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James Buchanan

THE
MONTHLY REVIEW:
DEVOTED TO THE
CIVIL GOVERNMENT
OF
CANADA.

Vol. I.]

MARCH, 1841.

[No. III.]

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THE

MONTHLY REVIEW:

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EMIGRATION AND PUBLIC IMPROVEMENT.

Is it not a defect chargeable upon the inhabitants of Upper Canada, that they rely upon others for aid, when they should seek it from themselves? like the man in the fable, who, when his wheels stuck in the mud, prayed to Jupiter to assist him.

It is by far too common an impression in this country, that we can with propriety look to Great Britain for every thing we want. There are doubtless benefits to be derived from the Home Government, which it is both their duty and their inclination to confer

The defence of the country, the protection of our commerce, the promotion of emigration, and the encouragement of our agriculture, as far as they can give it consistently with their obligations to other nations or communities, these and others of a similar kind are benefits for which we may and ought to look with legitimate confidence to the British Government.

But it must be borne in mind that we stand in our relationship to Great Britain in the position of a man who is of sufficient age to provide for himself. In our state of infancy we required and obtained assistance of a description, and to an extent, which we cannot, and ought not now to expect. We are placed in a

position to govern ourselves. We have a Parliament, and a revenue; we have population; we have wealth; we have agriculture; we have a vast and fertile territory; we have commerce; we have the power to raise taxes to make public improvements; and, to revert again to our parental allusion, we are to all intents and purposes settled in the world, and, with the above exceptions, left to take care of our own interests, and to carve out our own fortunes.

What would be thought of a son thus situated, who, when he found himself involved in the perplexities incident to every thing connected with human affairs, instead of resorting to his own resources, and arousing the energies of his own mind, should go complaining to his father, and beg of him to relieve him from his difficulties? Would not his father say, No; I have my own affairs to attend to, and quite as much as I can do to manage them. I will give you my advice, but you must act for yourself, and do the best you can. Are we not precisely in this position? And happily for us our affairs are in such a state, and our resources so ample, that unless we are shamefully indolent, inexcusably careless, or abominably ignorant and

self-willed, we shall find no cause for complaint, much less for despair.

But we must never forget that the same activity, the same care, the exercise of the same discretion, the same energy of mind, and above all, the same unity of action which are necessary in conducting the affairs of all other communities, must be in full operation with us. We must not when our waggon, from being a little overloaded, or because we happen to have neglected to repair our roads, *sticks in the mud*, pray to the Mother Country to help us out of it; we must all, or as many of us as are necessary, put our shoulders to the wheels, and by our united efforts we shall soon see the waggon proceed cheerily towards its destination.

We shall never "go ahead", as Jonathan says, till this feeling more generally pervades the mind of every inhabitant of Canada. The moment it does so, an universal stimulus will be felt, from which the best results may be anticipated; and probably after all, in this will be found the essential difference between Canadians and the inhabitants of the United States.

Let it be the business of every inhabitant of the United Province to ascertain what we most want to render this noble country all that can be desired.

And the two first objects of paramount, practical importance which will present themselves, will be—THE PROMOTION OF EMIGRATION, and OUR PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS.

It is admitted on all hands, that the population of Great Britain has become burdensome even to itself by its density, and that both the Government and the country will derive benefit by being relieved from the pressure. So far as they receive the benefit, they ought to the full extent of that benefit to pay the cost. We, on the other hand, want an addition to our population, and any expense attendant on giving and receiving these reciprocal benefits must and ought to be borne in respective proportions. There is no doubt that the British Government will do its part; nor is any doubt entertained that the British public will do theirs; it is the interest of both to do so: but we must also do ours.

If exertions are made to induce emigrants to land on our shores, and the expence of transport is paid, we can hardly expect more; it will remain for us to do the rest, and we can well afford to do so. It will become our duty

to direct the steps of the uninformed emigrants, and by our activity to do all in our power to turn to his and to our own mutual advantage the muscles and sinews of the labourer, the enterprize and activity of the farmer, the profitable employment of the funds of the capitalist, and the peace and prosperity of the whole.

To the labourer, however, must our attention be principally directed, and sound policy would dictate that his labour should be mainly applied to purposes of agriculture, thus adding to our Provincial wealth by increasing the amount of our agricultural produce, the great source from whence all our wealth has and must continue to be derived.

It is said to be very desirable that a destitute labourer should on his landing be immediately employed in constructing our public works; it is, however, far more desirable for the community, as well as for himself, that he should be employed in the *production* of wealth, rather than in its *distribution*. The labour of every healthy man adds to our provincial wealth annually at least as much as is paid to him for wages, say £45 to £50; and considering him as a consumer as well as a producer, it may be safely rated at £50. Therefore, every thousand labourers, employed in agriculture, add to our resources £50,000 per annum. 'Tis true our roads *must* be improved, and other public works constructed, and this must be effected by labour, but it ought to be done as much as possible by *surplus* labour. Our policy is, or ought to be, not to allow an agricultural labourer to remain unemployed in the cultivation of the soil a single day, by that means adding to the productive wealth of the community.

The plan now adopted by the Government of gratuitously settling new comers on lands of small extent on the road to Lake Huron, is doubtless in unison with this principle, and its tendency will be not only very early to make the settlers become producers, but it will prepare that part of the Province for the residence of persons possessed of capital, to whom the assistance of the first settlers as servants will be invaluable. But this cannot, it is feared, be carried immediately to any great extent, or at least to such an extent as will employ the number of emigrants which we are led to hope will arrive next season.

It cannot be doubted by any one that the legitimate and most beneficial way of disposing

of emigrant labourers is, *to get them absorbed amongst the farmers, and their labour expended in increasing the quantity of productive land.*

The great question is, how is this to be effected. And here again, does not the question present itself,—Have not the inhabitants of Canada looked rather to the aid of Government and the parent country, than to the energies of their own minds, and the employment of their own resources ?

We are told, though we decline to admit the truth of it, that agriculture in Upper Canada is in a depressed, and, if we are to believe some of our public prints, in a declining state. Surely the simple fact, if it be admitted to be one, (and it cannot be denied) namely, that thousands of families are annually supported upon from 20 to 50 acres of land in plenty and comparative luxury, is an answer to such mischievous libels upon the agriculture of the Province, more especially when it is remembered that the only capital possessed by these settlers is the labour of the farmer and his family. Imagine, for a moment, that these people had to pay money for the comforts they enjoy, would their labour if employed in any other way than farming procure these for them ?

But it is said that Farmers with capital do not make farming profitable. There are very many exceptions even to this assertion, and probably the exceptions prove the fallacy of the remark. To put the matter in its proper light, take a good practical farmer from England or Scotland, with a competent capital, and place him here on the same quantity of equally productive land which he occupied there, say 2, 3, or 400 acres, and let the result determine whether he gets a better return for his capital here or there—not forgetting that there, the value of his property was stationary, or perhaps diminishing, whilst here it is sure to be yearly increasing in value. Every thriving farmer in Canada (and there are thousands of them) who has had the experience, will give his testimony on the side of the question favourable to Canada. It is said that agricultural produce is low. It is universally admitted that five shillings per bushel is a remunerating price for wheat. The price of wheat will fluctuate here as well as elsewhere, and if farmers some years get six shillings per bushel for wheat, they must at other seasons expect to sell for four shillings. The average produce of wheat for the last six

years, has, however, been about five shillings per bushel.

The reputation of Canadian agriculture has laboured under the disadvantages of "*being conducted on a small scale,*" "*with insufficient capital,*" and by "*inexperienced persons.*"—Had those persons who complain of want of success as farmers, under similar circumstances been placed in any other country, or in any other line of business, the result would have been the same, namely, disappointment and poverty. How many gentlemen, some from the army, some from the navy, and others from the more private walks of life, have mistakenly expected to live (and still like gentlemen) upon the produce of 20 or 30 acres of cleared land, whilst the capital employed amounted to probably only £300 or £400, out of which a house was to be built, furniture purchased, and a year or two of subsistence abstracted ? The thing is impossible, and a little deliberation would induce a full conviction of the unreasonableness of such expectations.

We are, however, expecting to see our shores crowded with emigrants, and we must take farming as it is, and farmers as they are. It appears to us to be certain that the prosperity of the country demands that not an agricultural labourer should be employed on our public works whilst a vacant space remains to be filled up in the ranks of the farmer.

How can this be best effected ? It is assumed that *the bulk of our agricultural population would gladly, and could profitably, employ additional labourers, if they had the means of paying them.*

If this be not so, what can be said for the enterprize of Canadian farmers ? Is it intended to assert that they will prefer vegetating upon 20 acres of land, when they could get rich by cultivating 100 acres ? If this be so, Government has made a fatal mistake in dividing the country into allotments of 200 acres each ;—the quantity ought rather to have been 50 acres. But the fact is not so. There may be a few men so destitute of energy and enterprize, but the great majority feel differently. They well know that so small a *MODICUM OF LAND*, though it may supply their present wants, will not provide for the future exigencies of a large family, and decrepid old age.

Estimating our whole population at 450,000 souls, we can have but little short of 100,000

farmers, and in both provinces we may safely double that number. If only one in four would agree to employ an additional agricultural labourer, it would absorb 30,000 emigrants.— These men, considered as producers as well as consumers, would add to the wealth of United Canada the sum of two millions five hundred thousand pounds annually. This is the legitimate source from whence our circulating medium must and will proceed; this is that which will increase the value of property; this and this alone is that which will establish and extend our credit, and enable us to complete our improvements; in this is to be found the intrinsic value of emigration. It is the interest of every farmer, whether he knows it or not, to increase the extent of labour on his farm, and it is believed that the fact would be generally admitted, but the difficulty is in finding the money to pay for this labour. Most farmers say, I can find plenty of employment for them; I could feed and even clothe them. We have abundance of food, and we can make good and warm clothing by our own fire-side, or obtain it by the necessary exchange of the produce of the farm-yard, the dairy, and the garden, with the store keeper; but we cannot get money with which to pay labourers.

The object of the labourer is or ought to be, to become a farmer on his own land; for what then, provided he be clothed, does he want money? Is it to lock it up in his chest till it accumulates to a sum sufficient to enable him to buy a farm, with the necessary implements to settle himself? This is so much money lost to all parties, as well as the community, for the time it remains so locked up. It would be far better employed by the farmer, because he could buy stock with it which would be profitable and productive,

It is obvious therefore, that, supposing a labourer's object is to become a farmer, it is far more to his interest to agree with his employer that he will serve him for a given period, say, for example, two years, on condition that he shall be fed and clothed, and at the end of the period shall be paid the balance in provisions, stock, seed corn, and such utensils as will enable him to go upon land upon his own account. Such a man may with great propriety go to the land office, or to any other landed proprietor, and say, now give me 50 acres of land, and I will settle on it. Yes, and with every

prospect of success too. Nor is it too much to assume that the generality of agricultural labourers will when they first land upon our shores, feel it very agreeable to their feelings, and conformable to their views, as well as in accordance with their habits, to enter into such an agreement, by which they obtain employment upon fair and reasonable terms, for a given period.

Persons who have had an opportunity of observing the anxiety and depression of mind which is experienced by emigrants when they first land in this country, will not hesitate in believing that nineteen out of twenty of them will gladly embrace the opportunity should it be afforded to them.

It must be recollected that 99 out of every 100 have never been their own masters. In all their little difficulties they have had their employer to go to for advice and assistance, whose interest and practice has been to give it. They land upon our shores with an undefined notion that employment is to be had for asking, and that land is to be obtained by applying at the land office, or to that of the Canada Company, but they soon find their mistake. They find that land is not to be had without money, and that they may travel hundreds of miles before they get employment. They are destitute of money, nor do they know whether to go east, west, north, or south. They have some relations or acquaintances some where, but they do not exactly know where or how to find them. They find Canada to be altogether a different place from what they expected. They think they have been deceived; hope gives place to anxiety, and anxiety to despair. They meet with some American who is on the look out for labourers to complete a contract in the United States, and he tells them they would encounter none of these difficulties there. The last dollar is expended on a steamboat passage, or if he has not one, he begs it, or obtains it by imposing on the emigrant agent, and these poor fellows transport themselves to the States, where if the miserable state of their circumstances do not continue the same, they have to become, instead of farmers for themselves, scavengers to the Americans,—their hewers of wood and drawers of water. Who can deny that this is a true picture, that this monstrous amount of evil has been of every day occurrence, this draw-back to our prosperity,

this diminution of the good material for the accumulation of provincial wealth? And if all this evil has been sustained, whilst we have had the means within ourselves of preventing it,—on whom should rest the blame? Who but ourselves could have prevented it, and who is the individual by whom it has been attempted, what have been the means resorted to to accomplish it? After having lost from our community thousands upon thousands of our countrymen by the want of energy and effort to retain them, we have at length established an Emigration Society.

If very many farmers, as we have assumed, would gladly employ labourers by paying them in produce at the end of a given period, as we have described, and if it be true that emigrants would gladly embrace the offer, and if by so doing all the beneficial effects described would follow, why has it not been done? or at least why is not the experiment now tried? The answers we anticipate will be various. One class of the inhabitants of Canada will say—Oh! 'tis a visionary idea. Another will say, the poor men will all be cheated out of their earning. A third, the labourer will not work. A fourth, that they will run away, and go to the States, &c. &c. However visionary the idea may be, many other and more visionary objections will be made to it.

There is no answer, however, more common, or so apparently conclusive, but in point of fact so fallacious, as one which will be made upon the very threshold of the question, as thus, "It wont answer,—I have lived in the province all my life long,—I am acquainted with the country, I know the ways of the farmers, and I KNOW IT WON'T DO." And this is said with a degree of decision which indicates that the bump of firmness is fully developed. But there is one answer to all this. Yes, you have lived here all your "life long," but you have not lived in the countries from whence these emigrants come, and you are altogether unacquainted with their former habits of mind. You do know the habits of farmers born in Canada, but you do not know the habits of mind, or the practice which prevails amongst farmers of the Old Country. It is necessary that persons before they decide such points should be well acquainted with both.

Now persons who are well acquainted with the habits of Old Country farmers, and Old

Country labourers, know very well, that it is very common to enter into similar agreements, and that they are seldom violated by either party. There may be here and there a bad servant, or an unjust or tyrannical farmer, but is this a reason why a measure which promises so much good, and of which the evil is, to say the least, but problematical, should be abandoned?

Is it not rather a more proper course to take advantage of the good, and as far as possible guard against the evils which may arise; and at all events, does it not seem requisite that those who find fault with or reject the measure, should at least propose a better? That, however, is not always so easily done.

It is believed that the anticipated evil can be guarded against. It is suggested that a form of agreement, of which the following are the heads shall be drawn up and signed by both the farmer and the labourer.

On the part of the farmer, he engages to hire A. B. for two years, to keep him in good and sufficient food and clothing at a rate of wages to be agreed on,—at certain periods the farmer shall give over to the labourer the amount of his wages in such articles as shall be agreed, to enable him to settle upon land of his own if he wishes to do so, and that he shall give security, if required, for the due performance of the agreement.

The labourer on his part engages to practice diligence, sobriety, and good conduct. In case of well established proof to the contrary, or leaving his service, he agrees to forfeit his wages, or any portion of them, to be determined, together with any other cause of complaint, by the two nearest magistrates, or resident emigration agent.

An objection has been made, that the country store-keeper, knowing of the existence of the labourer's agreement with the farmer, will take advantage of the wants or the supposed wants of the labourer, and by anticipating his wages, will deprive the country of the benefit of the plan, and still leave the man a pauper.

In reply, it may as a general rule be said, if people will be improvident they must take the consequences; and also, it is no ground for objecting to the support of a good measure because some will deprive themselves of its benefits, and because others will abuse it.

The objection may be in some degree obviated by making it a condition of the agreement, that this shall not be done, and by throwing every obstacle in the way of the store-keepers getting possession of the property, and by giving publicity to the agreement.

These heads, with others as to sickness, and as far as can be providing for every contingency, should be embodied in the form of an agreement drawn up and printed by the emigration society, whose members and officers should on all occasions consider themselves as the guardians of the emigrant for the time being.

It will, however, be properly objected that although this plan may be eligible for single men, it does not provide for the circumstances of married men with families.

It is believed, however, that the same idea may be carried out in its application as well to married men with families as with single men.

The rate of wages to single *newly arrived agricultural* labourers will probably be from eight to twelve dollars per month, according to their qualifications, with their board. Perhaps the greater number will be entitled to about eight dollars or two pounds currency per month, and perhaps some addition may be fairly promised for the second year.

The board of a single man in a farmer's house is supposed to cost him from 5s. to 7s. 6d. per week,—probably the smaller sum may be the nearest to the truth. This would amount to £18. If we say £15, however, it may be near enough. The labourer will at that rate cost the farmer £39 currency per annum in board and wages.

If the married man is equally an able-bodied man, he will be entitled to the same amount of wages, namely, £24, but as he does not board in the farmer's house, he must be paid in provisions out of the house, after the same rate, and at the market prices. In case of large and very young families the quantity of provisions may be extended, and the amount of course deducted on the final settlement of the wages of the labourer.

In the case of a married man with a family, a shanty must be supplied, with land sufficient for a garden, and the labourer will soon find the way to obtain a cow, and the means of supporting it will not be wanting.

The condition of the married man under such circumstances will be far better than it was at home. He will have plenty of good and wholesome food for his family, with a sure and certain prospect but at the end of the time agreed he will have the means of entering on a lot of land on the Lake Huron road, or elsewhere, if he wishes it.

It will probably be objected that the same sum which would keep a single man will not support a man, his wife and children. It must be remembered that nine out of ten of these people have been accustomed to support themselves on a less sum, where provisions were double the price they are here. 'Tis true clothing is somewhat dearer, but on the kind of clothing required by labourers the difference is not great. Besides, the wife and children are always able to earn something, either by washing, or tending children in the families of others who can afford to pay them, and, with the produce of the garden this adds to their little income and affords great assistance. And as the labourer under such circumstances will tell you, if he has not a surplus of the good things of this life, he has a quiet and a contented mind, "His mind is at ease," he has no fear of want before his eyes, his employment is certain, except from misconduct; no wet or unprofitable days,—no fears of a poor-house before him,—no present misery, and a certainty of more prosperous days.

This is the true picture to hold up to the view of the emigrant, this the position in which to place him. This is that which will keep British emigrants upon British territories, and this is doing the part which devolves upon the inhabitants of Canada with reference to emigration; and who will say we cannot do this?

To carry out the idea, it is suggested that the Emigration Society, in addition to these other means, immediately take active measures to ascertain who amongst the residents of the province are disposed to take additional labourers, with the description of those they want, the kind of work they will be required to do, the age preferred, &c. That these be all printed in a tabular form for the inspection of emigrants, and to be shown to them on their landing at any of our principal ports, with these additional particulars, the name of the persons requiring servants, their occupation, residence, district and township, whether they require

But it will be said if the inhabitants of Upper Canada are chargeable with supineness and a want of energy as regards emigration, they are not so chargeable as to their public improvements. Probably not. Yet may not a question very fairly arise, whether they have not laid themselves open to a charge equally disadvantageous to themselves, namely, a want of foresight and discretion in their procedure regarding their public works, which has proved nearly as disastrous in its consequences as supineness has done with regard to emigration.

The Provincial debt is about one million of pounds. The largest items by which that debt has been contracted are said to be found amongst the following public works:—The St. Lawrence Canal,—The Welland Canal,—Grants made to different Townships for the repair or making of Roads,—The Burlington Bay Canal,—The Desjardin Canal,—The Harbours on the Lake,—and other minor appropriations, &c.

Now had these improvements been real and productive, a debt of a million or of five millions would be of no importance. So long as the money expended brings a proper return in the shape of revenue, the debt is of little consequence, be it less or more. If our prosperity depends upon our public improvements, the sooner they are effected the earlier prosperity begins.

To put a very homely example:—An emigrant farmer goes on his land, and he has expended his last dollar in subsistence and in the purchase of farming implements, so that he cannot purchase a yoke of cattle; yet without them he cannot sow his grain, nor add to the extent of his clearing; with them he would be able to sow eight acres of wheat, and clear up an additional piece of land. His character for honesty and industry induces a neighbour to offer to sell him a yoke of oxen for £20, at two years credit. He buys them, gives his note, and thus goes into debt £20.

Another emigrant farmer is precisely in similar circumstances, and is made the same offer, but he says, no—I will not go into debt.—“*Out of debt out of danger;*” for which, probably, some persons will commend him. But look at the results in both cases, to the community, and to the farmers themselves. At the end of the year, the farmer who bought the cattle, and got into debt, will have eight

acres of wheat worth £40; the other will be without wheat. True, he is out of debt, but he will be starved if he rely upon his own enterprise, or he must live upon potatoes. The man who went into debt has added £40 to the productive wealth of the Province, as well as to his own,—and the next year he makes it £80. He then pays the debt, all is square, and he has laid the foundation for his future fortune; whilst his less enterprising neighbour is poor as regards himself, and worse than useless to the community. It will be said, But suppose the oxen had died, or an accident had happened to them, or his wheat crop had failed, or a thousand things besides, what would he have done then? It is replied, oxen do not often die, except of old age, or from neglect; nor do accidents happen, or any of the other catalogue of evils, sufficiently often to deter a prudent man from running so small a risk. If it had happened, however, he would have exerted his energies to surmount the evil, and he no doubt would have succeeded.

If he had, indeed, borrowed money to build a fine house, or to buy expensive or unproductive articles, he would have been wrong; or if he had spent it in wild and dangerous speculations, he would have been wrong; in useless and unproductive improvements he would have been wrong; but he was perfectly right in going into debt for the purchase of a yoke of cattle, as the event would prove.

It is feared that this rule of action has not been kept sufficiently in view by the inhabitants of Upper Canada in the expenditure of their resources. They are charged with having expended nearly or quite, the amount of their existing debt in such public improvements, which never have, and never will make any return whatever, and which neither add to the credit nor to the comfort of the Province.

We are charged with an expenditure of (including interest) nearly £200,000 in grants to the different Townships or Districts for making roads, a large amount of which is even unaccounted for to this day, and a considerable portion of that accounted for, is said to have been most injudiciously appropriated, and the whole expended without producing any revenue whatever.

We are also charged with having wasted 20 per cent (or one-fifth) of the entire cost of the Welland Canal, amounting to £80,000.

We are also charged with having expended £95,000 on the Burlington Canal, which now requires to be done again, the revenues of which, it is said, would have been ample, had not the tolls for some unexplained cause been reduced to a mere trifle.

So of the Desjardin Canal.

Similar observations are said to apply to all the Lake Harbours, which will require a large expenditure, or become useless.

Then the monstrous item of £380,000 expended on the St. Lawrence Canal, which has never paid one shilling, and probably never will do so, at all events, not until two millions shall be added to the sum already expended.

These items, with many others,—mal-appropriations it is said, form a large part of our Provincial debt of a million of pounds.

Now if all these things had been made productive, or were capable of being made so; if they would have brought in an income of 5 or 6 per cent, the debt would be like that of the farmer for the purchase of the oxen; as it now stands does it not lay us open to the charge of having (to say the least) managed our affairs badly?

We have nobody to blame but ourselves, and we must take the consequences. But this we can do; we can from the past learn wisdom for the future,—and it is the object of this article, to shew, in some degree at least, in what that discretion consists.

Nor is it, perhaps, of much consequence how these things have been allowed to take place. Some will attribute it to jobbing by persons possessing influence,—others will say that it has been the result of the influence of a powerful party; some may contend that it has arisen from inexperience natural to a young country: perhaps it may be attributed to all these causes. If the evils do exist, the only use of tracing them to their causes is to avoid a repetition of them. It is hoped that a new and better state of things has taken place, and that upon this subject, as well as upon many others, we have come to our right minds. It is one great point gained, to feel and admit that we have been wrong.

The first and most important step is to lay down rules for our future Government, founded on experience, avoiding on the one hand a wild and wasteful expenditure of our resources, and on the other an imbecile and mistaken notion of the nature of public debt.

Let us resolve that we will expend our first resources in such substantial improvements as will at least pay a revenue equal to the interest of the amount expended.

Let the second class of works be such as bid fair to pay a revenue at the earliest possible period.

That all public works to be constructed shall be made as substantial and durable as the case will admit.

That before any money is borrowed for the purpose of constructing public works, the amount of the interest shall be raised from some source (from direct taxation if necessary) leaving the proceeds of the work to form a sinking fund to discharge the principal.

That all public improvements be made under the direction of a board of works, holding its members responsible that the foregoing principles form the basis of their proceedings.

We may probably startle some of our readers by the words "direct taxation;" let them look attentively at what we do say, and we fear not the result.

A small tax of 3d. per lb. on tea imported from the United States will pay £10,000 per annum, (*permission to do this must be obtained from the Home Government*). Three pence per gallon on whiskey, sixpence on high wines, foreign wines, and foreign spirits, will together produce a revenue of £100,000 per annum; and how many of the community will object to such a tax? It would not add perceptibly to the cost of the articles to the buyer, and would only imperceptibly diminish the profit of the seller; but if it did both the members of temperance societies would not object to it, nor should the community at large do so.—Taxes producing such an amount of revenue would pay the interest at 5 per cent of two millions of pounds, or would make two thousand miles of plank road, supposing it to cost £1000 per mile.

The tax above-named would pay the interest, and the tolls if allowed to accumulate would pay off the principal. This is the kind of direct taxation to which we allude, and we believe when applied to such purposes few will be inclined to find fault with it.

A well organized system for a general improvement of the roads will be admitted by persons of all classes to be paramount.

We are now enabled to state from experience, that wherever good roads have been

made, they have invariably increased the value of property in the vicinity fully equal to the cost of them; and the advantage to those who travel on them exceeds the amount of tolls paid for their use,—so that there is not now, probably, one man in one thousand who does not say, if we could have good roads, it would signify little what we have to pay for them. The truth is, that for every shilling paid for tolls for a good road, five shillings are gained by the extra quantity carried, saving of wear and tear, time, and various other advantages.

It has been ascertained that no road can be good at all seasons of the year for carrying heavy weights, except macadamized,—or plank or timber roads.

The lowest cost of macadamized roads appears by the public reports to be about £1200 per mile,—(that made from Brockville towards St. Francis)—the highest, (the roads east and north of Toronto,) have cost about £3000 per mile.

Plank or timber roads have cost, including forming and ditching, about £800 per mile,—and if occasional lowering of hills and building of bridges be taken into account, may be estimated at £1000. If from the difficulty of procuring stone or any other cause, a macadamized road cannot be made for £1500 per mile,—a plank or timber road will prove to be the cheapest, especially whilst timber continues to be so plentiful and money so scarce, and it is admitted that timber roads are far the most pleasant to travel on.

To obtain the necessary capital has been and still is the difficulty.

Many have mistakenly supposed that we have a right to look to the British Government for aid. We consider the improvement of our roads to be one of those obligations which devolve upon ourselves, and we fearlessly say that we have ample resources, if they are called into action, to acquit ourselves of those obligations.

How does it happen, say the Canadians, that British capitalists are so ready to advance money to Americans, whilst we can with difficulty obtain a dollar?

It must be recollected that when a man has money to lend, he uses his own judgment as to the probability of receiving regularly his interest, and ultimately his principal. The plain

truth is, the British capitalists are afraid to trust us,—we have discovered such a querulous and quarrelsome disposition, so much want of energy, and have appeared so unsettled as to our institutions, that they have supposed it possible we may either blot out ourselves or be blotted out from the map of the world as a Province at least, and that then they would not know where to find us or their money.—What then is the obvious remedy? Get rid of your quarrelsome habit of mind; learn to agree amongst yourselves; and above all things abandon speculative opinions upon politics, and bend the whole energies of your minds to the improvement of your country, to the advancement of your agriculture, and to the extension of your commerce. Unite, join with heart and voice in supporting your public credit; and let no man be esteemed amongst you who endeavours to decry it. Treat all such men as they deserve to be treated, as busy, troublesome, meddling persons. Be guided by the experience of the past, and if wasteful or improvident expenditure has been made, let the various items be so many beacons to warn you against similar acts of imprudence.

Let us not so much blame the parties to whom we consider blame attaches, as the acts themselves, in all other respects let “bye-gones be bye-gones.” PREVENT JOBING, either upon the large or the small scale. Raise a revenue equal to your wants, and by direct taxation if it becomes necessary, and promote a spirit of union amongst yourselves, and the British Capitalist will have confidence in you, and gladly receive the large amount of interest for his money which you can so well afford to pay him. Besides which, we may then, if the necessity of the case will warrant it, apply to the British Government to assist us with its guarantee.

But as in the case of Emigration, it has been supposed that we have not developed all the means already within our reach—may it not be the same with regard to our public improvements, and more especially our roads.

The detailed items of expenditure in constructing plank or timber roads, are—the timber, felling the trees, hewing, sawing, hauling, and laying,—together with labour for forming and ditching when necessary.

Suppose we select a line of road through a well-settled country, leading from our back

settlements 20 or 30 miles from the front, to which all surplus agricultural produce must find its way. It is obvious that on the expense of conveyance will depend its value to the farmer.

If every lot be settled, there will in general be 4 settlers on each side the road, on each mile, altogether eight settlers for each mile.— There will probably be half as many on the adjoining Concessions, which will make twelve settlers on each mile in length and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth from the main road, to say nothing of half lots; which are very frequent, especially on front roads. Supposing that each of these 12 persons seeing the benefit of exchanging good roads for bad ones, meet together; they say, we are told a good timber road will cost, for the timber and laying it, £600. We have no money, but as the expences of these timber roads are all included in such things as we have, timber, labour, and teaming, if each of us does his part towards it, that is if we each do work to the value of £50, we shall be enabled to make our own roads.

We will reckon the value of an Ox team and a man at7s. 6d. perday.
That of a team of two horses and do..... 10
That of the labour of a man at 3

Now let us see how many days work of each kind will make up one £50.

40 days of an ox team	7s. 6d.	15	0	0
40 days of a horse do.	10	20	0	0
70 days labour.....	3	10	10	0
Value of the timber.....		4	10	0
		£50 0 0		

The question then presents itself, how are we to be paid? The answer is, an act of Parliament must be obtained to enable us to receive toll, and for other purposes, and every man who has done work to the value of £50, shall receive from the Commissioners a road bond, or debenture, which shall carry interest to be paid out of the receipts of the tolls in proportion to the amount received. Now supposing such a case to exist, where twelve persons or any other number would do the work as above described for 20 miles, we should have little need to apply to British or any other capitalists.

We shall be again met by our old acquaintance, *It won't do.* How do you know? Have you ever tried? Till you have fairly tried it,

you have no more right to say, *It "won't do,"* than we have to say, *it "will do."*

We do not expect to realize the idea in all cases, or in none to its full extent, but we do contend that the principle is applicable to any extent, and it is a principle which must get into far more active operation than it has done before we "go ahead" so rapidly as it is desirable we should do.

We, however, beg leave to invite our friend "*It won't do,*" to accompany us a little into details, and we may by possibility convince even him that the principle "*will do.*" Let us first look a little at the inducements which a farmer has to adopt this principle of action,

In the first place, every shilling this road costs goes into the pocket of the farmer or the labourer. There is no £500 per mile to be paid to the stone-breakers, nor another £500 to the stone-quarriers and blasters. Every shilling that the road cost as to the timber part goes into the pocket of the parties most interested. They have the immediate benefit of the road, and their property is increased in value in the same proportion, as experience has proved all property to be when good roads have been made.

A farmer living within 5 miles of the front goes four times a day to market, carrying 40 bushels of grain, instead of going once or twice, carrying 20 bushels, and so of all other produce. If he lives 10 miles distant he goes twice; and a man who lives 20 miles distant goes and returns easily in one day, carrying 40 bushels of wheat, whereas it now takes him two days to go and return, carrying 20 bushels.— When the roads are unimproved he cannot go at all in some seasons, as is the case with all his neighbours; and when the roads are passable all go together, producing the most injurious results as to the price of his produce, and not unfrequently as to his obtaining cash for it.

The advantage to the farmer of good roads instead of bad ones will be somewhat as follows:

Bad roads in account current with good roads.

	Dr.
To 2 days teaming to the front with £ s d.	
20 bushels of grain,.....	1 0 0
To 2 days expences, 2s. 6d.....	0 5 0
Say nothing of wear and tear, but 5s.	
would be a small allowance,.....	0 0 0
	£1 5 0

Expense of carrying 20 bushels of grain to market, per bushel, fifteen pence.

Cr.

To one days teaming to the front with 40 bushels of grain,.....	£	s	d
To one day's expenses,.....	0	2	6
To Toll Gates,.....	0	1	0

£0 13 6

Expences, per bushel, four pence.

Now suppose a farmer to grow 25 acres of wheat, producing 24 bushels per acre; he has to carry 600 bushels to market.

The expence of carrying 600 bushels at 15d. is.....

£37 10 0

The expence of carrying 600 bushels at 4d. is.....

10 0 0

£27 10 0

So that it is obvious the farmer gets upon the carriage of his wheat alone, in one year, by having good roads, more than he gets when the roads are bad, £27 10s.

He gets besides the same proportion for all his other agricultural produce, which may be reckoned as half,.....

18 15 0

And he gets the interest on his £50 bond, say 10 per cent.....

5 0 0

£16 5 0

Now we readily admit that it is scarcely to be expected that for 20 or 30 miles together as many as twelve farmers would be found who

could or who would do work of the value of £50 each, but we think we have pretty clearly proved that it would be greatly to their advantage to do so; and we do expect that a great many would do so if the advantages were duly explained to them; and we venture to predict that when such efforts to help ourselves are displayed, in the new state of things a claim for assistance from the new Provincial Legislature will not be made in vain; and we also venture to predict that such efforts will be hailed as a harbinger of increased energies and good roads throughout the Province. It is not intended that this calculation would apply precisely to all cases or to any particular case.— It is intended to shew that we do possess the means of helping ourselves with regard to the improvement of our roads, which have not yet been called into action, and which are adapted to assist the agriculture, and consequently to extend the commerce of the country. Nor do we despair of seeing, when the union of the population shall be established, our resources, mental, as well as physical and pecuniary, combined, our energies will be aroused, our activity increased, and our general prosperity greatly extended.

It has occurred to us that efforts made in accordance with these principles may prove, if not in an equal degree successful with our other public improvements, yet of great assistance in their completion—we hope to shew in what way on some future occasion.

THE PRESS AND THE UNION.

AMONG the numerous considerations which the new order of things about to be established in these Provinces suggests, not the least important is the effect to be produced on the tone and character of the Press, and, through the Press, on the morals and character of the people. This is a consideration, indeed, of the first importance, for, whatever be the plans proposed for the developement of the natural resources of the Colony—however strenuous be the

efforts for the establishment of a good and sound system of general education, whilst the daily sheet from which a great mass of the people draw their stock of political information is devoted to the selfish interests of party, or made a mere vehicle for unmeasured attacks on those in authority, so long, we say, will the political welfare of the Colony be retarded, and mistrust and jealousy prevail.

Hitherto the state of the Provincial Press

has not been altogether so satisfactory as might have been wished. Generally speaking, the circulation of each journal has been confined pretty much to its own immediate neighbourhood, and its arguments have been directed rather to the little circle around it, than to the great mass of the community. From this cause its influence has been limited, and its views often narrow and sectarian. Nor is this altogether to be wondered at. It is not in a new country like Canada that we can expect to find a literature springing up at once to our hands. The cultivation of the soil, and the supply of the natural wants of the population, are paramount claims, and leave little time for the study of politics, or the indulgence of a literary taste. Other countries have laboured on painfully to their present state of mental advancement, and every step onward has been the signal for a fresh contest between bigotry and selfishness on the one hand, and intelligence and liberality on the other. The history of the newspaper press in England is the history of the political enfranchisement of the people. Would the Reform Bill, as it is imagined, have become law, had not the right to publish debates been virtually conceded? Would the Tories still be struggling for power if they could gag, as in the days of Castlereagh, that organ which, by keeping their past misdeeds before the world, renders the people cautious how they trust them again? Would Mr. O'Connell retain his vast influence if his speeches had no echo beyond the walls of the buildings in which they are uttered, and were not re-created in every journal throughout the kingdom? In all this we mark the influence of the press, speaking, it is true, the opinions of the masses, but maturing their judgments and moderating their zeal. It was the press that extorted Catholic Emancipation—it was the press that carried the Reform Bill—it was the press that drove Charles X. into exile—it is the press that still maintains a liberal ministry in power—and it is by the press that the great work of cementing the Union between these Provinces, and conciliating its different classes, must be carried out.

But in this Colony the press has hitherto presented few of those great features which distinguish its spirited European contemporary. Its influence has been small, and its honesty sometimes questionable. It has been entrained in the shackles of party, and where it has

spoken the most boldly it has not unfrequently been the most corrupt. Blinded by local affections its conductors have too often lost sight of the great objects of good government, and have supported corruptions when they really imagined they were fighting for popular rights. Nor have they altogether steered clear of personal attack—that rock-a-head of all public writers, which renders the newspaper a pest to society, instead of its greatest boon. Mixed up with the numerous parties whose contending views have so long marred the prosperity of the Colony, the journal has too frequently been made the medium for individual slander, and fierce party abuse. It has left the consideration of political questions to indulge in the unworthy triumph of crushing some obnoxious opponent, and its energies, which should have been reserved for higher objects, have been wasted in a contest which could bring neither credit nor advantage.

But whilst we thus characterize a portion of the press, we must not lose sight of that other class which has been distinguished by the manliness of its principles, the integrity of its purposes, and the consistency of its conduct.—It would be most unjust to include the whole press in the remarks made above, which, indeed, apply rather to the past than to the present, and which, we are quite satisfied, from reasons we will state hereafter, can have no application to the future. There are engaged on the press in this Colony men of the highest order of mind, and, we may add, the purest principles, and if their writings as yet have not had their due influence in sobering the passions and removing the prejudices of their neighbors, it has been because they have had to contend with difficulties such as might well have daunted the most courageous and persevering.

It has hitherto been the misfortune of these Provinces to present the unenviable picture of a society broken up into numerous petty communities, each one advancing its peculiar claims, and regarding with feelings of jealousy its neighbour. There has been little sympathy between these different parts, whose views have been generally as opposed as it was possible for them to be. In the midst of all the confusion which such a state of society necessarily led to, newspapers sprang up with a rapidity which promised little for their eventual soundness. They were the children of faction, got by prejudice out of error, and they did not

disgrace their origin. Speaking to the passions, rather than to the judgment, they were read with avidity by a portion of the community, always to be allured by what is glaring, and who have either not the ability or the inclination to examine logically and critically that which is laid before them. Cut off by their geographical situation from direct connection with the great mass of their brother colonists, these people imagined that their interests must also be necessarily distinct, and squared all questions by the very narrow application they had to their own little societies. To them—as the largest class—the language of the newspaper was addressed, and as they seldom saw any other print, and were flattered by the deference paid to their opinions by the writers, their original errors became still more strongly engrafted on their minds, and received weekly confirmation from the great political oracle of the place.

It seems to be a natural result of isolated communities that they grow selfish and corrupt. It is connection with our neighbours that liberates the mind, matures the judgment, and forms the taste. Hence it is that steam has done, and will do, more to produce kindly feelings between nations than all the treaties that were ever drawn up. National prejudices vanish as we grow more familiar with foreigners, and two or three dinners at a *table d'hôte*, a box at the theatre, and a walk to the Louvre, upsets all the preconceived notions an Englishman may have entertained of France and its inhabitants. Just similar must be the effect when the barriers which have served to render society exclusive in this colony shall have been cast down. No longer bound to the politics of his confined district, the political reader will have his attention forced into new channels, and in order to judge correctly of the application of any particular measure to his own neighbourhood, he must just follow out its operation on the whole colony. It will no longer do for him to confine himself to the darkness of his limited sphere; he must walk forth into the broad day-light, and judge of men and measures by a new and more liberal scale.

And all this—aye and much more—must be effected by the Act of Union, which offers a new and widely extended field for the journalist. From the moment that Act was proclaimed, a moral revolution in the whole system of journalism became inevitable. Instead of

speaking to a few hundred patrons the language of the press for the future will be addressed to the whole Province, and the politician who finds his views as ably expressed in the journal of Quebec as in that of his own city of Toronto, will be gradually weaned from his local affections. The lonely dweller in some new-cleared soil, when he opens his newspaper in the morning, will be led unconsciously to the consideration of questions connected with the policy of the whole Province, and thus become linked in with the great changes that are working around him. His news will no longer be exclusive, his former errors and animosities will vanish. To him the change is no less than is the sight of a great city to a peasant who has lived all his life without o'erstepping the boundary of his humble hamlet. As he walks on he is quite surprised to find that there are houses larger than the one inhabited by his good Rector, which he had held to be the grandest in the world, and is even mortified at discovering that the village church is but a mere hovel compared with the magnificent temples which every where meet his eye. In a little time, however, he gets reconciled to the contrast, and is astonished on looking back to find how feeble had been his previous conceptions—how erroneous his judgments.

But whilst the great advantage is to be reaped by the public, the press itself will be no slight gainer either in character, influence, or (be it said modestly) emolument. At the present moment there are too many newspapers, the effect of the Union will be probably to lessen the number, and most certainly to improve the quality. By increasing the outlay necessary for the conducting of a newspaper, it will keep out of the field a number of mere ephemeral prints which now seriously interfere with the profits of the legitimate journalist. Directly the affairs of the most remote part of the Province are invested with interest, the newspaper proprietor will feel himself called on to make fresh exertions, and a new system of machinery will soon rise to his hand. He will have his correspondents in the principal towns, who will furnish him with correct views of the state of feeling in their neighbourhoods, and thus enable him to take an extended view of the possible operation of any proposed measure.—As the political importance of the Colony increases he will have to present correct reports of the debates in the Assembly,—to note down

accurately the words of popular men—and to keep watch over the courts of law, local tribunals, &c. To do this a new body of intelligent workers must be created, and the presence of newspaper reports will be a guarantee for the vigilance of the press.—All this will furnish the groundwork for a future national literature,—it will improve the character of the writing,—moderate the views of parties,—instil a purer taste, and intellectualize society.

In England, the views of the two great parties are reflected in the journals which range themselves on either side, and the spirit of political opposition is carried to a considerable height. But this is a feeling which, to the credit of the press be it said, does not extend to matters involving the vital interests of the country. It may take in the Ballot, Triennial Parliaments, and even the Corn Laws, but where a high moral principle is concerned, or the national character likely to be prejudiced, it is seldom that a mere feeling of party intervenes. A great portion of the tory press is favourable to the principle of the new Poor Law, whilst the measure of Penny Postage,—intended chiefly to benefit the working and industrious classes—met with support from all. Divided as the press is on the subject of our present foreign policy, let an act of aggression be committed by a foreign power to-morrow, and see how the indignation of the vast organ would be roused. There might indeed be a difference of opinion as to how satisfaction should be exacted, but there would be none as to the act itself,—whig, tory, and radical would all unite in defence of the national honour.

The principles of justice are rarely violated by the British press. The *Times* and *Herald* were the most unsparing opponents of the tory Lord Cardigan, in his recent pro-

ceedings against Captain Reynolds, and they were so on the high grounds of justice. The difference of rank of the two parties could not, in a case like that, warp their judgments, and they dared to pronounce a verdict contrary to that of the military tribunal,—in defiance of the authority of rank and power,—but in unison with the feelings of the people. This, we say, they dared to do; but had Lord Cardigan made a speech in the House of Lords as intolerant in its character as even was the most arbitrary of his acts, should we have found the *Times* and *Herald* as ready to attack the orator as they were to denounce the military tyrant? In this case, it is feared, the influence of party would have stepped in to protect the unpopular nobleman, and to cast around him a shield which ought never to be raised but in the defence of truth and justice.

But to bring to a conclusion these somewhat rambling remarks,—we repeat our conviction that the press of the United Province is about to enter upon a new career, and we confess we are somewhat proud to have led the way in a course where so much honour is to be gained.

An intelligent and honest press is a sure proof of a sound state of society, and a guarantee for its prosperity. Hitherto the press has possessed little power to do good, because society itself has been divided, but for the future it will have better materials to work on; the soil has been fresh ploughed, and the fruits are already exhibiting themselves. Only let us hope that nothing may interfere to check them, but that backed by honest statesmen—led on by honest leaders—and supported by an honest press, the good work may proceed and prosper gloriously to the last.

OPEN QUESTIONS.

THE system of government in Canada is assimilated to the English model, so far as is consistent with colonial dependence. The chief measures of the administration, in fact all except what relates to the "honour of the crown and the interests of the empire," must be carried through the Provincial Assembly, and must therefore receive the sanction of a majority of its members. The House of Commons determines the character and policy of the English Government; and the Assembly of Canada will henceforth have the same power over the Provincial Government, with the exception above stated. Therefore, as we are to follow the British model, it is important for us to understand the rules of British practice, in order that we may secure the successful working of the constitution by applying the same principles to it here as are found to be necessary there. We cannot expect to improve on British practice; it is enough if we imbibe its spirit, and follow its rules to the same successful result.

One of the most important questions that meets us on the very threshold of this new order of things is, how far are we to expect perfect unanimity in the Government and its supporters? Unanimity in all general principles and measures there must of course be; but how far may it be expected in minor matters? Hitherto this question has not arisen in Canada, because the Executive did not formally appear in the legislature, or attempt to carry on public business there in harmony with the people's representatives. The system was the same as that which prevailed in England before the revolution of 1688. The Legislative Councils were the apparent government, but its business was really managed in the public offices, and by a few unknown and irresponsible individuals—*unknown*, that is, in the capacity in which their power was universally felt, as the *real governors* of the country. But now the Government assumes its true character; its powers are lodged in the proper hands; real and apparent are the same; the men who pretend to govern the country are the men who really do so, and therefore they can be called to an account for their proceedings, and they

must defend themselves and their policy on the floor of the Assembly, as the Queen's ministers in England defend themselves in the House of Commons.

It therefore becomes essential to understand how far we are to expect unanimity in the new system. If we expect more than is practicable, we shall obstruct and perhaps break up the machine on the first attempt to set it in motion, and may curse our folly in not taking pains to understand the secret of its smooth and easy progress.

Now, every man who knows the country knows that considerable latitude of opinion on non-essential points is required by the state of parties. Excited partisans are in the habit of asserting that perfect unanimity prevails among all whom they number in their ranks, but the least enquiry will dissipate this idea. Various differences of opinion prevail, and an attempt to enforce entire agreement would break up any party. Hence arises the necessity of mutual forbearance and concession among the people, and of "Open Questions" in the Government.

As this subject is but imperfectly understood in this country, and has been often misrepresented, we shall show how it is regarded in Great Britain, by publishing the substance of an article in the *Edinburgh Review* on Open Questions, occasioned by Sir Robert Peel's speech in the House of Commons on Sir J. Yarde Buller's motion of want of confidence in the Government. We shall thus state on the highest authority a necessary rule of conduct for public men in Canada under the new administration of the Colonial Constitution.

"The great lines by which political party in this country is divided are pretty clear;—straight-forward politicians, of sense enough to choose, take their sides accordingly; and a grown-up man must be indeed unlucky, who from alterations in himself or others, shall find himself obliged in conscience to change a side which he has once taken. At the same time, the most compact party that ever acted together in public life, although it may agree in almost all things, cannot agree in all. Common sense honestly disposes of minor differences by mutual concessions. But differences will occasionally arise, which, from one reason

or another, do not admit of being set off against each other, and merged in the general account. On these occasions what is to be done ?

"These occasions must arise. This is inevitable. It is equally plain, when they do arise, that there can be but three courses between which public men have to make their choice. They may withdraw themselves from their party in consequence ; and, by so doing, do what they can to dissolve the political combination which it represented,—defeat its objects, and destroy the common principles upon which it had been formed. Or, in the thorough-going spirit of party, they may continue to act together as a body on these very subjects, just the same as on any other ; keeping back their differences from the world. Or lastly, while they remain steady to their old connexion, and to the principles which it embodied, they will except those particular subjects from their system of united action, and leave each other with regard to them, to the free expression of their individual opinions.

"These three courses are characterized by their respective advantages and disadvantages, and have their respective advocates. The first has the sanction of that high-minded politician, Sir James Graham ;—he sees no difficulty in abandoning former friends. Sir Robert Peel appears as a strenuous supporter of the first course, or the second, he does not openly state which. But the reverential scruples which he professes to entertain against such proceedings as may tend to loosen the ties of party, are only consistent with a preference for the second. That nobody is entitled to an opinion except himself, is comfortable doctrine for a premier. The third course has been ably vindicated by Mr. Macaulay, in his defence of open Questions. The more we think of it, the more we are satisfied that in certain circumstances, and within certain limits, it is the only proper course which a true nature can consent to follow—by which true conclusions are likely to be obtained. If the difference in the views recently proclaimed upon this subject, should become one of the characteristic differences between Whigs and Tories, the Tories will have opportunities enough for repenting the false position which they will have taken up."

The case is here fairly stated, and in the argument it is observed, that the question "is of sufficient importance, moral and political, to be discussed with fairness, and upon its own merits. Not only are the character and existence of this or that administration involved in it—but the principles of every man engaged in public life ; and, at times, even the possibility in a free state, of having any government at all."

"Our immediate concern is with the theory itself, not with its application. The application

of the theory of Open Questions will raise a multitude of incidental points, varying with the circumstances and degrees of almost every case. These, however, are all of them beside the argument at its present stage ;—the point now at issue being, not what questions may be left open, but whether a body of men acting together in public, more especially a government, ought to admit such a thing as an Open Question under any circumstances whatever. For some of Sir Robert Peel's objections, it will be observed, are so wide and general as logically to exclude Open Questions from the creed of an opposition as well as of a government, while some of them apply to a government only. The acknowledgment of a single instance in which the balance of advantages and disadvantages might turn in favour of leaving a question open, changes entirely the character of the argument. It puts it upon that line of inquiry which we conceive is the only proper one—namely, instead of arguing and declaiming in the abstract, whether Open Questions are or are not admissible into politics—it introduces a separate examination in every recurring instance, of which the object will be to ascertain, whether considerations equivalent to those which, by the supposition, have prevailed in the former instance, may not exist in the latter also.

In the remarks we are now making, we assume that the discussion is wanted for the sake of men of sense and principle,—men really seeking for a rule of conduct ; first, how far they should make an absolute unanimity of opinion, or at least an absolute conformity in speeches and in votes, the indispensable condition of their personal co-operation in the public service ; next, how far a latitude, which might be best for themselves, may require to be modified or restrained, from its liability to be abused by politicians of inferior understanding or morality. Men such as we suppose, will take care not to embarrass their search by difficulties which lie beyond the sphere and influence of Open Questions. For instance, they are aware that neither of their objects, (the discovery of a rule for their own conduct, or for that of others,) can have any thing to do with extremes, whether of persons or of cases. The rule, wherever it may be fixed for its own purposes, will not need narrowing or enlarging to meet the views of persons of extravagant opinions on the one side, or of loose principles on the other. What have a 'Yes' or 'No' upon Open Questions to do with the impracticable zealot, who would rather see his country dust and ashes, than put the least of his crotchets into temporary abeyance ? or what with the mere adventurer, whose talents are always in the market for the highest bidder ? The determination which we may come to upon Open Questions, has also a little connection with extreme cases, either way. The utmost extension which its advocates demand, compre-

hends only certain intermediate cases of differences of opinion;—such cases as are not serious enough to interrupt the general confidence of men of similar principles and of common objects—but which, nevertheless, from one cause or another, are too weighty to be passed over and compromised in silence.

Sir Robert Peel says, that according to the doctrine of Open Questions, there is nothing to prevent him from coalescing with Sir William Molesworth and Mr. Leader. This depends upon the fact, whether in English politics the gentlemen aforesaid and Sir Robert Peel have, upon the whole, common principles and common objects. When two persons league together, who agree in nothing except in their hatred of a third, they do not wait for ceremonies of this kind. On the other hand, Open Questions are the characteristic form, which can be replaced by nothing else, as often as honest men are anxious to reconcile partial variance with general agreement—the rights of private judgment with the necessities of the state. The only obstacles which Open Questions leave in the way of a coalition such as Sir Robert Peel supposes, are a sense of truth, and of policy, and of shame. But the opposite supposition, that of Closed Questions, presents us with nothing more. In the nature of things, these are the only securities we can have against the unprincipled combinations of politicians trading for place, or conspiring in malice. Baseness has few qualms. It does not stand out for Open Questions. Looking over a list of the celebrated *Rats* of the past and present generation, we shall perceive that they made no terms. Sir Robert Peel is fond of putting extreme cases. In subjects depending on proportion, this is very bad philosophy. In morals and in politics, truth is seldom aimed at, and is never reached by so doing. It is using a fallacy, and for the purpose generally of a fraud.

In his prodigality of exaggeration, Sir Robert Peel declares that the admission of Open Questions brings along with it as a necessary consequence, 'the exclusion of honourable and able men from the conduct of affairs, and the unprincipled coalition of the refuse of every party: an end to public confidence in the honour and integrity of great political parties; a severance of all ties which constitute party connections, and a premium upon the shabby and shuffling conduct of unprincipled politicians.' The coalition above suggested, appears intended to be a case in point. The aphorism and the illustration are worthy of each other. Such a coalition is not more beyond the sphere of Open Questions, than it is beyond the range of their probable abuse. We repeat, that they will be in no way responsible for either originating it or consolidating it, whenever it may occur. On the contrary, although Open Questions are not specifics against baseness, (what is it?) yet in no case are they particularly ex-

posed to it; and in most cases they so far diminish the temptation to it, that it is among the rarest disguises that baseness will ever put on. Sir Robert Peel's moral indignation on this occasion, is in charming consistency with the cogency and candour of his arguments.—To be beforehand with an adversary, and to charge him with the offence of which you yourself are guilty, is one of the old resources of audacious sophistry. The natural reply to his trade ought to begin with the words of Hamlet—'Nay, an' thou'll mouth't, I'll rant as well as thou.' For it may be confidently retorted that every thing here affirmed of Open Questions, (except their tendency to loosen the ties of party, in cases where those ties will otherwise become direct restraints on personal integrity,) may, with infinitely greater truth, be affirmed of the system in which Open Questions are proscribed. Absolute agreement in politics is not to be had. To exclude Open Questions, therefore, is to exclude the most honourable men from public affairs—is to compel a minister to recruit from the unprincipled of every party—is to offer a premium to shabby and shuffling politicians; and supposing political parties to act upon it as a settled maxim, is to destroy the public confidence in their integrity and honour. Few political conclusions appear so certain.

"Sir Robert Peel strangely overacted this philippic. Having little to say in support of Sir Yarde Buller's indictment of the Government, he retreated upon this outlying topic.—The nature of popular assemblies, and the hurry of debate, hold out strong temptations to the plausible and insincere. Temporary effects, however, sometimes are obtained upon that stage at a cost beyond their value. Cheers prolonged for several minutes gratify the vanity of the moment; and advantages still more substantial reward the flocking in of partisans around a standard on which is written 'No Open Question.' But it can never be sound policy in any statesman to strain his influence with his countrymen, so far as to reason out a public argument of enduring interest, in the manner in which Sir Robert Peel has attempted to reason this.

"No side of any argument could be less in want of the artifices of rhetoric to secure having justice done to it. The real disadvantages of Open Questions are never likely to be overlooked. They are of a kind to appear generally considerably greater than they are. They carry with them a confession of ignorance and irresolution;—often a wise confession; but one so liable to ridicule and misconstruction, that it will not be made without great necessity. We may be very sure, also, from the obvious limitation which an Open Question puts upon his authority and convenience, that a Prime Minister will close the door against it, whenever the advantages and disadvantages appear to him to be nearly balanced. If Sir Robert Peel

had contented himself with recapitulating the disadvantages, and placing them in the most striking points of view, he would have done nothing but what every impartial person must have felt obliged to him for doing. After comparing them with the advantages, should he have decided that the disadvantages preponderated, we might indeed have been surprised, but we could have had no reason to complain.—But he has done no such thing. He is the advocate, not the judge.

“For instance, Sir Robert Peel kindly warns the ministers against the tendency of Open Questions to sow disunion in a Cabinet. The objection, no doubt, has something in it. This something, therefore ought to be estimated at as much as it is worth. At the same time, we should observe, in reply, that it applies to ill-assorted Cabinets only—made up of persons who, if they had not this ground of quarrel, would probably soon make out for themselves another. Among colleagues of tolerable sense and temper, meaning fairly by each other, it might be reasonably expected that the system of Open Questions, for one case in which it created jealousies, would get rid of them in ten, by getting rid of their usual causes.

“Again, Sir Robert Peel reproaches Open Questions for their tendencies to withdraw a Government from the responsibility of legislation; and to deprive it of the benefit of united action in its ordinary administration of affairs. These objections, like the last, may have something in them; but they may also have nothing—or less than nothing—according to circumstances. In all of them, the fallacy lies in stating them as general objections to the principle; when they are in fact only objections to particular cases, in which either the principle has been completely misapplied, or the specific evils have been imprudently underrated.

The first of these objections is—Open Questions neutralize a Government, and prevent it from bringing forward public measures. Our answer is, that in their proper character they prevent it from bringing forward no measures which it is desirable that a Government should bring forward with the sanction of its authority. Every man of sense has many Open Questions in his own mind. When reasons from without are added, an absolute monarch must often wish to pause. A government should be convinced that its views are right, before it proposes to alter the existing law. There is no advantage in premature or conjectural legislation. Quite the contrary. Unsuccessful experiments prejudice the cause of legislative improvement, in the same manner as unsuccessful revolts prejudice the cause of freedom. And if a Government were seeking for a criterion, could a better one be suggested for presuming that the time for useful legislation, on a particular subject, had not yet arrived, than the fact of a difference of opinion on it among persons whom a similarity of principles unites upon most other

subjects? The example of the present Government, (stigmatized as the Government of Open Questions,) is in direct contradiction with the neutralizing effects attributed to them in this objection. It has been repeatedly accused of a disposition towards legislating over much. And certainly no Government ever introduced into Parliament so many new, delicate, and comprehensive measures, within so short a period.

The other objection is, Open Questions paralyze the united action and authority of an executive. We answer, wise and honest men must be trusted with the use of their understandings in cases admitting of every variety of degree. In some instances the consequences here supposed will be so slight as to be a matter of indifference. In others they will be very serious. These mischiefs, however, even at their worst, may be the only possible means of averting far greater mischief of a hundred kinds. The whole depends on the nature of the particular case on one hand, and on the state of public affairs and parties on the other. For there are times when nations, like individuals, have no alternative but a choice of evils. Of two evils, if that of a divided cabinet happens to be the least, the country must bear it in the best manner that it can. To be sure, the instant this ceases to be the case, much more from the instant that it is perceived that a divided cabinet is the principal cause of the supposed evil, to prolong the evil for a day is to commit a serious crime. The most disorganizing of all open questions was probably that of Irish Emancipation. Sir Robert Peel affirms it ought to have been made a *Caret* question, and carried sooner! But the stupidity and the bigotry prevalent upon it, and which Sir Robert Peel himself encouraged to the last, were so intense, that whatever he may now allege, we are perfectly satisfied that its consistent advocates could in prudence have embraced no other course than to leave it open.

Whenever it happens that an Open Question provokes the irritable members of a Cabinet or weakens the vigour of the executive, our regret may be mitigated by the reflection, that these are indirect and accidental consequences. In truth they are so indirect and accidental, that the Open Question which is charged with them will be the occasion always, rather than the cause;—answerable perhaps for the form which the disorder may have taken, but not for the disorder. The real cause lies deeper; and as much of it as any remedial process can hope to reach, it is the direct and immediate aim of Open Questions to remove. A disagreement between true friends regarding certain principles or measures, is the difficulty with which we have to deal. The appropriate remedy surely must be this—By getting at the truth, or as near as may be, to thereby bring about an agreement or approximation of opinion; and in this manner, through the understandings

of men, to conciliate their affections ; or, at all events, to satisfy them that their reasons have been heard and weighed. For this, there can be no provision half so good as free discussion. Which party, therefore takes the wisest course for putting an end to the squabbles and disorganization of a Government ?—The party which keeps up the cause of them by precluding the natural means of their correction ; or the party which, under the reasonable facilities afforded by Open Questions, finds one and the same security for its own harmony and for the permanent interests of truth ?—Constraint and hypocrisy generate discontent ; freedom and truth settle things on their right principles, and in good humour.

Get rid of causes and the symptoms will disappear. Open Questions, on a superficial view of their operation, may seem to aggravate these symptoms in the first instance. But, in proportion as they are successful in their great object, they will do all that can be done towards carrying off minor obstructions also. The great objects of Open Questions are truth and honour. To leave public men in possession of the ordinary means for discovering truth and preserving honour—to put no further restraint upon their understandings and consciences than is absolutely necessary for useful co-operation—is to construct as broad a basis for the union of politicians, whether in or out of office, as a people of common sense and virtue can think that it is their interest to see established. Apparent unanimity has at times an adventitious value ; but the system which would uniformly require it, however formidable the real disagreement, is essentially a system of suppression, alienation, and misrepresentation. Its benefits, such as they are, are always procured at the expense of truth. In the eyes of as many as agree in its general principles, a unanimity, real and entire, upon all subjects, would of course be the perfection of a government. But if a government is to consist of half-a-dozen persons and half-a-dozen questions, this sort of unanimity is the perfect chrysolite which is nowhere to be found. The next thing to be prayed for, is an honest recognition in all important cases of the points on which a difference exists. In this manner, the truth, on whichever side it lies, will be most readily brought to light ; the public will be gradually and naturally prepared for the result ; and the proper measures for carrying that result into effect, will have been duly verified by the full and fair investigation which the subject will have undergone.

“Veracity and integrity being, in our opinion, the characteristic objects of Open Questions, we were not more astonished at the broad announcement by Sir Robert Peel, that they would tempt men to dishonour, than at his more covert insinuation, that they are calculated to delay the discovery and the success of truth. If the doctrine was unexpected, the

example under whose shelter it has been introduced, is among the last we should have looked for. It is that of the Corn-Laws. The nation is divided in opinion as to what is best to be done—the governors as well as the governed. The ablest men in the kingdom take opposite sides on it ; some recommending one course, some another. In this uncertainty, Sir Robert Peel suggests that our doubts and difficulties would be best got over, not by intelligent and ingenuous conferences, but by insisting on all the members of the Government being of the same mind. Surely the strangest prescription doctor ever framed ! ‘Possibly,’ he says, ‘the Corn-Law question might be brought to a satisfactory arrangement, if the existing Government were united in opinion on that subject.’ The Duke of Wellington and himself once undertook to legislate upon it. They did all that pressure could do to unite their cabinet. Has the result been so encouraging as to warrant Sir Robert Peel in advising their opponents to copy their example ? In that case, the Corn-Law question would not now be in want of a fresh arrangement. Nothing has since occurred to give colour to the supposition which his taunt implies. Sir Robert Peel is as well aware as any body living, that the difficulties in the way of giving satisfaction concerning Corn-Laws by legislative enactment, do not in the least depend upon a cabinet being agreed.—The necessity of a government using its authority as a government, to influence a division in the House of Commons upon Corn-Laws, would be as conclusive a proof as a representative government can well afford, either that the measure is not judicious in itself, or that the country, through ignorance, or passion, or partial interests, was not yet in a condition to receive it for its good.

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“In case the effect of Open Questions on measures long depending, and lately settled, should be thought uncertain ; assertions on their tendency respecting discussions, which in their present stage are rehearsals only of their subjects, can be little better than conjectures. The anticipations not only of persons who differ about a measure, but of persons who agree about it, are in flat contradiction of each other. Lord Howick disliking Ballot, thinks (as Sir Robert Peel has said concerning Emancipation) that its triumph is deferred by making it an Open Question. Sir James Graham, on the other hand, no less disliking Ballot, believes that it is more likely to succeed in consequence, than even under a Government pledged to Ballot.

“The advocates and the opponents of a particular measure will respectively approve or disapprove the making it an Open Question, according as they may think the effect will be to accelerate or retard that measure. Which will happen, it is never easy to say beforehand,

nor always afterwards. Much, indeed most, will depend on the nature of the measure—on the point which public opinion has reached concerning it—on the general state of parties, —and on the view taken of it by the Premier for the time.

“Was the result of making Parliamentary Reform an Open Question favourable or unfavourable to its progress? That is, would the Reform Bill have been carried sooner, later, or at all, supposing it to have been a rule, from first to last, that Reformers and Anti-Reformers could never be members of the same Government? It would not be safe even now to be very positive in our answer. What was the case with the Abolition of the Slave Trade?—The general impression of Pitt’s political omnipotence during his life, and the experience of what was accomplished by the weaker administration of the Whigs immediately upon his death, seem sufficient to raise the veil; though it is only reasonable to acknowledge that the Abolitionists of 1807 entered upon a field made ready for the sickle by the labours of the preceding years. To change and remake the public mind upon the Slave Trade was the work of generations. What a space had there been to traverse from the time when Harley answered the application of the Dutch for a share in the *Assiento* treaty, ‘that he would rather lose his head than consent to such an offer!’ Or even from the time when we were quarrelling with our colonists of North America for having any scruples about importing slaves. The fluctuations in the divisions, almost to the last, and the falling away, for instance, of such a person as Windham, show that a Minister could not calculate with certainty either on the general current or even on his man. Wilberforce mentions Windham’s desertion upon the Slave Trade as a melancholy proof of the degree to which he hated the popular side of any question. ‘When the Abolition had but few friends he was all on our side; but as the nation drew towards us, he retreated; and at last, on the division, in 1807, he was one of the sixteen who voted against us!’

“Sir Robert Peel ushered in his argument with the cry of innovation. The trick of describing open questions as the *new resource*, of what he was pleased to call an incompetent administration, was too clever to be thrown away. The subsequent assertion, that they were necessarily pregnant with discord and dishonour, may be more easily believed, and generalizations may be more safely made, when the past can furnish no evidence to contradict. The impression of innovation thus being made, the words were left to take their chance in the ambiguity of an inconsistent context; for he proceeded to notice some of the most recent precedents, under the artful title of exceptions. We beg to say, that they were no more exceptions than must always be the case. We cannot suppose him historically ignorant of the

fact, that Open Questions (though with far less reason for them) were much more common formerly than of late; while he must have known, that so late an administration as that of Pitt, carried them, both in theory and in practice, to the full extent that they have been carried in the administration of Lord Melbourne.

“In a case of this kind, it is irrelevant to go further back for the usages of the British Constitution than the Revolution. At that era, the parts of the actors on the public stage were cast anew. Ministers—that is, ministers with opinions of their own—became necessary. The public business was no longer to be transacted in the public offices only. It had to be forwarded and defended on the floor of the House of Commons; and must be performed by persons who could be made responsible to the nation for its due performance.—William III., it is true, took matters into his own hands occasionally. For instance, he negotiated the treaty of Ryswick without communicating with his ministers. Somers and Harley, in their turn, set up as a defence for acts of their administration, their sovereign’s command. These exceptions, however, were nothing more than the flickering of the lamp on the dying out of the old system. The legislative negative of the Crown had by this time fallen into abeyance. The Lords of the Council were become only a name. Their power, and more than their power, was now transferred to a new authority, which had recognised for itself the once contemptuous name of Cabinet, but which is more properly distinguished by that of the Administration. This new authority, though it issued from the Crown, and acted in its name as formerly, was entirely dependent on the House of Commons. From the Reign of Charles II. to the present day, an assembly of some hundred persons, representing, it is supposed, every distinction of feeling and opinion in the English nation, have had to determine of what men the Ministry was to consist—the principles it was to embody—the measures it was to promote, oppose or let alone. After this, no criterion so absurd as an absolute coincidence of opinion between the members of the Government among themselves, can have ever been thought of. General agreement, subject to partial variance, has been the condition to which, from this time, a Ministry looked both for its formation and its support. This was all that was required; and assuredly it was all that could honestly have been got. Such was the rule from the Revolution till the American war. There is nothing to complain of in the rule. If it had not been unavoidable, it would not have been less just. Whatever errors have been committed in the application of it, have all arisen from the factious violence of the parties into which the country, during all this period has been divided. Mr. Hallam’s observations on the Triennial

Bill and the state of parties under William III., is true of later times. 'On this, as on many other great questions of this reign, the two parties were not so regularly arrayed against each other as on points of a more personal nature.' On both sides, accordingly, the questions which have been left open, and the questions which have been closed, have been selected, not so much with reference to 'the real principles which ought to be the basis of political consistency, as to the preference of certain denominations or certain leaders.' As party distinctions became broader, the occasions on which 'men in the possession of high posts took opposite sides of public measures of no light moment,' became less frequent. This is sufficiently clear, and has produced both good and bad effects. But that party-spirit in times of most violence and least principle, never removed these occasions altogether, is also as clear a point as any in English politics.

Mr. Macaulay in the debate upon the Ballot, in June, 1839, recalled this part of the case to the recollection of living politicians:—'Nothing,' said he, 'is more common than to hear it said, that the first time a great question was left open, was when Lord Liverpool's Administration left the Catholic question an open question. Now, there cannot be a grosser error. Within the memory of many persons living, the general rule was this—that all questions whatever were open questions in a Cabinet, except those which came under two classes; namely, first, measures brought forward by the Government as a Government, which all the members of it were, of course, expected to support, and secondly, motions brought forward with the purpose of casting a censure, express or implied, on the Government, or any department of it, which all its members were of course expected to oppose. I believe that I lay down a rule to which it will be impossible to find an exception. I am sure I lay down a general rule when I say that, fifty years ago, all questions not falling under these heads were considered open. Let honourable gentlemen run their minds over the history of Mr. Pitt's Administration. Mr. Pitt, of course, expected that every gentleman connected with him by the ties of office should support him on the leading questions of his Government—the India bill—the resolutions respecting the commerce of Ireland—the French commercial treaty. Of course, also, he expected that no gentleman should remain in the Government who had voted for Mr. Bastard's motion of censure on the naval administration of Earl Howe, or for Mr. Whitbread's motion on the Spanish armament; but excepting on such motions brought forward as attacks on the Government, perfect liberty was allowed to his colleagues; and that not merely on trifles, but on constitutional questions of vital importance. The question of Parliamentary reform was left open; Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas were in favour of it; Lord

Mulgrave and Lord Grenville against it. On the impeachment of Warren Hastings, likewise, the different members of Government were left to pursue their own course; that Governor was attacked by Mr. Pitt, and defended by Lord Mulgrave. In 1790, the question whether the impeachment should be considered as having dropped, in consequence of the termination of the Parliament in which the proceedings were commenced, was left an open question; Mr. Pitt took one side, and was answered by his own Solicitor General and by Sir J. Scott, afterwards Lord Eldon. The important question respecting the powers of juries in cases of libel was left open; Mr. Pitt took a view favourable to granting them extensive powers; Lord Grenville and Lord Thurlow opposed him.—The abolition of the Slave Trade was also an open question. Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville were favourable to it; Mr. Dundas and Lord Thurlow were amongst the most conspicuous defenders of the Slave Trade. All these instances occurred in the space of about five years. And are they not sufficient to prove how absurdly and ignorantly those persons speak, who tell us that the practice of Open Questions is a mere innovation of our own time? There are men now living—great men, whom I hold in honour and reverence—Lord Grey, Lord Wellesley, Lord Holland, and others, who well remember that at an early period of their public life, the Four Questions of Impeachment, the Law of Libel, the Slave Trade, and Parliamentary Reform, were all Open Questions, supported by one section of the Cabinet and opposed by another.'

Open Questions may be honourable or dishonourable, politic or impolitic; but to speak of them as being *the new resource* of incompetent administrations, is a violence against the appearance of candour, beyond what we should have expected from Sir Robert Peel. In the same spirit, his sneer against innovation, (which supposes that there are no old cases of Open Questions) was followed up by an unfair selection from, and a bitter commentary upon two or three of them. The cases taken from the crowd are Parliamentary Reform, left open by Lord North and Fox; the Slave Trade, left open by Pitt; Roman Catholic Emancipation, left open by Lord Liverpool on one side; by Fox, and Pitt, and Canning on the other.—These cases are raised by Sir Robert Peel to their bad eminence, in consequence of their being supposed to have been pregnant with evil above their fellows, and to have been branded by an impartial posterity with censure and disgrace. When posterity proceeds to brand these distinguished statesmen with censure and disgrace, it will trust the operation to some more impartial person than Sir Robert Peel. A distinct brand peculiar to itself, it is assumed, is stamped on each of these transactions. That of a base trafficking between faction and corruption is attributed to the first;

that of gross personal insincerity to the second; that of distracted counsels and of a paralysed executive to the last. Of these imputations the only one which can be fairly placed to the account of Open Questions, is the effect assigned to the course pursued respecting Catholic Emancipation. It is no new discovery that the course adopted was a great evil; but the discovery consists in finding out that, among the evils of which, under the circumstances, statesmen had their choice, it was the greatest. It is curious enough that no man now alive so much aggravated the evil, and was so far responsible for the necessity, as Sir Robert Peel. This is the way; tempt first and accuse afterwards.

With regard to the other instances, if there had been nothing worse in the coalition between Fox and North, than that they reserved to themselves each his own opinion on Parliamentary Reform, we should never have heard of the coalition as an unnatural alliance. The reservation was in the strict course of former precedents; and instead of being the scandal, was, in truth, the most creditable part of the whole transaction. The public, though justly suspicious, and accordingly easily misled on these occasions, is not quite so foolish as Sir Robert Peel would represent it. This very question, Parliamentary Reform, afterwards ranged Pitt and Dundas against Lord Mulgrave and Lord Grenville, without any body imagining them to be unnatural allies and improper colleagues on that account. The reproach against Pitt for his conduct on the Slave Trade, is the reproach of personal insincerity. It supposes that he could have carried the abolition any day he liked; but that for some reason or other he preferred making fine speeches and doing nothing. Remove this supposition—assume Pitt to have acted to the best of his judgment as an honest abolitionist, according to his choice of difficulties and the means at his command—and then Pitt will be no more blameable, or blamed by any reasonable person, because he served with anti-abolitionists for colleagues, than Lord Thurlow or Dundas, (both of them strenuous anti-abolitionists) were ever blamed for serving under him. To have to protect the character of this great man against the insinuations of Sir Robert Peel is an unexpected office. But it is due to him to remind the present generation, that the subject was one on which a moral sense was slowly forming, and that his own most intimate friends were divided in opinion on it. Pitt did all that human eloquence could do to rouse the public and convert his friends; but, content with argument, he shrunk from having recourse to violence against them. He would not make the abolition of the Slave Trade the corner-stone of a new Cabinet.—Was this forbearance so manifestly inconsistent with good faith, as of itself to be necessarily fatal to the character of as direct and manly a statesman as has thrown his spirit into modern

times? Mr. Wilberforce did not think so; the mortifications of repeated failures never made him unjust to Pitt upon this point. On the contrary, the account of his Life, lately published, is full of testimonies to Pitt's sincerity, with not a passage to show that a doubt of it ever crossed his mind, because the question was an open one. But Mr. Wilberforce's heart was set only on abolition; Sir Robert Peel's on making out a case.

Sir Robert Peel ought to be an authority beyond dispute, on the miseries attending the Roman Catholic Question in all its bearings.—To the difference of opinion on this point between himself and his colleagues, he refers the bad blood in Lord Liverpool's Cabinet, and the disorganization of Irish affairs. But this we deny. The leaving it an Open Question was no more accountable for the incompatibility between Mr. Canning and Sir Robert Peel, than for the duel between Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh. It had as little to do with the deplorable combination of violence and weakness by which the Tory rule in Ireland was distinguished. By uniting the Government in favour of the measure, its Irish difficulties would have been comparatively at an end.—This is true. But it is also true, that, by uniting the Government against it, they would have been increased a thousand-fold. The evil, then, did not consist in making Emancipation an Open Question, but in leaving that to be a question which ought to have been none at all; in persevering to legislate against a people—against religion—against feelings and common sense. Sir Robert Peel is driven by the necessities of his present argument, to mistake the political necessity under which the Relief Bill passed. It suits him to affirm in one place, (Speech, p. 19,) that it passed simply in order to remove the curse of an Open Question from the practical government of Ireland. Yet he afterwards more truly states (*Ibid.* p. 53,) that by reason of successive majorities in Parliament, and of public opinion out of doors, the measure could no longer be resisted. For the sake of casting a slur on them, this is called an impossibility of continuing to govern Ireland by the system of Open Questions. But what connection is there between Open Questions and the admitted impossibility of carrying misgovernment one step further? Absurdity had reached its limit. The time was come when it was absolutely necessary that the measure should be passed. But it is agreed on all hands, that a question then ceases to be an open one. From that moment the Government, as a Government, must take it up. Sir Robert Peel goes out of his way to assure us, that dread of violence did not enter into their list of difficulties. Has he forgot the striking protestations of the Duke against the terrible alternative of staining his laurels in a civil war?

“So much, therefore, appears made out.

“The absolute exclusion of Open Questions

now insisted on, *is a novelty* of recent growth in English politics. There is no reason for believing that they will do more harm in the future than they have done in the past. We know the worst. It is not necessary to exclude them, in order to give a Government unity of action upon those subjects in which it really is desirable that it should proceed to act. On the other hand, the exclusion of all difference of opinion among the members of a Government upon any subject, must unavoidably derange its working and obstruct its use. The basis of any possible administration must be often absurdly narrowed by such a rule. The co-operation of the ablest men, agreeing possibly upon all subjects but one, may be precluded by it; while in the conflict of parties, it may bring to the top a mere faction, whose very want of morality and of opinions will give it a principle of cohesion, sufficient to enable it to take advantage of these divisions, and, though least and basest of them all, to triumph over the rest. The system of Open Questions is indispensable at times for the attainment of correct decisions. It is often to the full as necessary for another equally important end. The dilemma in which the members of a Government are placed, in differing from their colleagues on a particular measure, must always apply to many of its supporters. As often as a measure of which they disapprove is made a Government measure, they must either press their consciences by voting for it, or, voting against it, may probably overturn a Ministry to which they are cordially attached on public as well as private grounds. That public-spirited patriot, Sir James Graham, sees no difficulty in this, and cries to the conscientious Minister, 'Quit your colleagues and resign.' Mr. Hume, on the other hand, avows that to do a great right he would do a little wrong, and would vote black white rather than be the means, by an untoward vote, of bringing back to power a Government he thinks a public grievance.—Whatever general rule is laid down, cases may arise in which the alternative cannot be avoided. Causelessly to multiply them—to let one remain which can possibly be helped—is a cruel hardship to individuals, and a serious injury to the community. Open Questions are the natural and reasonable solution of this problem. They save the repetition of painful struggles. They reconcile the rights of private conscience with the public welfare.

“The prohibition of Open Questions, evinces either a want of respect for public opinion, or a want of knowledge of the means by which it can be best developed and ascertained. A Government should be very careful what it is about, when it undertakes to lead public opinion one way or another—whether to urge it forward, or to hold it back. Mistakes are so soon made, and may be so very perilous. There are some occasions, however, in which it is the duty of a Government to assume the responsi-

bility—not so much of putting itself in the place of the opinion of the public, as of acting at an early period upon what resolute and able men may recognise as its sufficient indications. These cases a well-constituted Government takes up. On the other hand, there are many measures with respect to which it is its duty to follow—or rather to elicit and ascertain what the sound intelligent public opinion really is. These last are the proper region of Open Questions. In this, we assume that, in a free state, public opinion must ultimately rule; and that the best arrangement and course of Government is that which gives it its way, easiest and soonest. The public opinion thus spoken of, of course, is that which is, or plainly is to be, permanent, and which is daily gaining strength. It is great part of the sagacity of a statesman to discern from a distance what is to be durable, from that which is to pass away. It can seldom be safe, however, in legislating for a divided people, to move suddenly in advance upon the faith of pure and individual anticipations. In the mean time, Open Questions, debated as such in Parliament, are among the best means for multiplying the *data* for bold conclusions, and for accelerating the natural formation of the new events and reasonings, which in stirring times are thrown so abundantly into the great bubbling caldron of the public mind. It would be easy to find striking instances of the evils of too protracted an unconsciousness of the course of public opinion, on the one hand, and of too precipitate a following of its transient indications on the other. The former used to be the besetting sin of Governments—the latter may be more threatening at present—though probably not, if we have wise men to read the signs of the times. But while there is no unreasonable indecision, and the demand for action is not urgent, there should be Open Questions for this purpose, if for no other;—namely, in order to prepare the minds of men by agitation or discussion, (call it which you will) and in order to collect, at large and at leisure, authentic materials for proceeding to legislation, the moment that the public and the subject are both ready for it.

“Thus, were it possible to shut out Open Questions from politics, we feel justified in saying, that it would be wrong to do so. For to do so, would be to deprive ourselves of what can ill be spared—a security for prudent legislation. But it is not possible. If former generations had proscribed Open Questions as unconditionally as Sir Robert Peel does now, their example would have been no precedent for us. Since, supposing an identity of opinion to be the natural course of things, while politics were in few hands, and were merely an affair of party, this would cease to be so, as soon as the people at large, by the formation of an intelligent middle class, take an interest in politics, and have opinions of their own. We

could not reason from a sluggish and dependent period to more awakened times; times in which a free and extended representation has called into the field vast constituencies, entitling them to expect, and enabling them to enforce a visible attention to their wishes.

"The time for this novelty is therefore very strangely chosen. The Roman Catholic Relief Bill, the Reform Bill, progress of education, and a more general interest in politics, have contributed to break the spell of party. A greater number of persons interested in politics are at present free from party trammels, than at any time since parties first came in among us. Yet the exclusion of Open Questions would substitute a bondage more heavy and more degrading than its severest despotism.—Men are thinking now with more boldness and diversity than formerly. But the exclusion of Open Questions is an unexampled invasion of freedom of opinion, by its unnecessary restraints. Contemporary politicians boast that they are a purer and more independent race than that which was the scandal of former generations. But the exclusion of Open Questions is an insult on every man of principle, by the unnecessary compromises which it involves. A strong Government, such as accident might give us for a time, in the terrors of another French Revolution, or from the excitement of a Reform Bill, or under the absorbing influence of a commanding character like Pitt's, might domineer and dictate in this manner; but a strong Government, in generous hands, would disdain to exercise its power in this manner, as in fact we know that Pitt disdained. When politics fall back into their ordinary channel, and a hundred varieties of opinions and of discontents have restored us to the rule of weak Governments, (for weak Governments henceforth will be the rule,) Open Questions must come in with them. In this case there is but one alternative—a Government with Open Questions, or no Government at all.

"When the age of strong Governments is passed away, and that of weak Governments has come, it is impossible to govern without those forbearances and compromises which (whatever may be their form in different ages or countries) constitute substantially Open Questions. This or nearly this, is taking place in every quarter of free Europe. Look, for instance, at the turns and perplexities of the Government in France. On reflecting calmly on the state of things in England, it will appear that neither of its existing parties can long dispense with Open Questions. The present Government is only weak from the extent to which divisions and subdivisions of opinion have broken up community of sentiment throughout the country. There have been great constitutional, almost organic changes effected, not through overwhelming and paralyzing force, but by conflict of opinions. There is now partly a revulsion, partly a revival; but

chiefly a gradual splitting and hiving off of sections and shades, which were blended at first as against a common enemy. Something like this, more or less, is the cause of all weak Governments. We have first the destruction of old unquestioned authority, by just and successful resistance; and then come the divisions which necessarily ensue among the different parties into which the conquerors array themselves—each in a great degree ignorant of its own actual following, and usually overrating it. So it has ever been, since the feuds among the successors of Alexander or Charlemagne; down to those among the conquerors of Louis Seize; or the dissensions which broke out in their own land among the survivors of our majestic Cromwell. The former had room and verge enough to betake themselves to separate regions. In our narrower confines, we had to fight it out at home—and in many a doubtful conflict—till main force and fear brought about a strong government again; and stupidity and want of interest and of intellect restored, for some sixty years, the old habit of of submission to authority. We are at length recovered from that collapse, over all free Europe; and are consequently, once more, in the sphere of weak Governments. That is, weak for carrying or resisting any speculative or theoretical changes, or for repressing the vexatious cross-play of intractable sects and cliques; but strong for maintaining clear rights, and demolishing established abuses. The weakness of modern Governments therefore, is a circumstance of which we need neither be ashamed nor afraid. They are Governments which must be creditably administered; and under which, all who are not childishly impatient, or crazily in love with their own nostrums, may manage to live on, in peace and hope. But they are governments under which men will think for themselves.—The consequences of private judgment inevitably follow—appearances of infirmity from within, and of dissensions from without.

"In this respect temporal governments are destined to run the same course through which ecclesiastical governments have passed before them. The Pope has no Open Questions. It is the Church of England (or still more truly, it is Protestantism, embodied in less arbitrary and rigid forms) which has to bear the ridicule of being called, and to encounter the risk of being, in some measure, 'the mere mock queen of a divided host.' What then? These controversies and trials and divisions are our strength and glory. They are the terms on which alone our faith can hope to approximate to the truth, or our service become perfect freedom. The Tories if they choose, may blindly pledge themselves to the infallible authority of Sir Robert Peel—*semper idem*—the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. The Whigs are freer spirits. What Burke said of other pledges is equally true of the official pledge, which puts a negative upon all Open

Questions. 'Depend upon it, that the lovers of freedom will be free; nor shall we improve the faculties or better the morals of public men, by our possession of the most infallible receipt in the world for making cheats and hypocrites.' Unless the system of Open Questions is to be continued as largely as we received it from our fathers, the defence of our mode of govern-

ment by parties, always more or less unsatisfactory, will become absolutely shocking. The authority of party in public life, its maxims and inducements, are strong enough already. The air breathed there is even now too close. It must not be made closer, if honest men are to breathe in it at all."

ON THE KYANIZING PROCESS FOR PREVENTING DECAY IN TIMBER.

TIMBER is one of the staple commodities of Canada. In England it is considered inferior to that produced in the North of Europe, is but little used in good buildings, and is sold at an inferior rate, not because of any inferiority of texture as it respects its ligneous strength, but because of its greater liability to decay.— This doubtless arises from some organic peculiarity, connected either with the difference of soil, or climate, or both.

The discovery of a process which would render Canadian timber equally durable with that of the Baltic, could not fail to be advantageous to Great Britain, as well as to ourselves.

It is unquestionably true that Canadian timber is even less durable here than when used for similar purposes in Britain. The causes are various.

Timber shipped for England is inspected, and in some degree selected, so that it may be presumed the best is sent home. To cut timber at an improper period of the year diminishes its durability.

The workmanship usually applied to bridges and other public works here, to which Canadian timber is appropriated, is often very inferior to any done in England.

Little attention is paid to its age in this country; that which is too old or too young is worked up with that which is cut at a proper age.

A coating of tar paint, or other covering, is generally given to timber used out of doors at home, which is here rarely ever practised.— Doubtless all these causes contribute to account for the fact that timber in Upper Canada is less durable than in England.

There is, however, another cause, which is most probably the primary one, of its more rapid decay in Canada—namely, the excess of heat and cold. The fibres of timber are opened and exposed to the action of the air by both these operations of nature, the openings are filled with moisture, which acting upon the parts of timber liable to decay promotes their hasty decomposition.

There are usually reckoned to be four elements or organs comprized in the formation of timber—namely, the cells, the woody fibre, the sap vessels, and the spiral vessels: different opinions exist as to the operations of nature through these organs, which it is not necessary on this occasion to discuss; it is, however, quite clear that a watery fluid circulates through the body of the tree, and it is equally clear that air accompanies this fluid, which is proved by the experiment of placing a piece of oak or elm under the receiver of an air pump, when the air is extracted the wood becomes heavier, and will sink in water.

Decomposition or decay is doubtless caused by a chemical action upon the acids contained in timber, and it is a natural consequence that the process of decomposition goes on more rapidly in a heated atmosphere than in one that is colder. Excess of both cold and heat opens the fibres of the wood, and admits water, whilst the high degree of our summer heat effects a rapid decomposition, and consequent decay.

Enough has been said to account for the premature decay of timber in Canada; and if the discovery to which we have alluded should prove to be a preventive of that decay, so as to give an indefinite durability to timber of our

own growth both here and in Great Britain, it cannot but be one of the most valuable discoveries in the arts which has ever been developed, and will prove to be peculiarly beneficial to Canadians.

To explain the process, and to exhibit proofs of its utility, is the object of this paper, with a view to its introduction into the Province.

The process of tanning upon animal matter will convey a very good idea of the process of Kyauizing upon vegetable substances.

Tannin, as is well known, is a principle obtained from the bark of the oak, hemlock, and other trees. Gelatine, or animal jelly, is a component part of the skins of animals, and is capable of rapid decomposition or decay.—Tannin, when mixed with gelatine, produces a compound of tannin and gelatine, which is precisely that substance which gives durability, and enables the animal matter to resist decay.

A very similar process takes place in the process of Kyauizing. As GELATINE is a property of animal matter, so ALBUMEN is a property of the vegetable, which seems not to have been clearly understood till so late as 1813, when it was discovered and established by Buzelius. The principle of decay is evidently to be found in the albumen, and it has been considered a desideratum to discover an agent which would act upon that property of the vegetable organization in a similar way in which the tannin principle acts upon the gelatine in animal matter.

The importance of such a discovery has induced many persons to try experiments, who were ignorant not only of the causes of decay, but also of the chemical properties of the agents themselves employed. So long ago as 1740, experiments of this kind were tried, and specifics proclaimed; and we may judge of the degree of scientific knowledge possessed by the discoverer (a Mr. Reid) when it is stated that it consisted merely of a certain vegetable acid.

In 1789, a Mr. Jackson suggested a remedy totally at variance with all chemical knowledge: he proposed a lixivium of the muriate of soda, (common salt) epsom salts, lime, potash, and salt water, with some other matters. Mr. Jackson was allowed to try the effect of his process upon the timber of one or more frigates, and it was found, as indeed might have been expected, that decay was promoted instead of being prevented by its application.

Lime was afterwards proposed as an anti-destructive, and the *Amythest* frigate was made the subject of the experiment, by a Mr. Knowles. If Mr. Knowles had known that lime will act as a septic so powerfully as to decompose leaves of trees, peats, and other vegetable matter difficult to decompose, in a very short period; or if he had known the close analogy between the decomposition of animal and vegetable matter, and how rapidly quick lime operates to dissolve dead bodies, he must have seen that he was contributing to promote the evil which he intended to prevent.

In 1808, Carbonized wood was asserted to be a specific against the Dry Rot, or decay of timber. Sulphate of iron (green copperas) was the next discovery supposed to be made, all of which, like the former, ended in disappointment.

A Mr. Langlon came nearer to the mark: he recommended that oil and pyroligneous acid (the acid of wood) should be forced into the pores or cells of timber; the expense and difficulty of the process caused its abandonment.

Mr. Kyan, the inventor of the process which is now believed to be effectual, recommended the application of corrosive sublimate. This compound was formerly called the muriate of mercury, a substance long known to possess the peculiar property of preserving from decay the most delicate of animal substances; it is successfully used in preserving the plumage of the feathered tribes, and all anatomical museums are greatly indebted to it. Even such parts as the brain, which are very liable to putrescence, are prevented from decomposing, and can be preserved for an indefinite period.—This has been long known by eminent chemists, but it was left to Mr. Kyan to apply it to timber as a preventive of dry rot, and a preventive from decay. The idea is said to have suggested itself to him as long ago as 1812, and he has from that period been testing the truth of his theory by a series of experiments and severe trials, which seem impossible should be deceptive.

It is within the recollection of the writer of this article, that Mr. Kyan applied to Sir Humphrey Davy about the time he was engaged in his celebrated experiments for preventing the oxydation of copper upon the bottoms of ships by the action of sea-water. Mr. Kyan was about to try the experiment on the timbers of a man of war, and it was suggested that it might

prove injurious to the health of the crew.— Sir Humphrey was of opinion that it might be so, and the experiment was deferred; but subsequent trials have proved that in this Sir Humphrey was mistaken; for since that period the Admiralty have received such abundant testimonials of its utility, that the board recommended Mr. Kyan to take out a patent for his discovery, which he did, and which was to extend to all Her Majesty's Colonies; and a Mr. Faulkner, of Cobourg, (a highly respectable man, and a relation of Mr. Kyan,) is the accredited agent for the patentee for this Province.

The process is as follows: a solution of the sublimate is made in water so as to give it a certain density, the timber intended to be *Kyanized* is deposited in a tank of proper dimensions for receiving it, where it remains covered with the solution until it is entirely saturated, and has undergone the necessary change in the *albumen* contained in it. Similar to the effect of the tanning process, though performed in a much shorter period; when saturated, which will require a very few days, the timber is taken out, and left to dry, when it will be found to have acquired all the properties of the *best seasoned timber*, and in addition to this will not be subject to decay for a great length of time, besides which it will be found to be far less destructible by the agency of fire.

The effects will be the same upon the *albumen* or *sap* as upon the *spine*, and it is stated by the patentee that it will endure from decay equally long. It is also asserted that poplar and other white woods, which are known to decay very rapidly, are well seasoned, and rendered equally durable with other kinds of timber.

Before a discovery of this kind can be satisfactorily established, a considerable period of time must elapse; pieces of the same timber, the one operated upon and the other not, must be placed in similar circumstances, and this too in a great variety of ways; this has been done, and we shall take occasion to describe the severity of these trials. We believe they will be found to be so convincing, and supported by such high and respectable authority, that the most skeptical will not withhold their assent to the value of the discovery.

The frequent applications made to the public boards of the British Government to give their sanction to discoveries, has induced on their

part the utmost caution and circumspection, and it may be pretty well laid down as an axiom—that if these boards or any of them are satisfied of the value of an invention, and give to it their patronage, it may be considered sound.—No discovery, perhaps, has undergone by these boards a more severe scrutiny than the process of *Kyanizing*, nor will this be wondered at when the value of such a discovery is considered as applicable to all the ships in the British navy, together with their sails, cordage, &c., and also to the stores of the Board of Ordnance, in preventing the decay of a vast quantity of material, all so subject to it as to require to be renewed in a much shorter period than is generally imagined, whether in or out of use.

The Dry Rot, as it is called, has been said to cost the British Government some hundreds of thousands annually, besides rendering ships of war frequently useless at a time when their services are greatly wanted. The same evil has been felt by the public generally in all countries, and under almost all circumstances; and it is believed that a preventive for this great evil has at length been discovered, as the following testimonials will shew. In the dock yard at Woolwich there is a pit called the Dry Rot pit, or Fungus pit, where it is said no substance, either animal or vegetable, can escape destruction. Pieces of wood which had been subjected to the process of *Kyanizing* were attached to other pieces in their natural state, where they were allowed to remain together for three years; at the end of which period a formal examination took place in the presence of gentlemen connected with the establishment, and who have given their official testimony, that whilst the timber not operated upon was totally decayed, that which had been *Kyanized* was perfectly sound. The *Kyanized* timber was then for six months exposed to the air, and at the end of that period shewed no signs of decay. It was then again placed in the fungus pit, and remained two years longer—and on re-examination proved to be without the slightest symptoms of decay; which is confirmed by the same testimony as before.

Similar experiments have been tried in all the dockyards, and invariably with the same result.

In 1834, a ship was built at Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, called the *Samuel Enderby*, the whole of whose timber was cut in the neighbouring woods, and immediately subjected to

the process of Kyanizing, together with her masts, sails, and cordage. She proceeded as a whaler on her voyage, and remained at sea three years. On her return she was made the subject of a rigid examination, by highly respectable and experienced persons, who made a public and authenticated report, that they had scarcely ever seen a vessel return from her first voyage so little affected; not a vestige of decay was to be discovered, and although the plank with which it was built was literally cut out of green wood, yet so little had it shrunk after the process of Kyanizing, that the ship scarcely required caulking. The good effects were felt upon her sails, though it was supposed not to the degree expected, which could not be accounted for; but it was fully agreed that they were preserved to a very considerable extent, and even less subject to mildew than any canvas previously made use of.

Another ship, the *John Palmer*, was treated exactly in the same way, and with similar results; which has been proved by testimony equally incontrovertible.

One remarkable effect of this process in ship-building deserves attention. It is well known that seamen on board ships, especially such as are newly built, are subject to great annoyance from the effluvia of stinking bilge water. In the *Samuel Enderby*, and the *John Palmer*, the bilge water was perfectly sweet, and the crews of both ships were remarkably healthy, a result the more extraordinary, because one great cause of apprehension in the use of the corrosive sublimate was, that it would be deleterious to the health of the seamen—and this opinion as before stated had been held by Sir Humphrey Davy, in whose opinion several other eminent chemists concurred, the consequence of which was that the process in its application to ships was for a time suspended. Experience has proved that it has had a contrary tendency, and it is accounted for on very philosophical principles. The fact seems to be, that the fetid bilge water is produced from the decomposition of part of that substance in the timber which is the source of decay, the albumen. The application of the process had rendered that substance indecomposable, and thus removed the cause of the evil; the health of the crew was therefore preserved instead of being injured.

As it is the object of the writer of this article to condense into as small a space as possible

the facts connected with this process, he has omitted a great number of others equally conclusive with those before alluded to; we cannot, however, allow ourselves to withhold two or three more.

Mr. Robert Smirke, of architectural celebrity, has tried its effects upon Canadian timber of all kinds, and he has tried all the means in his power to induce decay, but he says this preparation resists all rot, and adds, "I cannot rot it." An extensive wooden fence was erected in one of the Parks near the Queen's Palace, and every alternate post let into the ground was Kyanized, and the remaining posts were left in their natural state: at the end of about two years an examination took place, decay had already proceeded in the latter, whilst those which had been operated upon were as fresh as the day they were buried in the ground. This was witnessed by hundreds of respectable individuals, and amongst them many scientific gentlemen—one of whom was Colonel Frazer, Quarter Master General, now resident in Toronto, and who has given permission that his name should appear, and who will readily give confirmation to the fact to any one who chooses to apply to him.

Among the many scientific men who have given their testimony to the beneficial effects of this application to timber for the prevention of decay, is Professor Faraday, the chemist, who has most ably explained its chemical action in a lecture delivered before the Royal Institution.

Dr. Birkbeck has also added his testimony in a lecture delivered by him on the same subject before the Society of Arts.

Dr. Robert Dickson has also delivered a similar lecture before the Royal Institute of British Architects. Such a mass of evidence in favour of this discovery is to be found in these lectures, supported and explained as it is by the talents and respectability of the gentlemen themselves, that it is impossible to withhold a willing assent to its value.

The following practical men have also given their testimony to the beneficial effects of this process:—William Farwell, Esq., Architect, Dublin; George Ward, Esq., London, who has tried its effects on unseasoned mahogany for hand rails, &c.; William Butler, Esq., Clerk of the works of the Westminster new Bride-well; N. P. Richards, who had tried its effects on ropes and cordage; Joseph Bradley, Esq., Surveyor of Shipping for Lloyd's; George

Hawks, Esq., do. do. do. ; James Baker, Esq., do. do. do.

In addition to all the above, 300 noblemen and gentlemen in Great Britain have become licensors from the patentees.

After such a mass of evidence we cannot resist the conclusion that the discovery is a most valuable one.

We have next to describe its mode of application.

It will be obvious to the mind of every scientific person, that to be perfect in its operation the sublimate must not only come into contact with the albumen of the timber, but it must be of sufficient activity, and remain sufficiently long to produce the chemical change described. To accomplish this, wooden tanks are made of sufficient dimensions to receive the timber, and made water tight to prevent leakage. A mixture of proper density is then made of the sublimate in water, which is pumped into the tank, in which the timber is placed so as to be covered with the preparation, and so as to allow of its access to every part of it, where it remains till it is fully saturated, the time varying, of course, according to the bulk of the timber, its nature, quality, &c.—It is then taken out of the tank, and allowed to dry a few days, when it is fit for use; after which it will not only be not subject to decay, but will never warp nor shrink, any more than it would do after the most lengthened period of seasoning. The periods required for immersion of the timbers depend upon their thickness—one day is required for each inch in thickness of boards and small timbers, commencing with 2 days for the 1st inch.

Deals and timbers 3 inches in thickness require		4 days.
Timber in bulk, 4 to 6 do.	do.	7 "
do. do. 6 to 8 do.	do.	10 "
do. do. 8 to 10 do.	do.	14 "
do. do. 10 to 12 do.	do.	18 "

And upwards in proportion.

Timber will be seasoned better and cheaper by being reduced to scantling before it is placed in the tank.

It has not been precisely ascertained what the expense of the process will be in Canada, the cost, however, of preparing a load of 50 cubic feet in England amounts to six shillings and six-pence sterling. It will probably cost here from 2d. to 3d. per cubic foot, a sum too small to be an object when the advantages to be derived are considered.

Supposing the foregoing views of the process to be correct, the benefits to be derived from it will be incalculable. To the British Navy beyond all calculation; to the Merchant service, and more especially to steam boats all over the world. To public docks, dock gates, bridges, piers, piles, partly buried and partly exposed to the air; sleepers for rail ways, under similar circumstances, posts, gates, fences, park palings, masts, spokes and felloes for wheels—and in many cases wood will be used as a substitute for iron.

It is said to be adapted to prevent decay in sail cloth, cotton, ropes, hammocks, tents, awning, sacks, fishing nets—all the articles it is believed will be rendered far more durable from the application of the process.

To this country in particular, (and it is with that view we introduced it,) it will be very important. It will render Canada timber equal in durability, and consequently in value, with that of any other country, and the objections now urged against it will no longer exist. It may fairly be expected to add to the consumption, and as a natural consequence enhance the price.

It will open large demands for our clear lumber for the United States market, which will be better seasoned in a few days than by the common process in two years.

In its application to shingles for covering houses, their durability will be increased, and they will be less combustible.

Some parts of the Province abound with walnut timber, and it is a well-known fact that it will warp and shrink even after it has been cut for years. The Kyanizing process is said so effectually to season it in a week or less, according to the scantling, that it will never afterwards be affected either by moisture, or heat, or cold.

OUR POSITION.

No. II.

Our former article on this subject answered the objections that have been made to our principles, so far as was necessary or material. Other objections have been made, some of them totally false, others excessively silly, and we dismiss them with contempt. One thing the objectors have made evident—while they pretend to teach others they are themselves ignorant of constitutional principles of government, and declare that ignorance with the coolest gravity imaginable.

There are some persons who seem to be utterly confounded by a full statement of the whole case in a political question. Being continually engrossed with the most narrow and one-sided views of things, they are unable to comprehend an argument or a statement that does justice to the other side, or that presents the whole subject in all its length and breadth before the public mind. If one venture to hint that their cabbage garden is not the world, he is regarded, not merely as an intruder, but as a robber, whose object is to despoil them of both cabbage and garden. Years of partizan warfare have given them great facility in splitting straws, but rendered them unable to govern kingdoms. A long course of special pleading has unfitted them for being impartial judges, or even accurate observers. The pettifogger cannot become a constitutional lawyer, no more than a fisherman can navigate round the globe. Party spirit has been erected into a kind of divinity, and public peace and welfare have been sacrificed at its shrine. To denounce the imposture, raise the national banner above every party badge, proclaim principles which secure the welfare of the whole people instead of a part alone, and render the government equal to its work, faithful to its trust, and honest to all beneath its care, are exercises unknown to blind party rage, and too vast and generous to be comprehended by pigmy party spirit. Yet this is the only ground that is permanent and safe; the only mode of action worthy of the government of a free people.—Certain fixed principles of public conduct are applied equally to all, and if any one reject

them and the benefit they secure he has only himself to blame.

And besides this shrinking from the whole case, and even an incapacity of understanding it, many political partizans are equally at fault when any departure is made from the stereotyped phraseology in which they have been accustomed to express their imaginings. They are so charmed by their own dull, cuckoo note, that they consider it to be the sweetest music under heaven, and each one thrusts his little head over his little nest, and twitters out his fears when some bolder spirit springs into the joyous air, and fills the resounding vale with a new and bolder song. In good sooth, on looking abroad many politicians are like speaking statues. They expect an advocate of the same general principles to agree with their opinions and sentiments in every respect.—They think that he should be only an echo of *their* voice, a record of *their* ideas, a mirror to reflect *their* personal features, or a picture to fix in majestic drawing and splendid colouring the precise images which they behold in the general landscape. They form in their minds an exact plan of what they think ought to be said or done, and expect others to follow their course with the mechanical precision of a railroad car. Thus they would cut the expanded pinions and fetter the aspiring spirit of excursive intellect, and reduce the rich, melodious voice of eloquent nature to the dull, dead echo of a barren rock. A frigid, uniform adherence to the prescribed rules and opinions of a party, is a certain indication of either a feeble mind, or a fettered pen. The excellence of the perceptive faculty and the modes of its exercise are so various, that, whilst there is a general agreement in essential principles, there yet will be many discrepancies in the enunciation of particular details, many shades of colouring in the minor figures of the picture, where free scope is given to enquiry, or to the impulse of sentiment, the impetuous sallies of genius, or the lofty flights of a fervid imagination. It is by this freedom of spirit that truth is elicited, the boundaries of mind's empire are enlarged,

and the treasures of remote regions of thought are not only discovered and collected, but polished to their highest brilliancy, and poured at our feet, flashing richer, nobler knowledge on the understanding, stronger, purer pleasures on the heart.

He who binds himself down to the received dogmas of a party, resembles the ancient mariners who timidly crept along the shores of a country, fearfully rounding every headland, and cautiously sheltering in every bay, until they wound their lingering, simious course to the accustomed haven. While the man who feels the sublime aspirations of vigorous intellect, and who meditates original structure of thought, resembles the modern seaman, who fearlessly spreads his willing canvas to the cheering breeze, boldly launches over the world of waters to discover new mines of wealth and scenes of glory, and returns crowned with imperishable laurels, and laden with the precious productions of a new-found world. Thus Columbus and Newton enlarged to us the worlds of matter and of mind, and evinced that proud superiority of intellect which spurns the trammels of imperfect vision, and soars like the eagle in its native heaven over the ignorance, passion, and prejudice of the multitude. Were it only for the sake of giving life and variety to discussion, an opposing breeze may sometimes brush the current of public discourse, and present a lively murmuring stream, instead of a dull and stagnant pool. Let us not imitate the dreary, monotonous scenes of nature, but the romantic land where majestic mountains lift their noble summits to the skies, and where many a bold and beautiful valley displays its rich luxuriance, and charms the contemplative mind with its varied scenes of animated enjoyment, or deep and calm repose. If we desire the extension of knowledge by the free excursions of inquiring intellect, or the lively zest of untrammelled debate, we shall give liberal scope to the expression of opinion, without taking fright at the shadow of a variation from our own ideas, so long as essential principles are guarded and maintained.

It has been remarked that there are two original principles of government. "The principle of *authority* is that of the Tories, by which they endeavoured to justify the pretensions of the Sovereign to absolute power. As the dignity of the monarch excited universal respect

and reverence, and as it was not conferred by election, but had been immemorably possessed by a hereditary title, it was understood to be derived from the author of our nature, who has implanted in mankind the seeds of loyalty and allegiance. The monarch is, therefore, not accountable to his subjects, but only to the Deity, by whom he is appointed, and consequently his power, so far as we are concerned, is absolute; requiring on our part an unlimited passive obedience. If guilty of tyranny and oppression, he may be called to an account in the next world, for transgressing the laws of his maker; but in this life he is totally exempted from all restraint or punishment; and the people, whom Heaven in its anger has visited with this affliction, have no other resource than prayers and supplications."

This description is applicable to Tories of the old school, but it will not apply to many among the modern conservatives. These have rejected such ultra notions, as being suitable only to despotic monarchs, not to the monarch of Great Britain, whose power and prerogatives are limited by the constitution. A constitutional monarch is subject to the constitution, and can take or plead no rights but such as it gives him. It is the common charter of both Prince and people, and neither can pass beyond its bounds without becoming amenable to the power on whose rights they may have trespassed. A modern conservative would not concede any power to the monarch that was not granted by the constitution. Hence, we find Sir Robert Peel maintaining that the government of Great Britain must be carried on through the House of Commons—a constitutional doctrine, and one that places an effectual limit to the power of the monarch.

The other principle of government is that of the Whigs, who "founded the power of the sovereign, and of all inferior magistrates and rulers, upon the principle of *utility*. They maintained, that as all government is intended for defending the natural rights of mankind, and for promoting the happiness of society, every exertion of power in governors inconsistent with that end, is illegal and criminal, and it is the height of absurdity to suppose that, when an illegal and unwarrantable power is usurped, the people have no right to resist the exercise of it, by punishing the usurper. The power of a king is no otherwise of divine ap-

pointment than any other event which happens in the disposition of Providence, and in the share of government which is devolved upon him, he is no more the vicegerent of God Almighty than any inferior officer to whom the smallest or meanest share of administration is committed."

"At the same time that the Whigs considered the good of society as the foundation of our submission to government, they attempted to modify and confirm that principle by the additional principle of *consent*. As the union of mankind in society is a matter of choice, the particular form of government introduced into any country depends, in like manner, upon the inclination of the inhabitants. According to the general current of popular opinion, they adopt certain political arrangements, and submit to different rulers and magistrates, either by positive regulation and express contracts, or by acting in such a manner as gives room to infer a tacit agreement. As government, therefore, arose from a contract, or rather a number of contracts, either expressed or implied, among the different members of society, the terms of submission between the Governors and the governed, as well as the right of punishing either party, upon a violation of those original agreements, may thence be easily and clearly ascertained."

With respect to this origin of the duty of allegiance, which has been much insisted on by many writers of a former day, it has been observed that it seems to be rather a "peculiar explanation and view of the former principle of utility, than any new or separate ground of our submission to government; and even when considered in this light, it must be admitted with such precautions and limitations that very little advantage is gained by it." And to prove this it is remarked, that the "addition of a promise appears but little to increase the weight of a previous obligation. The obligation to abstain from murder, receives but little additional strength by our giving a promise to that effect."

This remark would be of force, if the character and powers of government in its different branches were like the laws of the decalogue, of a nature that admitted of no dispute, and established by an authority from which there is no appeal. There is no dispute as to whether a man should or should not commit murder;—but there is great dispute as to what kind of government is best. The principles of civil government are not like the principles of morality,—explicitly declared by an authority that

cannot err. On the contrary, civil government is left for man to construct as he thinks best; and how much men's thoughts differ on the subject may be seen by the extremes of unchecked despotism on the one hand, and unchecked democracy on the other. Yet the subject is not so difficult as interested parties would represent it to be. It is not destitute of rational evidence, to say nothing of the light of experience through some thousands of years, and under every possible circumstance of national character, associations, events, and climate, or individual talent, virtue, or crime.—The fact is, that government peculiarly requires the principle of consent, because it not only causes infinite diversity of opinion on its merits, but in many cases opposite advantages and disadvantages are nearly balanced, and the decision between them must be made by choice or consent. The British Government, especially since the revolution of 1688, is one of choice or consent, and was so even before that event. Thus, in the Parliament that transferred the Crown of England from James II. to the Prince of Orange, the House of Commons resolved—"That King James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution, by breaking the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and the throne was thereby vacant." The Commons here assert an "original contract between king and people," which having been broken by him, they were at liberty to transfer their allegiance to another, thus applying the principle of choice or consent in the highest degree.—And the "Act of Settlement," which further limited the succession to the Crown to the Hanoverian line, was a further application of the same principle, so that the present royal family hold the Crown by a Parliamentary title, that is, by the free choice or consent of the people through their representatives. The revolution therefore recognized this principle as an original principle in the government. It was so before, but had been too often and too long set aside: but it was then established beyond controversy. "Had that great event been merely a change of succession, effected by the struggle of contending parties, the advantages derived from it would not have been so lasting; but it was a change of principles, a

triumph of liberty over despotism,—a triumph which all succeeding monarchs have recognized.” The original principles of government, then, according to the Whigs, are *utility* and *consent*, the latter being always required to decide in cases of opposite but nearly equal pretensions.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the Whigs are indifferent or hostile to legitimate authority, when it is not arrayed against utility. On the contrary, a competent authority amongst them says: “The true definition of that party, (Whigs) as matters now stand in England, is, that it is a middle party, between the two extremes of high monarchical principles on the one hand, and extremely popular principles on the other.” “The precise difference between a moderate Tory and a moderate Whig, is, we conceive, this,—that a Tory is more influenced by loyalty, and a Whig by the love of liberty,—that a Tory considers liberty as the second interest of society, while a Whig regards it as the first.” And again: “We are for authority as well as freedom. We are for the natural and wholesome influence of wealth and rank, and the veneration which belongs to old institutions, without which no government has ever had either stability or respect, as well as for that vigilance of popular control, and that supremacy of public opinion, without which none could be long protected from abuse. We know that, when pushed to their ultimate extremes, these principles may be said to be in contradiction; but the escape from inconsistency is secured by the very obvious precaution of stopping short of such extremes. It was to prevent this, in fact, that the English constitution, and indeed government in general, was established.”

On the same subject it is further remarked: “In a parliamentary government there must be always two great and leading divisions, under which parties, however broken into more minute sections, must ultimately be enrolled;—the one, a party which, feeling confidence in the people, will, alike in applying the principles of executive government and of legislation, favour all propositions for the extension of public liberty, so far as is consistent with order and with security;—the other, a party distrusting the judgment and the virtue of the people, and which seeks to confine their rights within the narrowest limits compatible with contentment

and obedience. Both principles are liable to be carried to a dangerous excess. But, assuming a reasonable and constitutional application of the one and of the other, the practical question is, to which our preference ought to be given; and which principle is more consistent with human happiness, and more in conformity with those general laws which Providence has ordained for the good of mankind. Lord Bacon has truly observed that the mind cannot be stationary,—it must go back if it does not advance; and the political party which vainly imagines that they can compel all around them to stand still, because they are themselves afraid of an onward movement, commit as great a blunder as that of a man who seeks to control the motion of a steam-engine by overloading the safety-valve, in place of guiding the action of the machine.”

An honest politician, “if acting on behalf of the public with sincerity and earnestness, can never hesitate in preferring that party which is friendly to the extension of popular rights, to opponents who declare such extension to be dangerous or impracticable.”

The following remarks from the same authority are peculiarly applicable here, a similar absurdity having been maintained by some professed liberals:—

“There exists, it is true, a small, conceited, and headstrong party, influenced by disappointed vanity or by a strange perversion of mind, who act upon the principle, that a grievance is better than a remedy. They reverse the proverb, and believe that no bread is better than half a loaf. Dissatisfied with the constitution of parliament, they prefer the rejection to the adoption of good legislative measures. They hope that the House of Lords may dissent from popular acts, in order that a case may be made out against that branch of the legislature.—They are as reluctant as the Bishop of Exeter that one single cathedral should be shorn of its prebendaries, lest the anxiety for Church Reform should be diminished.”

“This political sect we may term the sect of the *Impracticables*; but it is neither very numerous nor important, though in its little way it has been productive of much occasional mischief. Its readers indeed have not scrupled to lay down the doctrine of the homœopathic physicians, and would persuade us that the administration of doses of Toryism to the nation is the safest remedy for Toryism itself. We do not, however, find that they are disposed to limit their prescriptions to infinitesimal doses. The old proverb relies on a hair of the mad dog

as a remedy for his bite; but the Impracticables would compel us to swallow and digest the whole animal, from head to tail. The four tailors of Tooley-street could not have felt more assured of being the virtual representatives of the people of England."

We now stated the original principles of government as held by the two great political parties of England, together with the modifications these have undergone in modern days. "The right divine of kings to govern ill" was in 1688 the doctrine of the landed gentry, the church, and a large part of the nation, and the revolution was occasioned as much by apprehensions of danger from the Catholics as by political misgovernment. It was the attempt made by James II. to change the religion of the country, as much as to establish arbitrary power therein, that produced the general combination of different parties against him which drove him from the throne. In his exclusion the Tories joined notwithstanding their doctrine of divine right and passive obedience, and since that day the opinions of the party are so much modified, that modern conservatives admit that the power of the government is lodged in the House of Commons. What a House of Commons ought to be we cannot better describe than in the language of Burke. The people's "representatives are a control *for* the people, and not *upon* the people. The virtue, spirit, and essence of a House of Commons consist in its being the express image of the feelings of the nation." Hence says Burke:—"A vigilant and jealous eye over executory and judicial magistracy; an anxious care of public money; an openness approaching towards facility, to public complaint; these seem to be the true characteristics of a House of Commons. But an addressing House of Commons, and a petitioning nation; a House of Commons full of confidence, when the nation is plunged in despair; in the utmost harmony with ministers whom the people regard with the utmost abhorrence; who vote thanks, when the public opinion calls upon them for impeachments; who are eager to grant, when the general voice demands account; who in all disputes between the people and the administration pronounce against the people; who punish their disorders, but refuse to enquire into the provocations to them; this is an unnatural, a monstrous state of things in the constitution. Such an assembly may be a great, wise, awful senate; but it is not to any popular purpose a House of Com-

mons." To this we add the following from Lord Bacon:—"It is in vain to consult of matters if we do not consult of persons also. Matters are nothing but dead images; but the execution of affairs consists in the choice of persons." This remark is specially applicable to Canada at present, when the character of the executive government is, for the first time, to be determined by the House of Assembly, rendering the "choice of persons" specially important, inasmuch as it will be to all intents and purposes the choice of a government, so far as its general character is concerned.

The Tory principle of government being authority and precedent, it leads them into a cardinal error, namely, that they construct and administer the government on a preconceived plan, having but little or no reference to the actual state of the country. They do not first enquire what the people are and want, and then render the government conformable thereto;—but they presuppose that a certain form of rule is good, and then enact compliance, or force it upon the people, whether they be agreeable thereto or not. Thus the ancient robber Procrustes, determined that a certain standard of height was proper for man, and all who fell short he racked, and all who exceeded it he cut less. And thus the ancient Tories determined that the episcopal form of church government was good for Scotland, and long vainly strove to force it upon her people by all kinds of atrocious injustice. And thus also the modern Tories retained and long defended the rotten boroughs, seeing nothing contrary to reason and right in Old Sarum returning two members to Parliament, while Leeds, Birmingham, &c. returned none. This fixed adherence to their own antiquated system, no matter how much the people may have advanced before it, renders their principles peculiarly inapplicable to a new country, in which its actual condition is the first element in all political calculation.

But on Whig principles, whatever pretends to authority must be tested by its utility, by its direct tendency to advance the people's interests. Thus on this basis, government must be adapted to the actual state of the people. It must be so constructed that instead of clashing with their opinions, doing violence to their feelings, or injuring their welfare, it must harmonize with them, that they may be induced to give it their cordial support as the faithful, enlightened guardian of their rights and inter-

ests. If they have not this voluntary attachment to their government it must be supported by force, and they are virtually, if not formally, slaves. If it is not the government of their choice and esteem, it will be more or less detested as a usurpation over them, and will be obeyed no farther than it can compel obedience. But they cannot prefer and esteem a government which contradicts their reason, and wars on their interests, and therefore to have their cordial support it must harmonize with them. This it would of course do if they had to organize it anew, or determine its peculiar character and functions at their pleasure; but as these have been determined by others long ago, it remains that the Whig principles be applied to it, and the Government be brought back to its original design, by rendering it agreeable to the people's mind and will wherever it differs from them. This will be done by the "rule of administration" henceforth to be followed, by which the people's representatives will determine the character and action of the Government in all things save those in which the "honour of the crown or the interests of the empire are deeply concerned."

Contrast, then, the operation of these principles. The Tories do not pretend to make the state of the people their first care. They do not pretend to adapt their plan of government to the state of the people, but the people to their plan of government. Authority, precedent, a preconceived system, is their primary rule, and if they consider utility at all, it is when, after long delay, it is forced on them by the pressure from without, as Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington had Catholic Emancipation extorted from them. The principles of the party require them to keep the government stationary, no matter how much the people may have advanced. They cling to those parts of an ancient model which give power and opulence to rulers, but reject or neutralize those parts which give power to the people. Yet the latter deserve consideration, and will extort it. "The constituent elements of political importance are property, intelligence, and the power of combination." "Any knowledge which gives the habit of forming an opinion, and the capacity of expressing that opinion, constitutes a political power, and if combined with the capacity and habit of acting in concert, a formidable one." These elements of political power are possessed by the people

of Canada. They are not wealthy, but they are not poor. They are generally independent, having property sufficient to supply all their wants, and this gives them weight in the State. They are intelligent. They are in the habit of forming their own opinions, and of expressing them when necessary. They have not yet gained the requisite facility of combination, but enough so to make their united voice be heard, and their united power be felt. They are not to be overlooked, or treated with indifference; still less can any legislative or executive measures hope to succeed against their opposition.

The people, then, possess sufficient political power to compel a statesman to regard their views and feelings if he would establish his system on a permanent basis: or, in other words, the principle of utility is the only one that offers any hope of uniting the people in support of their government. This principle consults their will and interests, and regulates itself accordingly. It labours to be in advance of them in all that is generous, wise or good, instead of lagging five hundred years behind them; and at all times its chief care is to embrace every person of every party in its equitable provisions; and, instead of raising a few far above their fellows, to raise the whole people in the general scale of intelligence, wealth, and virtue. Government on this principle is the people's friend, powerfully aiding them in their onward career:—on the opposite principle it is generally their master, and is always an obstruction in their course whenever they advance, as they certainly will, more rapidly than their rulers. They have therefore to choose between a system which does not profess to make their state its primary rule of thought and action, and a system which must by its very nature adapt itself to their circumstances, and make their will, expressed through their representatives, its immediate rule of general administration. The former system exists for itself; the latter for the people. The one cares most for its own advancement; the other for the people's. The one rejoices when it can carve out fortunes for itself; the other when the people are contented and prosperous. In their very nature the latter commends itself to public approbation, while the other is as certainly destitute of the chief requisites for general favour. The one exalts the people: the other exalts their rulers: the question of preference is therefore easily decided.

We conclude with the following quotation :

"The great lesson which this age needs to be taught, is the distinction between reverence for authority and submission to it. Over reverent we assuredly are not : that generous and heartfelt enthusiasm which formerly seduced men into involuntary servitude to great names or great abstractions, is not a prevailing fault in our days. The danger to which we are exposed is rather that of falling into the wilful and deliberate idolatry of party spirit.— We owe our thanks, therefore, to any author whose constant aim is to inculcate the plain lesson, that truth is the first and only object of research ; that humility and self-distrust should

increase with increasing knowledge ; but that, in the last resort, the mind must needs judge freely and for herself, such being the end of her endowment with her natural powers ; that real courage consists, not in daring to exhibit the badge of one sect in defiance of the hostility of others, but in daring to follow truth, regardless of the indifference or dislike of all."

This caution against the "wilful and deliberate idolatry of party spirit" is peculiarly required in this country, for of some of its late exhibitions it may well be said

"The force of folly could no further go."

A CHAPTER ON NEWSPAPERS.

No. II.

Fitton.—"In troth these are dainty rooms—what place is this ?

Cymbal.—This is the outer room where my clerks sit
And keep their sides, the Register i' the mid-st,
The Examiner he sits private there, within ;
And here I have my several Rolls and Files
Of news by the alphabet—and all put up
Under their heads.

Fit. But those too subdivided ?

Cym. Into authentic and apochryphal.

Fit. Or news of doubtful credit, as *Barber's* news.

Cym. And taylor's, news-porters, and watermen's news.

Fit. Where to beside the *Coranti* and *Gazette*.

Cym. I have the news of the season :

Fit. As vacation news,

Term news, and Christmas news,

Cym. And news of the faction,

Fit. As the Reformed news, Protestant news,

Cym. And Pontifical news. Of all which several
The day-book, characters, precedents are kept,
Together with the names of special friends,

Fit. And men of corre-pondence in the country.

Cym. Yes, of all ranks and all religions,

Factors and ugens, Liegers that lie out

Through all the Shires of the Kingdom.

Fit. This is fine,

And bears a brave relation.

[BEN JONSON—THE STAPLE OF NEWS.]

In resuming the thread of our gossip about "that God of men's idolatry, the Press," we are almost at a loss to conceive in what aspect of its varied phases we should first regard it. Shall we look at the "mighty engine" employed at its most solemn and important task of guiding the political opinions of a nation, wafting some newly discovered theory of government on the wings of its unnumbered agencies "from Indus to the Pole"—gradually sapping and undermining the time-worn battlements of old opinions, making bigotry, igno-

rance and superstition, tremble in the dark recesses of their fortress at the echoes of its free voices, calling on man to arouse from his lethargy, to be up and doing, for that a new state of things calls for a new display of moral or even physical force ? Or shall we look on it in its lower though more general appearance, in its alternate character of censor, libeller, preacher, judiciary, peace-maker, war-begetter ? As the scourge of fashion's temporary foibles, the unsparing lasher of some newly introduced vice ;—the general slanderer of the credulous

world, through which its thousand tongues first disseminated the weakness and made known the crime; as the reckless invader of the sanctity of private life, and the indignant brander of the adulterer, or the social oppressor; as the sworn high priest of folly's altar, her chosen medium of communicating with her passionate dupes and purblind worshippers; or the plausible unmasker of villainy or hypocrisy; the channel through which the charlatan publishes his nostrums to the world; the constant detector of humbug or quackery; the eternal medium of the lie or the libel, the city of refuge of the belied and the libelled, the armoury of the poisoned shafts of envy and malice, the invincible shield of oppressed innocence or suffering virtue?

Verily we are puzzled how to address thee. Shall we fall down and worship thee, mysterious engine, as the gentle savage, Friday, bowed to the great spirit his simple fancy supposed to be lodged in Crusoe's gun? Or shall we, like a writer in the Penny Magazine, describing a spinning-jenny, enter into the full detail of thy component parts, and after a learned discussion on wheels, rollers, racks, and cylinders, leave our perplexed readers as much in the dark as we were after perusing that delightful article as to the practical manufacture of a yard of cotton from the raw material, or as ignorant as one of the uninitiated must feel of the mysticism of Free Masonry after a perusal of Preston's history of that "ancient craft"?

We will take neither of these courses, but will tranquilly pursue our accustomed path, plucking an occasional fruit or blossom, without attempting an analysis of the natural history of the parent tree, inhaling the passing fragrance of the wayside flower, without stopping to peep into and botanize its delicate recesses.

In a former part of these remarks, we glanced at the effect of the influence of a free press in a country like England, the universality of its effects, and the description of people on whom it acted with the greatest certainty and surest results. It would be a curious and not uninteresting task to attempt an analysis of the practical part of the power itself—to examine its "material", the necessary adjuncts to its successful operation, the machinery, in fact, by which the influence is brought to bear on society in general. There is one peculiarity

about the literature of the Press, that it is essentially ephemeral in its nature, that the glowing thought is only born to float about a few brief hours, the wonder and admiration of a passing few, and then to be consigned with the frail sheet on which it has been impressed to the flames or the winds. It matters not what amount of high-wrought talent, what bright store of unpassioned thought, what treasure of deep research and painful learning, may be brought to the profession of a Journalist; the very nature of the duty to which those advantages of mental culture are devoted ensures their speedy oblivion. They are bestowed on a perishing theme. They are founded, not on the rock, or the solid earth, but on the shifting quicksand, and almost contemporaneously with their appearance and general appreciation is their inevitable destiny of forgetfulness. And yet we find in some of the large cities of civilization, talent of decidedly the highest order devoted to the maintenance of the newspaper and periodical press. Ask for the names of the most remarkable men of the community, for those most distinguished among their fellow-citizens for talent, tact, and general information, you will most probably be referred to the leading supporters of the press. But such a reputation is of the most fragile and brittle materials. Return after the lapse of a very few years to the same place, repeat your former questions, and carefully note the answers you receive as compared with those that greeted your first inquiries. You will perhaps hear some of the same names again, but in the majority of cases you will find that another set of names has succeeded them in popular estimation, that other men now occupy the high places of talent and intellect, and that even on those who have survived the interval between your first and second visits a withering blight has fallen, and that what they were praised for and highly estimated at the first period has been forgotten by the very men who then extolled them. No permanent or widespread reputation has ever been acquired by a writer who devotes himself to the periodical press. Let him employ the same modicum of talent which he wasted on the columns of a newspaper to the composition of some durable monument of his ability, and he will have availed himself of the same amount of materials to erect a pyramid which otherwise he might have wasted on a sand-hill or a castle of cards.

Look at the head quarters of the British Press, the City of London, and reflect slowly and gravely on the vast amount of intellect, research, eye of high and powerful genius, at this moment invested in the maintenance of the countless hosts of newspapers, magazines, and other cheap periodicals that daily, weekly, and hourly issue from the mammoth engines of the modern Babylon. Thousands of men of the highest acquirements in the gift of modern education, of the deepest knowledge that a laborious course of study can bestow, of the most acute and powerful cast of mind that a practical knowledge of the world, brought to bear on a rich store of original thinking, can exhibit, are to be found labouring zealously for the information and edification of the myriad readers of the numberless Journals. Take up a few of the leading papers of the great metropolis—the *Times*, the *Chronicle*, the *Herald*, the *Standard*—and look carefully over some of the various articles that adorn their motley columns. Do not glance your eye over them with the ordinary haste of a newspaper reader;—it is not on the events they narrate that we wish you to reflect, but we desire you to examine the style of the writing. Observe its almost uniform excellence, the finished turn of the periods, the occasional outburst of high-toned and generous feeling, of quick impassioned thought, of light and graceful fancy, and, at intervals, not very rare, passages of rich and splendid diction and imagery, which if they graced the stary page of some bright historical picture, or of some noble record of the high thoughts of the philosopher, or the fair dreams of the poet, would be read with delight by thousands, and cherished in their memory as fair additions to the literature of the country; but as it is, they are mere newspaper writing, and as such merely noticed as “a capital article in the *Times*, or the *Standard*,” or “a splendid editorial in the *Herald* of this morning”; and with the appearance of the next numbers they pass away and are forgotten. We hesitate not to say that, take an equal number of writers from the various periodical presses, and the same from the ranks of the more permanent literature, and carefully collate the style, matter, and character of the respective classes, a decided superiority will be found on the side of the former.—We speak of course of the average among a given number—individual instances can be easily brought forward against our position, but

speaking generally, we are convinced of our correctness.

And in the discovery of the mass of talent and learning which we see employed in the business of journalizing, we cannot avoid reflecting with a feeling of no ordinary melancholy of the small portion of reputation allotted to the writers of the various splendid articles that attract the transient praise of the day on which they are printed. The world troubles itself as little about the writer of the profound and luminous comment on the politics of the day, which catches its eye in the columns of a favourite paper, as he does about the name of the ignoble individual that sets up the types.—As far as a lasting reputation goes, the one receives as much credit as the other; and the same train of thought that fell on the heart of Gray, when musing over the humble epitaphs of the quiet country church-yard, will be engendered in many minds by a moralizing glance over the current Journals of the day. In the former case, the “mute inglorious Miltons”, and the “hearts once pregnant with celestial fire,” have buried their hopes and aspirations beneath the quiet home “where heaves the turf in many a mouldering heap;” in the latter they have sepulchred their bright thoughts and glowing language in the grave of the ephemeral journal. They have been equally unfortunate in finding a suitable sphere for the development of their natural abilities, almost equally unblest with the appreciation and sympathy of their fellow-man.

Descending a step lower in the scale of merit, we find the Press surrounded with uncounted shoals of the lesser fry, the active jackals that hunt and cater for the great lion they respectively serve. We allude to the class so graphically noticed by Bulwer as “the young gentlemen of great promise who pursue the peaceful occupations of making for the leading newspapers, ‘horrid murders,’ ‘enormous melons,’ and ‘remarkable circumstances;’ those who murder you in effigy, assassinate in type, while you yourself, unconscious of the circumstance, are quietly enjoying what you imagine to be your existence. We never kill common persons; to say truth our chief spito is against the Church. We destroy Bishops by wholesale. Sometimes, indeed, we knock off a leading Barrister or so, and express the anguish of the junior Counsel at a loss so de-

structive to their interests. But that is only a stray hit, and the slain Barrister often lives to become Attorney General, renounce Whig principles, and prosecute the very Press that destroyed him. As we murder Bishops, so there is another class whom we only affect with letiferous diseases. This latter tribe consists of her Majesty, and her Majesty's ministers; whenever we cannot abuse their measures we always fall foul of their health.—Does the Queen pass an unpopular law, we immediately insinuate that her Constitution is on its last legs. Does the Minister act like a man of sense, we instantly remark with regret that his complexion is remarkably pale. What if the afflicted individual himself write us word that he never was better in his life; what if some opposing newspaper take up the cudgels in his behalf, and assert that the victim of all Pandora's complaints whom we sent tottering to the grave, passes one half the day in knocking up a 'distinguished company' at a shooting party, and the other half in out-doing the same distinguished party after dinner? We have only mysteriously to shake our heads, to observe that to contradict is not to prove, and beg our readers to remember that when Cardinal Richelieu was dying, nothing enraged him so much as hinting that he was ill. In short we are the very princes of poets, if Horace be right, for I dare say that you remember the words of the wise old Roman:—

“Ille, per extantum funem mihi posse videretur
Ire poeta, meum qui pectus inaniter angit
Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet.”

We have given the above passage whole, as it so admirably describes a peculiar class, and that too in terms far superior to any our humble pen can indite. The class above fancifully hit off affords a not uninteresting study to the reflecting mind. Among the vast number of those hangers-on about the thousand and one printing-offices in a city like London, there may occasionally be found many men of a superior class whom circumstances may have driven into such a precarious method of procuring a livelihood. The name of “Penny a liners” is one well known to most of our readers, and cannot fail to suggest many amusing ideas and anecdotes. In addition to the duties imposed on them in the playful account we have just quoted, they have others no less important.—All the various casualties of the metropolis be-

long to them by prescriptive right from time immemorial. Every accident that happens in the crowded thoroughfares,—every man, woman or child kicked by a horse, run over by a wagon, crushed by Gurney's steam omnibus, gored by a bull, bitten by a dog, thrown from a ladder, or fallen from an attic, is seized on with avidity by this numerous class of watchful news-purveyors, and forms the groundwork of many sonorous paragraphs headed with startling capitals, and destined to frighten old ladies of seventy and bachelors of eighty-five out of their propriety. These gentlemen are not of course particular as to the fidelity of their delineations of occurrences. They act with great discrimination on Johnny Ballantyne's well-known text,—“Facts, my dear fellow, are very good things in their way, but, depend upon it, they are sad hamperers of imagination.” Full liberty to “add and alter,” to vary and expand the truth, is by the universal consent of the reading world accorded to the caterers of news. They are not held with scrupulous strictness to the very letter of the occurrences they describe, but are allowed a generous latitude to afford full scope for the imagination to play. And in this concession of naked truth to poetic license, the public acts most judiciously, and much to its own advantage. How little does it matter to the elderly Cit, seated snugly over his evening paper, and reading “Extraordinary Circumstances,” and “Horrid Murders,” that the narration is deficient in *truth*? The reader is equally delighted, and his appetite for the marvellous is gratified at a trifling sacrifice of his common sense. Were it otherwise, the public journals might become more faithful transcripts of what is going on in the great world, but they unquestionably would become less interesting, more “weary, flat, stale,” and, as a necessary consequence, more “unprofitable” to the publishers. Their business is, in common with writers of a higher school of invention, the Poet and the Novelist, to throw round common events and everyday persons a tinge of romance, a dash of mingled originality and fascination,—their object is to attract to their writings the eyes and attention of those who would not be induced to honour them with a glance were they content with adhering to the true by a wilful sacrifice of the picturesque.

We would be much pleased were we able to present our readers with a few penny a line

statistics. Could we furnish the aggregate number of the "gentlemen connected with the Press" of London, from the lordly Editor, the "Comptroller of future Destinies," in his magisterial chair, down through the series of grades and classes, from the writer of the "leader," to the historian of the broken leg, and the inverted umbrella. Verily their name is legion.

Some few of those who devote their time to the newspaper press enjoy a high reputation, eminent among their cotemporaries, but we fear likely to prove "dumb dogs" among posterity. Stirling, Albany Fonblanque, and a few others, may be cited as instances of the highest reputation attainable by a newspaper writer; but among the countless hosts of the same profession how few and far between are such enviable names?

An enormous amount of capital is invested in the maintenance of the metropolitan press. The *Times* alone, it is said, absorbs a greater outlay than 5000 of the cheap prints that issue from the teeming transatlantic presses.—The other journals, in proportion to their size and circulation, require a greater or less capital. The very amount of the stamp duty paid into the Treasury by newspaper proprietors, forming no contemptible item in the revenues of England, attests the extent and importance of the "Press." In this particular it may be said to afford the government a uniform and unbiassed support; in other instances it presents, alas! an occasional opposition, varying in intensity, bitterness, and extent, with the peculiar opinions of the periodical writers, the general tone of public feeling, and changing with each transient cloud that flits across the broad horizon of politics.

The general tone of the Press of England may be asserted to be as little open to objection as it is in any country where the most unrestricted discussion is permitted on all public subjects. No doubt many instances can be adduced where an unbridled license has been assumed, where the sanctuary of private life has been invaded, individual feelings shamelessly outraged, and decency even of a loose kind utterly abandoned. But in most cases, retribution has overtaken the guilty parties, public feeling has joined in a universal condemnation of their conduct, and the punishment inflicted on them by the general verdict of the

community deters for a period any others from following in the same reckless path. Many of our readers must recollect instances in which when shameless and indecent attacks were made on unoffending individuals in the public prints, that the generous sympathies of the community were almost always awakened on behalf of the sufferer, and the injury attempted to be inflicted on the subject of the libel or the lampoon generally recoiled on the unprincipled wielder of the prostituted pen. The "*Age*" mercilessly assailed that excellent and high-minded lady the Duchess of St. Albans; week after week did she sit in the pillory of public remark, while filth, lie, and venom were showered upon her with no sparing hand. We hesitate not to say that the cowardly spite of her assailants procured her more friends and real sympathy among the generous people of England, than she ever would have enjoyed had it not been for her shameful persecution.

Within the last two years we have seen such slurs upon the Press as the "*Satirist*" and the "*Sunday Flash*," seizing the opportunity of our beloved Sovereign's marriage for an outpouring of ribaldry and vile jesting from which, to say nothing of her exalted position as a Queen, we fancied her sex would have protected the meanest of her subjects. But while a few smile at such exhibitions of corrupt license, all men of standing and reflection unite in condemning both the pen that could indite such impropriety, and the journal that lent itself to the dissemination of it. Taken on the whole, we feel justified in asserting that the British Press is not at present much open to the charge of unbridled license or venal slander. Any unhappy individual invested with a political character, honoured with the confidence of his Sovereign, or noted for talent or intrepidity in the Legislative Halls, is invariably considered fair game for the "small wits," the "gentlemen of the Press," pounced upon, and torn mercilessly to pieces. But the public has become so inured to this kind of personal abuse, that it has ceased to visit the authors of it with their censure, however false be the slander, however baseless the imputed motive. In love, war, and politics, every thing is considered fair, and what, if directed against the character of a private individual, would raise a storm of righteous indignation, is listened to against the politician with a smile of approbation or of indifference. Lord Palmerston may be accused

of picking a pocket, or Sir Robert Peel with abstracting a spoon, with perfect impunity, while a libel of a tenth part of the enormity against the domestic virtues of a notorious *roué*, or the spotless reputation of an opera figurante, would be visited with the severest penalties of the law, as violations of the sanctity of private life, and outrages on propriety equally insupportable and unwarranted.

The Press in France presents a strange and enigmatical aspect. That singular country professing to be democratic in all its principles and tendencies, presents to the enquiring eye several anomalies which are equally difficult to explain or account for. She has abolished hereditary Peerage, as savoring too much of aristocratic influence, and yet she submits to a narrow distribution of the elective franchise, utterly at variance with her sounding doctrines about the power and majesty of the sovereign people. She has repudiated the antiquated theories of the divine rights of kings, only to consent to the allowance and expense of huge standing armies, which seem ever ready to tempt the madness or the ambition of some military despot, whose iron rule would weigh heavier on the nation than ever did the sceptre of a Henri Quatre, or Louis Quatorze. She allows her monarch merely to style himself "King of the French," but permits him to encircle Paris with a cordon of forts and redoubts with which he can overawe the turbulent burghers. They talk soundingly of all power emanating from the people, yet quietly submit to a rigid censorship over the Press. But the nation is a contradiction in itself, a monstrous anomaly, a paradox of civilization, a chaos of intellect and insubordination, a puzzle, an enigma. In Paris, we hear constantly of indictments at the suit of the Attorney-General for a libel on the government, and heavy fines and imprisonment await the author, if found guilty, as he constantly is. In aristocratic England, it is a rare event to hear of a government prosecution, or an imprisoned editor. Republican France is well accustomed to both of these edifying spectacles. The peculiar position of the Press in that country, varying as it seems to do with every change in the temperament of that mercurial people, renders any grave commentary, or attempted deduction, alike difficult and uncertain. So, gentle readers, we will take advantage of some rapid conveyance, such as Cunard's Steamers, or the Nassau Balloon,

which is just about starting for America, and jump across the Atlantic for a brief visit to the fair regions that extend beyond that mighty ocean, and following the "Star of Empire" in its course, take a short bird's eye view of the Press of the Western Hemisphere.

Does America possess a free Press? She shall answer for herself to the most sceptical on that important point. Listen to the acute and learned De Tocqueville:—"The first newspaper I cast my eyes over upon my arrival in America contained the following article: 'In this affair the language of Jackson has been that of a heartless despot solely occupied with the preservation of his own authority,—ambition is his crime, and it will be his punishment too. Intrigue is his native element, and intrigue will confound his tricks, and will deprive him of his power. He governs by means of corruption, and his immoral practices will redound to his shame and confusion. His conduct in the political arena has been that of a shameless and lawless gamester. He succeeded at the time, but the hour of retribution approaches, and he will be obliged to disgorge his winnings, to throw aside his false dice, and to end his days in some retirement where he may curse his madness at his leisure; for repentance is a virtue with which his heart is likely to remain for ever unacquainted.'

What think you, gentle reader, has America a free Press? We can fancy you will not hesitate in making up your mind on the subject after the little specimen we have just quoted. Suppose it to have been written in France instead of in America, the citizen king would have had the insolent author under the screws of the "correctional tribunal" before long. In Russia, the writers, editors, publishers and all would have been, within a few hours after the publication of the libel, quietly pursuing their route to the Siberian Desert, there to moralize at their leisure about the beauties of a free Press under an absolute monarchy. In Austria, some few years duration vile in the dungeons of an Imperial fortress would have rewarded the sally; and in England, free and merry England, even the gentle eye of our Victoria would kindle at the audacity of her reviler, and she would at once direct her Attorney General to place on the records of her Court of Queen's Bench one of those wholesome, admonitory documents commonly called a criminal information. But in America, the penny-a-

liner could freely vilify the chief magistrate of the nation, and not even a transient expression of the indignation of his followers would greet the atrocious attack of such a reckless libeller.

Listen again to the acute and philosophical Frenchman:—"The number of periodicals and occasional publications which appear in the United States, is actually beyond belief. The most enlightened Americans attribute the subordinate influence of the Press to this excessive dissemination, and it is adopted as a maxim of political science in that country, that the only way to neutralize the effect of public journals is to multiply them indefinitely. I cannot conceive why a truth which is so self-evident has not already been more generally admitted in Europe. It is comprehensible that the persons who hope to bring about revolutions by means of the Press, should be desirous of confining its action to a few powerful organs; but it is perfectly incredible that the partizans of the existing state of things, and the natural supporters of the laws, should attempt to diminish the influence of the Press by concentrating its authority. The governments of Europe seem to treat the Press with the courtesy of the knights of old; they are anxious to furnish it with the same central power which they have found so trusty a weapon, in order to enhance the glory of their resistance to its attacks. In America there is scarcely a hamlet which has not its newspaper. It may readily be imagined that neither discipline nor unity of design can be communicated to so multifarious a host, and each one is consequently led to fight under his own standard; all the political journals of the United States are indeed arrayed on the side of the administration, or against it, but as they attack and defend it a thousand different ways,—they cannot succeed in forming those great currents of opinion which overwhelm the most solid obstacles. * * * The facility with which journals can be established induces a multitude of individuals to take a part in them, but as the extent of competition precludes the possibility of considerable profit, the most distinguished classes of society are rarely led to engage in these undertakings. The journalists of the United States are usually placed in a very humble position, with a scanty education, and a vulgar turn of mind. The characteristics of the American journalist consist in an open and coarse appeal to the passions of the populace, and he habitually abandons the principles of political science to assail the characters of individuals, to track them into private life, and to disclose all their weakness and errors."

We cannot avoid expressing our strong admiration of the shrewdness and common-sense philosophy of M. de Tocqueville, exhibited in his view of the state of the American Press.—

In no other country does it present the same varied and opposite appearances; in no other country is its influence less rightly understood; in no other country can it do and say the same things with such perfect impunity; and in no other country does it assume a general aspect of such questionable respectability.

Let us call another witness into the box.—Marryatt, that humourist, novelist, philosopher, and deep-thinking cosmopolite, thus expresses himself on this same subject:—

"All the respectable Americans acknowledge that this liberty of the Press has degenerated into a licentiousness which threatens the most alarming results, as it has assumed a power which awes not only individuals but the Government itself."

Mr. Cooper very justly remarks:—

"Of the two perhaps that people is the happiest which is deprived altogether of a free Press, as private honesty and a healthy tone of the public mind are not incompatible with narrow institutions, though neither can exist under the corrupting action of a licentious Press.—*As the Press of this country at present exists, it would seem to be expressly devised by the great agent of mischief to depress and to destroy all that is good, and to elevate and advance all that is evil in the nation.*"

Again, Mr. Cooper says:—

"Every honest man appears to admit that the Press in America is fast getting to be intolerable. In escaping from the tyranny of foreign aristocrats, we have created in our bosom a tyranny of a character so insupportable that a change of some sort is getting indispensable to peace.

"The number of papers published in Great Britain among a population of twenty-six millions is calculated at about three hundred and seventy. The number published in the United States among thirteen millions is supposed to vary between nine and ten thousand."

Captain Hamilton states:—

"The opponents of a candidate for office are generally not content with denouncing his principles, or deducing from the tenor of his political life grounds for questioning the purity of his motives. They accuse him boldly of *burglary or arson*, or at the very least of petty larceny. *Time, place, and circumstance* are all stated. The candidate for Congress or the Presidency is broadly asserted to have picked pockets, or pocketed silver spoons, or something equally mean and contemptible. Two instances of this occur at this moment to my memory. In one newspaper a member of Congress was denounced as having feloniously bro-

ken a *scrutoire*, and having thence stolen certain bills and bank notes. Another was charged with selling franks at two pence a piece, and thus copping his pockets at the expence of the public."

Webster is thus quoted by Marryatt on the same subject:—

"It is one of the thousand calumnies with which the Press teemed during an excited political canvass. It was a charge of which there was not only no proof or probability, but which was of itself wholly impossible to be true. Yet it was of that class of falsehoods which by continued repetitions through all the organs of detraction and abuse, are capable of misleading those who are already far misled, and of farther fanning passion already kindled into flame;—doubtless it served in its day, and in greater or less degree, the end designed by it. Having done this it has sunk into the general mass of stale and loathed calumnies. *It is the very cast off slough of a polluted and shameless Press.*"

Hear the Captain again :

"Defamation is the greatest curse of the United States. It appears to be inseparable from a democratic form of government. Let any man rise above his fellows by superior talent, let him hold a consistent honest career, and he is exalted only into a pillory to be pelted at and to be defiled with ordure. False accusations, the basest insinuations are industriously circulated, his public and private character are frequently aspersed, truth is wholly disregarded, even those who have assisted to raise him on his pedestal, as soon as they perceive that he has risen too high above them, are equally industrious and eager to drag him down again. *Defamation exists all over the world, yet it is incredible to what an extent this vice is carried in America.* It is a disease which pervades the land, renders every man suspicious and cautious of his neighbour, creates eye-service and hypocrisy, fosters the bitterest and most malignant passions, and unceasingly irritates the morbid sensibility so remarkable among all classes of the American people."

Hamilton speaking of the political contests says:—

"From one extremity of the Union to the other the political war-slogan is sounded. No quarter is given on either side—every printing-press in the United States is engaged in the conflict. Reason, justice, and charity—the claims of age and of past services—of high talents, and unspotted integrity, are forgotten. No lie is too malignant to be employed in this unhallowed contest if it can but serve the purpose of deluding, even for a moment, the most ignorant of mankind. No insinuation is too base, no equivocation too mean, no artifice too paltry. *The world affords no parallel to the*

scene of political depravity exhibited periodical-ly in this free country.

We fear to risk tiring our readers by this bundle of extracts on the subject of the Press in America, but as we had something to say on its workings among the democracy of the trans-Atlantic States, we knew we could not do them justice did we wilfully substitute our own poor words for the terse and glowing language of the authors we have cited. It must be borne in mind that we have not confined our extracts to English authors, who might be supposed to speak of America with some portion of that hostile feeling which, we speak it with sorrow, has been gradually growing up between their own "merry land" and the country they undertook to delineate. We have given the opinion of the cool unprejudiced De Tocqueville, who has never been accused of an undue bias against American democracy.—We have quoted the illustrious Mr. Fenimore Cooper, who certainly can never be considered insensible to that strong national vanity so peculiar to his *parvenu nation*. Mr. Webster too has stamped with the authority of his deservedly illustrious name, a most black and damning sentence against the press of his country. We ourselves, as residents of the Canadas, are brought so constantly into direct collision with American men, morals, and prejudices, that we can readily vouch for the general truth of the strictures on the Press of that country, which we find not only in the books of the sketcher and the tourist, but in the truth-telling pages of native writers, and the public speeches of native orators.

The Frenchman states the true reason of the low standard of American periodical writing,—namely, that so little is required to enable persons to start in that line of life, and the remuneration consequently so very inadequate, that men of high ability or profound learning cannot be found, except in a few of the largest cities, to devote their time and talents to such a pursuit, and an inferior class of writers of course are compelled to edit and superintend the vast majority of the ten thousand journals that weekly, monthly, or daily, "fizz, bubble, and splutter", throughout the vast regions from Labrador to the Rio Norte. Were a greater amount of capital required previous to engaging in a "newspaper speculation" than unfortunately is at present, we should at once see a diminution in the number, and an increase in

the respectability and talent, of the American Journals. We will make one last extract from Marryatt on this interesting theme :

“As to the capabilities of the majority of the Editors, let the Americans speak for themselves :—‘Every wretch who can write an English paragraph, (and many who cannot,) every pettifogger without practice, every one whose poverty or crimes have just left him cash or credit enough to procure a press and types, sets up a newspaper.

“If you be puzzled what to do with your son—if he be a born dunce—if reading and writing be all the accomplishments he can acquire, if he be horribly ignorant and depraved, if he be indolent, and an incorrigible liar, lost

to all shame and decency, irrevocably dishonest, *make a newspaper, editor of him.* Look around you, and see a thousand successful proofs that no excellence or acquirement, moral or intellectual, is requisite to conduct a Press, the more defective an Editor is, the better he succeeds ; we could give a thousand instances.’ —*Boston News.*”

We now turn to the Press in the Province of Canada, and the general qualities of the various Editors,——but—a thought strikes us—we would prefer deferring our observations on this delicate part of the subject to the Greek Calends, or the April number of the MONTHLY REVIEW for the year of grace 1941.

NEW BRUNSWICK AND THE ST. JOHN.

An Account of the River St. John, with its tributary Rivers and Lakes. By EDMUND WARD, Assistant Emigrant Agent. Fredericton, New Brunswick, 1841.—Accompanied with a Lithograph Map.

BEFORE proceeding to notice the pamphlet whose title we have placed above, we must discharge a kind of debt which we appear to have contracted by omitting a description of the tranquil state of New Brunswick, in our first number. The omission has been taken as a slight which she does not deserve, as will be seen by the following observations which have reached us, through a mutual friend, from a gentleman of some influence in that Province. We must beg pardon of our friendly monitor for the liberty we have taken in publishing this extract from a private letter not designed for publication, but this direct evidence of the soundness of the principles that we advocate, as shewn by their happy effects in the sister Province, would be greatly weakened if we were to substitute for it any remarks of our own. The testimony of an eye-witness must not be superseded by our report, however anxious we may be to make it both full and correct.

After mentioning the receipt of our first number, the writer proceeds to say :—

“While all appear to applaud and admire the article with which it opens, as not only con-

taining an able and just exposition of the principles upon which the administration of Colonial affairs ought invariably to be conducted, but as actually, though perhaps unintentionally, exhibiting a faithful picture of the existing state of things in this Province ; yet the general impression also is, that less, far less, than justice has been rendered to New Brunswick in the closing glance at the political state of British North America—in which, instead of being held up as an example of political contentment, of fast increasing prosperity, and widely diffused happiness and satisfaction, a state of things resulting directly from the loyalty, moderation, and good sense of its inhabitants, in having promptly and gratefully accepted that as a boon, (the exchange of the Crown estates for a moderate civil list,) which the people of Canada so decidedly rejected, and the consequent immediate establishment in this Province, under a Lieutenant Governor, (who is considered by them to have shewn himself a practical, as well as a liberal and enlightened, statesman,) of an Executive Government, as well as an improved composition of the Legislative Council, which at once afforded general

satisfaction, and commanded general confidence, and by which has ever since steadily and uniformly been exhibited an harmonious working both in the Legislature and Government, hitherto without example in British North America, which is in fact the condition to which it is the great object and design of the present distinguished Ruler of these Colonies to bring the United Provinces of Canada;—instead of setting this on high, upon all these matters the Reviewer is as silent as if no such Province as New Brunswick existed. Yet when it is remembered how much dissatisfaction prevailed, and how near explosion this Province was (the effect of which, looking to the period, is not to be calculated,) at the time when the remedies to which I have alluded were applied, the people of this Province, and especially those who were prominently concerned in effecting this happy change in public affairs, feel that they have a right to receive justice at the hands of a writer, be he who he may, who professes *faithfully* to record the political changes and reforms which have been and are about being brought about in these Colonies.

“Upon the recent visit of the Governor General to this Province, Mr. Poulett Thomson believed, and believed correctly, that he owed the reception which he met with almost entirely to the feelings of respect and esteem entertained for our excellent Lieutenant Governor, and to the assurance given by Sir John Harvey, that Mr. Poulett Thomson came to carry forward those enlightened views and principles which had, under the auspices of Lord Glenelg, Lord Durham, and Lord John Russell, advanced New Brunswick to its enviable state of public prosperity and general contentment—and of which a more forcible illustration cannot, perhaps, be given, than by repeating the answer which one of the ablest of the friends of Sir John Harvey’s administration gave to the question put to him by the Governor General at the Government House table, namely: ‘What! is there no opposition to Sir John Harvey’s government?’ ‘Yes, Sir,’ was the significant reply, ‘a bitter one, but it is *anonymous*—no man dares to avow it, either in the legislature or out of it, though the rancour of an humbled and disappointed faction makes its growl heard through the public press, or rather through its own *paid* organ, one single paper, but even there in anonymous articles.’ Can a prouder proof than this be adduced of the happy state of this

Province? Yes, there can; and it is to be found in the language and acts, in a word, in the journals and proceedings in the several branches of the Provincial Legislature. Entertaining these opinions, in common, as I believe, with some of the leading and ablest men in New Brunswick, I am apprehensive that if justice be not done to this Province in future numbers of the very able publication alluded to, instead of receiving, as it otherwise would, very liberal support in New Brunswick, it may only be the means of provoking complaints.”

We had no intention of passing by New Brunswick without notice, being well aware that she gives a happy illustration of the advantages of our system in both its parts—liberality in the government—and moderation in the people; but Canadian affairs pressed on our attention, and we deferred our glance at the Sister Province until another opportunity. We are not sorry, therefore, that the subject is now brought under our notice, even in the shape of a complaint, for it proves that the people of that province justly appreciate their advantages, understand the causes of the contentment and prosperity which they enjoy, and are jealous of any real or apparent neglect. New Brunswick holds out a light to the other North American Colonies, and she would not have that light put under a bushel, or passed by without observation. A state of great disquiet and contention has been succeeded by a state of great contentment and peace. The means by which this pleasing change was effected deserve consideration, especially from those who are suffering from evils similar to those that existed there, and who may expect that the application of a similar remedy will produce a corresponding good effect.

No new theory has been put under experiment in New Brunswick, nor has any organic change of the constitution been effected there. The composition of the Legislative Council has been improved by rendering it independent of the Executive, and the administration of the Government is conducted in harmony with the people’s representatives; by a Lieutenant Governor of liberal constitutional principles.—This system is met in a corresponding spirit by the people, and the result is that the Province is peaceful and prosperous, united and strong. The same system is now to be applied in Canada, under a Governor also of liberal constitu-

tional principles; and if the people possess the same practical wisdom which has distinguished their fellow-Colonists of New Brunswick, a similar effect will follow. Instead of being distracted and weakened by internal contentions, the Province will become strong and flourishing in the power of prosperous peace.

For the benefit of this system is not merely the harmony that it produces between the people and the government, but the additional strength which it gives to both. When all unite their strength, and act together, they are almost irresistible; but acting against each other they ruin themselves and the country.— There can be no doubt that the Government is infinitely stronger in New Brunswick at this time than it ever was before; and yet there are persons so ignorant of constitutional principles, or so averse to their application here, as to assert that this system must weaken, if not overturn the Government in Canada; whereas the just inference, both from reason and experience, is, that it will establish the Government on a firmer basis than it ever had. On this point it has been remarked: "Where military power, or the brutal force of the multitude decides the fortune of a dynasty, it is not to the precepts of the philosopher, or the examples of the historian, that those who attack or those who defend are wont to appeal. But far different is the case under a constitutional Government like ours. With us the base on which political power rests, is wide and strong. It includes the whole mass of the population, there being none who are debarred from the possibility of acquiring political rights; and every right so acquired involves a duty to the State, which can only be effectually discharged where a just estimate is formed of political parties and of public men. It is the diffusion of power among all classes which constitutes the real strength of the State. From the Minister who advises the Crown, to the humblest non-elect, who, through the medium of opinion and of influence acts on those who possess the franchise, the chain is unbroken. Rights exist which are to be protected, duties exist which are to be performed: whether a parliamentary vote is given which decides the fate of a Government, or a shout is raised at the hustings for or against a candidate, it is only by a just consideration of facts, and a fair estimate of principles, that the peer or the peasant can effectually discharge his functions."

But all the duty is not on the part of the Government. The people also have their duties, and on their right performance the good effect of the whole system must depend. In this respect the example of New Brunswick is important. There was no factious opposition to the Government, do what it would; no false construction put upon the simplest acts and plainest language; no dogged adherence to unimportant points, when essential principles were gained; no desire to exalt the means above the end, or make a difference in detail a reason for rejecting a uniformity in substance. There was the operation of practical common sense, impelled by liberty, but guided by moderation, resolved to obtain the benefits of the constitution on the one hand, but equally resolved to submit to its restrictions on the other. Actuated by such a spirit, their efforts have been as successful as they deserve to be.

It is this spirit of moderation that we would recommend to the people of Canada, being satisfied that it will here produce similar good effects if it be generally adopted. There is every disposition on the part of the government to do justice to the people, and the people on their part must do justice to the government. Attention to this is the more necessary, inasmuch as there seems to be a disposition in some quarters to forget that duties are reciprocal, and that the best intentions and efforts of the government will be defeated without there be a concurrence therein by the people. Let the latter remember that they must give confidence, as well as require it; that they must repress ultraism among themselves, as well as in the government; and that while they claim rights and privileges, they must shew that they are prepared to exercise them wisely and well.— Nothing can so readily induce concession as a full evidence that it will not be abused; that evidence they must furnish, and just in proportion as it prevails will their work be easy or difficult, and the benefits they expect from government be attained or rejected. The people must do justice to themselves and their cause, by listening to moderate counsels, supporting moderate men, and maintaining throughout that calm, rational dignity which is requisite for the consideration and decision of grave constitutional questions. In this manner and spirit good government will be attained, and Canada will become peaceful, happy, and prosperous, as

her sister province of New Brunswick has become by similar means.

The work, the title of which we have given, is a plain, unpretending pamphlet of 96 pages, descriptive of the river St. John and its tributaries, and the valley through which they flow, with notices of the towns and villages on their banks. Of the coast it is remarked: "The sea-coast of this Province, like that of Nova Scotia, presents a rugged and forbidding appearance; and the scenery around the city of St. John possesses nothing indicative of the fertile regions to which it leads. If the traveller extends his observation to Indian-town, two miles above St. John, whence the river steamboats take their departure for Frederickton, the view is bounded by a narrow channel and abrupt and precipitous rocks, scantily covered with a growth of stunted trees, presenting a repulsive exterior to the anxious and enquiring stranger."

"The Province of New Brunswick extends from the south-west point on the island of Grand Manan, at the entrance of the Bay of Fundy, in latitude $44^{\circ} 40'$, longitude $67^{\circ} 10'$, to the 48th degree of north latitude, and is bounded southerly by that bay and an isthmus of about 15 miles in width which separates the Bay of Fundy from the Bay of Verte on the eastern coast, where its southern line terminates in latitude 46° , longitude 64° . Its eastern limit extends northwardly along the Northumberland Straits and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, till it strikes the island of Sluppegan, at the southern entrance of the Bay of Chaleur, in latitude 48° longitude 67° ; and it is bounded to the northward and westward by Lower Canada, and to the westward by the river St. Croix, and a line run from its source to the highlands that extend to the head of Connecticut river."

It is across this isthmus of 15 miles that it has been proposed to cut a canal to connect the Bay of Fundy with the Gulf of St. Lawrence, thereby avoiding the circuitous and somewhat dangerous navigation round the coast, either through the Gut of Canso, or round Cape Breton. A more important public work, or one that would produce greater results in comparison with the outlay required, can hardly be found, the distance being so short, and "through a country favourable for the undertaking." It is stated that a "sum of money has been voted by the Legislature of New Brunswick towards defraying the expense of an exploration, provided the Legislatures of Canada and Nova Scotia will join in defraying such expense."—

Of this we should suppose there can be no doubt, as the whole affair will be but a trifle to the three provinces, and yet will greatly aid their mutual intercourse and trade.

At the head of the Bay of Fundy the tide rises 50 or 60 feet, rushing with great velocity, and forming a high bore.

Having described various small rivers and the country on their banks, the author says:—

"The Falls of the Magaguadavic, if the scenery in its neighbourhood possessed no other charm, would amply repay the admirer of nature for any expense or inconvenience he might incur in visiting it; and in Europe this village would be a place of annual and crowded resort."

Of the Fall Dr. Gesner says:

"At the main fall the water descends by five successive steps, in the distance of five hundred yards, through a chasm averaging about thirty feet wide, and a hundred feet deep. Through this narrow gorge the whole contents of the river are poured out with a fury that defies description. The industry and ingenuity of man have considerably modified the appearance of this remarkable spot. It still, however, remains a most extraordinary hydraulic spectacle, and affords a power for turning machinery beyond computation. Having swept slowly along the valley above, the water is accumulated at the bridge over the top of the falls; it is then thrown into the deep and narrow opening below, where spouting from cliff to cliff, and twisting its foaming column to correspond with the rude windings of the passage, it falls in a torrent of froth into the tide below; or passing beneath the mills, its fury seems abated as it mingles with the dense spray floating above."

The St. John river, near its mouth, also forces its way through a remarkable ravine.— "Immense masses of lime-stone or coarse marble rock form a bold and precipitous boundary, on each side of a narrow passage, at a short distance above Indian Town. Below this the river expands, and again contracting passes through what are termed the Falls, when it suddenly turns to the left, and discharges its waters into the harbour of St. John, causing numerous eddies and whirlpools." "The Falls are a great natural curiosity, from the water descending in opposite directions at ebb and flood tide, and being level at about half tide, caused by the rise and fall of the tide in the Bay." "Although this passage is the only outlet at present for the St. John, it has evidently been formed by some convulsion of

nature, similar to that, or probably the same, which rent asunder the channel of the Magaguadavic, and forced open the passage of Digby Gut, directly opposite the harbour of St. John, on the Nova Scotia side of the Bay of Fundy, and thus drained off the body of water that evidently covered the Aylesford Plains and Carribo Bog, over which the post road at present passes between Annapolis and Halifax."

Ascending the river, the author describes with great minuteness, the country and the streams that branch off on each hand, together with the lakes that supply many of the streams. The valleys are very fertile, and many of the uplands also. At Grand Lake, "At Earle's Point there is one of those extraordinary geological phenomena for the origin of which it is difficult to account. Large fossil trees are lying prostrate on the shore, having fallen towards the lake, which are embedded in and filled with the stony substance that in a liquified state swept over the area which they occupied, and converted them into stone. Petrified wood has also been found near the Maquapit and French Lakes, which are contiguous to Grand Lake; and a very beautiful specimen of cactus is built into a cellar wall in Mr. Earle's house at the point. The coal that is dug out also, and the strata with which it lies in contact, contain the most delicate vegetable impressions, which crumble into dust on exposure to the air."

Frederickton, the capital of the province, is situated on a bend of the St. John, forming a segment of a circle, about 75 miles from the mouth of the river, and contains 4,000 inhabitants. The site is a "level plain, extending above a mile in length, and half a mile in the rear. It has evidently been the bed of a former lake, and was probably laid bare when the retiring waters of the St. John made their last abrupt escape, and fell to their present ordinary level." "As the town projects into the river, its opposite shores are seen at the termination of the front street; and in summer time, when the trees are clothed with their luxuriant foliage, and the graceful elm waves in the breeze, the scenery around Frederickton is not to be exceeded in beauty by that of any place that I have seen in these provinces, Lower Canada, or the United States." The town has been settled since 1785, having been formerly called St. Anns. "It contains a province hall,

a college that has been liberally endowed by the province, the several public offices, a collegiate, Madras, and other schools, a Baptist seminary, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Baptist, and Catholic Churches." "At the upper end of the Town, on the river bank, stands the Government house, with extensive grounds around it, commanding a delightful view of the river." "There are three banks, an alms-house, a reading-room, and a well-selected public library. A regiment of foot, and a detachment of Royal Artillery are usually quartered in the Town, which has lately been made the military head quarters for the Lower Provinces."

"Frederickton was formed by Governor Carleton shortly after the separation of the province from Nova Scotia, its central situation having pointed it out as the most eligible place for the seat of government. The wisdom of this selection will be evident to every person acquainted with the Province, and with the adjoining colonies. From this place as from a centre, roads diverge to the different parts of the Province, which are of easier access from Frederickton than from any other point whatever—the principal places, such as St. Andrews, St. John, Fort Cumberland, Chatham, Bathurst, and Madawaska, lying in a broken circle round it."

"As a military position it is unequalled, as from the contiguity of the different important parts of the province, they would be sooner succored from this place than any other. It also forms a connecting link between the Atlantic colonies and Canada, and is a safe and convenient place for forming magazines, and equipping troops on their route from the sea-coast to Quebec. The importance of this place for those purposes was well realized during the last war, and should not soon be lost sight of. The river St. John seems to have been the old and usual route of the French and Indians in passing from Canada and Nova Scotia to New England, long before New Brunswick was settled; and Frederickton and the villages near it, no doubt, were among the principal Indian stations, long before the country was known to the French and English.—According to Douglas, this was the most direct route from New England to Canada, and was taken by Colonel Livingstone and the Baron Castine in the year 1710, when they went in great haste to acquaint the Governor General that Acadia had fallen into the hands of the British."

The author then proceeds with his description of the country, diverging right and left up the streams, until he reaches Woodstock, 60 miles from Frederickton; and still ascending the

river, enters on the Aroostook, or Restook, country, across which the Americans have made two military roads through the heart of the disputed territory up to the St. John, and established two forts therein, one at the confluence of Fish river with the St. John, and the other on the Aroostook, five miles from the St. John. The first is called Fort Jarvis, the second Fort Fairfield, and the roads connect them with Houlton and Bangor, in Maine.— This part of the country is said to be very fertile, and contains a vast bed of iron ore, on which Dr. Jackson, geologist of the State of Maine, speculates largely in his report, as being not only sufficient to supply all the future inhabitants of the country, but also as “an admirable scite for a national foundry;” “for it is extremely difficult to carry heavy ordnance to that frontier post, and in case of war it would be almost impossible to furnish a supply of cannon, and the balls required in defence of that fortification,” (Houlton.)

It is significantly remarked by Mr. Ward on this: “The winter succeeding this report witnessed the erection of Forts Fairfield and Jarvis, to guard the scite of the future national magazine of death provided for the leges of Queen Victoria, which the Doctor had pointed out.”

The Grand Falls of the St. John are thus described: “Here the channel of the river is broken by a chain of rocks which runs across the river, and produces a tremendous fall, more than forty feet perpendicular, down which the water of the entire river rushes with resistless impetuosity. The river just above the cataract makes a short bend, or nearly a right angle, forming a small bay a few rods above the precipice, in which there is an eddy, which makes it a safe landing place, although very near the main fall, where the canoes &c. pass with the greatest safety. Immediately below this bay the river contracts—a point of rocks projects from the western shore, and narrows the channel to the width of a few rods. The waters thus pent up, sweep over the rugged bottom with great velocity. Just before they reach the main precipice, they rush down a descent of some feet, and rebound in foam from a bed of rocks on the verge of the fall. They are then precipitated down the perpendicular cliffs into the abyss below, which is studded with rocks that nearly choke the passage, leaving

only a small opening in the centre, through which the water, after whirling for some time in the basin, rushes with tremendous impetuosity, sweeping through a broken rocky channel, and a succession of falls for more than half a mile, being closely shut in by rocks, which in some places overhang the river so as to hide most part of it from the view of the observer. Trees and timber which are carried down the falls, are sometimes whirled round in the basin below the precipice till they are ground to pieces; sometimes their ends are tapered to a point, and at other times broken and crushed to pieces.” “Below the falls there is another small bay with a good depth of still water, very convenient for collecting timber, &c., after it has escaped through the falls.” “About a mile below the landing place a succession of rapids commences.”

“Three or four miles above the Grand Falls, the Madawaska settlement commences, and extends along both sides of the St. John, as far as the river St. Francis, upwards of 40 miles.” The population is 3460, according to the American census taken last autumn.

“Thirty-five miles from the Grand Falls, the Madawaska river intersects the St. John,” and the Fief of that name extends up that river for twelve miles on both banks, and is well settled.

The country between the Madawaska and the St. Lawrence was surveyed last autumn, by direction of Her Majesty’s Government; and it is contemplated to have a good carriage road from Quebec to Woodstock, about 280 miles, and thence through Frederickton to the city of St. John, making the entire route about 400 miles, and by steamers across the Bay of Fundy the distance from Quebec to Halifax will be accomplished in five or six days.

Before we take leave of this subject, we must glance at the mineral wealth of New Brunswick, as described by Dr. Gesner, Provincial Geologist, in his third report, some extracts from which have reached us in the New Brunswick papers:—

“IRON ORE.—About a mile and a half westward of Bull Moose Hill the soil becomes more scanty, and the trap rocks are frequently uncovered. The rock here may be called a syenite, being composed of crystals of hornblende and feldspar, from the twentieth of an inch to an inch in diameter. This rock apparently reaches

from north to south, several miles : and is connected with the great trappean mass, underlying the chain of high hills, stretched along the north side of Belleisle Bay. The inhabitants of a new settlement, recently made on the mountain, had discovered a quantity of ore, which they had supposed to be black-lead ; but which, upon examination, was found to be common bog and shot iron ore. These ores have collected in considerable quantities, on the farms of Mr. Eli Northrup and Mr. Elnathan Benson, and are still accumulating on the low grounds in that quarter. The magnetic needle was observed to be much affected, in proceeding westerly from the hill ; and the trap began to assume a ferruginous appearance, until crystals of the magnetic oxide of iron were discovered, mixed with the hornblende and feldspar of the rock.

"On ascending the hill, near Mr. Northrup's house, the iron was found more abundant, until large boulders, some of which would weigh a ton each, were discovered to be a rich, compact iron ore. These boulders are scattered over the above farms, in the soil of the adjacent forest, and to a distance unknown ; for the area occupied by them was too extensive to allow us to examine every part of its surface.—Ascending the hill in the clearings and woods adjacent, these boulders of ore became more numerous, and may be seen in the walls thrown up to protect the meadows. The solid syenite, or as it may be called at some places syenitic trap, was found to become more mixed with the iron, until it passes into a compact ore. The detrital matter and other rubbish, covering the surface and the rocks beneath, prevented us from ascertaining that point where the ore is most pure ; but the rock, in a long belt, extending nearly east and west, and for a quarter of a mile in breadth, is copiously impregnated with the iron. The ore was found in the forest, near Mr. Benson's farm, where it occupies the surface, over a space twenty feet wide, and apparently runs in a vein, along the mountain, to a great distance. Crossing the road, it again appears about two hundred yards north of Mr. Benson's house, and the vein is covered with boulders of ore. Every pains was taken to ascertain the course, thickness, and inclination of this evidently inexhaustible bed of iron ; but the detritus on the surface, the quantity of soil and decayed vegetable matter in the forest, were difficulties our means would not allow us to encounter.

This ore is associated with crystals of hornblende and feldspar. The former is of a deep green colour, and the latter of a milky white. It also contains iserine. When recently broken, the lustre is highly metallic ; but, on being exposed to the air, it soon becomes tarnished, and recent cracks are beautifully irised. Sometimes it exists with the hornblende alone, and again, in the richer specimens, only a few crystals of feldspar are to be seen. It acts power-

fully upon the magnetic needle, and compasses are useless for a considerable distance on each side of the vein. The boulders in the fields are known by their rusty appearance. Several specimens attract iron filings, possess polarity, and therefore may be called loadstone. A mass taken from the common variety yielded sixty per cent. of metallic iron.

"How far this enormous metallic déposé extends in an east and west direction, we were unable to determine ; but, judging from the effect it had upon the compasses, it doubtless continues to the distance of several miles.—From these facts, it is believed to be one of the most extensive veins of iron ore in the British Provinces ; being sufficient to supply America with iron for thousands of years. A similar kind of iron ore is abundant in Sweden ; where numerous quantities of the best kind are smelted, and shipped to Great Britain. At Dannemora, the site of the most important mines in Europe, this kind of ore exists in a bed several hundred feet thick. This Provincial ore also agrees, in character, with the magnetic oxide of iron of New-Jersey, ably described by Professor Rodgers, in his geological report of that State.

"There are a number of advantages offered for the erection of iron works in this district.—The ore is situated at a distance of only three miles from a fine navigable bay ; and in the midst of a forest of excellent hard-wood, which may be converted into proper fuel ; while Belleisle River and one of its branches will afford an abundant supply of water power, to propel the necessary machinery. Should the supply of fuel fail, from the yearly demand made upon it, coal could be supplied from the Grand Lake, Long's Creek, or other parts of the extensive coal field, situated a short distance farther northward. The situation of this iron on the confines of a fine agricultural country, where the population is rapidly increasing, is also an advantage not to be overlooked.—That the ore is capable of being worked is evident from the fact, that in Sweden, immense quantities of excellent iron are produced from a similar kind ; and in New Jersey, there are extensive mines in operation, which yield a corresponding combination for the furnaces."

"GREAT NEW-BRUNSWICK COAL FIELD.—Before we proceed to the local details of the formations of the Grand Lake, it is necessary to make a few general observations on the Great Coal-Field, situated between the primary rocks of the County of Charlotte and King's County, and the Straits of Northumberland, on the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Only the south and south-east sides of this coal-field have yet been explored ; the west, north and north-east sides still remain to be examined, and its limits therefore, in the latter directions, yet remain unknown. The division of this coal-field, situated southward of the St. John, is the segment of a large circle, described between the Kes-

wick above Frederickton, and the Ocuabog below Gagetown, and touching at Shun Creek and the head of the Oromocto. Its south-eastern side extends along the trap and syenite rocks of Springfield, and the dividing line between King's and Queen's, Westmoreland and Kent Counties, to the Straits of Northumberland. From one of the branches of the Oromocto to the Saint John, and from thence eight miles eastward of the entrance of the Washademoak, the old red sandstone and carboniferous limestone appear, cropping out from beneath the mill-stone grit, along a distance of upwards of thirty miles. These formations have been already described. From what I have been able to discover, I believe that this coal-field extends in a northerly direction to Bathurst, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, and to Miramichi, one hundred and twenty miles, and from the latter place along the coast to Shediac, which may be estimated at seventy miles. Until the north-east side of this vast coal tract is explored, it would be impossible to give a correct account of its area; but it may for the present be considered equal to five thousand square miles!!! We are aware that, in making this statement, we must necessarily be exposed to remark; but it is nevertheless supported by the most unquestionable facts; and we have only to appeal to them, in vindication of what is here recorded. This tract may, perhaps, bear the reputation of being the largest coal-field ever discovered on the globe. Over the whole of this vast area, the conglomerates, sandstones, shales, ironstone, and frequently coal, appear at the surface, filled with innumerable remains of plants, that have long since ceased to exist, but whose relics, as they are seen in almost every rock, bear ample testimony of the herbage of former periods. This vast expanded tract, in every part, abounds in tropical plants; many of which have been changed into enduring beds of coal, while others have been converted into different kinds of mineral matter; and form the most faithful record of the changes this earth has undergone, since it first came from the hands of its supreme Architect. To distinguish this extensive tract from the Westmoreland district and other coal-fields in the British Provinces, we have designated it by the name of the "GREAT NEW-BRUNSWICK COAL-FIELD;" which, for its magnitude and wealth, will be better known, long after its first geological pioneer has ceased to travel over its surface."

In connexion with these extracts, we give another on the *early history of New Brunswick*, taken from a report of lectures on the subject by H. M. Perley, Esquire. It is stated that:—

"Mr. Perley has been fortunate in having had access to many original and official documents,

not hitherto attainable by historic writers, but which materially elucidate the history of this young but rapidly rising Province: he has made diligent and efficient use of these advantages, and we hesitate not to say, that he has succeeded in compiling the best and most authentic history of New Brunswick ever yet published. Repeated plaudits from the audience cheered the Lecture, and testified the gratification he imparted; and much impression appeared to be made, especially by the statement of one fact, namely, that in the reign of Henry VII. John Cabot, in the employ and under the flag of England, after discovering Newfoundland and St. John's Islands, landed on the shores of this Province, between Richibucto and Miramichi, two years before Columbus reached the main land of America; and thus *New Brunswick was the first portion of this great Continent on which the feet of Christians ever stepped.* The Lecture was illustrated by the display of a great variety of ancient Indian implements and utensils; and afforded the greatest satisfaction to the audience. * * *

Mr. P. lucidly delineated the numerous and stirring vicissitudes of this Province and its ancient settlers, during the frequent changes of English and French dominion; until the final establishment of British authority over the whole of these North American Provinces, after the celebrated siege of Quebec, which was signalized by the glorious death of Wolfe.—The concluding portion of the lecture glowingly depicted the enthusiastic loyalty, the devoted fidelity, and personal sufferings and exertions of that ever-to-be-honoured band of true British hearts, who, in 1782 and 1783, abandoned every thing in the country of their former happy homes, in the old colonies, and cheerfully sat themselves down in the then inhospitable wilds of New Brunswick; and who, landing on the rocky and densely-forested shore, hewed out for themselves, with their own hands, a resting-place in the thick wood, and thus laid the first foundation of what is now the populous, enterprising, and important city of St. John.—The lecture eloquently and justly eulogized these brave and faithful men, whose names, he said, ought ever to be remembered and honoured, in all public festivals and anniversaries in New Brunswick; and who had more reason to glory in their *declaration of fidelity* than the revolted Provinces had, in their *declaration of independence.* Our limits will not permit us to notice the many prominent and interesting points in his highly satisfactory Lecture. We may briefly mention the following incidents, as a few which seemed especially to interest the feeling of the audience, namely, the fact that this Province claims *seniority of British settlement*; a number of Scotch emigrants, sent out by the Earl of Stirling, under the conduct of Claude de la Tour, having settled about the Nashuaak and Saint John rivers in 1625; the stirring details of the two famous sieges of

Louisburg, and the final destruction of that once formidable and impregnable fortress, almost every vestige of which is now swept away, and its site become a wilderness, and the resort only of wild animals; the enterprising spirit of the earliest settlers on the St. John, especially the founders of the Peabody, Simonds, White, Leavitt, and other families; the courageous and venturesome conduct of Mr. White, the father of our present worthy Sheriff, in singly going forth to meet a numerous body of hostile Indians, and successfully persuading them to abandon their inimical designs; the building of the first vessel in the harbour of St. John; the severe sufferings and labours of the earliest settlers among its forests and swamps; and the final crection of New Brunswick into a separate Province, and establishment of its first Legislature."

In conclusion, we may observe, that we shall be happy to receive any communications from either New Brunswick or Nova Scotia, whether they be literary, historical, or descriptive, or bear more immediately on the political character and state of the country. Whatever affects those provinces must be interesting to

us, for we form but one family. Our knowledge of local facts and circumstances there is too limited to admit of our entering on their affairs so fully as we would wish, but if they will supply this defect, or speak for themselves, we shall always be ready to do them justice to the utmost of our power.

We observe that Dr. Gesner speaks as if a geological survey of Upper Canada was in progress. We regret to say that, hitherto, nothing has been done towards it. Some partial explorations have been made by officers of the Royal Engineers, but no geological survey has yet been begun, although the subject was taken up by the Assembly. Like many other things, it has had to give way to more important affairs pressing for immediate attention.—We hope, however, that this is one of the subjects which will be begun and successfully completed by the United Legislature.

The population of New Brunswick is 156,142, being an increase of 36,693 since the year 1834.

AGRICULTURAL PROTECTING DUTY.

No. II.

We closed our former remarks on this subject with observing that the proposed duty on American wheat and flour would be of no immediate benefit to our farmers, but an injury, because it could not come into operation except in case of another failing harvest, and by present arrangements the country gains a considerable sum by the difference of duty in England between Canadian and American wheat and flour. Hence we inferred that though a protecting duty would be just, as it regards the Americans, it would be inexpedient as it regards ourselves, looking at the farming interest alone. The injury would be direct and immediate; while the proposed benefit would be distant and problematical; for a failing harvest is a very rare occurrence, and it is very improbable that in a country exclusively agricultural like Canada, the harvest should so far fail as to render it necessary to make importations of wheat and flour for our own consumption; and yet it is

only in that improbable case that the duty would be of any avail. A duty that can become operative only once in twenty years is not worth contending for. How little duties are of avail for non-importing countries may be seen in the United States, where long as the duty has been in force it has produced nothing, except for two years. Moreover the experiment has been tried already in Canada, and found entirely useless for its professed object, as will be seen by the following extract from a speech made by J. S. Cartwright, Esq., at a public meeting on this question in the neighbourhood of Kingston:

"On reference to the Provincial Statutes, he found that on the 14th April, 1821, a Bill passed the Legislature of Upper Canada, and became a law, by which American produce was in effect prohibited, as the duties were, on Flour 10s. per barrel; Pork 20s.; Beef 15s.; Wheat 2s. 6d. per bushel; Barley 2s.; Indian Corn 2s.; Oats 1s.; and every thing in proportion.—This act continued in force until January, 1824. No-w

what was the state of the Agriculturist during these three favoured years. Why, Sir, during the years 1821 and 1822 Flour was sold in the Kingston market for 12s. 6d. a barrel, and a gentleman who was not now in business (Hon. J. Kirby) had assured him that he took it to account at that price, and would not give money for it. He (Mr. Cartwright) had also been informed that in one of those years a Merchant in the Bay of Quinte took a quantity of Flour to Quebec, and after paying the expense of transport, the net proceeds of his flour was 10s 6d. per barrel! and during all this time not a pound of American or foreign flour was allowed to be put in competition—and it appeared to him (Mr. C.) a most remarkable fact, and one which could not fail to strike every one, that during these three years of prohibition, the agriculturists of Upper Canada received less for their produce than had ever been received since the settlement of the Country. He might be asked to account for this. Though he did not think he was bound to answer the question, still he would admit that it arose from abundant harvests throughout the world. There was no demand—or at least the supply was greater than the demand. He (Mr. C.) had in his possession a list of prices in the New York market since 1796, and he found that the year 1821 was lowest, flour in that city being only worth 3 75 at that period. Now it was fair for him to presume that it was possible (for it had happened since and might again) that all foreign produce might be excluded, and we none the better for it; that is, it would not raise the price of our commodities; that our surplus productions might be unsaleable, and agriculture much depressed in spite of our protecting duty."

This is ample proof of the utter futility of a protecting duty in favourable seasons. And in the nature of things there must be fluctuation in price, because there is great fluctuation in the quantity of produce, while the consumption remains the same, or rather gradually but regularly increases by the increase of population.—No legislation can prevent this fluctuation, because no man can control or foresee the harvest. When it is bad, prices rise; when it is good, prices fall. One unfavourable season is no good reason for requiring legislative aid; and the average price of wheat for the last seven years was 5s. per bushel; as in 1835, 5s. 6d.; 1836, 4s.; 1837, 7s. 6d.; 1838, 6s. 3d.; 1839, 5s.; 1840, 4s. 9d.; 1841, 4s. These were the prices at Kingston in January of each year.

It must also be remembered, that a part of the agricultural class in Canada consists, and always will, of those new settlers who do not yet raise sufficient produce for their own con-

sumption. We have heard of one farmer who for several years back has, on the average, sold 1600 bushels of wheat a year, having never sold less than 1200 bushels, and some years 2000.—There are other farmers also who grow large quantities of wheat every year. But on the other hand, not only the new settlers dispersed throughout the Province, but also farmers in some of the oldest settlements, frequently do not raise wheat enough for their own consumption. So that if a part, (the largest part,) of the farming interest require high, or at least good prices for their produce, there is another part of the same class who require low or at least moderate prices, because they have to buy instead of sell wheat.

It has been urged against the proposed duty, that it would injure, if not destroy, the carrying interest in Canada. How important this is may be inferred from the fact stated in Mr. Cartwright's speech before mentioned, that during the past season "upwards of 1,330 cargoes were unladen from Schooners from the West in the Port of Kingston; having, among other things, 30,000 tons of American produce for Montreal." This great amount of inland commerce is of vast benefit to the Province in various ways which we need not point out.—We do not, however, suppose that the proposed duty would destroy this commerce, thinking rather that it would be entirely nugatory, as we explained in our last; but it would cramp and obstruct it greatly, by imposing a necessity for custom-house supervision, bonds, drawbacks, &c., besides in all probability opening a door to numerous frauds. To burden our infant commerce with these harassing restrictions would be highly injudicious, and should not be dreamt of without an imperious necessity. As every entry, and every delay have to be paid for, a system of duties and drawbacks would add to the cost of transportation, as well as hinder our commercial operations.

The jargon of some political economists has also been applied to this question. It has been argued as if there were no rule for determining the issue—no standard of value by which to judge the merits of the case—as if the farmer had no principles for his guidance, but was at the mercy of wind and weather, times and chances, helpless as one of his scare-crows, passive as his weathercock, a woolly animal to be fleeced whenever the season arrives, or a

mere goose to be plucked by every curly-headed boy who has the range of the common. The farmer cannot tell what his wheat will fetch, it is said: no, but he can tell what it ought to fetch. There is a standard of value for wheat, as much as there is for cloth; and that standard is, the cost of production. This determines the intrinsic value of his wheat, and by adding a reasonable profit he can determine what ought to be the current value, or selling price, and can thus know whether he sells it above, at, or beneath its intrinsic value. The dogma has passed into a maxim with some political economists—that “the value of a thing is what it will fetch,” but we acknowledge no such blind doctrine. For, unless the term value be there taken for current value, in which case it is a mere truism, it is altogether delusive, inasmuch as it assumes that there is no standard by which to determine the intrinsic value of any thing, which every man knows to be absurd. The law of supply and demand affects only the current value, not the intrinsic. If the former fall and remain below the latter, less of the article will be produced, until a short supply raises the price, or renders the current at least equal to the intrinsic value. But before this effect can follow, the difference must continue for some time, if not appear likely to be permanent; for men will not stop or change their occupations for one or two unprofitable seasons. English manufacturers will sometimes work their mills at a loss rather than let them and their capital be idle. And so the farmer may for two, three, or four years grow wheat at a loss rather than change his plans; but if the loss be likely to continue or become permanent he would most assuredly change his routine, and rather throw his fields into grass than grow wheat below a remunerating price.

But why talk about a remunerating price, if he be unable to tell what is a remunerating price? And how can he tell that unless he can determine the intrinsic value, that is, the actual cost? There is a standard of appeal, and it is in reference to it that the farmer speaks of selling his wheat or flour below the value; just as a merchant whose goods have sold a sacrifice at an auction says that they have been sold below the value. The farmer is not able to fix the price at which his wheat shall be sold; but he ought to be able to fix the price at which it should *not* be sold. He ought to be able to fix the *minimum* price, just

as easily as a manufacturer can fix the lowest price at which he will sell his goods. There is more fluctuation in the farmer's prices, because of the difference of seasons, but in all fluctuations he has a standard of value, and if he be constrained to sell below it, he has at least the privilege of saying so, and of endeavouring to obtain better prices if he can. It is not on this ground, then, that he can be driven from his purpose, or persuaded that he ought to be satisfied with whatever his produce will fetch, because that is its value. To this decree of a blind fate he is not at all inclined to submit, still less to worship her for a goddess who holds his destiny in her hands. He is apt to think that he has something to do in the business, some right to exercise his free will and free intellect in the matter, and determine for himself what the state of the case is, what it ought be, and how to make it what it ought to be. Those who preach to him to be content with things as they are, should first prove that what he complains of is unavoidable. He does not quarrel with Providence; but he is exceedingly apt to suspect the men who put themselves in the place of Providence. If they cannot convince his reason, they will hardly silence his complaints, or delay his efforts for redress.

In our remarks last month, we stated that the farmer was entitled to protection or favour from the government, leaving the mode of protection for further consideration. And, in the first place, the Canadian farmer is protected and favoured by the government, by the differential duty on Canadian and foreign wheat and flour in England. This difference is, in point of fact, a protection to the Canadian farmer to the amount of the difference, for the English market is the natural, and in general, only market for his surplus produce. For two years he had a market in the United States, but that was the exception, and is not likely to occur again. And this protection is greater in amount than many persons are aware of. On the 7th of January, the price of free Canadian flour at Liverpool was 35s. to 35s. 6d. sterling: and of free American flour 36s. to 36s. 6d. sterling; the duty on Canadian flour was 3s. 1½d. sterling, and on American flour 16s. 7½d. sterling, making a protection or bounty in favour of Canadian flour of 13s. 6d. sterling, equal to about 15s. currency on a barrel of flour. It is true that this difference of duty decreases as the price of flour rises, but unless the rise of flour be so great as

to amount to *famine prices*, there will still be a considerable difference in favour of Canadian flour. The price of flour at the time quoted above was high, and yet it left a difference of about 15s. currency in favour of the Canadian farmer. It must not be supposed, then, that his interests have been neglected by the government, or that he has been treated as an outcast from the empire of which he forms a part. In the markets to which his surplus produce must be sent, he is protected by an important difference of duty. Of those markets the English is the principal; the others are the Lower Provinces, and the West Indies. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick there is a difference of 5s. per barrel in favour of Canadian flour, and in the West Indies we have nearly a monopoly of the trade, very much to the chagrin of our neighbours in the United States. Therefore, if all has not been done that the Canadian farmer desires, at least he must not forget that much has been done for his benefit; that he has not been overlooked in the management of affairs, or treated as an alien from his fatherland.

It is supposed, however, that a still further benefit should be granted to the Canadian farmer, by abolishing altogether the duty on his produce in the English market; and the request appears to be both just and reasonable. The only objection to it is, that as the English farmer pays many taxes which are not paid in Canada, it would not be just to admit Canada produce into competition with his at equal advantages. But the quantity of Canadian produce that could, under the most favourable circumstances, be sent to the English market, would never be sufficient to make any material difference in prices, and therefore it could not injure the English farmer. The utmost quantity that could be exported from Canada would not more than equal one week's consumption in England, and by some persons it has been calculated at much less. Now, this amount would make no material difference in English prices, if indeed, any at all; and if a benefit can be conferred upon Canadians without injuring the English farmer, it should certainly be done; for, as we stated in our last, the Canadian farmer has numberless evils and difficulties to contend with, which neutralize his freedom from rent and heavy taxes. The very difficulty of bringing his produce to market by the want of good roads, is in the back settlements,

almost insuperable. We have heard many of our backwoodsmen, having some of the finest, most fertile wheat land in the province, say:—"What is the use of our raising more produce than we can consume? for we cannot get it to market." This difficulty and consequent expense of getting to market, is a heavy tax on the Canadian farmer, and goes far to counterbalance the advantages he possesses over the farmer in England. Indeed, taking all things into account—the high price of labour, the trouble and expense of clearing land, the length and severity of the winter, and consequent difficulty, among other things, of keeping sheep and cattle to profit, and the cost and labour of getting produce to market—and we are satisfied that these things do, and will for many years, counterbalance the freedom from rent and heavy taxes enjoyed by the Canadian farmer.—He may have less anxiety of mind than the farmer in England labours under, but he has far more severe bodily toil, ill repaid, and long continued; and if it were not that he looks forward with hope to the removal of many of his difficulties by the gradual advance and improvement of the country, he would become dissatisfied with his condition, and abandon in despair the struggle with the ancient forests, arctic winters, impassable roads, little or no assistance, and indifferent returns for his toil and expenses. If then, any favour can be shewn to him without injury to his English brother, he deserves the favour, stationed as he is at the outposts of civilization, and battling with formidable difficulties, in order to prepare for his posterity, his country, and the empire at large, a vast, clear and smiling field for their enterprise, and an easier lot and richer rewards than have fallen to his share in this outset of the struggle. He is a pioneer in the grand march of civilization; and if the "gentlemen of England, who sit at home in ease," will but reflect on his condition, they will not grudge him the limited boon which he now desires, for it certainly may be granted without inflicting any injury worth naming on the English farmer.

Moreover, powerful interests are at work in England to obtain the total abrogation of all protecting duties on bread stuffs—the entire repeal of the Corn Laws. It is well understood that they do not benefit the farmer so much as the landlord, by keeping up rents. The Corn Laws do not give higher profits to the farmer, but higher rents to the landlord; and if they

were abrogated, the difference to the farmer would be that, if he had less prices for his produce, he would pay less rent to his landlord, and less poor-rate to the parish, for cheaper food would enable the poor to live at less expense. The pressure of population on the means of subsistence is increasing every year in England, and the opinion grows stronger every day that the corn law restrictions must soon give way before that pressure; and the easiest way of introducing the change would be by admitting Colonial bread-stuffs free of duty.— Thus the way would be prepared for admitting foreign produce free, if the wants of the nation should require it. In this way there would be no violent change, but a gradual opening of a trade, without doing any violence to any existing interests; for the surplus produce of the colonies is, and must for many years remain, too limited to make much impression on the English market. To effect in this way a gradual change in the Corn Law system, is, therefore, an additional reason for admitting Canadian produce into England duty free. The Colonies, as integral parts of the Empire, limited in their trade to its manufactures chiefly, and prohibited from procuring many foreign articles of constant necessity, (*as tea*,) except through English commerce, have certainly a right to the most favourable consideration from the Imperial authorities, and may reasonably expect that their produce be received in the Mother Country without taxation. They have no desire either to embarrass the Imperial Government, or injure their brethren at home; for they conceive that the object at which they aim may be granted without any such effect, while it would benefit them, and also to some extent relieve the manufacturing and commercial classes in England. On these grounds, then, we think that this part of the case may be maintained, being fit and proper, reasonable and just; adapted to benefit Canada without injuring Great Britain; either preparing the way for a change in the Corn Laws, and the relief of the non-productive classes there, or at least so far relaxing the system as to render such a thorough change unnecessary, by opening the trade only to the Colonies, but not to foreign nations; and by admitting the Colonies, as integral parts of the Empire, to the same privileges as are enjoyed at home, and thus compensating them for their restrictions in trade to the Mother Country. The duty on Cana-

dian flour being $\$s.$ per barrel, and five bushels of good wheat making a barrel of flour, if the duty were taken off, it would add 7d. per bushel to the farmer's prices. But as all wheat is not of that quality, we must make a reduction, and, keeping under, rather than above the average, we may estimate the saving at 6d. per bushel, a difference which would be of great importance to the farmer, and would give him much more strength and spirit to subdue the wilderness.— Suppose that he raised 300 bushels of wheat, the difference would be about £20 per annum, which would pay the wages of a farm servant, and thus enable him to increase his annual produce. A change that would so greatly benefit Canada, without producing any injury, or but very trifling if any, at home, is certainly recommended by the highest considerations, both of justice and expediency. We know that there is a powerful party, a majority, at home who will resist any, even the slightest change in the Corn Law system; but surely even they will not refuse to their Colonial fellow-subjects in this western wilderness the inconsiderable change here sought. They need not fear that we shall overwhelm them with a flood of golden grain, or shake the "fast-anchored isle" from its ancient moorings by any of our puny efforts. To them these efforts are as nothing, mere gleanings of the harvest field, though to us they are all-important. In such a case we may fairly expect but little opposition from any quarter in England.

We have adverted to the Canada carrying trade as an interest that deserves encouragement, but certainly not in opposition to the farming interest. In a country so exclusively agricultural as Canada is, the interest of the merchant or forwarder deserves no political consideration, except so far as their prosperity is derived from the agriculturist, or so far as they promote his prosperity. Their interests are either artificial, or politically unimportant compared to his. Canadian laws should regard the merchant chiefly as he is a factor for the farmer, while the interest of the latter ought to be promoted as the most vital consideration for all classes. The free admission of American wheat does political injury, by making the Canadian farmer suppose that the American has all the advantages of his own market, and of ours likewise. And the injury done is also to the pockets as well as the spirit of the country, by the way in which the business

is generally managed. The statement that Canadian prices are not affected by the introduction and transport of American wheat duty free, holds good only on the supposition that the wheat was purchased with funds that Canadians could not obtain, and had no right to expect. But the government of an agricultural country will regard the case as being very different when the money which ought to have bought Canadian wheat is employed to circulate the crop of Ohio, leaving the Canadian farmer almost without a market at any price.— It will thus be observed that, though we admit the farmer to be wrong in supposing that his evils arise wholly from American wheat passing through Canada, we yet admit also that it imposes a hardship upon him when these American transactions unhinge Canadian currency.

Banks either were required to circulate the crop of Canada, or they were not. If not, why were they established? But if they were, why should they circulate the crop of Ohio? The farmer is more injured than if there were no banks; or, at all events, he is more disappointed, for in trusting to them he often trusts to a broken reed. To the banks we attribute much of the evil complained of by the farmer, in allowing their means to be applied to purposes never contemplated in their institution. The design of our Legislature in granting privileges to moneyed corporations, was altogether for the purpose of their funds being employed wholly for the benefit of the Province. Who will say that this object has been kept in view by the chartered banks? We do not mean to say that it could be kept in view in every case, but we know many instances of advances by the Banks to the Rochester millers and Ohio speculators, when these institutions were perfectly aware of the facts, and of the moral obligation attached to the Country's banking capital, and acted thus for the sake of making more profit than they could out of Canadian transactions. We know also, that if this extra profit can be gained, the Banking Capital of what was Upper Canada will continue to be thus directly and indirectly applied to purposes foreign to the farmer's interests, and, as we have explained, to the interest of the country.

In this view of the case another plan has been proposed, which is true in principle, and which would embrace the whole question, and remove all the complaints at one operation; that is, to obtain an act of the Imperial Parlia-

ment putting Canada on the same footing as Ireland, in fact making it a kind of English county, with a floating bridge across the Atlantic, by which the duty on Canadian wheat and flour in England should be abolished, and an Imperial duty of 5s. sterling per barrel, and 1s. sterling per bushel, should be collected in Canada on all flour and wheat imported from the States, which should then pass free into England. By this transfer of the Imperial duty from the English ports to the Canadian frontier or Custom houses, the foreign grain having paid the necessary duty before coming into Canada, all grain exported from the Province would be viewed as Canadian, and be entered in England duty free. We know not how far the Home Government would be disposed to sanction such an arrangement, but it would entirely satisfy the Canadian farmer, for he would have a protection of 1s. sterling per bushel, not only in the export trade, but also in his home market. The duty would be levied for Imperial, not Provincial, purposes. And there would be no new restriction on trade, but merely a present restriction removed from one part of the Empire to another. The few, in England who could see in this any modification of the Corn Laws in favour of the manufacturing classes, would have sufficient patriotism to perceive that any extra quantity of foreign grain which this plan would introduce into England, would have paid in the duty levied, and in the increase and prosperity of the Canada carrying trade, and British shipping, quite sufficient charges; and this class, to whom alone the proposed arrangement might have to be reconciled, would see that the advantage to the Province, the right arm of the British empire, is a point of vital political importance.— For if our limited monarchy, by not being able to appeal to the advancement of the country, and the individual prosperity of the people, as a proof of its fitness for this side the Atlantic, should appear shorn of its beams and deprived of its strength, a strong argument against our revered institutions would here be found. In England, where distress arising from over population and over working is too apt to ascribe its miseries to public rather than individual causes, the agriculturist would see another strong reason for this plan, in that it would settle for a long time to come all discussion upon the irritating subject of the Corn Laws, the bad effects arising from which he knows have been

so great that if the evils he anticipates from repealing those laws were realised, whatever might be the effect upon the country, the effect on the agricultural labourer could not be worse than it has been. We could have no fear in appealing to the sympathy of the English agriculturist in favour of the Canadian, and our argument has reference chiefly to a class who have far too much influence with the agricultural interest, namely, the *Mark Lane* factors, a set of men that we must regard as one of those coalitions whose political power, like that of the speculators in this country, is always an injury, never a benefit.

We rejoice, however, to know that brighter days dawn upon Canada. The confidence the country reposes in Lord Sydenham and the ministry permits persons of influence here honestly to advise the moneyed men of England who trust in the present stability and future greatness of this noble province, which may be regarded as one immense wheat field, to employ their capital in the purchase of its produce.—Already the system has commenced of capitalists in England communicating directly with the Canadian millers. The best informed classes in England having thus already come to our assistance, it will not be long before the other grain dealers and consumers, finishers of goods, bakers, &c., will have their correspondents in the interior of Canada, instead of buying Canadian flour after it had passed through three or four different hands, and of course been subjected to as many agencies, commissions, and profits. The present advantages will, perhaps, chiefly accrue to those spirited individuals who first adopted the true plan of coming for their supplies to the fountain head; but the Canadian farmer, at no distant period, will derive all the benefit himself. These are bright hopes for him. Canada brought into the position of an English County, getting the full price for its produce, less by the mere charges of transportation to market.

• These are bright hopes also for the settlement of the country, and for the dense population at home, pining in dependence and misery.

For with the inducements which we believe the Canadian agriculturist will have, many years will not elapse until in Canada is produced, by English agriculturists, wheat enough for ever to put a stop to all Corn Law clamour. And these prospects being realised, how great an amount of prosperity they will secure to the English manufacturer. Instead of having a straitened state of money matters periodically induced by money being drafted to the continent of Europe to buy bread for the people of England, he will have that money laid out in manufacturing instead of agricultural productions; because Englishmen have English habits; and the greater amount of wheat imported from Canada, the greater number of Englishmen are employed in its production, who will all require to be clothed by the manufacturer.

In conclusion we would remark, that whatever plans may eventually be adopted, the benefit will be as great to the people of England as to the Canadian Colonist; for if such a state of things as we anticipate be brought about, if every man in England be not a producer there, he can be made a producer here by being sent hither. And the people of Canada may rest assured that the Government by a large and systemized emigration, one of the great measures which will immortalize the ministry of England, have in view the realizing to the English population and the Canadian farmer, all the practical blessings which human laws and regulations can effect.

That this question is deeply interesting to England, as well as to Canada, is shewn by the following calculation, copied from the *Liverpool Albion* :—

“Every shilling added to the price of grain in England, is equal to a tax upon the people of Two Millions Six Hundred Thousand pounds—a rise of five shillings would take from the consumers a sum sufficient to maintain the land and sea forces for a twelvemonth—upwards of twelve millions and a half. A tax upon one part of the community, not for defence, for justice, for education, nor for religion; but for the benefit of another portion of the community, thirty thousand landholders.”

MONTHLY SUMMARY.

THE expected re-union of the Canadas into one Province was effected on the 10th of February, by the following Proclamation, which was issued at Montreal on the 5th, and at Toronto on the 9th of that month.

A PROCLAMATION.

PROVINCE OF }
CANADA. } SYDENHAM.

VICTORIA, by the Grace of GOD, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, QUEEN, Defender of the Faith.

To all our loving subjects whom these presents may concern,

GREETING:

WHEREAS, for the good Government of our Provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada, and for the security of the rights and liberties, and the preservation of the interests of all classes of our subjects within the same, it is by an Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, made and passed in the fourth year of our Reign, intitled "An Act to re-unite the Provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada, and for the Government of Canada," amongst other things enacted, that it shall be lawful for US, with the advice of our Privy Council, to declare or to authorise the Governor General of our said two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, to declare that the said two Provinces upon, from and after a certain day in such Proclamation to be appointed, such day being within Fifteen Calendar Months next, after the passing of the said Act, shall form and be one Province under the name of the Province of Canada, and thenceforth the said Provinces shall constitute and be one Province, under the name aforesaid, upon, from and after the day so appointed as aforesaid—and whereas, in pursuance and exercise of the powers so vested in us by the said recited Act, we did on the Tenth day of August, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty, with the advice of our Privy Council, authorise the Governor General of the said two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, to declare by Proclamation, that the said two Provinces upon, from and after a certain day in such Proclamation to be appointed, such day being within Fifteen Calendar Months next, after the passing of the said Act, should form and be one Province under the name of the Province of Canada:

Now know ye therefore, that our right trusty and well beloved Councillor, CHARLES, BARON SYDENHAM, our Governor Gene-

ral of our said two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, hath in pursuance of the Provisions of the said recited Act, and under and by virtue of the power and authority by US granted to him as aforesaid, determined to declare, and it is by this our Royal Proclamation declared that the said Provinces upon, from and after the TENTH day of this present month of FEBRUARY, shall form and be one Province, under the name of the Province of Canada, of which all our loving subjects and all others concerned, are to take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, we have caused these our Letters to be made Patent, and the Great Seal of our said Province of Lower Canada to be hereunto affixed.

Witness our right trusty and well beloved the Right Honourable CHARLES, BARON SYDENHAM, of Sydenham, in the County of Kent, and Toronto in Canada, Governor General of British North America, and Captain General and Governor-in-Chief in and over our Provinces of Lower Canada and Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Island of Prince Edward, and Vice Admiral of the same.

At our Government House, in our City of Montreal, in our said Province of Lower Canada, the FIFTH day of FEBRUARY, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-One, and in the Fourth year of our Reign.

By command,

D. DALY,
Secretary of the Province.

At Toronto, His Excellency Sir George Arthur assembled the Executive Council in the Council Chamber, in which were present His Excellency's suite, the Judges, the Heads of Departments, the Mayor and Corporation of Toronto, and a number of private gentlemen. By His Excellency's command the Proclamation was then read by R. A. Tucker, Esquire, Provincial Secretary, and afterwards His Excellency read the following Address to the Mayor of Toronto:—

MR. MAYOR:

As a consequence of the Re-union of the Canadas, my Administration of the Government of the Upper Province will, under Her Majesty's Commission, necessarily cease after

this day; I therefore avail myself with very sincere pleasure, of your presence on this occasion, to express through you, as the Chief Magistrate of Toronto, my most cordial thanks for the support and co-operation which I have at all times received from the authorities and inhabitants of this city, and to offer you the assurance that my confidence in the loyalty of the citizens of Toronto, and of their attachment to Her Majesty's sacred Person, has suffered no diminution since I was called upon immediately upon my arrival in this country, to express Her Majesty's most gracious approbation of their conduct, under circumstances of peculiar trial.

I feel persuaded, Mr. Mayor, that the citizens of Toronto will transfer the same friendly feeling which I have experienced from them to the Governor of Canada, who will to-morrow assume the Executive functions over the United Province; and, as Lord Sydenham is charged with a most onerous duty, I persuade myself that with true British feeling, their generous support will be enlarged towards His Excellency, in proportion to the increased difficulties with which his Government must for a season have to contend.

(Signed) GEO. ARTHUR.

His Excellency then read the following Address to the Members of the Executive Council:—

The Honourable ROBERT BALDWIN SULLIVAN,
 " WILLIAM ALLAN,
 " AUGUSTUS BALDWIN,
 " WILLIAM HENRY DRAPER,
 " RICHARD A. TUCKER.

As the labours of the Executive Council of Upper Canada will cease after this day, I feel it a duty, as well as a great pleasure, on this occasion to record my sincere thanks for the cordial support you have uniformly afforded me during my administration of the Government.

The zeal with which your important duties as Councillors have been discharged, has been as remarkable as the patient industry you have employed in the investigation of all subjects which I have found it necessary to bring under your notice; and, I take my leave of you with sentiments of the most cordial esteem and personal regard.

(Signed) GEO. ARTHUR.

Having laid the address on the Council table, His Excellency bowed to the Judges, Heads of Departments, and others present, and said, that in taking leave, he begged to express the same sentiments to all of them.

On the 10th of February, a grand Banquet was given to His Excellency Sir George Arthur, by the merchants, bankers, and other gentlemen of Toronto, Isaac Buchanan, Esq.,

President of the Board of Trade, in the Chair. About one hundred and fifty gentlemen sat down to dinner, and the proceedings of the evening gave the highest pleasure to all.—When His Excellency's health was proposed, it was received by the company with the utmost enthusiasm, and Sir George returned thanks in nearly the following words:—

MR. PRESIDENT:—To say that I am highly gratified by your kindness in giving me this sumptuous banquet, or that I feel most highly honoured by the manner in which you have responded to the toast which, in terms so highly flattering, your chairman has been pleased to propose, would be but faintly to express the unbounded satisfaction I derive from such a manifestation of your kind sentiments towards me, in anticipation of my early departure from Canada.—Imagine what, under such circumstances, would be your own feelings, and a better criterion will be afforded than any language can convey, of what mine are at this moment.

Occasions like the present are ordinarily taken of reviewing the general measures and policy of our Administration; but I am sure you will appreciate my motives in departing from that custom, and foregoing an opportunity I might otherwise have been tempted to seize: for I see around me so many persons, who, though kindly united towards me, maintain such different opinions upon some of the topics upon which I must necessarily touch, that I will not run the risk of inadvertently giving utterance to a sentiment or opinion which might be discordant to the feelings of any gentleman present.

There is, however, one subject upon which I must take the opportunity of saying a few words: I allude to the all-important event in which every inhabitant of Canada is so deeply interested. It has given me the utmost concern to find that this great political measure has caused much depression and some excitement in this city, in consequence of an impression which generally prevails, that the Legislature is to meet at, and, consequently that the seat of Government is to be removed to Kingston, and this opinion seems to have been circulated in terms of irritation. I do not pretend, Sir, to possess any certain information of what may be the ultimate decision as to where the seat of Government for the Province of Canada shall eventually be fixed; and great as are the talents of Lord Sydenham, and certainly, I believe, no man of equal ability has ever yet administered the Government of the British Province.—I consider it scarcely possible for the Governor General yet to have come to a final decision upon so momentous a subject.—It cannot be considered exclusively with reference to the feelings and convenience of the members for what was Upper Canada, nor must it be forgotten that no small advantage has

been obtained in having the Seat of Government within the precincts of what was that Province, and that this concession alone must be regarded with some dissatisfaction by our fellow-subjects of Lower Canada. I speak now without the least authority, but I can readily understand that the Governor may consider, under the circumstances, that Kingston is, in many respects the most eligible place for the Legislature to commence its labours, as being central in its position, and less than any other place at this moment likely to generate jealousy.

But whether Kingston shall, or shall not be finally selected as the Seat of Government, you may confidently rely upon it that a step so important will not be taken, until those who have no interest in the choice, but the deepest anxiety for your general good, shall have given to it, in all its views, the fullest consideration. Not only will this occupy the care of His Excellency the Governor General, but also that of Her Majesty's Ministers, who, I am sure, will never be insensible to the sufferings of the country, nor will they ever be found wanting to mitigate those sufferings should a sacrifice of particular advantages be found necessary for the general good.

His Excellency concluded by declaring that he should never cease to feel the warmest interest in the future prosperity of the City which had been the scene of his Administration; and proposed the Toast of "The Mayor and the City of Toronto."

On the 10th of February, His Excellency Lord Sydenham opened Her Majesty's Commission at Montreal, and took the necessary oaths of office as Governor of the Province of Canada; after which His Excellency held a Levee which was very numerously attended.—The following Proclamation was then issued by His Lordship:

SYDENHAM.

A PROCLAMATION.

IN obedience to the commands of the Queen I have this day assumed the Government of the Province of Canada. Upper and Lower Canada, separated for fifty years, are once more re-united, and henceforward will form but one Province under one administration.

On my arrival in Lower Canada I declared that one of the main objects of my Mission was, to put an end to the Suspension of the Constitution in that Province, and to restore to its inhabitants the full benefits of British Institutions. That object is accomplished. By the Imperial Act which fixes the Union, representative Government is again established, and that control by the People over their own affairs, which is deemed the highest privilege of Britons, is once more restored to them. The Act

which provides for this, affixes certain conditions to the grant, over which the Provincial Legislature can exercise no authority; while it leaves to the final arbitration of that Legislature all questions but those which the Imperial Parliament in its wisdom has deemed essential itself to determine—the Legislative Reunion—the establishment of a secure and firm administration of Government—and the maintenance of the due relations of Colony and Parent State. Efforts have been sedulously made to deceive the unwary, and especially some of our fellow subjects of French origin, upon this point—to represent these Provisions as injurious—to treat them as susceptible of change here—and to excite opposition which can only prove as mischievous as it must be useless.

I rely, however, on these efforts proving unavailing; and appeal with confidence to the loyalty and good sense of the Inhabitants of Lower Canada, of whatever origin, so to use the power which is now again committed to their hands as to justify the trust which Our Sovereign and the Imperial Parliament have reposed in them, and cordially to join in an endeavour to promote the common interest of the United Province.

In Upper Canada the sense of the people was declared fully and freely, through their Constitutional organs, upon the great question of the Union itself, and on the principles on which it should be based. Those principles have been adopted by the Imperial Parliament, and it will ever be matter of the utmost gratification to me, that my humble efforts have aided in perfecting a measure, securing, as I firmly believe, to that Province, which I regard with feelings of affection as well as interest, advantages which it could attain by no other means.

Inhabitants of the Province of Canada!—Henceforward may you be united in sentiment as you are, from this day, in name. Who can visit, as it has been my good fortune to do, the extensive regions which are now united in one common denomination, and fail to acknowledge the vast resources they present for all that can conduce to the comforts and happiness of man? A part of the Mighty Empire of England—protected by Her Arms—assisted by Her Treasury—admitted to all the benefits of Trade as Her Citizens—your freedom guaranteed by Her Laws, and your rights supported by the sympathy of your Fellow-Subjects there—Canada enjoys a position unsurpassed by any Country in the World.

It is for you, its inhabitants, to cultivate those advantages—to avail yourselves of the new Era which now opens upon you. Our Gracious Sovereign and the people of England watch with anxiety the result of the great change which has to-day received its completion. It is the first wish of the Queen to rule in the hearts of Her Subjects, and to feel that

they are contented and prosperous under Her mild and just sway ; Her Parliament and Government in conferring on you new Institutions have sought only your happiness and advantage. In your hands rests now your own fate, and by the use which you will make of the opportunity, must it be decided. May the all-wise disposer of events so ordain your acts that they may tend to the promotion of Peace and Happiness amongst you, and may He pour His Blessing upon that Union of which it is my pleasing duty this day, to announce to you the completion.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms, at the Government-House, in the City of Montreal, in the said Province of Canada, the TENTH day of FEBRUARY, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-One, and in the Fourth year of Her Majesty's Reign.

By command,
D. DALY,
Secretary of the Province.

On the same day Lord Sydenham issued a commission appointing Sir George Arthur Deputy Governor of that part of the Province heretofore known as Upper Canada. It is understood that Sir George will remain at Toronto until Spring, exercising the same powers as before the Re-union.

On the same day also was issued a proclamation by Lord Sydenham, continuing the Court of Chancery at Toronto until further notice.

The following announcement declares the appointment of the Executive Council for the Province of Canada :

Office of the Secretary of the Province,
Montreal, 13th February, 1841.

His Excellency the Governor General has been pleased to make the following appointments, viz :—

The Hon. ROBERT BALDWIN SULLIVAN and JOHN HENRY DUNN, of the city of Toronto, DOMINICK DALY, of the city of Quebec, SAMUEL BEALEY HARRISON, of the said city of Toronto, CHARLES RICHARD OGDEN, of the city of Montreal, WILLIAM HENRY DRAPEL and ROBERT BALDWIN, of the said city of Toronto, and CHARLES DEWEY DAY, of the said city of Montreal, to be Members of Her Majesty's Executive Council of the Province of Canada.

The Honourable DOMINICK DALY and SAMUEL BEALEY HARRISON, to be Secretaries of the said Province of Canada.

THOMAS AMIOT, of the said City of Quebec, Esq., to be Clerk of the Crown in Chancery for the Province of Canada.

His Excellency the Governor General has been pleased to appoint DOMINICK DALY, Esq.,

and S. B. HARRISON, Esq., to be respectively Her Majesty's Secretary for the Province of Canada.

Mr. Daly will conduct the correspondence for that part of the Province heretofore the Province of Lower Canada, and Mr. Harrison for that part heretofore the Province of Upper Canada.

By Command,
T. W. C. MURDOCH,
Chief Secretary.

Government House, }
Montreal, Feb. 13, 1841. }

On the 15th of February a Proclamation was issued calling a Provincial Parliament, the writs of election to bear date on the 19th of February, and be returnable on the 21st of April. By another Proclamation of the same date, the Parliament is summoned to meet at KINGSTON, on the 8th of April, not, however, for the despatch of business, and they will not, in all probability, meet until May. Kingston having been selected as the Seat of Government for the United Province, the necessary preparations were begun for providing accommodations for the Parliamentary and Government offices.— Baron Grant's house, near Kingston, has been leased for three years, as a residence for the Governor General. The Parliament will hold its sittings in the new general Hospital, which has large wards, adapted for the purpose ; and the public offices will be held in the large new building belonging to the Marine Rail Way Company. This range of stone buildings was intended for thirty-two houses, and therefore is well adapted for public offices.

On the 19th of February, the following Proclamation was issued for preserving peace at the elections :—

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS Writs of Election have this day been issued in due form of Law, for calling a Provincial Parliament, returnable on Thursday, the Eighth day of April next, I do therefore, hereby charge and command all Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other Magistrates residing within any of the Counties, Cities or Towns of this Province, that they do effectually repress all tumults, riots, outrages, and breaches of the Peace within their respective jurisdictions : And I do further earnestly and solemnly exhort, enjoin, call upon, and command all the Queen's subjects that they do come forward upon the first appearance or apprehension of any such disturbance as aforesaid, as they are bound by their duty to Her

Majesty, by their regard for the general interest, and by the obligation of the law, and that they be actively aiding and assisting, to all Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other Magistrates, in enforcing the law against all evil-doers, and protecting their fellow-subjects in the exercise of their rights, against all forcible, illegal, unconstitutional interference, control or aggression.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms, at the Government House, in the city of Montreal, in the said Province of Canada, the Nineteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty one, and in the fourth year of Her Majesty's Reign.

By His Excellency's command,

D. DALY,
Secretary of the Province.

The following is a correct List of the names of Returning Officers and places of Election for the different Counties, Ridings, and Towns.

COUNTIES AND TOWNS.	PLACE OF ELECTION.	DATE.	RETURNING OFFICER.
Glengarry,	Williamstown,	March 15	Alexander McMartin.
Stormont,	Moulinette, .....	.. 15	James Pringle.
Prescott,	L'Original, .....	.. 15	Charles P. Treadwell.
Russell,	New Edinburgh, .....	.. 8	Robert Lang.
Cornwall,	Cornwall, .....	.. 22	Guy Carleton Wood.
Dundas,	{ Broeffell's Inn, West Wil- } { liamsburgh, .....	.. 8	Robert Cline.
Grenville,	Prescott, .....	.. 8	Adiel Sherwood.
Leeds,	{ At or near the Toll Gate } { in Elizabethtown, .....	.. 15	George Crawford.
Brockville,	Brockville, .....	.. 15	James Jessup.
Lanark,	Perth, .....	.. 22	Alexander McMillan.
Carleton,	Bytown, .....	.. 22	George R. Burke.
Bytown,	Bytown, .....	.. 8	George W. Baker.
Frontenac,	Kingston, .....	.. 8	Thomas Kirkpatrick.
Kingston,	Kingston, .....	.. 22	James Sampson.
Prince Edward,	Picton, .....	.. 8	Owen McMahon.
Lenox and Addington,	Bath, .....	.. 15	Allan McDonell.
Hastings,	Belleville, .....	.. 22	J. W. Dunbar Moodie,
Northumberland, South Riding,	Colborne, .....	.. 22	Joha Steele.
Northumberland, North Riding,	Peterboro', .....	.. 15	Alexander S. Fraser.
Durham,	Clarke, late Newtonville, .....	.. 22	Henry S. Reid.
Toronto,	Toronto, .....	.. 15	Robert Stanton.
York, First Riding,	Thornhill, .....	.. 8	Benjamin Thorne.
York, Second do.	Streetsville, .....	.. 8	John Hector.
York, Third do.	Posts Inn, Pickering, .....	.. 8	Lawrence Heyden.
York, Fourth do.	Newmarket, .....	.. 8	Charles Scadding.
Simcoe,	Barrie, .....	.. 15	Samuel Richardson.
Halton, East Riding,	Palermo, .....	.. 15	Richard George Beasley.
Halton, West do.	Guelph, .....	.. 15	Adam J. Ferguson.
Hamilton,	Hamilton, .....	.. 8	Arthur Bowen.
Wentworth,	Hamilton, .....	.. 15	Allan McDonell.
Lincoln, North Riding,	St. Catharines, .....	.. 8	Burrage T. McKyes.
Lincoln, South do.	Port Robinson, .....	.. 8	Gilbert McMicken.
Haldimand,	Cayuga, .....	.. 15	Henry W. Nelles.
Niagara,	Niagara, .....	.. 8	John L. Alma.
Norfolk,	Simcoe, .....	.. 15	John B. Grouse.
Oxford,	Woodstock, .....	.. 15	James Ingersoll.
Middlesex,	London, .....	.. 15	John Wilson.
London,	London, .....	.. 22	John Wilson.
Essex,	Sandwich, .....	.. 22	Robert Mercer.
Kent,	Chatham, .....	.. 22	George W. Foott.
Huron,	Goderich, .....	.. 22	Henry Hyndman.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

No returns having been received from many persons to whom the REVIEW has been sent, they are respectfully requested to remit their Subscriptions without delay, in order that we may ascertain the total number required.

Messrs. ARMOUR & RAMSAY, of Montreal, will receive Subscriptions in that City for the REVIEW.

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TORONTO, MARCH 1ST, 1841.