our government officials and people. natural adv This has a tendency to contract their intellects and increase their nen as far selfishness, and thus render them unfit to discharge the duties oknow tha which one man owes to another. Instead of a union of thought rom 1840 and action, they are divided, and the old proverb will apply to com-proportiona munities and states as well and as forcibly as to individuals: "A ass been br house divided against itself cannot stand." With the exception of Our mec the revival of trade within a few years past, the country is no fur- employmen ther advanced than it was an hundred years ago. A country is of life for t better with no laws than with bad ones, and we should be better off labor amon with no government, than with the present inefficient and defective yard for cal English system, which restrains & fetters progress among the people. line, ten sh

If we acknowledge that British America, in its natural state, is article of d as well adapted to improvement, and as capable of increasing in try can lea wealth and population, as our neighbors, why is it that we are thus ity from o behind them, as the above tables, and many more which might be to become prepared, show? Our soil is as susceptible of tillage as that of the a people. northern States of the Union. Iron, lead, copper, quicksilver, lime, ited by the coal, gypsum, free-stone, slate, marble, &c., are more abundant than of governm in most of the United States, and our forests of timber are unri- footholds

ountry, we

aled anywhere on the face of the globe, affording abundant 649,000 utward freighting for a commerce unlimited in extent. Every 352,000 ation, from whom we should import tropical and indigenous man-348,000 factures and products, would gladly take return eargoes of our

1,103,000 umber, and agricultural, and mineral productions.

3,438,000 We have rich men, that boast of their wealth, and profound learn-2,220,000 ng, and why is it that they do not wake up those slumbering ores. 8,110,000 and other valuable resources, and give employment to the poor and lependent men, women, and children of our country? It is bees have every ause the government of our country is in no respects adapted to tes, and were ts wants. Every country depends on its government to regulate , as the tables ts trade facilities, and enact such wholesome laws as will bring States in pop-masperity to every inhabitant living under its influence. Were we nd of him who o choose our representatives without the rancor of party strife, and orcibly home : vith a public spirit and known devotion to the interests of the ountry, we should then see whether it were possible for us to n to take part prosper under the present form of government as administered in t there were he British Colonics. If we had been blessed with a liberal system ling. There if national laws, which would give to the people the benefit of their ls and people. natural advantages, it would have been impossible for us to have nercase their seen as far behind our neighbors as we now have the mortification e the duties oknow that we are. The increase of population in the United States, on of thought rom 1840 to 1850, was 6,154,377; and in wealth its increase was apply to com- proportionately great, while our country, during the same period,

viduals: "A as been brought to a state bordering on beggary. exception of Our mechanics have been obliged to leave their homes, and seek ry is no fur- employment in the United States, in order to provide the necessaries A country is of life for their families which they left behind. The females who be better off labor among us for ten shillings per month, and pay one shilling per and defective yard for calico, get for the same labor in the States, just across the g the people. line, ten shillings per week, and only pay 6d per yard for a superior tural state, is article of dress. And I would here say, that the men of our counncreasing in try can learn, if they will, a valuable lesson of industry and frugalwe are thus ity from our women. Women, in all countries, have been the last ich might be to become corrupted or depressed by the burdens and misfortunes of s that of the a people. The spirit of patience, industry, and ingenuity exhibsilver, lime, ited by the women of the Provinces, under the oppressing influences undant than of government, is worthy of emulation, and is one of our redeeming per are unri- footholds for the hope of enfranchisement and regeneration.—

remedy?"

Why, then, will you tread the same prescribed circle of your fathers: They lived in an age when the rich man ruled with a rod of iron, and kept them in a state of bondage as galling as slavery. Despotism was the order of their day. Now, every man knows, or ought to know, that he is free, and entitled to a voice in all that pertains to his own well-being as well as that of his fellows. The relics of that system that enthralled our fathers, and which must, in the end, entail ruin on ourselves, still remains. The wealthy merchant, by slow but sure steps, is adding one farm to another, obtaining them by mortgages, not always got in the most fair and honorable ways thus laying the foundations of a system of land monopoly, that must ultimately drive you from the place on which you have bestowed the labor of your life-time, the birthplace of your children, and the grave of all your fondly formed hopes of a peaceful, happy home, in your declining years. When these rich men know that some, nay many of you, are suffering for the common necessaries of life, and can still say that you are sufficiently comfortable for your station and that education would make you indolent, what have you to expect but the same fate of your forefathers in England, Scotland and Ireland? They hesitate not to sell the bed from under yourseld and family, the cow from your stable, and finally to force you, by the power of law, to the jail, there to linger out the tedious process wrenching from your lacerated feelings the sorry avowal that you are bankrupt, and unable further to satisfy their rapacity. This crowns all your other miseries, for you cannot recover from that dilemma pay you must, if ever you can, the balance, with compound interest and yet you choose such men to represent your interest in Parlia ment—cheer them, and even risk your precious lives to carry them through triumphantly against all opposition. Such men only enrich themselves, ruin you, and retard the improvement of the country How much more honorable would they appear, did they use their earnest endeavors to induce the government of England to spena few of its squandered millions, in sending out emigrants to settle the waste lands of the Provinces, assisting to make our railroads bringing in use the mineral wealth of the country, and encouraging manufactures, and the fishery, so that all who are here and all who may yet come, would find an abundance. Under the present state of the Colonies, who would come to them if they really knew wha they have to suffer on landing; without a roof to shelter them from

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the storm, thousands have had to be contented with the ground for a bed, the vault of Heaven for a shelter, and the open fields for a habitation. Such is their welcome on landing, after a tedious sea voyage, perhaps of sickness produced from an over-crowded ship. Is this the welcome to give British subjects in a British country?

I have seen on the Quarantine ground, hundreds landing from ships arrived with passengers who died from ship-fever so rapidly, that time enough was not allowed to give the bodies a proper burial' and lime had to be thrown over their shallow graves, in the following spring, in order to purify the tainted atmosphere around them. In the year 1851, on the shore of the lake, near Hamilton, Canada West, I saw hundreds of men, women and children, laying out, exposed to the weather during the wet nights, and the appearance that those poor people presented will never be effaced from my memory. In the United States, to which there is a large emigration, amounting to probably three hundred thousand annually, the treatment received is very different. Should sickness obtain in the ship on her arrival in port, suitable places are always prepared for the sick, and the best medical skill in the country is employed to restore them to health again. Information as to where government land is to be had, the cheapest route to reach it, with every other necessary knowledge that a stranger can desire on arriving in a strange land—are there freely and cheerfully given. If employment is required as laborers or mechanics, it is to be had by all, and good wages paid for it. If you desire to go east, west, north, or south, there are the thousand and one steamers running to all parts of the Union; packetships, railroads, and every mode of conveyance that can be desired, at low rates.

Now, if we ever are to be anything beyond serfs, it is high time that we should be up and doing, like our neighbors, the Americans. If the government is faulty, correct it. Let us assert our rights like free men, and let all men know and feel that we are now to act and think for ourselves, and try if we cannot produce something like the prosperity of the United States.

Once started on the proper track to prosperity, we shall taste the sweets and profits now enjoyed by those who manufacture for us. Suppose we consume, in manufactures of various kinds to the value of £10,000,000 yearly, the first cost of the raw material being

only £2,000,000, we lose £8,000,000 by not manufacturing and producing to that amount for ourselves, besides the great advantage to those employed. Manufacturing, if carried on by intelligent minds will lead to extended knowledge in the art, and engage the ambition of the enterprising. Peruse the History of England, and you find them but a few years ago, comparatively engaged in warring one against another. The chase, the tournament, and the winecup filling up the measure of their days; but when government offered inducements for the advance of scientific knowledge in the discovery of unknown countries, the enterprising individual hailed the boon as an opportunity to distinguish himself. If our government wish the country to prosper, it must imitate the example of other governments by creating such a scale of protective duties as will enable us to contend successfully against all the world in our manufactures, and enlist the capital of our friends in England and Scotland. To the aid of the British Government in building our railroads and other public works we are justly entitled. We are British subjects—our forefathers fought the battles of their country; we, their children, have been starved from the land of our nativity, for want of space or land whereon to fix and abode. Here we have a broad domain, let us therefore guard its rights with jealous care, and watchfully resist every encroachment made to circumscribe our immunities. The mines of our country have been leased to pay for a profligate premium. Are we to sit mute under such acts and not raise our voices and hands, if need be, to maintain the liberties of our home, and push our country forward to the proud position which nature intended she should hold on the Continent.

What is the object of government if it is not to secure the people their rights of liberty and property? In Massachusetts, a State which outstretches all the records of history, in progress and wealth, whose people are the most intelligent and happy in the world, they early laid down in their charter of government, certain principles, which should govern every nation that wishes its people to prosper as well as its rulers. Those principles are some of them as follows:

"The end of the institution, maintenance, and administration of government, is to secure the existence of the body politic, to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjeying in safety and tranquility, their natural rights and

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ation of to proith the hts and blessings of life, and whenever these great objects are not obtained, the people have a right to alter the government, and to take measures necessary for their safety, prosperity, and happiness."

In pursuance of these principles, the American States elect their own governors, deputy-governors, councillors, and judges, while in the British Provinces, all these offices are filled by the authority of the crown, which is three thousand miles away, and the result is, that while the States have public men from among the people who sympathize with, and have an interest for them, the Provinces have public men who were born in luxury, and who are above and beyond the reach and sympathy of the masses of the people. This is one of the matters which needs to be remedied.

If the Provinces are kept under the laws of the British Parliament, then they have a right and ought to be represented in the legislative body, whose laws and decrees they are obliged to obey,

But the great draw-back to our country is the want of a fostering care, by the home government, for our trade and commerce, and our young and struggling manufactures. We have never had any settled and permanent governmental policy, which has resulted, in many instances, in the almost entire prostration and bankruptcy of the business men of the country. New England with her 20,000 manufacturing establishments, gives employment to hundreds of thousands of laborers, of both sexes, and has not half the advantages for a manufacturing country, that either New Brunswick or Nova Scotia possess. And I have only to refer the reader to the map to find the rivers, and to the geology of the country to find the iron and coal to be inexhaustible. With these two deposits in such abundance, no country can be reckoned as anything but wealthy. All that is necessary, is for government to give us a commercial policy, which will create a demand for our slumbering stores of mineral wealth, and enable us to build factories upon our beautiful and never-failing streams. The cotton of our neighbors is carried to England, manufactured, and brought here, and the cost of transporting it twice across the Atlantic, the expense of manufacturing the fabric, the profit of the trade, all have to be paid by the poor of our own people, who find, with difficulty, employment enough to buy their bread. Our forests abound in timber with which to build ships; we have iron for steamers, and coal to fill them; and have streams to turn millions of spindles; and thousands of poor men and

women who are destitute of the necessaries of life for the want of profitable employment in manufacturing our own fabrics and articles. In view of this, how unwise and unjust to continue such a short-sighted policy.

A nation can never be truly independent that does not produce its own bread-stuffs and manufactures, and no nation can be wealthy, prosperous, and happy, that is not independent. Agriculture and manufactures are the independence of the States of the American Union, and in its vast and limitless commerce lies its wealth and importance as a nation.

The lesson, which is to be learned from the universal experience of the world, is, that the soil must be tilled. This can never become a thoroughly agricultural and growing country, until the great staple shall be changed from lumber to all the various growths of the soil, and its industry applied to mechanics and manufactures, and the development of our mineral resources.

It is a great mistake to suppose that our country will lose by a system of complete reciprocity with the United States. During the administration of President Polk, the question was agitated in the American Congress, and was received with favor, but the home government let the opportunity for reciprocal trade pass without availing themselves of it. The inland trade with the great west, should our rivers be opened to American vessels, would create the greatest inland thoroughfare the world ever beheld. The imperial states of the Union, lying along the southern border of the lakes and the St. Lawrence, and the possessions of Great Britainson the north, reaching to the Polar Ocean, are all to be supplied with foreign productions, and are to send away in return, their own. From lake Superior to the Atlantic is a water channel, sufficient to float the largest vessels and steamers; once open, this, so to speak, international highway, would, as all great thoroughfares do, build up towns and cities of maritime importance upon its border, and give employment to thousands of our sons. Our mines, our quarries, our forests, our wheat fields, would afford outward freight to an unlimited extent. The fine harbors of Nova Scotia and the mouth of the St. Lawrence, would become, as nature intended them, the starting and landing points of European lines of steamers and packets, and the resting places and the warehouses of an immense inland traffic.

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at the ternatowns ployrests, d exe St. rting, and land The trade between our country and the United States, amounting to many millions of dollars annually, even under present restrictions, might be increased to an unlimited extent. But the fault does not wholly lie against the government of the United States. The United States have ever stood ready to reciprocate trade in such articles and productions as are Colonial, but to open their ports to all articles from the Provinces would be the ruin of manufacturing interests, which it has been their policy to build up. Free trade, then, with Canada, would be no more nor less than free trade with Great Britain and all her Provinces, who would export to the United States by the way and through the Colonial ports. A glance at the class of articles now exchanged between Canada and the States, will show what is wanted.

The principal exports from this I rovince to the States are, flour, wheat, lumber, eattle, and horses, oats, barley, rye, wool, butter,

and eggs, amounting to \$1,500,000 annually.

The Principal imports from that country are tea, tobacco, cotton, and woolen manufactures, sugar, leather, and its manufactures, coffee, salt, India-rubber goods, hides, machinery, fruits, and wooden-ware, amounting to \$6,000,000 annually.

These lists only contain such articles as now pay duties.

It will at once be seen that it is for the interest of the commerce between this country and the States to exchange their own productions free. Nature never intended two countries lying contiguous and in need of each others' productions, anything but the freest intercourse possible. Any man who has a map at hand can see that the Provinces are but an extension of New England, and that an intercourse of their respective products will be beneficial, if not absolutely essential to the prosperity of both countries. The spirit of commerce is opposed to any restriction, and it must be removed.

There is no reason to doubt that, should restrictions be removed by the British Government upon the productions of the United States, the latter would remove the duty upon our productions, as was proposed by President Polk's administration in 1846, and the trade between the two countries would more than equal that between any two of the United States.

In 1816, the tonnage inward from the United States was as follows:—

British, 18,378 tons; American, 75,807 tons: total, 94,185 tons.

The average of the years 1820, 1821, and 1822, was: British, 10,-464 tons; American, 66,029 tons: total, 76,593 tons.

The tonnage inward from the United States in 1831 was: British, 41,367 tons; American, 16,567 tons: total, 17,934 tons.

The decrease of tonnage in this year was owing entirely to commercial restrictions, embarrassing to trade, and injurious to both parties. The falling off in tonnage between 1816 and 1831 was no less than 36,251 tons, or more than one-third of the whole inward tonnage.

The absurd and injurious restrictions having been removed, trade and navigation between the colonies and the United States at once revived; and in 1840, the inward tonnage from the United States was as follows: British, 401,676 tons; American, 357,073 tons*: total, 758,749 tons.

In the short period of nine years, owing to enlarged freedom of trade, the tonnage between the United States and the colonies increased more than thirteen-fold!

Following up this increase, the tonnage inward from the United States in 1850 was: British, 972,327 tons; American, 994,808 tons; total, 1,967,066 tons.

Mr. Keefer, in his Prize Essay upon the Canals of Canada, says: "A wise and liberal policy was adopted with regard to our exports previous to 1822. The products of either bank of the St. Lawrence · were indifferently exported to the sister colonies, as if of Canadian origin; and those markets received not only our own, but a large share of American breadstuffs and provisions. Our timber was not only admitted freely into the British markets, but excessive and almost prohibitory duties were imposed upon importations of this article from the Baltic, for the purpose of fostering Canadian trade and British shipping. The British market was closed, by prohibition, against our wheat till 1814, which was then only admitted when the price in England rose to about two dollars per bushel-a privilege in a great nugatory; but the West Indies and lower provinces gave a sufficient demand so long as the free export of American produce was permitted by this route. As early as 1793, our exports of flour and wheat by the St. Lawrence were as high as ✓ 100,000 barrels, and rose in 1802 to 230,000 barrels. The Berlin and Milan decrees, and English orders in council thereon, of 1807; President Jefferson embargo of 1808, with increased duties levied

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upon Baltic timber, gave an impulse to the trade of the St. Lawrence, so that the tonnage arriving at Quebec in 1810 was more than in 1800. The war of 1812 and 1815 naturally checked a commerce so much dependent upon the Americans; and we, therefore, find but little increase of the tonnage arrived in 1820 over that of 1810. In 1822 the Canada Trade Acts of the imperial parliament, by imposing a duty upon American agricultural produce entering the British American colonies and the West Indies, destroyed one-half of the export-trade of the St. Lawrence; and the simultaneous abundance of the English harvest forbade our exports thither.

"In 1931 there was a return to the policy which existed previous to 1822. United States products of the forests and agriculture were admitted into Canada free, and could be exported thence as Canadian produce to all countries, except the United Kingdom; and an additional advantage was conferred by the imposition of a differential duty, in our favor, upon foreign lumber entering the West India and South American possessions. Our exports of flour and wheat by sea in that year were about 400,000 bushels—chiefly to Britain, where a scarcity then existed, and for the first time exceeding the flour export of 1802.

"The revulsion of 1842 was general, being one of those periodical crises which affect commerce, but was aggravated in Canada by a repetition of the measures of 1822, confined this time to the provision trade only, but attacking the staple of Quebec—timber. The duties on Baltic timber, in Britain, were reduced, the free importation of American flour was stopped by the imposition of a duty thereon, and our trade with the West Indies annihilated by the reduction of the duty upon American flour brought into those Islands.

"It will thus be seen that previous to 1846 the colonial policy of the British Government, although vacillating and contradictory, encouraged the sea trade of Canada by affording a market for her productions, and discouraged exports inland to the United States. Likewise by imperial control over the colonial tariff, the mother country established differential duties against importations inland, thus throwing the supply of Western Canada into the ports of Montreal and Quebec and the contraband dealers on the western frontier.

"The repeal (by the abolition of the British Corn Laws) of al privileges in favor of Canadian breadstuffs in the British markets

the hostile tariff of the United States, and the tramelled condition of the St. Lawrence navigation, (yet unfreed from the restrictions of the British Navigation Laws,) fell heavily upon the Canadians. The scanty supply of vessels in the St. Lawrence, (hitherto a "close borough," for British shipping only,) and the abundant supply of outward freights afforded by the timber coves of Quebec, had so enhanced all other freight outward, that nothing but the premium offered by the British Corn Laws made the route through the St. Lawrence more favorable than by New York, even with the burden of the United States Tariff. When, therefore, this premium was withdrawn, and the English market was no longer the most profitable, the exports of Canada West (the surplus-producing section of the province) turned toward New York. The proximity of this city to the wheat-exporting districts of Canada, and the facilities of exporting and importing in bond, by New York canal and other internal artificial avenues, produced such a diversion of Canadian exports of flour and wheat that the quantity so sent to New York in 1850 exceeded, largely, that exported by sea through the St. Lawrence."

I copy the following from the Report of the American Secretary of the Treasury:—

"The direct trade by sea between the principal Atlantic seaports of the Union and the British North American colonies has, within a few years, become of such extent, value, and importance, as to demand more than ordinary attention.

"Probably the most remarkable and interesting feature of the age, is the rapid increase and constant activity of the world's commerce. Its great agent and promoter, navigation, to which such enormous annual contributions have latterly been made by England and the United States, is more firmly establishing it on a more extended basis, for still greater and more universal achievements.

"The great addition to the navigation interest of the world furnished by the British colonies, is not generally understood; nor is its importance and influential character fully understood, save by a small portion of the leading statesmen of Europe and America.

"The great maritime resources of the North American colonies, and the advantages of their geographical position for an extended commerce with all mankind, will contribute more effectually to accelerate their onward progress to wealth and power, and unques-

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tionably give them a commanding position in all future commercial developments.

"The extent of seacoast and abundance of excellent harbors in these colonies, is most remarkable.

"Commencing at the river St. Croix, the boundary of the United States, there is much coast, and many fine ship harbors, within the Bay of Fundy and the islands it encloses. Next comes the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia, with its numerous indentations; then the seashores of Cape Breton, and its beautiful and extensive interior coast surrounding that large arm of the sea known as the Bras D'Or, or "arm of gold;" next, the eastern or Gulf coast of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the Bay of Chaleur, the shores of the whole colony of Prince Edward island—of the Magdalen islands and Anticosti, and all the Labrador coast from Mt. Joly to Davis's straits; in the aggregate, about 3,500 miles of coast-line, everywhere teeming with fish, in greater abundance and excellence than in any other part of the world.

"To this great extent of seacoast, admirably provided with large and excellent harbors, must be added the coast of Newfoundland, more than 1,000 miles in extent, whose harbors and fisheries have been known and constantly frequented for more than three centuries.

"There cannot, perhaps, be found elsewhere the same extent of country possessing in a greater, or even an equal degree, all the requisites for constructing a mercantile marine, nor the like extent of seacoast so profusely furnished with the finest and most capacious harbors, as the colonies of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

"The island colonies of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, lying contiguous to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, with similar characteristics in almost every particular, are rapidly becoming convinced of the value of their material interests in connexion with the necessity for a more liberal commercial intercourse with the United States.

"To encourage the intercourse thus springing into existence and attaining great value from the natural course of trade, and the relative position of the parties with reference to certain natural products of each, would seem to be the bounden duty of the governments of these respective countries.

"The first object of every commercial system should be to create

and uphold a great commercial marine. Mr. Huskisson laid it down as a principle, that 'the only true and durable foundation of a large commercial marine is to be laid in the means of affording it beneficial employment. Without such employment—without, in short, extensive commerce, and great capital to sustain and invigorate that commerce, no laws merely protective will avail. Strict navigation laws have not always created a marine. Does not naval and commercial superiority depend on the habits, pursuits, inclinations, associations, and force of character, rather than on any code of laws whatever?

"In spite of the prohibitions and restrictions which yet exist, and serve to prevent the rapid increase of commercial intercourse between the United States and the lower colonies, yet that intercourse has already attained great value and importance from a very small beginning."

In brief, and to conclude. To render the prosperity of the Provinces permanent and secure. 1st, we want a national system of free schools; 2d, the commerce must be made free, and the inland waters opened to foreign shipping; 3d, the agriculture and manufactures must be protected and encouraged; 4th, our mineral resources should be opened to the application of the industry of the country. Such is our right, and the government that refuses justice to its people, deserves no respect or countenance. There is a point where patience and forbearance cease to be virtues, and we have arrived at that point in our history, when longer to forbear asserting our rights is treason to ourselves and unfaithfulness to posterity.

PROGRESS IN NAVAL ARCHITECTURE.

No country is better adapted to ship building than is our own—and nowhere can they be built with the same economy. Accessible forests, filled with the very first quality of timber—ample harbors, numerous and deep-watered inlets, upon which, vessels may be launched with convenience and safety, are all spread out before us, inviting the wealth and industry of the country into the field of enterprise and profit. Yet our inland streams meander to the

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Accessiple harels may t before he-field ocean strangers to a vessel larger than a skiff or canoe—our harbors are unimproved—the advantages which our waters present for the noble occupation of naval architecture, are overlooked, and the wild winds whistle drearily through the forests, where the merry and more welcome notes of the axe and the anvil should be heard. Thus are our mechanics driven, unwillingly, to seek employment in the land of strangers. In contrast with this lack of enterprise at home, I append a table showing the product, for little over one year, of four ship yards, in East Boston, in the State of Massachusetts.

In the yard of Mr. Paul Curtis, which has been in operation a little more than one year, the following ships were built:—

		•	•	•	•			Value.
Golden Fle	ece,					•		\$75,000
Queen of th	ıe Se	a,					•	85,000
Golden We	st,							85,000
Radiant,			•					80,000
Cleopatra,								90,000
Reporter.								90,000
Two ships,	not y	et na	med,			•		160,000
	·							\$665,000

In the yard of Mr. Donald McKay, from June 1, 1852, to June 1, 1853, the following:—

					Tonnage.	Value.
Sovereign of the Seas,	, .			•	2,400	\$150,00 0
Westward Ho, .	•		•		1,700	95,000
Bald Eagle,		•			1,800	95,000
Empress of the Sea,		•			2,200	125,000
Star of Empire, .	•				2,000	120,000
Chariot of Fame, .	•		•		2,000	120,000
Great Republic, .	•		•	•	4,500	300,000
One ship, not named,	•	•		• •	1,800	90,000
	ď				18,400	\$1,095,000

In the yard of R. E. Jackson, from June 1, 1852, to August 1, 1853, as follows:—

1000, 40 70110110			Tonnage.	Valued at
Winged Arrow,		•	1,700)	
Queen of Clippers, .			2,300 }	\$427,000
Diamond of the Deep, .		•	2,100	
Total tonnage,			6,100	

In the yard of Samuel Hall, from June 1, 1852, to June 1, 1853, as follows:—

					Tonnage.	Valued at
Bark Mermaid, .					500 <u>)</u>	
Ship R. B. Forbes,					750	
" Hoogly, .					1,400	
" John Gilpin, .				•	1,000 {	\$650,000
" Flying Childers	, .		•	,.	1,000 (\$000,000
" Mystery, .		•		•	1,200	
" Wizard, .					1,600	
" Amphitrite, .		•	•	•	1,700)	
Total to	nnago	e, .		•	9,150	

The four yards above-named, are but examples of a line of ship-yards extending along the entire coast of the United States, and have produced, in a single year, twenty-six of the most magnificent ships that float the ocean—surpassing, in speed and elegance, a point which none but American enterprise has ever reached. These ships register about 44,000 tons burthen, and are valued at nearly \$3,000,000. The men employed in these yards receive an average compensation of \$2,25 per day. These examples are enough to show what a liberal system of government has to do in developing the natural ingenuity of man. There, the mind of the mechanic is not hampered; it expatiates in the broad field of enterprise, and is daily invigorated by the encouragement and rewards which it receives. Why is it that one hundred and seventy thousand of our citizens have left us, and are to-day employed in the workshops

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and factories of the United States, where industry and thrift everywhere prevails, while our own Provinces lag and languish under the burdens of our Colonial system.

Why spend the best of your lives in thinking and talking, debating, considering, and reconsidering, before you can make up your minds how and when to act? Now is the time for you to demand a change—procrastination but makes your condition worse, and your country demands that what you do should be done quickly.

BRITISH PATENT OFFICE.—The British government has decided that letters patent will not be granted by them for the colonies, even upon the payment of extra fees. This is the information we have received from our agents in London. By this decision, inventors are debarred from obtaining protection for their inventions in the British Colonies. This is a recent decision of the British Patent Office. Of the mental calibre and administrative qualities of any man or class of men, no one can form a competent opinion, unless he is acquainted with the business over which such an administrator presides. Many (too many) suppose that government officers sit away up in the clouds; that they have qualities of mind far above common men. This is not so: it is true now as it was a century ago, when Oxenstiern told his son to go to a convention of celebrated diplomatists "and see with how little wisdom the world was governed."—Extract.

TO YOUNG MEN.

As vast and important to a country as is the governmental policy of its rulers, still, the condition of a people does not wnolly detend upon their governors. A people who are true to themselves, will rise above any circumstances, accidents, and conditions. This strue in material, mental, and moral aspects. A truly cultivated, mlightened, and industrious people cannot be slaves. Like the wild horse of the prairies, which scorns the bridle of the hunter, a

truly enlightened nation will hurl the yoke of oppression in the face of the tyrant.

In concluding this address, I cannot forbear offering a few reflections for the Young Men or British America.

Action, progress, and reform, are now the order of the day among all civilized nations. In the great march of the human race, he is a recreant man who tarries by the way-side, to check the onward course of the moving column. By an eternal law of things, nations can never stand still, but must either go forward or backward. Their forward or backward movements, sometimes depend upon a very few individuals. One master spirit will move a whole nation. Oliver Cromwell set the age in which he lived an hundred years in advance, and the magic eloquence of Patrick Henry, in denunciation of the wrongs of his country, set a nation on fire with heroic enthusiasm.

Remember, young men, that you are to be the MEN of the next generation. You are much to the race and to posterity. It depends upon your lives, your actions, your industry, your independence, whether the country shall be better for your having lived in it. "Men were not created to live in wigwams nor in sties; but to rise up and lie down in dwellings of comfort and elegance." Men were not made for alms-houses and the gallows; but for competence, and freedom, and virtue; not for vanity and follies, but for dignity and honor. Nakedness, famine, and pestilence are not inexorable laws of nature. Nakedness is as often the result of idleness as misgovernment, and cholera is but the retribution for uncleanliness and intemperance. Industry, love of justice, manly independence, and strict temperance, are among the virtues which young men should cherish and cultivate. Industry is wealth, and knowledge is power. And as these are represented in the individuals of society, so will be the aggregate. A nation of letters and industry is both powerful and wealthy, and with a love for equality and justice, and conformity to the moral laws of the Great Governor of the Uiverse, will be happy and contented.

If you cannot get a better government than the present one, take hold and reform the one you have. Never cease to demand the full rights of British subjects from the home government. Show to the Queen that you know your rights, and that you are determined to

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ent one, take hand the full Show to the etermined to rest satisfied with nothing short of a positive grant of them, and you will get them. The history of the American assertion and successful maintenance of their liberties is yet fresh in the memory of Her Majesty and Her House of Lords, and rather than lose "the fairest jewel of her crown"—as the American colonics have been styled,—she will yield all that you demand in the name of justice and humanity.

The heart of humanity is beating with the hopes of a brighter day. All the high instincts of our nature foretells its approach.—
"Thoughts of freedom, duty, benevolence, equality, and human brotherhood, agitate the nations," and neither England with her thousand iron war-steamers, nor the Czar with his Cossaeks can repress them. "Were these thoughts imprisoned in the centre of the earth, they would burst its granite folds, speed onward in their career and fulfil their destiny. They are imbued with a deathless vigor." As sure as the river runs to the sea, they must prevail. Here, then is opened, my young friends, a noble career for ambition.

The condition of any country, depends much upon the social and moral condition of its young men. Honesty, industry, and temperance are cardinal virtues for the young of any clime or country. History is filled with names worthy of emulation. The apron of an industrious mechanic is more honorable than the brightest trappings of colonels and captains; and the drops of sweat upon the brow of the hardy lumber-man, are a fairer coronet than the most precious stones. I would sooner wear the laurels of George Fox, tending the flocks upon the hills of Nottingham, and dreaming schemes for the betterment of the race, which resulted in founding a state of brotherly love, which now contains two millions of souls, than those of the longest line of kings that ever lived.

Every young man has a duty to perform, a work to accomplish.—
If he shrinks from the responsibility, and says, "aye, this evil will last my day," and puts it from him for the follies and crimes of society, woe! to his memory when the historian goes up and down the generation, touching this and that head with the torch of immortality. He has not done his work. His life has been spent, and its golden hours, crowded thick with stern responsibilities, have been wasted and lost. No young man is so lowly but he can do something for himself, and thereby help on the "good time coming,"

when the enfranchised millions of the world shall know, nor slave, nor tyrant forever. You can set an example for the coming members of society, an example which shall teach them the advantage of perseverance and honor, and when the hurried footsteps of the next generation are heard in their steady tread, the shout borne across the ages, shall be "Equality among Men! Liberty and Self-Government!!

