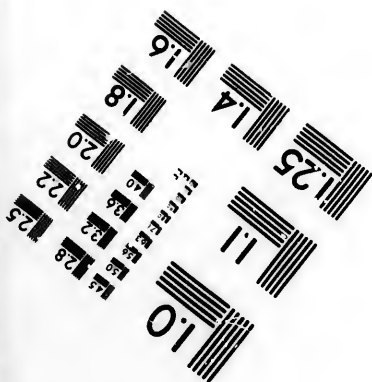
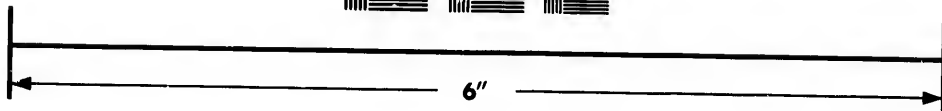
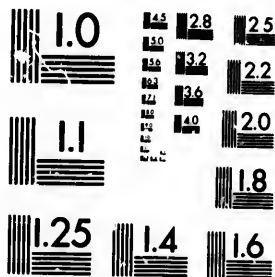


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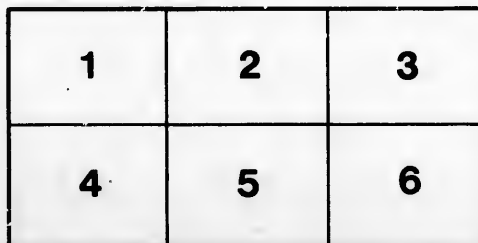
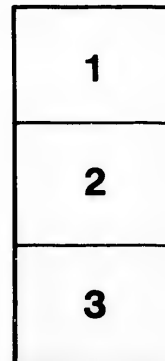
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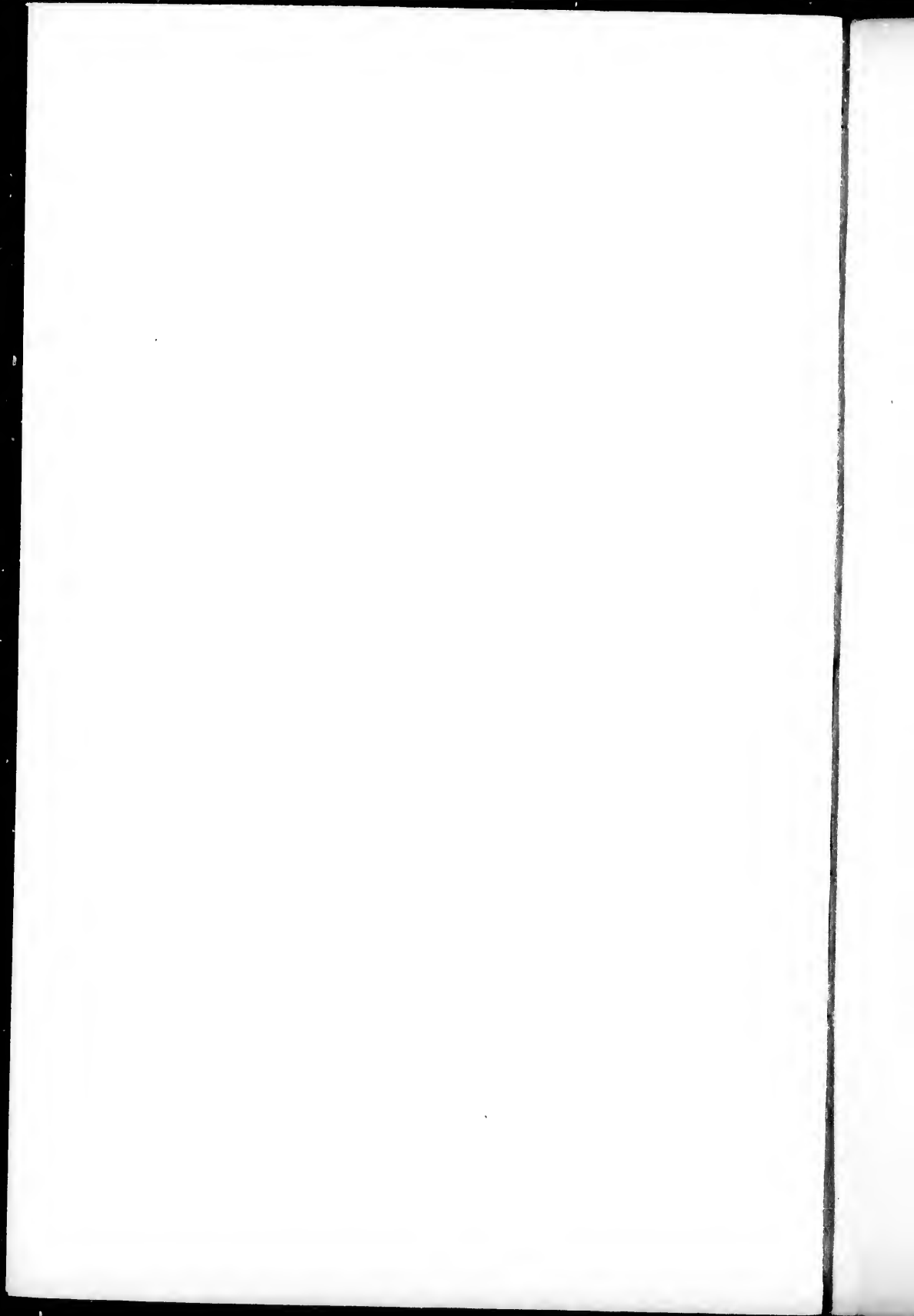
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TORONTO:

THE GROUNDS UPON WHICH ARE BASED HER CLAIMS

TO BE

The Seat of Government of Canada;

WITH

A MEMORANDUM

ADDRESSED BY

SIR FRANCIS BOND HEAD, BART.,

TO THE

Secretary of State for the Colonies,

ON THE SUBJECT.

TORONTO:

THOMPSON & Co., PRINTERS, 52 KING STREET EAST.

1858.

Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies having (in a note dated 5th of January, 1858), authorised Sir Francis Bond Head, Bart., "to communicate his opinion on the selection of the Seat of Government in Canada to any one he might think proper," the publishers have succeeded in obtaining a copy of this important and interesting official document, and submit it, together with "a statement of the grounds upon which Toronto bases her claim to becoming the permanent Seat of Government for the Province of Canada," prepared by a Select Committee of the Common Council of the City of Toronto, to the public.

Toronto, February 27th, 1858.

CLAIMS OF THE CITY OF TORONTO
TO BE
THE PERMANENT SEAT OF GOVERNMENT
OF CANADA.

GOVERNOR'S SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
(CIRCULAR.) TORONTO, C. W. March, 28th, 1857.

SIR,

You are possibly aware that the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of Canada have addressed Her Most Gracious Majesty to exercise Her Prerogative in the selection of a permanent Seat of Government for the whole Province.

In the event of Her Majesty complying with the prayer of their addresses His Excellency, is anxious that Her advisers in England should be enabled to place before Her a full and fixed statement of the claim of each separate city which may be considered a candidate for the honor of becoming the future capital of Canada.

As a matter of course the final selection must depend on a comprehensive survey of the interests, not of any one place, but of the whole Province, as part of British North America.

The claims, however, of each city are likely to be stated by the persons most interested in supporting them, better than they would be by any other party.

His Excellency, therefore, invites the Corporation of Toronto to cause to be prepared a paper setting forth the reasons which may, in their opinion, favour the claim of that place to be selected by the Queen.

With every wish to afford full time for preparing these statements, His Excellency desires that it may be in the hands of the Colonial Secretary by the first week in July in the present year.

You will please, if you see fit to comply with His Excellency's desire, address the packet to the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, London, and endorse it with the words, "City of Toronto, Canada."

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obed't. serv't.

To His Worship
The Mayor,
Toronto.

R. T. PENNEFATHER.

The foregoing Communication was referred, by the late Council, to a Select Committee, consisting of the Mayor, John Hutchison, Esquire, Aldermen Brunel, Manning, Mowat, Phillpotts, and Robinson, with Councillors Earl, Moodie, Ramsey and Sproatt. The Committee reported the following as the claims of the City of Toronto, and it was, in compliance with the instructions contained in the circular, transmitted to the Colonial Secretary, accompanied by several maps and photographic views of buildings and streets of Toronto, early in July, 1857.

MAYOR'S OFFICE, July 1st, 1857.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR THE COLONIES.

SIR,—

THE Governor General having called upon me to furnish Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies with a statement of the grounds upon which Toronto bases her claims to becoming the permanent Seat of Government for the Province of Canada, I have now the honour of addressing you in compliance with His Excellency's request.

In order to estimate the value of the arguments on which I rely for establishing the justice of the selection I am advocating, it is necessary to state the considerations which will naturally influence Her Majesty's Government in determining upon the selection of a

site for the permanent Capital of Canada. In doing so, I have endeavoured to approach the question in a broad and extended view of those interests which concern the whole Province, uninfluenced by the supposed claims of any particular locality to especial consideration, for this city repudiates the idea that it has any pretensions to the distinction of continuing to be the metropolis of this vast dependency of the British Crown, other than those based upon an enlarged and prospective view of public policy, convenience and justice to the people, considered as one great body of British subjects, without regard to national distinctions, which time is rapidly obliterating.

Among the considerations which may be presumed to influence the determination of this important question are—

1st. The convenience of the people to be governed, keeping in view the direction in which the settlement of the unoccupied territories is advancing, as indicated by past experience. The extent and availability of those territories for the purpose of colonization. And also the commercial energy of the people as evinced by their commercial wealth and enterprise.

2nd. Economy.

3rd. The defence of the capital in the event of war with the adjoining States.

Although the exigencies which may arise during a state of war are not to be disregarded, it appears just to give the greatest importance to the considerations first named, and in relation to them I shall confine myself strictly to facts deduced from official documents, which, without doubt, are within the archives of your office.

When the Union of the two Provinces was consummated, the districts bordering on the waters of Lake Ontario at its western extremity were looked upon as being conterminous with the western limits of Canada. In 1843, the population of the two Provinces numbered 1,190,867, and of these there were in the Home District, (in which Toronto is situated) and westward of its eastern boundary, only 275,081, being 23.1 per cent of the whole population.*

* See Statistics published in "Bouchette's" Map, 1843.

In 1851, by the census then taken, the population of United Canada was found to be 1,842,265, and of these there were to the westward of the same line, 579,524, being 30.3 per cent. of the whole, and exhibiting an increase in eight years of 110.6 per cent. west of the supposed line of demarcation, and only 37 per cent. eastward of it. A similar rate of increase, if maintained, would, in 1859, make the population west of Toronto, 1,220,477, and east of it, 1,729,955, while in 1867, just ten years hence, a similar ratio of increase will give a population west and east respectively, of 2,570,324 west, and 2,370,038 east.

In like manner, if we estimate the density of population embraced within circles described with equal radii, and having the various competing cities as centres; by the ratio of increase indicated by the census of 1851, as compared with that previously taken, we find that, in 1859, within a radius of

	50 MILES.	100 MILES.	150 MILES.
* Toronto will have.....	596,992	1,118,578	1,460,558
Montreal will have.....	551,667	841,185	1,182,868
Quebec will have.....	251,262	425,523	897,423
Ottawa will have.....	234,969	544,242	1,179,810
Kingston will have.....	180,646	521,383	833,567

Thus satisfactorily proving that within two years (as in all probability it now is) Toronto will be the centre not only of the greatest wealth, but the greatest number of inhabitants.

As the above calculations are based upon data obtained from official documents, and represent a period of eight years, four of which were years of extraordinary depression, and inasmuch as the progress of settlement in the adjoining States exhibits parallel results, I can discover no reason for questioning the correctness of the deductions drawn therefrom. But doubts, however unfounded, may arise as to the extent of territory available for agricultural purposes, west of this city, being sufficient for so large a population

* These figures are arrived at by increasing the population in each district or county included within the limits named, in the ratio of increase shown by the census of 1851, and those previously taken. These ratios vary from 13 8-10ths per cent. per annum for the districts west of Toronto, down to 8 88-100ths for the district of Montreal.

as I have indicated, without checking the ratio of increase on which my figures are founded, by ceasing to afford the requisite inducements to settlers, as will presently be seen no such, check is likely to occur.

I shall hereafter refer to the Red River Settlement, and the Hudson Bay Territory, and their probable future connection with this Province; but for the present I shall confine myself to the boundaries of Canada as usually exhibited on maps. Thus United Canada extends from the 64th to the 91st degree of longitude west of Greenwich, and from the 42nd to the 51st parallel of north latitude. Toronto is in longitude $79^{\circ} 25''$ west, and nearer as regards the east and west limits of the Province to the geographical centre of the country to be governed, than any of the cities mentioned in connection with this question, and if we exclude from our argument the sterile coasts and territory bounding the Gulf of St. Lawrence, it will be found that this city lies in fact somewhat to the eastward of the centre; especially will this appear if we exclude all territory which lies to the north of the mean temperature of Quebec, (i. e. 41° of Fahrenheit) as we might justly do for all practical purposes of colonization. In this way the number of square miles of territory east of the meridian of Toronto would be reduced to 85,690, and west of that meridian there would be 180,484 square miles.

That the isothermal line of 41° of mean temperature which passes through Quebec is deflected by the influence of the great inland seas far to the north of the assumed Canadian Territory, is an important fact, inasmuch as the moderate temperature which prevails over the vast tract of finely timbered lands lying to the north of Lakes Huron and Superior, is a guarantee that an early period will see them settled by an agricultural population who will not only be able to supply the wants of those engaged in mining operations on the shores of these lakes, but will have a large surplus of cereals for exportation to Europe.

Recent explorations through the territory alluded to, have proved it to be well adapted to colonization, and capable of immediately

affording vast and almost unlimited supplies of timber of the finest quality.*

In fact, therefore, the territory westward of the meridian of Toronto is greater in extent than that to the eastward of it, and if we take into consideration the vast prairies (and the magnificent uplands drained by the Saskatchewan and other rivers) within the British possessions, and if we add to the importance of these the value of the vast coal fields and other mineral resources between this Province and the Rocky Mountains, and bear in mind that the line of mean temperature before mentioned still tends towards the north as we advance westward, we shall be forced to the inevitable conclusion that the present generation will see interests in existence about the shores of Lake Superior, equal in every respect to those which now render the trade of Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, so important an item in the commerce of America.†

Apart from all these, however, the fertile districts of the western Peninsula, already surveyed and in a course of settlement, afford abundant space for a population far greater than I have indicated, without any portion of it becoming more thickly settled than the counties lately constituting the County of York now are; it is abundantly evident therefore, that both as regards population and territorial extent, this city occupies a more central position than any other city named as likely to be selected for the seat of government.‡

It has been justly held that where Railways are in existence, the activity of the traffic over them may be fairly taken as the exponent

* See Commissioner of Crown Lands' Report for 1856, pages 37 & 38. Also appendix to the same, pages 262 & 271.

† See Report of Commissioner of Crown Lands for 1856, pages 40 to 47.

‡ In 1848 the population of the Home District in the County of York was 106,352. In 1851 it was 135,111. Increase, equal to 9 per cent. per annum, 28,759.

By the above rate of increase the population of the Home District or County of York is now 207,070. The number of square miles according to Bouchette, in the Home District is 2,064. Number of inhabitants to 1 square mile 100 3-10ths. The number of square miles in the districts west of the east limit of the Home District or County of York, already surveyed, is 27,671. The population would therefore be equal to 2,775,401 if as thickly settled as the county constituting the old County of York or Home District.

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Extract from the Speech of EDWARD GIBBON WAKEFIELD
question of the SEAT OF GOVERNMENT

He hoped that he had not mis-apprehended the hon. gentleman, to whose speech he had listened very attentively, and it appeared to him that the hon. gentleman had founded his whole argument on the practice of our republican neighbours. He understood the hon. gentleman to maintain that it would be for the advantage of a country like this to have the seat of its Government in an obscure village; that it was desirable to place the delegates of the people in a situation where they would be under the influence of no opinion but that which they themselves should constitute. Nay, he had even gone further, though perhaps not seriously, urging that it would be well if the Parliament sat in a place where the members would be apt to imbibe agricultural rather than commercial ideas—in a village for example, where the cows and pigs were constantly in sight. But his main argument, the really important point in his speech, were the alleged expediency of placing the representative body out of the reach of public opinion. That was a strange doctrine, and would even be thought so in the United States. It was true that in many of those states, the seat of government was an obscure village; but this was not for the sake of the obscurity, but merely with a view to the advantages which would accrue from selecting the most central spot. For a democratic state the most central spot might be the best seat of government, because the greater part of government in such a state was carried on in the different localities by municipal authority, and the functions of the central government were almost confined to occasional meetings of the delegates of the people for the purpose of making laws. Perhaps the best seat for such a government was the spot which the delegates could most conveniently reach, and from which they could most conveniently return.

Montreal presented a remarkable contrast to Kingston, where for the last twenty years the Executive Government had been placed out of the reach of public opinion. It had been his lot on more than one occasion to find the Executive Government profoundly ignorant on subjects of importance with respect to which he (Mr. Wakefield) had just before obtained ample information at Montreal. At Montreal one could get information of the state of feeling in every part of the Province, whether in the East of Quebec, or this District, or the Western part of the country with which the gallant Knight opposite was connected. It was so because people from all parts of the Province visited Montreal; whereas, when they came to Kingston * except as one might pass by the turnpike, for the purpose of passing to Montreal. There was no public opinion in Kingston except during the occasional meetings of the Legislature. At other times, the Executive Government itself was in a state of ignorance, and this was the state of things in the West. The hon. member for Niagara so much to be regretted. The Attorney General for Upper Canada stated that Montreal was the natural seat of the population of the Province.

* * * * *
He thought he had made out that the seat of government was what was called "the heart of the Province." He spoke not of the city, but of the vast population inhabiting the city, but of the vast population of the people to whom it was and should be the centre of communications. That was indisputable; and those who did not see this in his view of the expediency of placing the seat of government in a population centre, rather than the geographical centre of a country, would not be surprised that Montreal was the proper Seat of Government for United Canada.

But his hon. friend, the member

moment, as exhibiting the views of a Statesman, who
local interest to warp his Judgment.

WAKEFIELD, Esq, M. P. P., at Kingston, on the
T OF GOVERNMENT in 1843.

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was, no doubt, said to make a certain im-
pression upon him and his companions ; but
if that was what his hon. and learned friend,
the member for Kingston, intended, he must
address himself to somebody more impres-
sionable than he (Mr. Wakefield) was.

He would now turn to another point in the
debate. It had been emphatically stated that
Lord Sydenham had given a solemn pledge
that the Seat of Government should be in
Upper Canada. Some called it a solemn
pledge ; some a direct assurance ; others, a
positive promise. He should like to be told
the occasion and manner of this important
act. He remembered that the subject of the
Seat of Government had been discussed in
that house during the Session of 1841, when
Lord Sydenham was residing within a stone's
throw of them ; and yet not a word was then
uttered about this "solemn pledge." It had
never been mentioned till Lord Sydenham
was dead, never whispered till the princi-
pal witness had departed forever ; but he
ventured to assure that Hon. gentleman,
that persons whose character for veracity and
accuracy stood as high as his (Mr. Cart-
wright's), high as that was, and highly as
he (Mr. W.) respected it, had publicly de-
clared that Lord Sydenham had privately
assured them that Montreal would ultimately
be the Seat of Government, and that he had
placed it for a time at Kingston for the three-
fold purpose of removing the Legislature from
the influence of Toronto, of depriving the
French Canadian population of influence, and
of "letting Upper Canada down easy." It
was to be regretted that such statements on
either side had not been made whilst Lord
Sydenham was alive and present to speak
for himself ; as it was, they deserved no
weight.

There was only one point more on which
he would trouble the House with a few

laws. Perhaps the best seat for such a government was the spot which the delegates could most conveniently reach, and from which they could most conveniently return home; that is, the geographical centre of the country without regard to other considerations. It was on this principle doubtless, that the seat of government for the great state of New York had been placed at Albany, and that of Pennsylvania in the obscure village of Harrisburg.

But he had now to draw a most important distinction---one which had not been alluded to in the debate, nor did he find it noticed in the Minute of Council on this subject---he meant the very different considerations which should guide a legislature in determining the seat of a monarchical government. Bearing in mind that under a monarchy the business of government is performed by an Executive which carries into effect the laws made by the legislature, the important question seemed to be not where ought the occasional meetings of the legislature to take place, but what ought to be the seat of the permanent and ever active Executive? Not which is the spot where the representative of the people may most conveniently assemble for two or three months every year, but where may the permanent administration of affairs be most conveniently carried on all the year round? Clearly, the fittest place for the latter purpose was that spot to which the greatest number of the inhabitants of a country resorted for objects of their own independent of Government, and where the greatest amount of public opinion was at all times collected.

He could not help thinking that for this country the City of Montreal was that spot. In that City the greatest amount, and also the greatest variety, of public opinion was always to be found. In this respect, Mon-

cal centre of a country, would Montreal was the proper Seat of for United Canada.

But his hon. friend, the member ton, had almost threatened them membership not merely of Canada the Empire. That was the tendency whole of his hon. friend's argument had listened to it with considerable repeated that the tendency of his speech was to make an impression the Seat of Government were removed Upper Canada, Her Majesty could depend on the loyalty of Her subject part of the Province: but though had that obvious tendency, it had that impression on him. He (Mr. had heard that sort of argument too on occasions too trivial, to be mentioned by it. He had observed that it was ment which told the most upon least acquainted with the country it was most commonly addressed to. Doubtless it was addressed to the Governor-General, and affected the or less during the first year of their here. He had heard the argument persons who boasted of their exclusiveness. Not long ago he met with an amusing of this. On the day after the announcement of the appointment of that eminent lawyer, MR. VALLIERES DE ST. R. Chief-justiceship of Montreal, he, English gentlemen with whom he was travelling, met a party of these loyalists, who violently condemned the appointment as placing the British of Lower Canada under "French domination;" and when he and his fellow ventured to put in some apology for of Sir Charles Bagot, one of the gentlemen exclaimed with an oath we will have a rebellion of our own

* This applies equally to Ottawa.

rather than the geographical country, would admit that the proper Seat of Government

end, the member for Kings- threatened them with a dis- merely of Canada, but of at was the tendency of the friend's argument; and he with considerable pain. He tendency of his hon. friend's take an impression, that if nment were removed from Her Majesty could no longer yalty of Her subjects in this ce: but though the speech tendency, it had not made him. He (Mr. Wakefield) rt of argument too often, and trivial, to be much affected bserved that it was an argu- the most upon persons the with the country; and that only addressed to strangers. s addressed to every new l, and affected them all more first year of their residence heard the argument used by ed of their exclusive loyalty. et with an amusing instance ay after the announcement nt of that eminent jurist and LIERES DE ST. RÉAL, to the of Montreal, he, and some en with whom he was tra- party of these high-flown lently condemned the ap- ing the British inhabitants t under "French domina- he and his fellow-travellers n some apology for this act got, one of the very loyal ined with an oath, "then bellion of our own." This ally to Ottawa.

Sydenham was alive and present to speak for himself; as it was, they deserved no weight.

There was only one point more on which he would trouble the House with a few words. He wished to call their attention to the means by which in some European Cities great improvements were effected without cost to the public. A case in London presented the best example: George the Fourth, who, though it could not be said of him that he had found the city of brick and left it of marble, yet had a strong inclination to architecture, projected the great improvement of Regent's Street and the Regent's Park. The Executive was authorized to purchase the requisite ground by valuation; and the improvement itself had so greatly added to the value of the ground, that the face of this part of London had been changed vastly for the better at no cost to the public. In fact there were many cases in which the public would make a profit by erecting fine buildings in or near a growing City. Applying the principle of that offer to Montreal, it appeared not improbable that the whole of the government buildings, a palace for the Governor General, the Legislative halls and the Public Offices, might be erected without imposing any charge on the Provincial Revenue. At Montreal, that might be done, but no where else. The plan would be that the Executive should be authorized to purchase at jury-valuation, in the immediate neighbourhood of Montreal, a greater extent of ground than would be required for Public Buildings; so that when the whole property had been increased in value by the erection of the buildings, the quantity of ground not wanted might be sold for perhaps more than the valuation-price of the whole and the cost of the Public Buildings. He hoped that suggestion might turn out to be worthy the attention of the Government.

Scout of boat
Went to ground

of the energy and enterprise of the inhabitants, as well as of the commercial, agricultural and other capabilities of the country and people.

If we apply this test, we shall find it an overwhelming evidence of the fact, that in all these particulars, the west is far in advance of the east; for, not only in the gross amount earned per week, but in the average earnings per mile, the Railways west of this city exhibit returns both in the former and latter respect nearly three times as great as those exhibited by the Railways east of it.*

It is difficult to separate from the gross amount returned, those portions either of exports contributed, or of the imports consumed by any section of the whole country, but it is certain that much of both which appear in the official returns as entered at the Custom Houses of Quebec and Montreal, is for account of that part of the Province west of and bordering upon Lake Ontario. In tracing the exports, however, no insuperable difficulty exists, inasmuch as the quantities passing the St. Lawrence Canals are a fair test of all the important quantities leaving this part of the Province.

Referring to the trade and navigation returns recently laid before Parliament, we find that the total quantities of wheat and flour exported in 1856 were equivalent to 9,491,531 bushels of wheat, (1,186,441 quarters); of this there were apparently due to Quebec

* The number of miles west of Toronto which gives returns are—

Great Western and Branches.....	283 miles—	Last weekly returns	£12,250
Ontario, Simcoe, and Huron.....	95 " " "	" "	1,750
Erie and Ontario, (estimated).....	26 " " "	" "	250
Buffalo and Goderich.....	90 " " "	" "	951
Grand Trunk.....	86 " " "	" "	1,750

Total.....580 miles—Total weekly returns £16,921

Being equivalent to £29 2-10ths per mile per week. East of Toronto only the Grand Trunk has published returns: the latest of these available here are those laid before Parliament, which shew that on 614 miles within the Province, the average earnings per mile per week, for the half-year ending 31st December, 1856, were £8 11s. 11d.; during the same period, the average earnings over the whole line were £14 8s. 7d. For the week ending April 4th, 1857, the average earnings per mile per week were nearly £16; but the earnings on the various sections of the road are not separated. If that part of the line east of Toronto and within the Province participates equally in the general increase, the earnings per mile per week would be £10 8s. 4d. on the 614 miles above mentioned, and for the week £7,400 18s.

Scotch Book

and Montreal, 2,002,122 bushels, (250,265 quarters) but by reference to the quantity of wheat and flour passing downwards through the canals, we find that after deducting from that quantity the wheat from the United States Ports, this part of the Province not only contributed all the wheat exported, but no less than 2,064,606 bushels, (314,117 quarters) for the consumption of the inhabitants east of the Ottawa.*

If we extend our investigation on this point to other articles of export, we shall find cognate results in every article exported except timber, and even in this the enquiry reverses the opinion commonly held in Britain, that the products of the forest are chiefly due to the country lying east of the Ottawa; and it is susceptible of demonstration, that of the £3,146,446 cy. reported as the value of the exports from Montreal, Quebec, and the lesser sea ports of the Province, fully one-half has been contributed by the western portion of the Province, while of the remaining half no insignificant proportion has been drawn from the American States bordering on Lake Michigan. In like manner it can be shewn that a very large proportion of the imports via the St. Lawrence which appear in the returns from Montreal and Quebec, are consumed west of Kingston, inasmuch as the returns of freight upward on the canals below this city indicate that more than half the tonnage reported inwards at the lower ports is re-shipped for the western districts of Canada. It follows, therefore, that of the total imports, amounting in value in 1856, to £10,896,096, fully £7,000,000 currency have been for the service of the inhabitants west and north of Lake Ontario. This conclusion is sustained by the ability of the people to purchase

* There passed down the St. Lawrence Canal in 1856—

41,837 tons of wheat, being equal to.....	1,581,915 bushels.
69,572 tons, or 695,720 barrels of flour, equal to...	3,478,600 bushels.
Making a total of.....	5,060,515
From United States Ports there were imported at	
Montreal and Quebec.....	545,652 bu. wheat.
And 89,627 barrels of flour, equal to.....	448,135 bu. wheat.
Total.....	993,787
Received at lower ports from west of Prescott.....	4,066,728
Exported from lower ports, Quebec 83,931 barrels of flour, Montreal	
189,438 barrels of flour, total 273,369, equal to.....	2,004,122
Left for consumption in districts east of the canals.....	2,064,606
	<u>4,066,728</u>

the imported luxuries of life, and the Statistics of the annual creation of wealth in the various sections of the Province, considered with reference to the same dividing lines as were assumed in relation to population, indicate results even more conclusive as to the westward tendency of wealth than were shewn when considering the direction of the increase of population.

With reference to the economic bearing of the question, our arguments should have a wider application than to the mere construction of public buildings—they should apply to the effect which the determination of the question will have on the economy and convenience of that portion of the whole people governed, who have occasion to resort to the Seat of Government for the transaction of business.

And this again has an intimate connection with the facilities afforded by the travelled routes over which the metropolis may be reached.

A glance at the map attached to this communication will shew, that while all the cities claiming the honour of being selected (except Ottawa), may be approached by navigable waters and by railway, Toronto is the only point upon which several railways converge, it being already the centre of no less than four important lines; and at a period not far distant, other important railways already projected, and having Toronto for their terminus, will be brought into existence; nor should it be lost sight of, that one of those railways—a work especially promoted by this city, and the first opened for traffic—connects by the shortest possible link the waters of Lakes Huron and Superior with those of Ontario, and thus affords the most direct access to those regions in the great North-west previously alluded to, and which are now exciting so much attention, not only here but in the Imperial Parliament.

I have already drawn your attention to the comparative activity of railway traffic east and west of this city, to the greater and more rapidly increasing amount of business transactions, and to the relative number of the whole population interested in obtaining cheap and convenient access to the metropolis.

By reference to that part of my communication, it will be made

evident, that if the selection falls either upon Kingston, Montreal, Ottawa, or Quebec, the greatest proportion of the people will be placed at the greatest distance; while if it falls on Toronto, the Counties most densely peopled, and where the greatest business activity exists, will be brought within a minimum distance.

This fact becomes all-important, when we reflect that great numbers of the people have occasion to resort to the Seat of Government on business connected with the Crown Land Department, and that of the whole business transacted in that office, ninety and a half per cent. of the lands sold, and ninety-six and eight-tenths per cent. of the value, was, during the last three years, due to that portion of the Province west and north of Toronto. That such is practically the fact, could not be doubted for one moment by any attentive observer of the people who have resorted here from a distance since the Government has been established in this city.*

If the same proportion obtain in reference to other classes—and all circumstances justify such a conclusion—it follows that, with the Seat of Government at Toronto, the economy of the majority of those governed will be best consulted; so again, in relation to the minor consideration of public buildings, none are in existence elsewhere—having either been destroyed by the populace, as in Montreal, or by fires originating in unaccountable causes, as in Quebec; but in Toronto, not only does the Government hold abundance of land for the purpose, but buildings amply sufficient

* Number of acres sold in 1854-'5-'6—

In Upper Canada.....	2,040,621—90-5 per cent.
In Lower Canada.....	225,621— 9-5 per cent.

Total.....	2,266,242— 100 per cent.
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Collected in Upper Canada.....	£547,133 cy.—96-3 per cent.
Collected in Lower Canada.....	£ 32,007 cy.— 3-7 per cent.

Total.....	£563,556 cy.— 100 per cent.
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Balance in Upper Canada.....	£956,443 cy.— 3-2 per cent.
Balance in Lower Canada.....	£ 32,007 cy.—96-8 per cent.

Total.....	£988,450 cy.— 100 per cent.
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[See Report of Commissioner of Crown Lands, Appendix, page 10.]

for its wants are already erected and occupied, representing an immediate saving of at least half a million of money—an item of no small consequence to a Colony whose debt, in proportion to its revenue, already exceeds that of the mother country.

It is not necessary for me to occupy time in discussing the capability of Toronto and the surrounding country for offering resistance to an enemy in time of war, inasmuch as Her Majesty's Government is undoubtedly in possession of the best military opinions on that part of the question; but to such circumstances in this connection as are most obvious to a civilian, I may be permitted briefly to direct your attention.

That Quebec may be considered impregnable is now a generally received opinion; and such being the case, that city would have no competitor, were the question to be determined solely with reference to military defence; but the chances of war are, it is believed, and hoped to be, so remote, that it would be unreasonable to allow such a contingency to override the convenience of the whole country, especially now when, if a war should unfortunately occur, the railways afford every facility for the rapid transportation of the archives of the Province to the chief military stronghold, if such a course should be deemed necessary.

In comparison with any of the other cities which His Excellency has called upon to state their claims to becoming the permanent Seat of Government, it is confidently asserted that Toronto is best capable of defence. Montreal is within an easy day's march of the frontier, and no defensible position intervenes until the River St. Lawrence is reached,—and in winter this may be crossed on the ice by the heaviest artillery, or in open boats in summer. Kingston is immediately on the frontier; and, as at Montreal, the St. Lawrence may be crossed in open boats in summer, or on the ice in winter. Ottawa is within forty miles of the frontier, and no defensible position intervenes.

This city, on the contrary, is one hundred miles by land from the national boundary, where either the steep banks of the river or the rapid current renders a passage at all times extremely difficult; but even if passed, the strong position of Stony Creek—

the scene of the ignominious defeat of the United States forces in the last war—has to be passed; and subsequently, the position at Burlington Heights, which may be counted as impregnable, if defended by a similar force to that which occupied it during the War of 1812.

With the command of the lakes, an enemy might assail Toronto by water; but the same applies to all other places along an extended frontier. This, however, is of small moment, when we take into account the fact that our Provincial canals give access to all the lakes for a numerous fleet of gun-boats, which could be despatched from Britain on the first appearance of hostilities, and which could effectually prevent the creation of a hostile fleet in those waters, and at once assume that position of superiority on these great inland seas which Her Majesty's fleets have never failed to sustain on the ocean; and, inasmuch as Toronto possesses a harbour open at all seasons, this arm of defence would be at all times available.

Apart, however, from all these considerations, Toronto might, if occasion required it, be rendered as safe as Quebec itself. The late war has demonstrated that stone walls are not essential for defensive works; and with the gallantry and loyalty which now animates Her Majesty's subjects in this part of her dominions, defences would rise as rapidly as the earthworks did at Sebastopol, wherever a necessity for them might exist, and would be defended with equal pertinacity.

But I believe the time has passed when the defence of the capital should be held to be of prime importance; such reasoning is only applicable to despotic countries, where serfs are to be awed into submission: here, where every arm would freely rise in defence of the Crown and its rights, such arguments may be safely dismissed.

A desire to confine this communication within reasonable limits has induced me to omit reference to many points which will, doubtless, have weight with Her Majesty's advisers, and will exert a favourable influence towards this city; but they will be referred

to by the gentlemen who have undertaken to use our arguments with you in person, namely, the Hon. J. H. Cameron, M.P.P., the Hon. H. J. Boulton, and G. W. Allan, Esq.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed,)

J. HUTCHISON,

Mayor.

OXENDON, NORTHAMPTON, 18th Oct., 1857.

SIR,—

I herewith enclose to you a "memorandum" on the important question on which I had the honour to converse with you, for a very few minutes, on the 30th ult.

As the facts and figures it contains must be left to speak for themselves, I have nothing whatever to add respecting them, or the result to which they apparently arrive.

But, as many of the opinions which have been submitted to you, as to the selection, by Her Majesty, of the capital of Canada, must inevitably, more or less, have proceeded from self-interested candidates, I deem it due to myself to inform you that I have not, and never have, possessed an acre of land, a shilling's worth of property, or the smallest share of the canals or railways of Canada, and that, excepting Chief Justice Sir John Robinson, who has not written one word to me on the subject, I have not a correspondent in the country.

My opinions, as contained in my "memorandum," rest, therefore, merely on the knowledge of Canada and its people, which I had an opportunity of acquiring during the years 1836, '7, and '8, when most unfortunately for my own interests, I was required to administer the Government of the Upper Province.

As an Officer of Engineers, I had occasion then to reflect on the defences of the country, and during the last fortnight I have been studying the "Census of the Canadas for 1851—1852," "The Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands of Canada for the year 1856," and some other printed documents.

You are aware that I have received no assistance from your office ; and, excepting brief answers to a very few queries which I sent by post to the Hon. Mr. Boulton and Mr. Merritt, M.P.P., who yesterday read my memorandum, and pointed out three very trifling mistakes, which I have corrected in red ink, I have had no private communication with any one.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your faithful and obedient Servant,

F. B. HEAD.

The Right Hon. H. Labouchere,
Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies,
&c., &c., &c.

MEMORANDUM,

Endeavouring to demonstrate the locality in Canada which, for the general benefit of the Province, and of the Empire, should be selected as the Capital.

BRITISH AMERICA.

The British possessions in North America, according to Alison, amount to 4,109,630 geographical miles, of which 1,340,000 square miles are water. The terrestrial globe embraces about 37,000,000 square miles—so that British America (which exceeds the area and territories of the United States by 939,000 square miles) contains nearly a ninth part of the whole terrestrial surface of the globe.

As, however, the atmosphere in which we live, and which is computed to be about equal in weight to a globe of lead of sixty miles in diameter, at two miles height is scarcely dense enough to bear up the clouds, at a height of six miles becomes too thin for respiration, and at a height of fifty miles is of such rarity that it produces little or no refraction of the rays of light ; so does the surface of the earth diminish in value as it approaches the sterile uninhabitable regions of eternal snow.

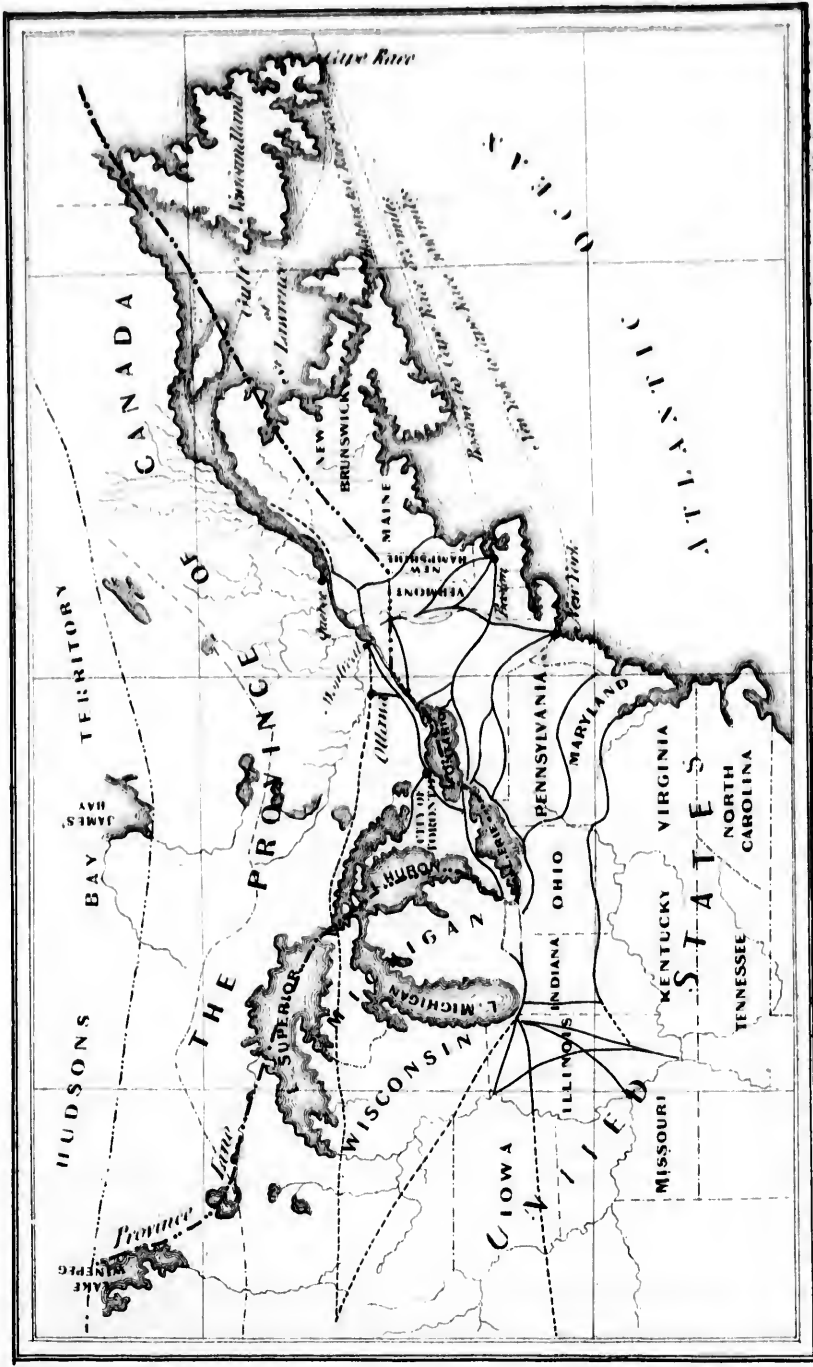
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PROVINCE OF CANADA AND PART OF UNITED STATES.

CANADA.

Keeping the above fact in mind, it may be stated that, in *geography* the Province of Canada (exclusive of the Red River Settlement and Hudson's Bay Territory) forms very nearly a right-angled triangle, (see annexed sketch) of which the base, fronting the north, and lying in the latitude of Dover, is equal in distance to a line drawn from the northern extremity of Scotland, across the German Ocean, across Norway, across the broadest part of Sweden, across the Baltic, and up the whole of the Gulf of Finland, to St. Petersburg.

From this northern base to the opposite angle, or southern extremity of Canada, the distance is equal to a line drawn from Antwerp to the Pyrenees, or from the latitude of Dover to that of Rome.

Of the great Canadian triangle above described, more than four-fifths, forming the northern portion of its area, from the severity of its climate, and from other circumstances, ever has been, still is, and for a considerable time must remain totally uninhabited.

And yet of the remaining portion, which, practically speaking, forms the present Province of Canada, and which in reality is all that is represented by 130 members of the Provincial Parliament, the dimensions are very great. For instance, from the entrance of the River St. Lawrence to the western extremity of Canada the distance is equal to a line drawn from Falmouth to Gibraltar.

In each of the following brief descriptions, it will be deemed necessary, in order to determine the best locality for the capital of Canada, to draw a comparison, not between all the rival candidate cities, but between the Upper and the Lower Province; for if, when fairly weighed, the preponderant importance of either shall be clearly and indisputably established, the difficulties of selection will, of course, be greatly reduced.

CLIMATE.

In Lower Canada, the entrance of the River St. Lawrence is in the latitude of Guernsey.

In Upper Canada, the whole region may be said to lie between the latitudes of Bourdeaux and Valencia in Portugal, Toronto being situated about 480 miles to the south of Sidmouth in Devonshire. But in consequence of the vast territory on the north remaining uncleared, the whole of Canada is at present, in winter, about nine degrees colder than countries in the same latitude in Europe; and accordingly it appears from the printed emigration reports, that while the climate of Upper Canada has proved *attractive* to British emigrants, the intense cold of the Lower Province in winter has had an opposite effect.

In the last census of the Canadas, for 1851 and 1852, presented to both Houses of the Provincial Parliament, by order of the Governor General, the difference of salubrity between the climate of Upper and Lower Canada is thus described (vol. 2, page 28):

“The longevity of Canada West (Upper), when compared with that of other countries, speaks volumes of its general healthfulness; and it is most interesting to compare the ratios of death to the number of living in Canada and the United States; the number of the latter exceeding that of Upper Canada in proportion to the population, by about 36 per cent., and of Lower Canada by 25 per cent.”

The difference of salubrity between the Upper and Lower Provinces being in favour of Upper Canada 11 per cent.

SURFACE OF CANADA.

The surface of Canada is composed of vast regions of land and of fresh water.

Land.—The statistics published, by and in the possession of the Provincial Government, indisputably shew, that of these regions of land by far the largest and richest portions are in the Upper Province; and that even on the west of Toronto there lies, cultivated and uncultivated, more rich land than exists in the whole of Lower Canada.

The comparative demand for, and marketable value of lands, in the Upper and Lower Provinces, are demonstrated in the Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands for the year 1856, printed by

order of the Provincial Parliament, by which it appears, that in the year 1856, there were sold Crown lands:—In Lower Canada, at 2s. 3d. per acre, to the amount of £5,145 13s. 3d. In Upper Canada, at about 4s. per acre, to the amount of £52,319 9s. 4d., being nearly double the price, and more than ten times the amount of the land sold in the Lower Province.

Water.—The aqueous surface of Canada is composed of—

1st. *Four Lakes*, or Seas, belonging conjointly to Upper Canada only and to the United States, of the following dimensions:

<i>Lake Superior</i> —20 times as long and $4\frac{1}{2}$ times as broad	} as from Dover to Calais.
<i>Lake Huron</i> —10 times as long and 8 1-5 times as broad	
<i>Lake Erie</i> —13 1-5 times as long and 3 times as broad	
<i>Lake Ontario</i> —8 1-5 times as long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ times as broad	

With the above is connected—

Lake Michigan (belonging to the United States)— $13\frac{1}{2}$ times as long and $4\frac{1}{2}$ times as broad as from Dover to Calais.

These inland seas (of which the four that *geographically* divide Upper Canada from, or, commercially speaking, *connect* it with the United States, cover a surface of 150,000 square miles, forming the noblest inland channel of fresh water on the globe, communicate, as is well known, with the seaports of Montreal and Quebec by

2nd. *The St. Lawrence River*, which, in its course of 173 miles from Lake Ontario to Montreal, runs for 105 miles between Upper Canada and the United States, and for the remaining 68 miles between the former and the Lower Province.

It therefore appears that of the aqueous surface of Canada, as above described, the navigation of 150,000 square miles of inland lakes, and of 105 miles of the St. Lawrence, belong to Upper Canada, and the remaining 68 miles of that river conjointly to both Upper and Lower Canada.

It being true, it is moreover necessary to state that while the waters of the four inland seas of Upper Canada are unfrozen throughout the whole year, the surface of the St. Lawrence (which

connects them with Montreal) for five months is converted into ice capable of bearing the heaviest artillery, and this interruption of the navigation extends to so great a distance that, incredible as it will sound to those who have not reflected on the subject, the two sea ports of Lower Canada, for five months in the year, by solid ice, are removed from the liquid water, not of the sea, but of a portion of the St. Lawrence more than 200 miles from the sea, by the following distances:—

MONTREAL remains distant from liquid water, more than 12 times.....	} the breadth of the British Chan- nel between Do- ver and Calais.
QUEBEC remains distant from liquid water more than 4 times.....	

3. *The Ottawa River*, which, on the north of Upper Canada, and on the south of the Lower Province runs through a region of land, by far the greater portion of which is uncultivated; the navigation in winter is closed by ice; and in summer, on account of rapids, &c., it is restricted between Montreal and Ottawa City (formerly called Bytown) to boats suited to the dimensions of the Granville Canal—22 feet wide.

CANALS.

In Canada there are two Canals of great importance 1st. *The Rideau*, between Kingston and Ottawa, constructed by Great Britain, at a cost of upwards of a million. 2nd. *The Welland*, connecting Lakes Erie and Ontario.

Both these canals run through the territory of Upper Canada only.

On the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers, there exists Lockage common to both Provinces.

RAILWAYS.

There are completed in Canada, about 1,510 miles of Railway, running as follows:—

	MILES.
Through Lower Canada	403
Through Upper Canada	1,107

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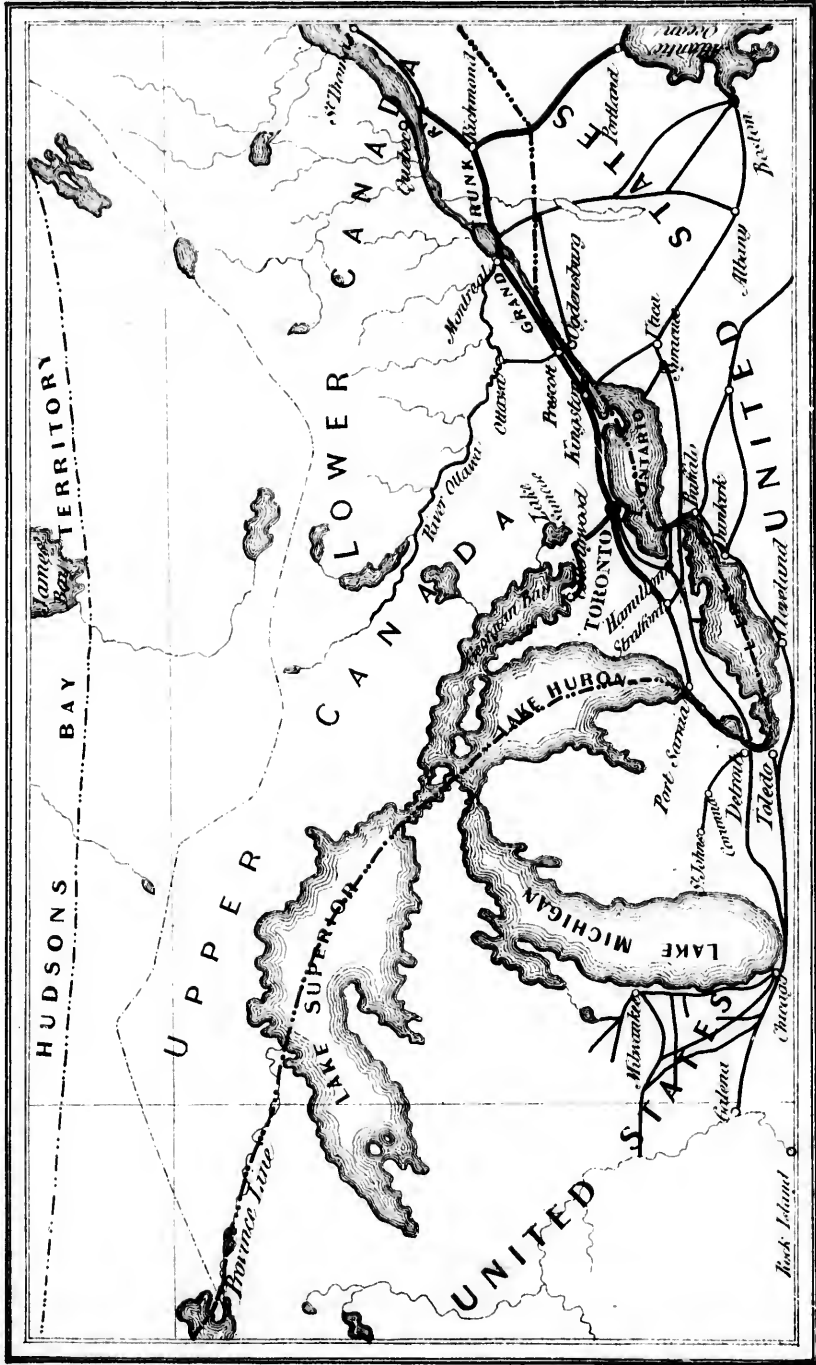
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GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY OF CANADA, WITH ITS BRANCHES & CONNECTIONS.

But, as is well known, the value of a Railway depends, not on its length, but—1st. On the amount of the population and goods traffic of the towns it passes; and—2dly. On the amount of goods and passenger traffic that, in arterial and smaller streams flow along lines of Railway, concentrating upon it *from other countries*.

Now a moment's glance at Dinsmore's (the Bradshaw of America) "Complete Map of the Railroads and Canals in the United States and in Canada, carefully compiled from authentic sources," (hereto annexed) it will appear that of the Railways in the United States, which in length exceed the circumference of the globe, more than one half converge upon Canada, via Chicago, Toledo, Sandusky, Cleveland, Buffalo, Oswego, Ogdensburg and Richmond, in the following proportions:—

Converge on Lower Canada, $\frac{1}{8}$, Upper Canada, $\frac{7}{8}$.

POPULATION.

According to the last Census of Canada taken in 1851-2, the population of Lower Canada was then 890,261; Upper Canada, 952,004: but before coming to any conclusion as to these apparently equal results, it is necessary to investigate whether the velocity at which each Province has reached the same point, has been, and is, the same; for if not, it is undeniable that the figures representing only the point at which they have met, are no index whatever as to future results.

In the Old World the difference in population between two rival manufacturing towns in adjoining counties, may be considered as a fair criterion of the relative industry and commercial importance of each; but in the infant world of America, where of *every* new location it may most truly be said "*Vires acquirit eundo*," the difference in population and even in wealth between two neighbouring locations, is generally a mere criterion of the difference of their respective *ages*.

And thus, if two adjoining countries happen, at the present moment, to contain the same population, it would in America be as erroneous to infer that from that circumstance they would *continue* to be of equal importance, as, in England, it would be for a man living at

Weedon, half way between Birmingham and London, to infer, that because a luggage train which had started from the former city at 3 a. m., and an express train which had started from it at 3 p. m., passed his windows at the same time, they would *therefore* arrive at Euston Station at the same hour.

However, as regards the amount of population in the two Provinces, the figures and facts are as follows :

In 1763 Canada was added by conquest to the British Crown.

In 1774, on the passing of the Quebec Act, at which time the upper portion of Canada was one vast wilderness, there existed in Lower Canada, French inhabitants 80,000; 360 English families, (say 5 in each) 1,800; total, 81,800.

In 1791, when Canada was divided into two Provinces, the population of Upper Canada was 10,000; the population of Lower Canada, 120,000; being exactly twelve times as great as that of the Upper Province.

In 1825, the population of Lower Canada, (423,639) had become not quite treble that of Upper Canada (157,425.)

In 1850, the population of Lower Canada (890,261) was found to have become (61,743) *less* than that of Upper Canada, (952,004.)

From the census of 1852 it also appeared, that while the population of Lower Canada had, between 1825 and 1850, increased at the rate per cent. per annum of 2 8-10ths., that of the Upper Province had proceeded at the increased average speed of 7 per cent. per annum, and if these different rates of travelling continue, in the course only of nineteen years, the population of Upper Canada will be 3,443,000; Lower Canada will be 1,750,000; and thus in 79 years the population of the upper Province, from being 12 times as little, will have become more than twice as great as that of the lower; indeed the following extract from the census of Canada, (see Vol. 2. page 12,) shews that it has been progressing faster than that of the adjoining Republican States.

“ It appears from Smith’s Work on Canada, that the Huron district (in Upper Canada) has made more rapid progress since its first settlement in 1827, than the States of Ohio, Michigan and Illinois

did in double that time, or than Lower Canada did in 104 years; the latter is doubtless owing to the almost entire absorption by Western Canada of the vast immigration from Europe." In addition to the above there is another important fact to be considered. To the inhabitants of every young settlement in America, an ancient observation may, with a slight alteration, be truly addressed—

*"Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris,
Cum Fortuna ridet, multos numerabis amicos."*

So long as the new location remains clouded by the innumerable hardships that attend the clearance of the wilderness, few people feel disposed to approach it. But no sooner does it become prosperous than emigrants flock to it from all directions, and it is for this reason, that although British America is more healthy and contains richer land than the United States, yet the hardships of the younger country, as compared with the luxury and allurements of older settlements, have produced the following results." (See Census of Canada, Vol. II. page 7.)

Of the British emigrants who from 1843 to 1852 crossed the Atlantic in search of a new home, there settled in the United States 1,730,448 ; in all the British Colonies, 412,238.

Taking all the foregoing facts and figures into consideration, it is evident that as soon as the superior soil and climate of Upper Canada, shall, with the assistance of the Railways, make it as attractive to British emigrants as the United States, its population must inevitably exceed that of the lower Province, by a far greater proportion than that which the census of 1851-52 has already described.

RELIGION.

In the last "Census of Canada," it is stated (vol. II, page 46), that of the population of Lower Canada (890,261) there are belonging to the Church of Rome 746,866. That of the population of Upper Canada (952,004), the number of Catholics is 167,695. The proportion therefore of Catholics in Lower and in Upper Canada, is as 5 to 1.

Now as no man should presume directly or indirectly to assail the religion of his neighbour, and as on so sacred a subject words

but too often prove to be sharper even than weapons, it must very briefly be observed, that just as, without offending any one, it may be stated that the community of England is divided into men of business and men of pleasure ; and that in London more business is transacted on the East than on the West side of Temple Bar, so in like manner may it be affirmed, that in Christendom do the Catholic portion of the community usually dedicate *more* time to their religion, and consequently *less* time to their temporal interests, than the followers of the Church of England or of any other Christian Sect.

The inevitable consequence has been, and is, that in Ireland, Spain, certain Cantons in Switzerland, South America, Lower Canada, and in short, wherever the Catholic religion has been, and is fearlessly, faithfully, and zealously maintained, agriculture in particular, and trade in general are found to be less vigorously pursued than in the United States, England, and other countries where commerce and money making of all descriptions engross, it cannot be denied, more time and attention than intrinsically belong to them.

RACE.

The boundless dimensions of the British Empire, on which it has truly been said that the sun never sets, demonstrate the indomitable energy of the Anglo-Saxon race. And yet, it is beyond the limits of the British Empire, that the same race have displayed, beyond all other inhabitants of the globe, an insatiable appetite for turning anything and everything within their reach into money, or as they term it into "Almighty Dollars."

But while in the United States, and to a less degree in Upper Canada, this state of extraordinary commercial excitement exists, the French race, in Lower Canada, are, morally speaking, distinguished by a calm contentment, which appears to forbid them to increase their wants, and which induces them in the tillage of their lands, and in their other daily avocations, to maintain the simple, primitive habits of their fathers.

In the general accumulation of wealth, this difference of race has of course produced its inevitable results; indeed, as a single instance

of the feeble attachment of the French "habitans" to the bustle and business even of their own capitals, it may be stated, that of the mercantile houses at Montreal and Quebec, at least 19-20ths of the importers and exporters are British.

COMMERCE.

In the first report of the census of Canada for 1851 and 1852, the wheat crop of Canada is stated to be nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ th of that of the whole of the United States and Territories.

Now from the Trade and Navigation returns recently laid before the Provincial Parliament, it appears that in 1856 Upper Canada not only sent down the St. Lawrence, and through the United States, an amount of wheat equal to the whole amount of 1,186,441 quarters exported from Canada, but supplied the Lower Province with 314,117.

But by the railways which have lately been constructed, and which are now in progress, Upper Canada already is, and to a great extent will be connected, via her *western* ports of Collingwood, Goderich, Sarnia, and Windsor, with not only the greatest food-producing region in America, but (as will appear from the following abstract, published on the 3rd of January last at Chicago) in Europe:—

EXPORTS OF THE PRINCIPAL GRAIN PORTS OF THE WORLD COMPARED WITH CHICAGO.

NAME.	WHEAT, BUSHELS.	OATS, RYE, AND BARLEY.	INDIAN CORN.	TOTAL BUSHELS.
Odessa	5,600,000	1,440,000	.....	7,040,000
Galatz and Ibrella..	2,400,000	320,000	5,600,000	8,320,000
Dantzic.....	3,080,000	1,328,000	.....	4,408,000
St. Petersburg.....	.....	.....	.....	7,200,000
Archangel .....	.....	.....	.....	9,528,000
Riga .....	.....	.....	.....	4,000,000
Chicago (1854).....	2,644,860	3,419,551	6,837,899	12,902,310
Chicago (1855).....	7,115,250	2,000,938	7,517,625	16,633,813

Now, making the fullest allowance for the exaggeration which *may* exist in the above statement, it is evident, on looking at the

map of North America, that the Western District of Canada has justly been described as "a wedge" thrust into the heart of a foreign country of vast extent and unequalled capabilities.

The growth of the Western States of the Republic, coupled with their dependence upon the Eastern markets for the consumption of their surplus productions, invests all means of communication with an interest proportional to the facilities they afford for rapid and cheap transit. No wonder, then, that the West (United States), seeking the Eastern seaboard, should anxiously endeavour to secure a short route across the territory of Canada.

(It may here be observed, that almost the whole of this immense trade, which would naturally proceed *via* the St. Lawrence and Canadian railways to Quebec, is now, greatly to the injury of Canada, attracted through the State of New York, principally by the favour and support given by the British Government to the Cunard steamers.)

The late Comptroller of the State of New York, the Hon. A. C. Flagg, in his essay on internal communication, says, "The battle for the trade of the West must be fought on the lakes or those untaxed waters with which no other communication can compete."

It is evident, from the above, that the foreign trade of Canada with the six flourishing Republican States by which they are bounded, must become of vast importance. On referring, however, to the map, it will appear that, of this joint frontier of 800 or 900 miles in extent, more than four-fifths is in Upper Canada, and consequently less than one-fifth in the Lower Province.

And as the four lakes which have been enumerated (on one only—Lake Erie—according to a return from the Board of Underwriters at Buffalo, there are plying 128,245 tons of steamers too large to pass through the Welland Canal into Lake Ontario) belong geographically only to *Upper* Canada, it is undeniable that, in what may be called the immense, or "home trade," on these lakes, the *Lower* Province has but little share.

SUMMARY.

If the facts contained in the foregoing very brief description of

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British North America, Canada, its climate, surface, land, inland seas, rivers, canals, railways, population, religion, race, and commerce, be fairly and impartially weighed, it will be evident to any one unbiased by local interests, that, of the amount of wealth, business, and commerce of Canada, the centre of gravity preponderates greatly beyond the base of the *Lower* Province, and considerably within that of the *Upper* one. And if, in addition to the figures which have been given, the Census of Canada for 1851-'2, the Reports of the Commissioner of Crown Lands for 1856, and the Returns of the Post Office and Railways, be carefully consulted, it will moreover appear that the heart or centre of the whole is as nearly as possible—

THE CITY OF TORONTO :

From which (see annexed map) arterial and smaller railways radiate on the *north-east* to Kingston, Montreal, and Quebec; on the *north*, to the Georgian Bay and Lake Superior; on the *west*, to Sarnia, Lake Huron, and Michigan; on the *south-west*, to London (Upper Canada), Detroit, and Chicago; and on the *south*, *viâ* Hamilton, to Buffalo, the great western entrepot of the commerce of the United States. Toronto is directly opposite to the Welland Canal and Railway, which connect Lakes Erie and Ontario; and is, moreover, as nearly as possible, in the centre of the Canadian and American *trade* on the fine inland seas or lakes which have been described.

ON THE DEFENCE OF CANADA.

It was well observed by the Chief Justice of Upper Canada (Sir John Robinson, Bart.,) in a volume in which he (as also the writer of this memorandum in another volume, both published in 1840,) emphatically warned the Imperial Parliament, "that the two Provinces of Canada, *united*, would form a territory much too large to be conveniently and safely governed by one executive government; that, as no power intervenes between Canada and the uninhabitable regions of the North, she must always have behind her the protection of an impenetrable waste."

With a foreign nation numbering 26 millions of people interposing between her and the Atlantic, with but one outlet to the Ocean, closed for more than five months in the year; she can never become

a naval power, and, therefore, can never protect her commerce against the weakest maritime nation in Europe. Canada consequently requires precisely that protection which the naval superiority of Britain has power to impart.

Putting, therefore, out of the question all feelings of loyalty, and all obligations of duty, Canada, and our other North American Colonies, well know, that if their independence were granted to them they could not maintain it, and consequently that they have no alternative but to continue the favoured Colonies of Great Britain, protected by her fleets and armies, and participating freely in her trade, aided by her capital; or to become a member of that unfortunate mixture of freedom and slavery which characterizes the American confederacy.

As the British Crown has already ceded to Canada the whole of her casual and territorial revenues, together with all her church and other lands, and as the Government is virtually entirely in the hands of the people, who, by an act of the three branches of their Legislature, can almost constitutionally proclaim their separation from their parent country, whenever they choose, there exists no necessity for "rebellion," and consequently, on the part of England, no necessity to provide against it.

The only enemy to assail them are the people of the United States; and as these people are peaceably engrossed in commerce,—as they do not fortify their frontiers,—as they scarcely maintain any army,—as their thriving cities on the inland lakes and on their seaboard are not disfigured by guns or fortresses,—and as they well know that an invasion by them of Canada would bring war upon their vessels and commercial cities throughout the aqueous surface of the globe, it might be deemed invidious for Canada to provide, to any extent, hostile defence; for, not only are Canada and the United States, by their joint railways, inland navigation, and "through traffic," bound by an enormous penalty to keep the peace, but as, in case of war with Great Britain, the latter, on their seaboard and Canadian frontier, would lose so much more than England, by attacking cities with fire and sword,

they probably would not be disposed to set the example; still, however, it is undeniable that, as regards the defence of Canada, all reasonable precaution should be taken.

QUEBEC.

In the opinion of military men, there can exist no doubt whatever, that Quebec (although for five months in the year more than 100 miles from liquid water) is the Sebastopol of British North America, and *à fortiori*, of Canada.

From its impregnable fortress could be transmitted arms and ammunition, to any amount that could possibly be required; and in case of unexpected and overwhelming aggression, Her Majesty's Governor General, the Queen's troops, and the archives of the Province could remain there in perfect security, until the determinations of Great Britain, whatever they might be, could be carried into effect.

On the other hand it must be observed, that Quebec is as far from Toronto, (the centre of Upper Canada) as Coblenz on the Rhine is from Bristol.

That again, Toronto is as far from the western extremity of the upper Province, as is London from Brussels; and as of this immense line of joint frontier, between Canada and the United States, the two countries for 340 miles are separated only by a river, averaging two miles in breadth (studded with islands), the whole of which throughout the winter can bear the heaviest artillery, it is evident that Quebec, situated at the eastern *extremity* of this frontier line, is no more capable of protecting, say Toronto, from sudden assault, than the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein at Coblenz would be capable of preventing a hostile army from crossing the Severn to attack Bristol. And yet the immense line of frontier described, is little more than one-half of the whole of the boundary which separates Canada from the United States.

Now it is but too evident that to attempt to fortify the whole, or even parts of such a line, would be impracticable; and consequently the whole must (generally speaking) remain as unprotected by fortifications, as the opposite frontier of the Republic.

Upon what, therefore, it will be asked, has the Province of Canada to rely for protection against invasion by the United States?

To this important question she may proudly and confidently reply, "The energy and bravery of our people."

The fighting portion of the population of the Province, form its natural defence; and, consequently, the citadel of the whole country, or in other words, the *military* heart of Canada, is that point, wherever it may be, at which, and from which the fighting portion of the population can, either centripetally, be most easily assembled; or centrifugally, be most easily despatched to whatever point their services may be required.

THE CAPITAL OF CANADA.

On the locality in Canada, which for the general interests of the Province, and of the Empire should be selected as its Capital:

In Theory, it might naturally be supposed that the capital of every country ought to exist as nearly as possible in its centre.

In Practice, however, the opposite rule has been followed—Dublin, Edinburgh, London, Paris, Lisbon, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Constantinople, and Washington in the United States, being all, either on the outside, or at an extremity of their respective countries. Indeed, as a negative proof, it may be remarked, that Madrid, the only central capital, is in the least flourishing country in Europe.

In India, the Great Mogul reigned internally in Delhi, as the Emperor of China still reigns in Peking; but in the one country, Calcutta, and in the other, Canton, both on the outside, are the real capitals.

As it would be absurd to suppose that in a living animal, the heart could exist at any other point than at the termination of its arteries; so must the heart or capital of a country necessarily exist in the centre of its business, and of its commerce; or, in other words, at the termini of its main arterial railways and lines of water communication, which in the map of every country, are the real indices or exponents of both.

TORONTO.

Now it is impossible for any unprejudiced man to study the map of Canada, without perceiving, that almost the whole of the main arterial lines of railway, (especially those of the Grand Trunk and Great Western) and of Lake Navigation converge upon or diverge from Toronto, which, as has been already shewn, is not only in the centre of the best land, the commerce, and the business of the Province, but is also *the heart* of that fighting portion of it, which in case of invasion by the United States would form *its only defence*.

This is no idle theory. In the Rebellion and invasion of Canada by the American people, armed with the muskets and artillery of their government, in 1837-8-9, Toronto by two Lieutenant Governors was maintained as the point of civil government and of military rendezvous; and if, from every direction in the depth of winter, the fighting portion of the population hurried through the wilderness to it on foot, at a moment when the whole of her majesty's troops were concentrated in the lower Province, how much easier could they be assembled by the railways which from Toronto now radiate in almost every direction.

In the City of *Toronto*, which for nearly half a century has been the Seat of Government and Metropolis of the Upper Province, and latterly of both, there exist, ready made, a suitable residence for the Governor General, a Parliament House, Public Offices, Barracks, Banks, and the other various requirements of a Capital. As regards its military position, it is a hundred miles from the United States by land, and once and a half the distance from Dover to Calais by water.

In case of war, *Toronto*, like all the other lake cities of Canada and the United States, would be liable to be attacked by vessels of the most powerful of the two Naval forces whichever that might be. But before such an event could occur, it would no doubt be deemed prudent to collect artillery, throw up earthworks, and transmit by Railway to an inland position of perfect security, all public archives of importance.

As regards the position of the other candidate cities, a very few remarks will, it is believed, suffice.

KINGSTON.

Of all of them Kingston would be the most unsafe, in consequence of its being divided from the United States only by the St. Lawrence, which in summer could be crossed by boats, and in winter, in less than an hour, at any time by day or night, on ice.

MONTREAL.

The populous, wealthy, and important metropolis of the Lower Province, not only lies within a day's march of the United States, but at the eastern extremity of 173 miles of the St. Lawrence, which studded with Islands and averaging only two miles in breadth, could throughout the greater portion of that distance be crossed with the greatest facility by the enemy, who, by cutting the electric telegraph, breaking up the rails and destroying the lockage of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, could completely isolate Montreal from that fighting portion of the population which throughout the Province, constitutes its main defence.

QUEBEC.

Of the impregnable fortress and City of Quebec which, like Montreal, is connected by railway with Portland, Boston, and New York, it may briefly be said, that on account of its position as a metropolis, and even as a citadel, it is (especially during winter) "*hors du combat.*"

OTTAWA.

Of all the candidate cities, *Ottawa*, formerly called Bytown, would be the most inefficient for the capital of Canada.

In a northern and secluded locality, cut off from every arterial line of railway in the Province, and removed also from the navigation of the St. Lawrence, except by a branch railway, greater in length than between London and Brighton, *in time of peace*, it would be utterly impracticable to govern and transact from such a point, the commercial business of the Province; especially that connected with the sale of public lands, as also with the valuable

“through” and “home” traffic which exist between the cities on the five great lakes, and the vast corn-growing region of “the great west.” Ottawa, it is true, communicates with Montreal, by the lockage of the Ottawa River; with Kingston by the lockage of the Rideau Canal; and with Brockville on the St. Lawrence, by the long branch railway already described. But, *in time of war*, of these three communications, the termini of two in the course of an hour, and of the third in the course of a day, might be in the possession of the enemy, who, of course, would also cut the wires of the electric telegraph. And as the St. Lawrence for 85 miles east, and for the same distance west of Brockville, could be crossed by them at *any* point, assistance by troops from Toronto might be either seriously impeded or totally cut off; and the Provincial Parliament would then feel that it would be infinitely better for them “to dwell in the midst of alarms” than reign in a desolate region, cut off from the wealth, commerce, business and fighting population of the Province.

Actuated by the intense feelings with which the great cities situated on the main arterial or Trunk Line, are seeking, on the one hand, to be selected, and on the other to combine together against any one rival, it is probable that for a moment the majority would be less annoyed by the success of Ottawa, than by that of any of their great competitors. But though by order of Government, trade may occasionally be diverted unfairly from one sea port to another, yet in the selection of a capital for a great country, it is confidently submitted that the laws of nature must be implicitly obeyed, and that in the language of Holy Scripture “where your treasure is *there* will be your heart also.”

TORONTO.

Now by figures and facts which it will not be easy to gainsay, it has been shewn that as regards the wealth, business, commerce, and military defence of Canada Toronto is the heart of the Province.

As regards its *locality*, as a convenient point of rendezvous for the 130 members of the House of Assembly, and the 48 Legislative

Councillors, who form the Provincial Legislature, the following figures will shew in that respect, a very remarkable resemblance between Toronto and the position of the Houses of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain.

DISTANCES.

From London to Inverness	572	miles.
“ “ Aberdeen.....	508	“
Averaging 540 miles.		
From Toronto, to the northern city of Quebec	501	“
From London to the metropolis of Edinburgh	400	“
“ Toronto “ “ Montreal	333	“
“ London to York City.....	189	“
“ Toronto to Kingston	160	“
“ London to Birmingham	112	“
“ Toronto to Huron.....	95	“
“ London to the west part of Bristol.....	112	“
“ Toronto to the west part of Sarnia.....	172	“
“ London to Liverpool and Great West- ern Ocean.....	202	“
“ Toronto to Detroit and regions of the “ Great West,”.....	221	“

CONCLUSION.

In the selection by Her Majesty of the city which is to form the *Capital* of the Province of Canada, the inhabitants of the six great Republican States, which form its frontier, are vitally interested. If the heart of this magnificent British Territory be deliberately inserted unscientifically in the wrong place, it will be physically, morally, and politically *impossible* for its wealth and commerce to maintain a healthy circulation. For the disease that must ensue, the people of the United States will offer to the people of Upper Canada, as the only remedy—“Annexation.”

(Signed)

F. B. HEAD.

Oxendon, October 18, 1857.

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