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THE

MONTHLY REVIEW:

DEVOTED TO THE

CIVIL GOVERNMENT

OF

CANADA.

VOL. I.] JANUARY, 1841. [No. I.

CONTENTS:

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THE

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POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

I.—INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE course of events in these Provinces has conducted us to an important period in their history,—a period that will have a decisive influence on their future condition, and prove a kind of starting point, from which they may enter on a more prosperous or adverse career, according as present advantages are improved or neglected.

"There is a tide in the affairs of men," &c.

The quotation is trite, but not the less applicable. The point of an ancient maxim may arouse a slumbering modern's attention, and lead him to embrace the benefits within his reach, before the fugitives vanish from his view.

The late insurrectionary attempts in these Provinces greatly disordered our public affairs, and rendered it necessary to suspend the Constitution in Lower Canada, and place that Province under the direction of a Governor and Council. But as this form of Government is liable to weighty objections, it was judged advisable to return again to a Constitutional Government; and as the beneficial working of the Constitution had been greatly hindered, and the bitterness of mere political warfare greatly increased by a difference of national descent, the Canadas have been re-united into one Province, in order that the restored Constitution might be worked by a British majority in the legislature, one main obstruction to public prosperity be removed, and the united Province might enter on its new existence under the impulse of British genius, enterprize, and freedom: we say, of *British freedom*; because, after all that has been said on this point, the spirit of genuine freedom is native to every British heart, and though its generous operations may be often restrained by the barriers of prejudice or self-interest, yet freedom, like truth, is great, and will eventually prevail.

The restored Constitution is, in substance, the same as that which preceded it. All the complaints of mis-government were, with one exception, complaints of a mal-administration of the Constitution. That exception referred to the composition of the Legislative Councils, the Assembly of Lower Canada, and some of those who acted with them in the Upper Province, having required that the Councils should be made elective, or else be abolished altogether. But this exception expired with the insurrection, and the general and more reasonable popular demand was for the British Constitution, as it exists and is practically administered in Great Britain, moving in harmony with the majority of the people's representatives, and yet supplying an effectual check to popular rashness or

instability. The exception having ceased with those who made it; and the more reasonable demand having been for the British Constitution, with an improved administration of its powers, this state of affairs has been regarded, and the general principles of our Government remain the same as they have ever been. The alterations which have been made by the Act for re-uniting the Canadas,—as, requiring a property qualification in members of Assembly from Lower Canada, the reduction of the number of members, the power to establish *Municipal Districts, the use of the English language,* the repeal of the Clergy Reserve section of the former Act,—do not affect the general principles of the Government. We have still the three estates, with their distinct and independent powers, and their mutual relations, checks, and balances. The alterations are chiefly in matters of detail, which leave the general frame-work of the Government untouched; and the improved system of government has to be wrought out by an improved administration of established and well-defined principles, and not by a new set of principles altogether.

These changes, however, are regarded with aversion by many of both the political parties whose dissensions have so long agitated these Provinces. The first, or Conservative party, declare that these changes will inevitably lead to the subversion of the government, which will be swallowed up by the fierce spirit of a rampant democracy. They protest that all attempts to conduct the government on this improved system must fail, and the man who makes the attempt must sink like the hapless Phaeton, and be destroyed in his futile efforts to curb a spirit which is too mighty for his control, and too unruly to be governed by a system that yields so much to its will. On the other hand, many of the Reform party deem that these changes are inadequate to produce the desired end;—that no good commensurate with the wants of the country can be expected from such insufficient means;—that the government is still infected with the spirit, and fettered by the prejudices of the Tories;—that the steeds of the sun are harnessed to a mountain of granite, instead of the swift-rolling chariot of light,—that no movement, no measure can follow any efforts worthy of the occasion;—and that, in short, the government, in its whole action, will be like the mountain in labour—unutterable throes—a world *of expectation*—and the result, *a mouse!*

To meet these two classes of objections is our design in the present article. We may not succeed in reconciling all persons to the improved system of Government, (to expect this would be presumption;) yet, although every envious spirit may not be laid, nor every captious spirit silenced, nor every factious spirit shamed, if we succeed in showing that this system is, on the one hand, conservative of all that is valuable in our institutions, while, on the other, it gives *the freest action and fullest* liberty to the people that are compatible with those institutions, we may then expect that the reasonable and disinterested of all parties will unite in support of the Government, and thus enable it to fulfil its patriotic designs with a spirit and power adequate to raise these colonies into a condition of great and permanent prosperity. As the people in general can have no other end in view than their own welfare, so the Government can contemplate no other end, and expects support only by proving itself worthy. This proof must, of course, be chiefly by deeds equal to its mission; but, in the mean time, lest the power to perform those deeds be diminished, it is proper to shew that its policy can be defended; because it proceeds on an enlightened and liberal regard to the interests of the whole people. We therefore proceed to state,

II.—The Principles which guide the policy of the Government.

But before we do this, it is necessary for us to assume a certain ground for our reasoning, both in this article, and in all other political discussions which may appear in the *Monthly Review.* We cannot be proving first principles, still less defending them. There is political knowledge among the people, and a fixed adherence to certain leading subjects of constitutional politics. We are warranted in saying this, not only by their numerous declarations to this effect, but also by the severe test to which they were subjected during the late insurrections in the Provinces. We assume, then,

First,—That Canada is to remain a part of the British Empire.

Secondly,—That the connexion between them is not to be maintained by military power

but by means of that mixed form of government which is embodied in the British Constitution.*

Thirdly,—That as the connexion to be enduring must be mutually beneficial, so the administration of the government must be in general agreement with the interests of the people.

These assumptions will meet with a prompt response from every British heart. If any man would question them, we shall not. If any man would travel abroad in search of other models, we shall not accompany him for that purpose, although we may derive instruction both from these models, and from the Utopian schemes that would amalgamate them all, or set up another Goddess of Reason for the world to admire. On the ground which we have laid down, and which will be in our political articles what axioms are in geometry, or first principles in morals, we proceed to make such observations as present affairs seem to require.

And first, assuming that Canada is to remain connected with the British Empire, then, in this, as in all other connexions, there must be a mutual relinquishment of such minor points as are found to be incompatible with the harmony and prosperity of the connexion. The Indian, standing alone in the forest, may consult nothing but his own will, and may effect its purposes so far as he has the means of doing so; but the moment that he forms a union with another, for any purpose whatever, that moment there must be a yielding by each of his own will, so far as it would interfere with the attainment of that common object. Were each individual of a political party to insist stubbornly on his own will, the ruin of the party must inevitably ensue. For on every question that might arise, no two individuals of the party would be found to agree entirely on the whole question. The general agreement on its leading points would be greatly checkered by diversity of opinion on its details, and it would be only by mutual yielding on these matters that united action on the whole case could be attained. What is necessary in individuals or in parties is still more necessary in States; for in them the different interests are infinitely more numerous, various, complicated, and important; and the result, for good or ill, is of infinitely greater magnitude, both in its direct effect, and its remote consequences. History is full of examples in which this mutual yielding, either of parties in a State, or of separate States in a common league, has produced the happiest effects. Passing by other instances, we shall adduce the compromise between the northern and southern States of the American Union on the Tariff question. The difference of opinion and interest on this point was so great, that a dissolution of the Union was threatened, and North Carolina prepared for a resort to arms, in order to defend what she conceived to be her rights. In this alarming aspect of things, the leaders of the respective parties were induced to agree to a compromise, by which each yielded somewhat of their several claims; and thus the danger was averted, and the Union was preserved inviolate. And it must be observed that this compromise was on a subject respecting which the Americans are said to be very sensitive. It was purely a question of *interest*—of dollars and cents,—a question which admitted of no difference of opinion as to its nature. It was, shall the northern manufacturer be protected at the expense of the southern planter? or, shall the latter have nearly a free market at the expense of the former? And if on a question of this nature there was such a mutual yielding, how much more is it necessary on political questions, which only remotely affect any man's interest, and which produce great difference of opinion as to their nature and effects, and therefore should make every man cautious in stubbornly insisting on his own will? We have adduced this example from a republic, in order to shew that under the most liberal form of government, to yield extreme opinions for the sake of a common benefit, is a sacred duty which every patriot owes to his country. If other examples are required, we need only refer to the conduct of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel on the question of Catholic Emancipation.

Notwithstanding the obvious necessity of this mutual yielding, there are persons who do not, or will not, perceive it; or rather, they suppose that the yielding must be all on the other side, none on their own. They are quite willing that their opponents shall yield to them, but they will yield nothing in return. Such a one-sided application of the duty is tantamount to a denial of it altogether; and such persons

* The military power of the State is to defend the Colonies, not to rule them. They must be ruled by the Constitution.

must be classed with those who pertinaciously insist on their own will, although ruin to their party or the State be the consequence They will be Cæsar or nothing, yet at every step they prove themselves to be incompetent for a much inferior station.

It may, perhaps, be expected that we should bring forward the principle of *authority* as a ground or bond of the union between Canada and Great Britain—the authority of the mother country over the colony—the authority of a parent over a child. Yet, although this is in some respects the relation between Canada and the Parent State, and although this relation does convey a kind of parental authority, we shall not rest our case on this ground. Neither Her Majesty's Government, nor the Imperial Parliament, nor the people of the British Isles, have any desire to rest their government of these Colonies on the ground of authority. They would be gratified if that authority were gratefully recognized, and such deference paid to it as reason and justice may require; but they will not attempt to silence inquiry, or stifle complaint, or shrink from a full responsibility for all their measures by raising the question of prerogative or authority. They know that, although the relation between the Colony and Great Britain is in some respects that of a child and its parent, yet an immature colony is not like an immature mind,—incapable of thinking and acting for itself. A colony may be feeble when compared with the mother country, yet it is composed of men of mature intellect, knowledge, and energy—men as capable of judging of the merits of a question as any of their compeers at home can be—men educated in the Colony, and possessing the advantage of an intimate knowledge of all local facts and peculiarities, and others trained up in the best schools at home both for private and public life, and all ready to criticise the proceedings of their rulers, with as much keenness, vigour, and asperity, if need be, as are displayed at home. The authority of a parent may often be exerted with advantage over a child; but a Colony is composed of men who are able and apt to require a reason for any course that may be adopted towards them, and who will not be repelled from inquiry by any authority under Heaven. Therefore this question of authority has been wisely waived by common consent in the mother country: for though it is, in many respects, proper to the relation between the colony and the parent state, the difference in other respects is so great, that more evil than good must arise from urging such a claim.—Hence it is said in Lord John Russell's despatch of the 14th October, 1839, (on responsible government,) "*Her Majesty* has no desire to maintain any system of policy among her North American subjects which opinion condemns.—In receiving the Queen's commands, therefore, to protest against any declaration at variance with the honour of the Crown, and the unity of the Empire, I am at the same time instructed to announce Her Majesty's gracious intention to look to the affectionate attachment of Her people in North America, as the best security for permanent dominion."

The union, then, between Canada and Great Britain, is not to be founded on any ultra notion of prerogative or authority, but on what is just and reasonable in itself; and it requires, as the price of its continuance, chiefly that mutual yielding on minor matters which is found to be necessary in all other connexions, whether individual, social, or national. As a perfect identity of interests cannot be attained between communities existing so far apart, and under such different circumstances, so there can be no hope of preserving union between them without a mutual relinquishment of those things that disturb the general harmony. To suppose that all relinquishment must be on one side, is to suppose that all error or injustice is on the other, a position which but few would be willing to admit.

We proceed, in the next place, to make some observations on the means of preserving the connexion between the Colony and Great Britain, which, we have said, must be by that mixed form of Government which is embodied in the British Constitution.

The science of Government is not one that admits of experiments being tried in it indefinitely, as they are in chymistry, with the hope of producing some new and marvellous result, some brilliant substance or property heretofore unknown, or some novel combination of substances already understood. In the essentials of government nothing can be properly called new. Men became subject to government on their first formation into civil societies; and in all the lapse of years; the rise and fall of states; the changes of character, climate, and circumstances; in glory's triumphant march, or shame's

lethargic sleep; in strength, or in weakness; in splendour, or in disgrace; in the highest civilization, or the lowest barbarism; in every form of religion; in every variety of character; in every time and place,—government has been exercised only in four different modes—monarchy—aristocracy—democracy—and that mixed form which is a combination of them all, and which is embodied in the British Constitution. To this the people of Canada have declared their attachment in the most decided manner, and to it our remarks are therefore limited.

Among the changes that have been advocated in these Colonies is this, that the Constitution should be changed in one of its essential parts. It was required that the Legislative Council should either be abolished, or made elective, and thus that Great Britain should establish in her Colonies a Constitution different from her own. That such a demand would be firmly resisted might have been easily foreseen: for, without intermeddling with the abstract question of the intrinsic merits of the British Constitution, while Great Britain continues to rule her Colonies, it is both natural and necessary that she should rule them according to her own model; because, if otherwise, the Government would have no unity of character, purpose and action, but would be a "thing of shreds and patches," in short, divided against itself, and therefore unable to stand. If the mother country found that a colony could no longer be ruled to any advantage for either party, it might be a question whether or not she should relinquish her rule over that colony; but that, while her rule continued, she should establish there a form of government different from her own, is altogether out of the question. Whether her form of government be the best in the world or not, it is at all events the form which she prefers, and to which she is bound by an attachment of several hundred years standing.—Therefore she could not entertain the idea of *erecting in any part of her dominions an alien* form of government. She might as well have thought of marching to battle under some other standard than that glorious red-cross flag, which for "a thousand years has braved the battle and the breeze." She might as well have thought of disowning her name and standing among the nations of the earth, as of disowning that form of government under which that mighty name and exalted station have been won against a thousand hosts of embattled foes. No; no. The British flag must be the symbol of the British Constitution. British power must defend British institutions. The British lion would tear in pieces any degenerate Briton who might attempt to make him protect institutions hostile to his own.—The British oak would bow its head for shame if it were planted to guard and grace an alien's home. Come what may, no other form of Government can be allowed in the Colonies than exists in Great Britain itself. They must be ruled by the British Constitution.

We have no design, however, at present, to enter upon that wide field which the consideration of this form of Government opens to our view, and which embraces nothing less than the whole theory and practice of the British Constitution. To traverse this field would require a volume. The only point that we shall notice is this,—the Constitution imposes a check on the popular will, as expressed by the people's representatives, not only by the veto of the Executive, but also by establishing a distinct and independent branch of the legislature, the Legislative Council sustaining, in its legislative functions, the place of the House of Lords in Great Britain.

We are of course aware that great complaints have heretofore been made respecting the composition and conduct of the Canadian Councils, but we shall not review these bickerings of the past. For, whatever may be thought of the wisdom with which the Councils have acted, there can be but little question as to the necessity of continuing a check on the popular will, if for no other purpose, at least for this, to give it that steadiness and consistency which it would otherwise want. The fluctuations of the popular will prove that it is not always a safe guide. As truth is immutable, a variable will cannot be always true. Every man who is conversant with the history of Upper Canada in particular, knows that the balance of power has been continually vibrating between the two political parties, for about the last twenty years: and consistency has not been the distinguishing mark of any party. Nor is this unsteadiness of purpose peculiar to Canada: on the contrary, it attaches itself to all masses of the people in every time and place. The uncertainty of popular favour to individuals is proverbial; and the changes of popular will on questions of policy is hardly less notorious.—

Thirty years ago, it was accounted a kind of sacred duty for every Briton to hate every Frenchman, especially every French warrior; but we have seen Soult paraded through London with Wellington, and apparently received with equal favour by the multitude.—To guard against this fickleness, we find that the American republic makes provision for a check on the voice of the people, not believing it to be at all times the voice of God. The Senate of the United States is not chosen as the representatives are, but by the several States, and for a longer term; and the President has a veto on all acts of Congress. This veto we have seen him exercise more than once, thus opposing his single will to the will of the people's representatives, and of the Senate chosen by the sovereign States; and the people sustained him in his course, by which the fallibility of the popular will was loudly declared, and it was admitted that Congress did not at all times speak the sense of the people. If then, even in a republic, the popular will, as expressed through the people's representatives, cannot be always followed, we must admit that there exists a necessity for continuing that check on the popular voice which is supplied by the independence of the second branch of the Canadian Legislature, an independence both of the Executive and the Assembly.

It is obvious, however, that the Legislative Council in Canada is much less likely to oppose the people's will than the House of Lords is in England; because the former has no interests, rights or privileges, save one, separate from those of the people. With the single exception that the Council retain their seats for life, unless they become disqualified, in every other respect they are of and from the people. In England, some of the people may rise to be nobles, but the nobles cannot fail to become the people; whereas when a member of the Canadian Council dies, his family, if he have any, is resolved again into the general mass.—His sons do not fill their father's place, unless they prove themselves worthy. They must, like true knights, win the spurs before they can wear them. Now it is evident that a body taken from the people, and possessing no hereditary privileges to transmit from father to son, cannot have any interest separate from that of the people, and therefore if they impose a check on the popular will, it must be of the mildest kind, and be exercised only when necessary—when the reason of a body of men not influenced by popular election tells them that the check ought to be applied, and the people's will in this instance opposed until they have time to re-consider their course. This check is one, therefore, which need cause no alarm in the warmest lover of freedom, for the men into whose charge it is given are all liable to be influenced by the same causes that move the public mind, and it is therefore far more probable that they will move with that mind than against it. They are not large land-holders or fund-holders, as in England, but are generally men who are engaged in the trade or agriculture of the Province, and whose prosperity rises or falls with that of the people. In the nature of things, then, the Council is much more inclined to agree with the people than to settle down into a permanent hostility to them.

We shall be met here by an appeal to facts. It will be said that the Councils have opposed the most determined resistance to the popular will. But that was because they were largely composed of office-holders, who, as such, had an interest opposed to that of the people.—These office-holders, being generally shrewd, active men, contrived to manage the non-official members, so as to keep a majority in favour of them and their measures. But that day, in which office-holders ruled the Councils, and thereby ruled the Colony, has passed away, never to return. The new Council will be, as it ought to be, and as our argument supposes it to be, independent both of the Executive and the people, and thus able to mediate between them, or throw its weight into either scale as justice may dictate. One or two officers of government will be members of the Council, in order to manage government business there, but nothing more. A Council that should be a mere creature of the Executive we should utterly despise. Unless it be independent it cannot command respect, (for who respects a slave?) and unless it command the people's respect, it will soon incur their hate. Its members may be respected as private individuals, but as a Council they will be abhorred as a positive evil, if their decisions are not marked by the exercise of a sound, enlightened, and independent judgment. In this case they would be respected, even if the wisdom of some of their proceedings was doubted; for the man who honestly follows the dictates of reason and

justice will command our respect, though we should differ from his conclusions in some instances. The Council then, that we suppose, is an independent body, able to set itself either against the Executive or against the people, as occasion may require. The resistance which such a body would oppose to the popular will need excite no alarm. Their interests are identified with those of the people. From them they spring, and to them their families must return, unless they can win and wear their fathers' honours. In point of fact, the interests of such a body are against the Executive, and with the people; and if it were not that there is a natural tendency in wealth to make its possessors lean to and on their own class, we should say that the Council is more likely to take part with the people against the Executive than the reverse. The constitutional check on the popular will is therefore as limited as possible.

The next point on which we are called to remark is this,—that the administration of the Government shall be in general agreement with the interests of the people.

Some persons may, perhaps, suppose that we should have said, *always* in agreement with the people's interests. But as we do not expect a perfect government in this world, knowing rather, that every Executive, with the most sincere desire of doing right, will sometimes err, and do wrong, we have put the sentence as it stands,—in *general* agreement with the interests of the people.

We intimated at the outset, that the improved system of Government on which Canada has entered is to be found rather in an improved administration than in any organic changes of the Constitution. Of organic change there has been none, the alterations being merely in matters that affect no vital principle. The improved system is an improved administration, which will render the Government subservient to the interests of the people.

The question then, now is, how are the interests of the people to be ascertained? and how is the Executive to be kept in harmony with them? Those interests are to be ascertained, partly through an honest desire in the Executive to learn and promote them, (we may certainly assume so much,) but chiefly through the people's representatives. The Executive is to be kept in harmony with them, partly by the action of the public mind, as through the press, public meetings, private representations, &c., but also chiefly through the action of the representatives on the Executive. The mode of that action is well known, as by vote, petition, address, remonstrance, stopping the supplies, refusing to proceed to business. By some of these acts the representatives can embarrass the Executive, and render it incapable of conducting the public business. But what concerns us here is, that action of the representatives on the Executive, by which, through a vote of want of confidence, they can change its character and action, by producing a change of ministry: in other words, we are conducted to the question of "*responsible government.*"

As this subject has caused some discussion in Canada, and has been noticed by *His Excellency the Governor General*, and is formally treated on by Lord John Russell in his despatch of October 14, 1839, it is proper that we should endeavour to shew precisely how the question stands, and whether the Government has or has not adopted the principle of "responsible government."

This principle, as it was demanded by the Reformers, included two parts: first, that the British authorities, Ministerial and Parliamentary, should not interfere in our local affairs: and secondly, that these local affairs should be managed by a provincial ministry, chosen from among the party who had a majority in the Assembly, and changed as the majority might change, as is done in Great Britain.

Now, as to the first part of this demand, it has not been granted, nor will it ever be.* Her Majesty's ministers are responsible for all that is done in Her name in the Colonies, as well as at home; and they cannot divest themselves of this responsibility if they would. When a man takes office, he takes it with all its duties and responsibilities, of which the good government of the Colonies is one of the most important.—A man cannot be answerable for what he cannot direct: without control there is no responsibility. Therefore ministers must refuse their assent to this demand. And besides their official responsibility, their duty to the Crown and the nation

* It is proper to remark here, that this demand was not confined to the reform party, the tories, in the address on the disallowance of the Bank Acts, having gone quite as far in denouncing Imperial interference in our local affairs as the reformers ever did.

binds them to oppose such an admission; for would it not be monstrous that there should be a part of the empire with which the Imperial Parliament could not interfere, no matter what its internal disorders might be? If this were admitted it would begin the dissolution of the Empire. Accordingly, Lord John Russell's despatch, before quoted, puts a decided negative on this demand, as the resolutions of the Imperial Parliament had done before, so that it is finally denied both by the Crown and the Parliament.

It was argued that it was just as proper and necessary to delegate to the Colonial Legislature the sole right to manage its own local affairs, as it was to delegate this power to a corporation. But this argument is directly in the teeth of those who use it; for no power was ever delegated to a corporation that could not be resumed at the pleasure of the giver, on just occasion being shown. The power delegated to a corporation never exempted it from the supervision of Parliament, as to its management of that power; nor did the latter body ever dream that it had no right to interfere with the former. On the contrary, it is known to all men, that Parliament has interfered with all the Corporations in the Kingdom, and has totally changed the character of most of them, by throwing them open to a more numerous constituency. Thus the argument from corporations is in favour of Parliament interfering in our local affairs, for all the corporations have been interfered with. No power ever was, or ever can be, delegated by Parliament to any body, corporate or otherwise, that was not subject to Parliamentary control, in order to guard against the abuse of that power. Is it not notorious that the old corporations abused their powers? and how were these abuses to be corrected except by the interference of Parliament? The supreme authority of the empire must be supreme in every part, or there is an end to all subordination, unity, and government, and local abuses might grow up in all local affairs, eating through the body like a canker, without any authority being able to apply a remedy. The right of interference in our local affairs is therefore one which cannot be yielded by the Crown and the Imperial Parliament.

But, though this right be reserved, it is as a kind of abstract right, to be exercised very sparingly, and from an evident necessity. All unnecessary interference in our affairs is as much disapproved by Her Majesty's Government as it can be by any person in the Colony. Hence it is stated in Lord Glenelg's instructions to Sir F. B. Head:—"Parliamentary Legislation on any subject of exclusively internal concern, in any British Colony possessing a Representative Assembly, is, as a general rule, unconstitutional. It is a right of which the exercise is reserved for extreme cases, in which necessity at once creates and justifies the exception." And the before-quoted despatch of Lord John Russell says:—"The Governor must only oppose the wishes of the Assembly where the honour of the Crown, or the interests of the Empire are deeply concerned." A right, the exercise of which is thus guarded need excite no fear in any breast as to its being injuriously exerted. Accordingly, we find that the publication of this last-named despatch made no difference in the conduct of the leading reformers of Upper Canada, who still gave their support to the Governor General, as they had done previously. It is not probable, however, that they would have done this, if the guarding of this reserved right had stood alone, unaccompanied with other guarantees of good government. Men who look more at words than things taxed the reformers with inconsistency in continuing to support His Excellency, saying that there was no change of system, responsibility to Downing Street remained the same, and thus reformers were supporting the very system against which they had declaimed. The reformers, however, saw that there was a change of system. The right of interference in our local affairs was still reserved, it is true, but it was specially guarded and limited to extreme cases, and was accompanied with other sufficient guarantees against its abuse. They therefore, with commendable patriotism, gave up their opinion on this point, and thus exhibited that spirit of yielding on minor matters which we have seen to be requisite for the preservation of the union with Great Britain.

Of those other sufficient guarantees which led the reformers to adopt this course, the first is, the appointment of practical, experienced statesmen of liberal principles to be Governors of these Colonies. This is in itself a great point gained. For as the complaints had always been chiefly of the administration of the government, to appoint a Statesman of established liberal principles was going to the fountain of

the evils complained of, a striking at the very root of the abuses, and thus providing effectually for their extinction. Such a man must either be recreant to his principles, or he must conduct the Government in accordance with them. As a man of established character would not do the first, the second was the only alternative; the government would be administered on liberal principles, and deserve the support of liberal men. On this ground, partly, that support was given.

The next new guarantee for good government brings us to the second part of the demand for "responsible government;"—namely. that our local affairs shall be managed by a kind of provincial ministry. This has been virtually admitted. All Government business, which of course includes the chief part of the business of the country, will be managed in the Legislature by Government officers, heads of departments. His Excellency commenced this system in the late session of the Legislature in Upper Canada, and it will be fully acted upon in future. It may take some time to bring the system into precise form and uniform action, but this must be expected. It took many years in England before the practical working of the Constitution finally settled into that kind of spontaneous action by which the Executive is kept in harmony with the representatives of the people.—The resignation of the Government officers, or their change of policy, when in a settled minority in the Legislature, will follow as a matter of course from the new position they sustain, for they cannot keep it unless they can command a majority. The practical working of the system will soon tell on whom this responsibility will best devolve, but it will probably include the law officers of the Crown, and at least one or two heads of other departments; in short, a sufficient number of public officers to properly manage Government business in the Legislature, and keep the administration of the Government in general agreement with the interests of the people.

It must be distinctly understood, however, that this responsibility is not absolute, but is subject to the exceptions before stated. That is,—if the Assembly should oppose the Government on a matter "in which the honour of the Crown, or the interests of the Empire are deeply concerned," then, in such a case, the officers of Government would not resign or change their policy, but would be sustained in their course by the Home Government. But it is evident that, in the nature of things, these exceptions are very few, and with the exercise of any thing like moderation in the Assembly they will never arise at all. For all practical purposes, the general rule will be, that the Executive must act in harmony with the people's representatives. It must be observed also, that we have confined our remarks to *political responsibility—that is, responsibility for political conduct*. For, as to official responsibility, there was never any question at all about that. It was agreed on all hands, by tories as well as reformers, that every public officer should be subjected to the strictest accountability, both as to the proper performance of his official duties, and especially the punctual discharge of all his official liabilities, either to the public revenue or to individuals.

The question of "responsible government," then, has been settled, like most other great questions, by a compromise: the reformers have yielded the right of the Imperial Government to interfere in our local affairs, guarded as before stated: and Her Majesty has appointed liberal Statesmen to be Governors of the Colonies, who will manage their local affairs in the Legislature by heads of departments,—a virtual Provincial ministry. It is true there has been no formal compromise or settlement, but this is the state of the question, and in this state it is likely to remain. All the great ends of good government can hereby be secured, and no man who loves his country more than his party will seek to disturb the arrangement.

We have now stated the leading principles which guide our public policy; and we put it to every impartial judge if there be not here a common ground on which all reasonable men may unite, and afford the Government that support which its policy merits. The Conservative will see that the union with Great Britain, the British Constitution, and the supreme control of the Imperial Government, are secured beyond the possibility of danger; and the Reformer will see that by the appointment of liberal Governors, and the management of Government business in the Legislature by heads of departments, who, if they cannot command a majority, cannot conduct the Government, but must resign, or change their course, his liberties are safe, and the interests

of the whole people will be the guiding star of all public measures. Each may miss something of what they have been accustomed to desire, but both will find all that is essential to good Government. It is some proof of this, that several of the leaders of both parties are united in support of the Government. They have been charged with having proved false to their principles, but it will be found on close investigation, that the matters which they have respectively yielded weigh but little against those which they have gained. They must have been actuated by the spirit of faction rather than patriotism, if they had refused to support the Government on this common ground.

III.—We shall now notice some objections that have been made to the administration of His Excellency the Governor General.

Some objections have been levelled at the Act for re-uniting the Canadas; two of them are peculiar to the Lower Province—namely, *the equality in the number of members for each* Province, and the debt of Upper Canada being charged on the united Province. To the first of these objections it has been well answered, that the Act of re-union is framed to suit a period of several years, and in this period Upper Canada will, from the more rapid increase of its population, at least equal the Lower Province in numbers; so that this objection is but temporary at best, and would never have been raised by any enlarged views of the course of affairs.

To the second objection it has been replied, that the public debt of Upper Canada has been contracted for public works, which equally benefit both Provinces, and therefore if Lower Canada pay her share of the debt, she receives her share of the benefit. Every man knows that it is the trade of the Upper Province that forms the chief part of the commerce at Montreal and Quebec, and has mainly built up those cities to their present strength. And this trade is increasing beyond all precedent, the wharves and store-houses of Kingston having been crowded for the last two years with produce for export by the St. Lawrence, until the forwarding merchants had to give public notice that they were unable to receive any more freight. Now the public works of Upper Canada have aided or produced this increasing trade, which by its transit and management enriches the Lower Province, so that it is only fair that the latter should bear a part of the expense from which she is deriving increasing benefit. Yet we do not rest the case here, but contend that to charge the debt of Upper Canada on the united Province is a measure of strict justice; because similar improvements, involving equal expense, are required in Lower Canada; and when these shall have been completed, they will, of course, have been charged on the United Province, and Upper Canada will *then* pay her share of the cost of public works in Lower Canada, just as the latter will *now* pay her share of the former's debt. Thus the balance will be rectified, though it may now incline to one side. The fallacy of the objection we are noticing lies in this, in supposing that no public works are required in Lower Canada, whereas they are required there, and on a scale equal to those of Upper Canada. Construct these works in the Lower Province, and both Provinces will then have contributed equally to the public works of the united Province.

Another objection to the Act of re-union respects the civil list, both as to its amount, and its constitutionality. In considering the amount of the civil list, the same prospective view of the progress of these Provinces must be taken as was with respect to the representation. Under the increasing prosperity of the country, and increased emigration to it, Canada may be expected to double her population in about from twelve to fifteen years. Hitherto, Upper Canada has doubled in about eleven years, and Lower Canada in about twenty; so that the increase we have calculated on may certainly be expected. Now, long before this increase has taken place, the civil list will be too small. When the population and revenue have increased from fifty to a hundred per cent. the business of the country will have increased in the same proportion; and though Government expenses will not increase in equal ratio, the heads of departments and their chief expenses being provided for, yet increase they certainly must, or the public business must be neglected; for none will suppose that the present government establishments could do twice as much business as they now do. By taking into account, then, that the civil list is framed for a period of several years, and that during those years population and revenue will greatly increase, it will be seen that, though the amount

may now appear disproportionably large, it will in six or seven years be moderate, and in twelve or fifteen years be entirely too small. In point of fact, the civil list strikes a kind of average for a number of years, and it would be difficult to select any other course that was not open to more objection. The progress of the country will necessarily bring the civil list under revision by the united Legislature.

But it is urged that for the Imperial Parliament to dispose of Colonial revenue is unconstitutional. Those persons who urge this objection must have forgotten the facts. The Constitution was suspended in Lower Canada on account of the insurrection, and with it all its rights and privileges were suspended.—There can be no unconstitutionality where there is no constitution; as where there is no law there is no transgression. The only legislative body existing at the time in Lower Canada, the Special Council, gave its consent to the proposal for leaving the arrangement of the civil list to Her Majesty's Government and the Imperial Parliament, so that all objection now is futile. And as to Upper Canada, its Assembly also agreed to leave the civil list to be fixed in the same way. It is known that, after various amendments had been rejected on the other resolutions, the House resolved by a vote of 43 to 8—that they "concur in the proposition that a sufficient civil list be granted to Her Majesty for securing the independence of the judges, and to the Executive Government that freedom of action which is necessary for the public good. The grant for the person administering the Government, and for the judges of the several superior courts to be permanent; and for the officers conducting the other departments of the public service to be for the life of the Sovereign, and for a period of not less than 10 years." By the adoption of this resolution the Assembly sanctioned a provision being made for every public officer who is provided for in the civil list, and gave *carte blanche* as to the amount. Where, then, is the constitutional objection to the civil list, when the very body appointed by the Constitution sanctioned the arrangement? The Legislative Council also passed a similar resolution, so that this objection has not the shadow of a foundation. But it is feared that this Act may be drawn into a precedent. We think the Imperial authorities have had a surfeit of Canadian business, and it is very improbable that they will ever interfere in our affairs again without some pressing necessity arises. But, if it were considered advisable, a mere resolution of the House, declaring that the Act should not be drawn into a precedent, would be quite sufficient to allay all fears on this head. Such a resolution would be quite unnecessary, for there can be no precedent made of the Act without a corresponding sanction of the Provincial Legislature, which it can always withhold, and thereby defeat the alleged precedent.

Other objections have been made to His Excellency's administration. It is said that he published Lord John Russell's despatch of October 16, 1839, (on the tenure of offices) in order to coerce the public officers in the Legislature into a support of the re-union bill against the convictions of their reason. Whether or not any Government officer did support the bill against his better judgment, is not for us to decide. We know, however, that in that despatch there is on this point nothing new,—nothing that had not been asserted by Lord Glenelg in his instructions to Sir F. Head, and published by the latter, to the high gratification of those persons who now censure Lord John Russell and the Governor General for following this example, and enforcing the principles of their predecessors. In these instructions Lord Glenelg says:—"If the head of any department should place himself in decided opposition to your policy, whether that opposition be avowed or latent, it will be his duty to resign his office into your hands, because the system of Government cannot proceed with safety on any other principle than that of the cordial co-operation of its various members in the same general plans of promoting the public good. The inferior members of the different offices should consider neutrality on this great litigated question of provincial policy as at once their duty and their privilege." And in reference to officers of Government who might be members of the Legislature, his Lordship says:—"But if any such person shall find himself compelled by his sense of duty to counteract the policy pursued by you as head of the Government, it must be distinctly understood that the immediate resignation of his office is expected of him, and that, failing such a resignation, he must, as a general rule, be suspended from it." Now, we ask, what is there more stringent

than this in Lord John Russell's despatch?—If a public officer oppose the head of the Government, whether his opposition be avowed or latent, he must immediately resign his office, or be suspended from it. Such was the rule in the days of Sir F. B. Head; and therefore those who censure the Governor General, as if he had brought a new rule to bear on public officers, are either deplorably ignorant of the facts of the case, or else they misrepresent them. As to the propriety of such a rule, we shall not insult the understanding of our readers by saying a word in proof of it. If any man doubt it, we shall merely ask him if he would keep a servant who would not do his work!

We may here notice a blunder committed by the Duke of Wellington, in the debate in the House of Lords on the Bill for re-uniting the Canadas. His Grace mentioned this despatch of Lord John Russell, on the tenure of offices, and ascribed to it most of the agitation in Upper Canada on responsible government. The Duke mentioned in particular the County of Glengarry, from which, he said, two addresses had been sent to the Governor General, in the first of which no desire was expressed for responsible government; but after the despatch had been published another address was sent, in which this demand was made. There is in this statement a great mistake. The address from Glengarry was presented to the Governor General before the despatch was published, and therefore could not have been occasioned by it. The despatch was published at Toronto on the 5th December, 1839, and the address from Glengarry, together with several others from other places, and the Governor General's replies to them all, was published in the Toronto papers of the day previous.

Another charge against His Excellency's Administration is taken from his not publishing the despatch on responsible Government. It is said that this despatch was suppressed in order to secure the support of the Reformers. A writer in *Blackwood's Magazine* retails this charge, and represents the Union Bill as having been carried through the Provincial Legislature by a series of tricks. Now, although this charge comes with an exceedingly ill grace from the party who make it (they being steeped to the dregs in political intrigue), it is proper to observe, that the publication of this despatch made no difference whatever in the conduct of the Reformers, they still giving their support to His Excellency's Administration as they had done before. They saw, indeed, that there was some difference between Lord John Russell's views and their own, but none of sufficient importance to require them to oppose the Government. They saw in the despatch an excess of caution, a putting forward of extreme cases as if he would convert the exception into the rule, and an express reservation of the right of interference in these cases; but they knew that caution was proper to a Minister of State, and that exceptions would arise to every general rule, and they concluded on the whole to admit the right of interference, guarded and limited as it was, and accompanied with sufficient pledges of the Government being administered in accordance with the people's wishes. Thus the magical effect which the publication of this despatch was to have produced, and which was to have blown His Excellency's Administration into atoms, proves to have been a mere figment of vain imaginations, and the charge falls along with the foundation on which it was built.

Another objection has been raised because His Excellency retains in office several persons who had acted with the Tories. It is said that he ought to have dismissed them all, and filled every office with Reformers. On this we may remark, that every officer who is retained in the public service is retained on the condition of giving his honest support to the Government. This point has been fully established, and from it there will be no wavering. No opposition, either "avowed or latent", will be permitted. This being premised, where would be the justice or the propriety of dismissing men who, whatever their former conduct may have been, now give in their adhesion to the Government? Do the Reform ranks afford such an ample choice of men competent to fill all Government offices, that all others ought to be dismissed to make room for them? We find that even in England, where men of talent and education so much abound, it is no easy matter to fill up Government offices efficiently from one party. But in a colony where there is such an acknowledged deficiency of suitable men, nothing but necessity could justify such a course; and as that necessity is removed by the parties uniting to support the Government, it is evidently the wiser course to retain every compe-

tent man who complies with this condition, no matter what his previous conduct may have been. Besides, innumerable complaints have been made respecting a "family compact," who are said to have kept all offices among themselves and their favourites; and would it be either wise or just to create a "compact" on the other side? Is it wise to perpetuate such a system, merely shifting its power into other hands? We think not, for we prefer our country to our party; and as a large part of the people of the country would be permanently excluded from office by the adoption of this rule, and thus the old complaints and grievances would still be heard, only from other quarters, we would strongly deprecate every system of policy that did not afford every man competent for office the chance of filling it, provided he give his undivided support to the Government. On this point there must be no demur. The system of governing by party, and keeping all offices within the party, may do for an old country in which parties are strong, but it is very unsuitable for Canada, in which parties are comparatively weak, and in which men competent for office are not as plenty as blackberries. His Excellency's conduct on this point was just—insisting on a full support to his Government from every public officer, and permitting those to retain their offices who would give their support. Any other course might have satisfied one party, but would have inflamed the other, and thus that peace and union which the country requires would not have been attained. Reformers will be promoted to offices as vacancies occur, and they are not so eager for place as to be careless of the country's peace; nor yet do they so envy their opponents as to grudge them their offices, provided they honestly render the Government their entire support, which they must do or resign.

It has also been said that the Governor-General has interfered with the freedom of election, partly by expressing an opinion respecting the comparative merits of some candidates, and partly by inducing Government officers to become candidates. The first branch of this objection we dismiss as beneath notice. A candidate's claims on public favour must be very slight if they are dissipated at a breath. The other branch of the objection requires more extended notice. The principle from which it proceeds is to be respected. A jealousy of Executive interference is proper and necessary: but then it requires to be watched and guarded, or it will defeat its own designs, and like the boy with the butterfly, when in his eager haste to grasp it, he crushes and destroys the object of his desire, this principle will, by its ill-judged sallies, wound the very freedom it wishes to preserve. Is it not so in this instance? A change of system has been demanded. It is required that the public business should be managed in the Legislature by public servants who, if they cannot command a majority there, must retire. Well, the first step towards this is taken, and certain public officers come forward as candidates for the people's suffrages. But no sooner is this done, than some timorous people take the alarm, and scamper like frightened hares through the wood, with the hue and cry in their mouths of "Executive interference." Why, in the name of common sense, how is the Executive to fulfil your wishes? You desire a kind of provincial ministry, and accordingly His Excellency presents his servants before you, saying, in effect, "These men have my confidence; I present them to you to ascertain if they have your's, in order that we may work harmoniously together:" but no sooner is this done than you start as if you had seen a ghost, and exclaim with supernatural horror, "Take any shape but that, and I will meet thee." Why, this is the very shape you desired to see; so don't be alarmed, for it is real, substantial flesh and blood after all. Every system must have a beginning; and Government officers now come forward here as candidates, as they do in England, avowedly in support of the Government. But this, it is said, is the very evil complained of. They are pledged to support the Government. We can hardly repress a smile at this objection: for what is meant by it? Is it meant that His Excellency should choose servants who would not support his policy? Would any man do this? As this is too absurd, the objectors either do not understand their own meaning, or they mean more than they say. Is it the latter? The complaint has been that public officers have served themselves instead of the Government and the people. Then, do all the outcries that have been made for a change of *system*, mean no more than a change of *men*—new officials on the old system of serving themselves?

Is this what the objection means, and would say if it durst? If not, what means the objection against Government officers being pledged to support the Government? They must be so, or the Government cannot benefit the people as it should. If thwarted and insulted by its own servants, and all favour meant for the people intercepted or turned into gall by those servants, who would govern or be governed on such a system? It is the very evil against which the people have risen in their might, and demanded a change. The first step in this change is to bring public officers before the bar of public opinion, and test their claims to public confidence at the hustings. If a number sufficient to conduct the public business cannot command confidence there, they must give place to those who can, and thus the system will soon resolve itself into that practical working of the British Constitution which ensures the harmony of the Executive with the representatives of the people. But let not the latter take fright at the first appearance of this improved system. It is not a fiery comet, which from its "horrid hair shakes pestilence and death," but the rising of a happier day—the bow of promise that the deluge of misgovernment shall not again desolate the land. "*In this sign conquer.*"

We have now gone through the subjects which we proposed to consider at the beginning, and have seen that the general principles by which the Government is guided in its course merit the confidence and support of all who love their country, and that the administration of His Excellency the Governor-General is in accordance with those principles. We claim no abstract perfection for that Administration, being too well aware that error will intrude into all human affairs. But if in any point the Administration needs indulgence, the difficulties in its way must be considered—difficulties so great, that instead of complaining that so little has been done, we may rejoice that so much has been effected. And not only the difficulties in this country, but also those at home must be taken into account. It must be remembered that Ministers are sustained by very small majorities, and therefore are unable to act at all times with the requisite vigour and firmness. Some persons here have spoken as if Ministers should have made a firm stand for measures suitable in every respect for Canada, even if they went so far as to swamp the House of Lords rather than pass a bill distasteful to the people of Canada. Such persons should consider that to take this stand would require a Minister to be supported by large majorities. He would be a rash man indeed who would take any such step with a majority of only eight or ten. Let every thing be judged fairly, with candour, a due allowance for difficulties at present insurmountable, a generous attachment to British institutions, and that spirit of yielding on minor matters, without which no union can be preserved; and then let the people of Canada say if they have not ample ground on which to support the Government in its liberal and patriotic course—ample ground on which all reasonable men may unite, each having gained what he most desired—ample ground on which to erect the temple of Concord, inscribing on its portal the following passage from the answer of the Governor-General to the Halifax Address: "It is the anxious desire of the Queen that her British North American subjects should be happy and prosperous; that they should enjoy that freedom which is the birthright of Britons, and bless the tie which binds them to her empire." That these prove not vain aspirations, they must be met in a corresponding spirit; and then who can predict the prosperity which awaits the country? Instead of hostile parties arrayed against each other, obstructing public business, and inflaming party animosity until it degenerates into private hate, we shall have the great body of the people united in promoting the commonweal, aiding the general prosperity, and rising with the advance of their country, until Canada, like her parent state, shall "flourish great and free," and see nothing to envy in the institutions or prosperity of any other people.

THE UNION.

THE re-union of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada is now, and must continue to be for some time to come, the engrossing topic of discussion in Canada. For although the main principles of Government are fixed by that great measure, it is yet simple and comprehensive; and it leaves such extensive powers for good or evil in the hands of the people, that before those powers come into full exercise it is essential that all should understand the breadth of the limits erected by the new Constitution, and the extent of the privileges to be enjoyed under it. When these are once fully understood, we shall be most happy to refer to the Constitution as a political text book, entitled to reverence and respect from all political parties, and to quote its provisions as unquestionable authority against innovation.

But we repeat that, in the first place, it is necessary for the Charter itself to be fully understood and appreciated; and, for the accomplishment of this end, the character of this publication demands that we should join with other portions of the public press in the discussion of political principles connected with the question of Union. We accordingly now put forth two articles, one containing a preliminary series of remarks upon the Act of Union as it affects the Lower Province, and the other containing observations on the same Act as the interests of Upper Canadians are concerned.

Our appearance as supporters of the Government, so far as a publication like the present is capable of giving such support, originated in a declaration on our part, that we approved of *the policy of Government so far as we understood it.* And having received or expected no favour beyond the expression of satisfaction at the commencement of a publication in such confidence and with such a feeling, we should regret, on the one hand, to have it understood that we pretend to divine the particular views of the Government, or that we withhold our own sentiments from a fear lest they may not meet with Executive approval. Neither are we prepared to debar ourselves of the opportunity of defending our own doctrines, should they not be found to accord with Government policy. *We therefore, re-state, that the opinions* to which we give publicity are our own, for which we alone are accountable; and we disclaim all fear of the displeasure of Government, as well as all hope of its favour, further than the approval it must necessarily bestow on a publication undertaken in a spirit of friendliness, and with a feeling of great confidence in the judgment and sincerity of the distinguished individual who is now the representative of our Sovereign in British America.

THE UNION AS IT AFFECTS LOWER CANADA.

WE cannot be required to offer our readers any apology for occupying, as we purpose to do, a considerable portion of our first number, with the discussion of the subject we have selected for this article. A free constitution, and in many respects a new one, has been given to a Province, in which the experiment of representative government has but lately failed; and, to avoid a second failure, it has been judged necessary not merely to make the new *charter in some important particulars different* from the old, but even to unite the Province which receives it, extensive as its territory is already, with another hardly less extensive.—At such a time, no subject can well possess greater interest for those whose fortunes are involved in the future prosperity or reverses of re-united Canada, than the inquiry as to the

probable results of this comprehensive change upon the Province whose condition it is intended more especially to affect. The whole question of the policy or impolicy of the re-union may, in fact, be said to depend upon this inquiry. Grant that under the new order of things Lower Canada is to have secured to her those lasting advantages which its advocates have anticipated from it; and then surely, no fear need be entertained for its consequences as regards the Upper Province, where that feud of races which in the Lower has so fatally retarded the progress of improvement, is happily unknown. Or, suppose the re-union after all to fail of its grand object, and this evil of evils as before to exert its influence within its former sphere; the failure can hardly prove more lamentable in its effect on the one Province than on the other. The fortunes of the two must henceforth be the same; the prosperity of both has become essential to the permanent well-being of either.

Nor is this fact the sole reason why the political prospects of Lower Canada should, at the present moment, engage a large share of our attention. The re-union controversy has been mainly, so to speak, a controversy on Lower Canadian affairs. Not only has the re-union been rendered necessary by the course of events in the Lower, rather than in the Upper Province; not only is it now formally proposed as the especial remedy for a state of things under which the former rather than the latter suffers; not only do its supporters in general so regard and represent it, but its opponents in either Province, no less than its friends, draw their chief store of arguments from the same common armory,—the state and prospects, real or fancied, of Lower Canada.—That comparatively small party in Upper Canada which still does battle for the existing order of things, sets up always the Lower Province as its bugbear, to scare men from what it affects to fear as a change perilous to its own more fortunate community. And its anti-union allies in Lower Canada, more numerous indeed, but united among themselves in nothing but their hostility to this single measure, sustain the views of their brethren in opposition of the other Province, only by the darkness of the picture they in one way or other furnish of their own actual state, and the gloominess of the forebodings to which the whole tone of their disputes inevitably gives rise, as to the future. Thus, whether our object be to affect public opinion in the one Province or in the other, to answer the cavils of the few, or to remove the apprehensions of the many, the course that requires to be pursued is clear. The prospects of Lower Canada under the new Constitution, must be fully, fairly and dispassionately discussed. Our limits, we are aware, will oblige us to treat the subject more briefly than we should have wished. With this disadvantage we must contend as we best may. The intrinsic merits of the case are fortunately such, as to leave us no great cause for fear on the mere score of the mode in which they may be here exhibited.

Our object then, it will be understood, in the present article, is distinctly and exclusively a practical one. We have no intention of examining the provisions of the Union Act, one by one, to see how far each may square with a particular theory of Government; nor, indeed of entering into abstract theoretical discussions of any kind. Such questions, no doubt, possess their interest; and when confined within reasonable limits, their consideration is in many respects highly useful. But the conflicting views and interests to be dealt with by the Act, and the counter influences to be avoided or overcome in order to its success, are so many and so powerful as to make it utterly impossible that the opinions of any one man or set of men can be carried by it into full effect. From beginning to end, the measure must of necessity be one of compromise: and a compromise, from the nature of the case, must always be more or less liable to theoretical objections, on the part of those who agree to it. The true question in such cases, is not whether the measure in dispute is in the opinion of any party an absolutely faultless one,—the very best the party appealed to could have wished; but whether it is not on the whole as good a measure as under all the circumstances they can now secure,—so good, in fact, as to make it a wiser course on their part to agree to than reject it. From this question we shall not here allow ourselves to digress. We are fully satisfied, that the re-union Act has been drawn up by its authors in good faith, and with the sincerest desire to meet the views of all parties as far as they can be met; that, taken as a whole, it unites the Canadas under a Constitution every way preferable to that which the Act

of 1781 gave, when it divided them; and that, once fairly in operation, it cannot fail to work the greatest and most beneficial changes in behalf of both Provinces, the Lower no less than the Upper. We are therefore well contented to meet its opponents on the ground they have themselves chosen,—the Lower Canadian aspect of the case. It is easy to show that the views of those parties in Lower Canada who regard the Union with distrust, are utterly erroneous; and that in point of fact the real tendencies of the measure, as regards their Province and themselves, so far from being what their fears or prejudices, or both, have led them to ascribe to it, are precisely those which they ought most to desire for their own advantage. This point established, the whole argument *against the Union* which has been founded on Lower Canadian considerations, at once falls to the ground.

Every political dispute in Lower Canada, as we presume our readers are well aware, resolves itself just now, in one way or another, into the all-comprehending quarrel of the rival races, and it is thus a thing of course, that on a subject of such paramount importance as the re-union, the views and feelings of the two races should be of the most opposite character. Neither of them, it is true, is quite unanimous in its decision for or against the Act; but this fact is far from constituting the case an exception to the rule. The immense majority of one race stand opposed to the majority of the other; the one strongly favouring the measure, the other hostile to it. Nor is this all. With exceptions too few to be worth taking into account, there is not the slightest sympathy between the two classes thus accidentally thrown together into opposition to the same measure. The man of British origin who questions the sufficiency of the Act, does so from the plenitude of the distrust with which he looks upon the French Canadian race,—that portion of it most especially which is itself most adverse to the re-union. And the anti-unionist of that race, in return, is strong in his repugnance to the proposed change, precisely in proportion to the strength of his dislike of all those consequences, for the sake of which his neighbours of British extraction mostly desire it, and which the anti-union minority of their number fear may never follow from it.

We have, then, to deal with two distinct classes of objections. Before proceeding, however, to consider them in detail, it becomes necessary first to define, in as few words as may be, their precise character, and—in order to do this—the position of the parties who advance them.

The history of the rise and progress of the "British party" in Lower Canada, as it has now for some years been called, must be too familiar to our readers in general, to require to be here more than glanced at. The national feud which has of late been carried to such lengths in the Province, has had its origin in the joint operation of two causes; the first, the short-sighted policy of the Quebec Act of 1774, which, after a short *quasi*-introduction of the English language and laws into the then newly conquered territory, suddenly undertook to establish and *perpetuate in it all the peculiarities of the* French colonial system; the second, the no less short-sighted policy which dictated the Constitution of 1791, and the early practices of the Colonial administration under it.—When the country was first permanently ceded, its whole population numbered about 70,000; and nothing could then have been much easier than to have assimilated this handful of men, in their language and general habits of feeling, to the great body of the nation of which they were from that time to form a part. The opportunity was, however, thrown away. Eleven years were lost in indecision, and then the old system was formally adopted, and any slight tendencies towards assimilation, which had begun to develope themselves, at once arrested. Seventeen more years elapse. In 1791 the inhabitants of Lower Canada, of French extraction, are 100,000 in number, constituting still almost the whole population, and as little changed from what they had been under the French *regime*, as it is well possible to imagine. A Constitution is given. For the first time they are called upon to take part in their own government; and a House of Assembly is summoned, to be elected by them under a franchise in effect almost universal.—This new body is to be, in theory, the "House of Commons" of the Colony. Its rights, privileges and powers are limited, on the face of the constitutional act, only as those of its Imperial counterpart, the House of Commons meeting in Westminster, are limited,—by the existence of a second legislative body, and the veto of the Crown. In practice, however, returned by a small community, unused to self-government of

any sort, and every way incapable of exerting any real political influence in the Province, it remains for some time a mere cypher, powerless as a check upon official abuse, but mischievous, because an effectual check upon every attempt at legislative innovation. The great majority of its members are necessarily of the language and origin of the great majority of the people; sharers, of course, in all their natural prepossessions in favour of existing institutions, as opposed to those which every British settler must as naturally desire to introduce in place of them. What part could such a body play, but the part it did play? Meanwhile the high offices of the Crown within the Colony, continue with few exceptions, as in the earliest period after the conquest, in the hands of individuals selected from the small minority of British origin; and the new Councils, Executive and Legislative, are both formed, almost as exclusively, from the ranks of these officials. What but collision, sooner or later, could possibly result from a state of things at its commencement so inauspicious!

As years passed on, the Assembly gradually began to assert its powers; the minority of British origin among its members, at the same time almost as gradually growing less and less. The Councils by very slow degrees became a little less exclusively official in their composition; while the official body received some further accessions from among the older French Canadian families, without, however, at all losing, either for itself or for the Councils, the character of general exclusiveness as regarded French Canadians, which it had originally.—A more important change was meanwhile quietly going on among the community at large, though still so slowly as for a number of years to excite nothing like general attention. One immediate effect of the conquest had been to throw the commerce of the country into the hands of British merchants resident in Quebec and Montreal; and as a necessary consequence, many of their countrymen were before long led to settle in one part or other of the Province,—the cities naturally drawing to themselves a large proportion of their number. The neighbouring States also furnished their full quota of immigrants, most of them agricultural settlers, tempted by the new lands of the Eastern townships. These causes could not but materially affect the relative proportions of the French and English races in the Colony; and thus a mixed Anglo-Canadian population, of British, Irish and American extraction, rose silently but steadily into unobserved importance.

Changes like these could have but one tendency. Two quarrels were inevitable; the first in order of time, a quarrel for political ascendancy on the part of the Assembly, with the official body, and by necessary consequence with the Councils, and with the Executive,—which unwisely in the first instance took part with them; the second, a struggle for essential changes in the law of the land, between the new population and the old, the one anxious to make the resources of the country more available to its own enterprise, the other clinging with excusable tenacity to its own usages, and soon extending its jealousy and dislike of innovation to the innovators themselves. Neither quarrel, had it stood alone, could have resulted as the two together actually have done. Each made the other worse. The political struggle served to lengthen and embitter, while it masked, the war of races,—a war which otherwise would most likely have been quietly over, long before this time; and this national dispute in turn exercised the same untoward influence on the political. The Assembly, commencing with the most unexceptionable demands, and meeting from the official party an opposition as obstinate as it was unjustifiable and impolitic, gained one advantage after another, after delays in each case that served to render its leaders increasingly discontented, and yet just fast enough to keep alive their hopes, and stimulate them perpetually to urge upon the Government the fresh demands which their growing discontent suggested. The population of British extraction, influenced at first more by its political sympathies with the representatives of the people, than by the ties of language and origin between it and the official body, transferred its preferences, as the French Canadian leanings of the Assembly became from time to time more evident. An opportunity thus offered for the Council party, to profess itself the champion of British, as opposed to French Canadian interests; and, with little or no real confidence between the parties, an alliance between them, seemingly of the most intimate description, was the consequence. But one thing more was wanting to complete the confusion and bring things to a crisis. The home Government,

unaware of the very peculiar posture of affairs, sought to stay the controversy by a mere course of concession to the Assembly; which body by this time had become essentially French Canadian in all its views, and was besides urging the most extravagant demands in the most offensive language. A very short time showed how hopelessly the day of conciliation was gone by. Insurrection arrayed the races openly in arms against each other; and the feud of origin took a form that could no longer be disregarded or mistaken.

In 1838, the entire Anglo-Canadian population was for the first time united in favor of the Union. Distrustful of the race they had so long looked upon as their enemies, they demanded that it should never again enjoy political superiority over themselves; as it must if, at any time for many years to come, a new Constitution should be granted to Lower Canada. Scarcely less distrustful of the policy of the Imperial Government, with regard to the points at issue between the French and themselves, they as heartily insisted on the insufficiency of any more prolonged suspension of the constitution, which should leave it to deal with both parties at its discretion. There was one course only left—the formation of a new Province, in which a majority of the constituent body should be of their own race, and return them a legislature on whose sympathies they might rely. By the Union, on the terms they suggested, they looked upon this object as secured. The French Canadian race, from precisely similar considerations, were of course equally unanimous in their hostility to the projected change.

Later events, however, have not failed to produce their natural effect on the temper of either party. British and French have both, to a greater or less extent, changed their ground; the former, as we have already intimated, becoming somewhat less confident and zealous on the one hand; the latter showing themselves considerably less united in their views, and on the whole less apprehensive, on the other.

The causes of this change of feeling have been several. The time that has elapsed has allowed men to reflect more coolly than they could at first do; making apparent to the one party difficulties it had overlooked, and to the other the groundlessness of some, at least, of its old fears, and a reasonable prospect of some unforeseen advantages. A more powerful cause, however, is to be found in the general temper of parties at home and in Upper Canada, on the subject of the Union. Both parties in Lower Canada had been brought to look forward to measures of a more severe character than they now see to be contemplated.—to a complete triumph, in fact, of the one race over the other. They find a moderation displayed which they had not expected. Proscription and disfranchisement are not so much as talked of, out of Lower Canada. "British feeling," in Westminster and the Upper Province, refuses to respond to any project for the systematic exclusion of any class of British subjects from the enjoyment of those political privileges which are the common birth-right of all. The provisions of the Union Act are not such as to meet the wishes of that class of individuals in Lower Canada, (politicians—by excess of courtesy,) whose day-dreams are of exclusive privileges to be forever enjoyed by a favoured caste, who would risk any thing in the shape of oligarchical misgovernment and general discontent, such as could not but result from their system,—rather than try the infinitely less hazardous experiment of popular institutions and equal laws.

Most unfortunately for its own interests, the "British party" in Lower Canada has heretofore numbered in its ranks, but too many individuals of this stamp. In times of high excitement, the most violent partizans are naturally the most prominent. To this class of men we cannot pretend to recommend the Union. They are right in thinking it is not for them. It is not meant it should establish an "ascendancy" system in the Canadas, and it never will. With this salutary knowledge, suggested already by their own instinct, we are content to leave them to the well-earned insignificance which the Union has in store for them.

With this class of individuals, however, the great bulk of the Anglo-Canadian population of the Province have no real sympathy. It stands "among them, but not of them." Its objects, its fears, and its fortunes, are all distinct and separate from theirs. They protested in good faith, against a restoration of the old constitution, simply because they saw in it the triumph of the other race, and their own defeat. They are averse to any long continuance of

the present form of Government, simply because it is not that free, representative system, with which alone Englishmen can ever be content. They are as desirous for the Union now as they were in 1838; and their reasons remain unaltered with their wishes. There are those, no doubt, among their numbers, who fear that the Union, on the principles now proposed, may fail of securing to the country the substantial advantages, in the hope and expectation of which they became its supporters; and that a local French Canadian "ascendancy" may after all result from it. The fears of this class of men we are bound to treat with respect, however little we may be ourselves disposed to share them. A very brief examination of the real merits of the case, we feel confident, must suffice to satisfy any mind not unreasonably biassed by its own prepossessions, that such fears rest on no solid ground whatever.

Each Province is to return 42 members, and of the 42 from Lower Canada, the British race is able at once to return from 9 to 12; so that the representatives of French Canadian constituencies will find themselves outnumbered by from 18 to 24 votes, in a House of 84 members. Nor must it be forgotten, with reference to the point at present in question, that of the members returned by purely French constituencies there cannot fail to be a considerable number strongly attached to British rule, and opposed to what is termed French ascendancy. Under what circumstances, then, let us ask, is it imaginable that such a thing can happen as the establishment of a French Canadian "ascendancy," to the prejudice of the British race in Lower Canada? One or other of three causes must be supposed,—the mere will and pleasure of the Assembly influencing the Government,—the deliberate policy of the Government influencing the legislative bodies, or acting independently of them,—or the adoption by the Government of such a course on other matters as may, contrary to its intentions, have the effect of driving the legislature into the policy presumed.—A word or two as to each of these suppositions.

If any imaginable proposition be too clear to, admit of proof, we should conceive it to be this —that the representatives of Upper Canada in the United Legislature, cannot possibly come to their task with any bias on their minds in favour of aught that may be peculiarly French in the institutions, laws or usages of the Lower Province. Motive for *wishing* to perpetuate French Canadian "nationality," they can have none. How, then, except by unjust demands or acts of egregious folly, can the British representatives of Lower Canada oblige these natural allies of theirs from the sister Province to vote against them on questions between them and the French? Are the claims of the British race in Lower Canada, on their own showing, iniquitous or absurd? If not, they surely must never shrink from submitting them to the decision of a body, whose prepossessions, one may reasonably suppose, will all be in their favour, and which cannot possibly be found prejudiced against them.

Is it, then, to be presumed, that the policy of the Executive will be to undertake to effect what we have seen the Legislature is so little likely either to do itself, or to regard with favour if attempted by the Government? We have every guarantee of the fixed determination of the Imperial Government henceforth to rule these Colonies in the only way in which they can be long retained,—in compliance, that is to say, as far as possible with the wishes of the representative body. Can it be that this point is the one selected on which to run counter to those views? Or, granting even, for argument's sake, that Executive influence *could* mould the Legislature in this matter to its will, what sane man can seriously dream that the Government will ever exercise that influence for such a purpose? Has it not in terms repudiated the bye-gone policy, which fostered and maintained national distinctions among us? Does it not refer our past and present troubles mainly to that policy? Has it not brought about the Union, with the avowed design of thereby putting an end, at once, to the distinctions themselves, and to the troubles they have occasioned?

The third hypothesis remains, and we must be allowed to dismiss it almost without remark. *If*, indeed, with all the insight the Imperial Government has now gained into our affairs, it should be guilty of such extreme misgovernment as, within the first year or two after the Union, to involve the Provincial Executive in a formal quarrel on first principles with the representative body, the result *might* be a coalition against the government, between a liberal majority from the Upper Province and a

French majority from the Lower,—or, again, it might not. In such a case, however, it needs no spirit of prophecy to foresee, that other questions, far enough removed from the mere quarrel of French and English in Lower Canada, would be involved in the struggle. But we cannot so far task our imagination, as to anticipate any thing of the kind. A man has no business, merely because a thing is too absurd, to take it for granted that men of sense will be sure to do it.

We pass on to speak of the fears the French Canadian race entertain as to the consequences of the Union. If the apprehension felt to some extent by the British population, is thus easily disposed of, how stands the case with those of their political antagonists.

The alarm is raised among the French Canadians, on four distinct grounds. They are told to fear :—

1. Some danger, not too clearly defined, to their religious rights, and the possessions and immunities of the Roman Catholic Church.

2. Anglification,—the sacrifice of their own language to the English, and the rapid introduction among them of English laws and customs generally.

3. A triumph of their old opponents, the "British party," and the consequent establishment of a British "ascendancy" interest in Lower Canada.

4. Certain undue advantages (so called,) which, it is said, are conceded to Upper, over Lower Canada, by the Act of Union,—and as a consequence, great legislative injustice, hereafter, to Lower Canadian interests.

Upon the first of these topics we shall say very little, for the plain reason, that very little can require to be said. The Catholic Church has certainly not been so treated in Lower Canada by the British government, as to justify the shadow of a suspicion, on the part of her members, that it can be now disposed to act towards them otherwise than with the most scrupulous fairness. And even were the government ever so much inclined suddenly to adopt a new policy in this respect, *how*, let us ask, *could it do so*, in United, any better than in Lower Canada? A majority of the entire constituency of the Province will be Catholics ;—and it is likely enough a majority of the whole House of Assembly will be so too. Besides, when was religious intolerance ever the fault of Protestant or Catholic, in Canada? And, above all, when have the great body of the people of Upper Canada, or their representatives, ever given it the smallest countenance? Add, then, the fact, that by the Union Act, the Provincial Legislature itself can pass no act in any way affecting the rights of Catholics, or the endowments of their Church, except with the express consent in each case given of the Imperial Parliament, and what becomes of this vague fear of danger to Catholicism, from the Union?

But, is there no fear, says the objection, for "our language, laws, and institutions?" To answer this question, we must first divide it.—It involves two distinct points, which it will not do to confound together.

To come first to the question of language. Stated in plain terms, it is simply this. Is an impassable barrier to be kept up for ever, between two classes of the same community, or is it not? So long as one class speaks only one language, and another only another, so long the two must remain hopelessly at variance.—The present feud of races in Lower Canada, *is* owing more to this cause than to any other ;—for with a common tongue, the two could not have misunderstood each other as they have done. They would have been brought together in the ordinary relations of life, would have *been brought to comprehend one another's* real views and objects, would have found out that their respective interests were the same,—in a word, would have become what they ought now to be, *one people*. Because they have so long been kept apart, and have *suffered* each of them so much in consequence, does any man argue that they had better not now be brought together? Does their alienation, supposing it to continue, promise to be so much less mischievous for the future, than it has heretofore? A child may see, that the longer it lasts, the worse it must every year be growing ; and that no remedy will ever serve, but the one effectual remedy of actual association with each other,—in other words, a common language.

What, then, is this common language to be? Because the French Canadians happen to be a majority within the narrow limits of Lower Canada, does it at all follow that theirs can be made the universal language of the Province? The minority which does not speak it, is increasing much more rapidly than they are, and must at no distant day outnumber them even

in Lower Canada. In Canada, they already form a mere minority. In the British American Provinces, those who do not speak their language outnumber them, two to one:—and on the continent of North America, their handful of less than half a million stands opposed to some sixteen or seventeen millions who speak English. To say nothing, then, of the mere impossibility of ever making the French the common tongue of Canada, or even of Lower Canada, how can they really so much as hope to preserve it for themselves, for any length of time? And what could they gain by it, were this impossible achievement ever so easy? Who, in fact, are so deeply interested as themselves, in the speedy accomplishment of the opposite change,—the universal diffusion of the English language amongst their own body?—Cut off, as they now are, by their use of a foreign language, from the literature, intercourse and sympathies of the continent on which they live, and rendered almost aliens within the empire of which they are subjects and citizens, what greater boon can be conferred on them, than the language which alone can remove the galling disabilities they at present labour under?

We are far from meaning, then, to deny the inevitable tendency of the Union in this respect. On the contrary, the firm belief we entertain, that it will render the spread of the English language among the French Canadian population much more rapid than it otherwise would be, is to our mind among the strongest reasons in its favour. The change is not one that a politician can prevent or cause at pleasure. It is going on already, and that not slowly. All that can be done is to hasten or retard it, and the sooner it can be got quietly over, the better. At the same time, let it not be forgotten, how very little positive interference is contemplated by the Union Act, with the natural progress of events. The language of the future legislature is to be English; but beyond this, everything is to be left to its own course. In the Provincial Parliament, the French representatives will be more than numerous enough to take good care of the feelings, no less than of the substantial interests of their constituents.

To proceed then. The peculiar "laws and institutions" of Lower Canada,—how far can these be said to be endangered by the Union? No more endangered, most assuredly, than they deserve to be. We presume no one will venture quite so far as to claim for them anything like perfection, and assert the impossibility of improving them. In the strife of party, we are aware, their indiscriminate condemnation by disputants of the one race, has called forth disputants of the other, who have as indiscriminately defended them,—and *vice versa*, But for all this, no one, we repeat, can in sober earnest believe them to be so good as not to stand in need of very material changes, of one sort or another. Half French, half English in their origin,—the two halves never fitted to each other,—what can they be but what they are, a matter of complaint with all, with French, if truth be told, hardly less than with English? The complaints of the two may not precisely square; but for all that, both do complain, and with good reason. France has revised her civil code, long ago, and England is every day amending her old criminal law. In Lower Canada, the two still co-exist, as ill-fitted to work together, as on the day when the mistake was made of introducing them to each other's company. Look to the laws as they exist on paper, or to the country as its sad state shews the working of those laws, and who shall say it is not more than time essential changes were made in them, to repair as far as may be, the evil consequences of past folly and neglect? Such changes, Union or no Union, we are sure to have; and the question, therefore, is merely this, whether or not, under the Union, the wishes of the French population are likely to be unfairly disregarded in making them, or even less regarded than they otherwise would be? On this point, we can see no shade of doubt. The United House will contain some thirty representatives of French Canadian constituences. Is it not preposterous to suppose, that their opposition to any unreasonable change that may be proposed, can ever be ineffectual? The Upper Canadian delegation will necessarily be divided in opinion and feeling on most subjects, and there is no chance of their ever being so united on any mere question of Lower Canadian law, as to vote in solid phalanx for any unfair demand made by the British party. Nine to ten Upper Canadians voting at any time with the French, will suffice to turn the scale. What danger can there be, of innovation taking place under such a system, too rapidly for the well-being of the French race themselves?

"British ascendancy," then,—is the alarm on this score also without foundation? The consideration just urged, we reply, is of itself a full and sufficient answer. A body from twenty-five to thirty members can never be overlooked, by a government having to carry measures in the legislative branch of the legislature. And, besides, even were this not the case, the French race has still its guarantee, in the well-known temper of the majority of the Upper Canadian people, for the course their representatives must follow, *in the event of the* government being found disposed to build up an oligarchical interest of any sort whatever in Lower Canada. The Upper Canadians have no revengeful or angry feeling towards the French. No collision has ever taken place between them, to create such dispositions. Parties in Upper Canada are strictly political, and always have been. They are strangers to the unfortunate national animosities of the Lower Province, and are not likely, therefore, readily to become involved in them. Nor must it be forgotten, that the overwhelming majority in Upper Canada, has always shewn itself hostile to every thing like a local oligarchy in its own Province. Its political sympathies are all popular. How can it favour in the one Province, what it hates in the other?

The fourth objection to the Union remains to be considered. The interests of Lower Canada, it is feared, will be in some way sacrificed to those of Upper Canada.

How comes it, let us ask, at the outset of this inquiry,—how comes it, that the interests of the two Provinces should ever have been inconsistent, or indeed other than identical?—Whatever they may have been hitherto, whatever they may be now, can they fail to be identical, so soon as the two Provinces shall have been made one?

The Upper Province has its two paths to the ocean; by one or other of which its communications with the Mother Country must take place. How has the comparison hitherto stood between them? Their natural advantages are not far from equal; the route through the States being favoured by a climate which allows commercial intercourse to begin earlier and continue later in the year, than by the Lower Canada route; while the *almost* uninterrupted navigation of the St. Lawrence gives an immediate counter advantage to the latter. However, here, all semblance of equality has ended. The people of the adjoining States have triumphed over gigantic obstacles, and made for themselves an artificial communication between their seaports and the Upper Canadian lakes; while the Canadas, because disunited and at variance, have not so much as overcome the comparatively trifling impediments that stood in the way of their full use of their own noble river. On one side, the Upper Canadians have had to deal with a community whose enterprise has equalled, if it did not surpass their own; *on the other, with an almost* complete negation of every thing like enterprise or public spirit. Here, their trade has been invited by almost every means; there, it has been as systematically repelled. Even in the matter of legislation, the United States have been allowed to hold out *some* superior inducements to Lower Canada; for while the Upper Canadians have themselves had no direct voice in determining the commercial laws of either of the two countries, with which, and through which they must deal, the commercial spirit of the one has led it spontaneously to adopt a system as much to the temper and interest of Upper Canada, as that which the prevailing anti-commercial habits of the other have maintained, has been at variance with both.—The consequences were unavoidable. Bound down, in some measure, by the general revenue system of the Empire, and to a much greater extent by local revenue laws which the Provinces could easily have modified to suit their own views, but for the difficulties created by their separation and jealousy of one another,—the trade of Upper Canada has been kept, for the most part, to the route of the St. Lawrence: but one small portion after all has been diverted, and much of what has not been diverted, has been retained at what many of the parties interested have thought to be a heavy sacrifice. Upper Canada has been loud in her complaints of the hardship of the system which forced her to make these sacrifices; and the subjects of commercial law, revenue and internal improvements, have been matter for perpetual dispute on her part with the Lower Province.

Reverse now this picture. Let the Canadas form one Province, and what becomes of all the apparent clashing of interests, to which their separation alone has given rise? With one and the same Executive,—a common Legislature, and consequently a harmonious sys-

tem of commercial and financial law,—a revenue common to both,—a system of internal improvements devised and executed for their whole territory, under the influence of the same views, and by means of their combined resources,—and that constant assimilation of the two Provinces, which must follow when once all these causes shall be at work to produce it,—what but the strictest identity of interests between the two can be the result?

Let it never be forgotten, that except as a consequence of improvement in Upper Canada, the Lower Province can never *really* flourish. Cut off from the rich back country which nature has assigned it, what hope is there of the successful developement of its own unaided resources? The Eastern States of the Union owe their wealth and prosperity to the mighty West, which they have colonized, and whose commerce has in turn built for them their cities, ships and factories. How much more must not Lower Canada, with her ungenial climate, depend upon her western country? Upper Canada offers her not merely her own trade and resources, vast as they must ere long become, but a large share in that still greater flow of wealth which the north-western States of the Union are ready and waiting to pour through the territories of both, the instant they shall be opened to receive it. Nor is any one to say that all this will affect only a single interest in Lower Canada,—the commercial as contra-distinguished from the agricultural. The one can never prosper without the other. Montreal and Quebec cannot double their population and resources, and the surrounding country remain unaffected by the change. What gives value to property of any description in the former, of necessity adds also to its value in the latter. The commercial and agricultural interests of the Lower Province are not less surely bound together, than are its commercial interests (as we have just seen) with the interests generally of the Upper.

To this great end, however, we must repeat, there is but one means. The mere progress of improvement in the one Province will do nothing for the other, unless the two are brought together so effectually as to make their interests thus identical; and nothing short of the Union can do this. Leave things to themselves, and in a few years the interests of Upper Canada will be just as intimately and indissolubly connected with those of the United States, as it is now possible, *by the Union*, to connect them with those of Lower Canada.

If, however, under the Union, the interests of the two Provinces are sure to be connected, as we have shown they must be, what becomes of the fear we have been speaking of,—that somehow or other one may suffer from the greater prosperity and therefore preponderating influence of the other? Grant all that those who entertain this apprehension can assert; admit that the finer climate, richer land, and greater advantages of every kind, which Upper Canada has to offer, will attract to her many more immigrants than the Lower Province can; that her resources will develope themselves more rapidly, that more public works will be carried on, and more flourishing towns and villages spring up,—in a word, that the great work of general improvement will advance faster and further in the one than in the other,—what then? Upper Canada can never advance too far or too fast for the true interests of Lower Canada. The less favoured Province may not and cannot be made to prosper to the same extent with the more favoured. But it must, for all that, advance so much the faster for the rapid progress of the other: and must thus derive its full share of advantage from the prosperity which, to the superficial observer, it may *appear* not to show. If the public work which an observer of this class would call Upper Canadian, because situate in Upper Canada, really conduce to the prosperity of Upper Canada, it must conduce no less really, though it may be less directly, to that of Lower Canada too.

But, waiving for the moment this consideration, what danger is there of the claims of Lower Canada to her full share of *direct* advantage from the government, laws and revenue of the United Province, being ever overlooked or postponed to those of Upper Canada? The two are to have the same vote in the House. Is it to be imagined that Lower Canadian members of either origin will be found disposed to sacrifice the obvious local interests of their own Province for those of the other? On this point a most important fact requires to be borne in mind, namely, that in future all money votes (for internal improvements, or whatever other object,) must come before the House, recommended by the Government. This change must give rise to a new system of local administra-

tion, which will render interested combinations between the representatives of particular local interests far more difficult, and therefore less likely to take place; as the responsibility of undertaking each work will be made to rest distinctly on the Government, and the Government will naturally decide for or against each claim, on much more general views than those on which individual interested members, acting to a great degree without responsibility, can be expected to decide. How then can either Province be sacrificed, or its interests be postponed to the other?

It is asserted, we are well aware, by the party whose views we are now examining, that two instances of this postponement have taken place already—in the assumption, by the United Province, of certain debts incurred by Upper Canada, and in the apportionment of an equal number of members to Upper and Lower Canada respectively, the population of the one being so much less numerous than that of the other. The inference sought to be established from these facts, we deny altogether. The debts of the Upper Province are debts incurred for objects of common advantage. It is possible enough that some of those objects may not have been selected in the very best manner for the interests of either, and that some of the money spent upon them might have been saved by better management. But this is nothing to the point. The question is, whether Lower Canada is really made to pay too dearly for the vast advantages she is to derive from the Union, (among which advantages is to be ranked her future use of these very works, completed as the Union soon will complete them) by the share of responsibility which is now to fall on her for the debts incurred in their construction. And to this question we can imagine but one answer. As to the second point, the equality of the representation of the provinces, the answer is no less obvious. It is an arrangement certainly not to the disadvantage of Lower Canada. Just at present it may seem hard to give two populations the same voice, when one is almost half as numerous again as the other; but then, within a short term of years, beyond the possibility of doubt, the proportions will be reversed, and the population of the western country become much the larger of the two. In framing a law of this kind, it is necessary to look to the future as well as to the present. The new country, which is fast increasing, has a *right* to a heavier vote in the public councils than the old one, which can increase but slowly. Besides, looking even only to the present, who does not see in the greater general enterprise and intelligence of the people of Upper Canada, the strongest of all claims to political consideration? Extent of country and number of population are not the only points to be kept in view, nor even the most material. An objector may argue that the abstract principle of a representation periodically varying, according to some ascertained rule of territory and population, ought to have been adopted; and in his zeal for this theory may wholly overlook the fact, that no approach to a fair rule of this kind has ever been made in either province, and that it is therefore a little too much to insist upon it, that the Union Act must, at all events, for the first time introduce the principle. It is not our intention, however, here to discuss any such point as this. The question is not, by what abstract rule the representation of a country may be best adjusted; but, whether or not the scale actually adopted in the present instance is substantially a fair one; and no further argument can be required to establish our proposition, that it is so.

The considerations we have been urging more than suffice, if we are not much mistaken, to prove the assertion with which we set out, that the current objections to the Union Act, drawn from the aspect of affairs in Lower Canada, are utterly without foundation. Neither class of objectors within the province, French or English, has taken any thing like a right view of the case; and those, therefore, who in Upper Canada or elsewhere repeat the statements and show the fears of either, are merely partners with them in error. The extent of this error has been fully shown, only by contrasting the imaginary mischiefs they predict from the Union, with the great and lasting good it must in reality bring to pass. In some degree we have already done this in the course of the remarks we have made. Our limits allow us here to add only a few words more as to the positive advantages Lower Canada is to derive from the Union.

The Union, be it remembered, is the one and only means that offers of giving Lower Canada the enjoyment of Representative Institutions, and a Local Government popularly administered. After the experience of the past, who but a madman could wish to risk a second con-

stitutional experiment in Lower Canada *as it is?* The choice lies between free government with the Union, and a continuance of the present system without it. That the latter might be turned to good account we are by no means inclined to deny: but how much more the former! Few persons, we fancy, can be doubtful to which of the two to give the preference.

In speaking of "improvements of every kind," we must be allowed to enter our strongest protest against being supposed to mean by the word we use nothing more than is commonly meant by it in the newspaper language of the day. It is not of "local improvements" alone, or even mainly, that we speak. Canals, rail-roads, bridges, and so forth, have their uses, which we are far, indeed, from undervaluing; but they are not the one thing, nor the first, which society and government were framed to secure. The improvement *of the people* themselves is the grand object to be had in view; the more intelligent and honest administration of *their local affairs*—the economical employment of their various resources, individual and social, to promote their own welfare—the general diffusion among them of sound views and right feelings. Improvement of this sort once in progress, "local improvements" will go on fast enough. The greater always includes the less.

Of the tendency of the Union to assimilate the two races in the Lower Province to one another, and to the more enterprising population of Upper Canada, we have already said as much as our limits allow, though less than the importance of the subject would otherwise demand. For the present we must be content with merely repeating the remark, that this assimilation is a necessary condition of that general progress of improvement which we have just been anticipating; and that, as it cannot fail to benefit in an equal degree all classes of the community, all should alike show themselves disposed, to the extent of their ability, to aid in promoting it.

On this last point, too much stress cannot possibly be laid. The press and the public have their duties; and let the Government discharge its share of duty as it may, the public good demands that these also be discharged no less faithfully. If the general temper of the public mind in Lower Canada, and the consequent tone of the press, are still to remain after the Union, what they are at present,—if the violent animosities to which long years of strife have most unhappily given rise, are still to be exasperated by the perpetual use of contemptuous and exciting language, such as that strife has rendered but too common,—if the people and their newspapers are thus to counteract the best efforts of the Government in their behalf,—even the Union cannot yield them the half of those advantages which it is otherwise calculated to produce. Nor let any one for a moment fancy, that it is merely the press that has been to blame in this matter, and what is wanting is simply a change of language on the part of the few individuals who conduct it. In a matter of this kind, the press, however it may in its turn influence public opinion, takes its tone from it in the first instance. Newspapers print what the public are disposed to pay for. Their conductors have no superhuman power of *creating* a demand for political views, in which their readers do not already, to a considerable extent, sympathise. Let intelligent *men generally, exert their influence in society*, to discountenance those rabid effusions of partisan silliness, to which too many of them at present listen with what is very apt to be taken for tacit approval, and our word for it, the conductors of the public press will not be slow to profit by the opportunity, and to prove that, as a class, they are to the full as intelligent, as capable of entertaining moderate and judicious views, and as heartily disposed to express them in judicious language, as any other class in the community can be.

The moderation we are recommending, is of two kinds; moderation, first, as regards past feuds, which cannot be too soon ended and forgotten,—and secondly, as regards the various measures of the Government, from time to time brought forward with a view to the recovery of the country, from the state to which those feuds have reduced it. The two races *must* live together in Lower Canada; and they cannot, therefore, too soon begin to understand one another, and live together in peace. We are not Utopian enough to suppose the change can be effected all at once; but we know well, that it must one day or other be brought about, that no time can ever be better than the present for beginning it, and that no other parties can have so deep an interest in at once themselves beginning it, as those whom it will first affect. For a time, it may not be an altogether popular task, to endeavour to remove exist-

ing antipathies; but before very long, it will be granted on all hands, that the wisest men were those who first and most heartily set about it. For the legislative and other measures, by which the progress of this social and political regeneration of the Province is to be assisted,—one remark will suffice. The same reforms will really serve both races. Why not, by moderation of tone in regard to them, endeavour to convince both of the fact, and induce them by degrees to co-operate with each other for their common good?

For some years past, it has been peculiarly the misfortune of Lower Canada, that from the influence of one cause and another the policy of its local Government has failed to enlist the sympathies, or command the respect and confidence, of either of the two great parties into which its population has been divided. With the adoption of the policy of the Union, this state of things, we may surely hope, is ended. The Home Government has in the most emphatic manner declared its fixed determination, henceforth, "to administer the Government of these Provinces in accordance with the wishes and interests of the people, and to pay to their feelings as expressed through their representatives, the deference that is justly due to them." In view of this, its declared policy, the Colonial Government has a right to the reasonable confidence of every right-minded man, be his prejudices of race or party what they may. It is the line of policy which must secure (and alone can secure) the lasting prosperity of the country, as a valuable dependency of the British Crown. And so long as it shall continue,—as we hope and believe it ever will,—to be the policy of the administration, so long can no reflecting man, who wishes well to Canada, by any possibility, persist in gratuitously applying to it, the worn-out Lower Canadian dialect of causeless distrust and purposeless opposition.

One remark more, we must still make. To give its full effect to the policy the Government has thus announced, something very different from that mere passive acquiesence which some people seem to mistake for confidence, is needed. It is not this we mean, by the "reasonable confidence" in Government, which we would have men feel and manifest. The confidence of reasonable men is an active, persevering feeling. They know well, that if they will not act for themselves, no Government on earth can so act for them as to relieve them from the pains and penalties due to their own folly. It is this feeling we would wish to see in Lower Canada. Of the other, we have seen enough and to spare in her past history. Gratuitous distrust on the one hand, and inactive, lifeless dependence on the other, are mistakes about equally to be deprecated. Heaven helps those whose own good sense teaches them how to help themselves.

THE UNION AS IT AFFECTS UPPER CANADA.

If our readers should happen to weary of this subject, the fault must be in the manner in which it is discussed, and not in the want of stirring, intrinsic interest in the question under consideration. We shall, however, avoid the risk of tiring our readers, by limiting this article within the narrowest bounds that can be made to contain the leading arguments, leaving those which are less obvious for future consideration.

The country united under the Act lately passed, extends from the Gulph of St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, along the northern shores of that Lake and of Lake Erie to Lake Huron, and along the easterly shores of Lake Huron to Penetanguishene, at its easterly extremity. So far the country is partially inhabited, or in the course of settlement. But it extends further along the northern shores of Lakes Huron and Superior, and from the head of the latter Lake to the Rocky Mountains.

The settlements made in this extensive region, are principally confined to the borders of the St. Lawrence and Lakes Ontario and Erie; and although we are not of the class of politicians who would sacrifice present interests

to views far extended into the future, yet we feel, that to consider any thing like a permanent settlement for Canadian politics, we must look more into the future than the past; for the very plain reason, that the circumstances which governed past important events exist no longer, and calculations made upon a supposition, that these circumstances continue the same, must be founded in error. We shall, therefore, in the first place, shew, that we are right in speculating upon the capabilities of the country, and we shall afterwards give our speculations for what they are worth.

The most important point to which we can turn the attention of our readers, is the state of the Mother Country. The time has not long past when so far from regarding the increasing numbers of the population as an evil, foreigners were encouraged to settle in England, foreign troops were employed in the service of the Government, and foreign citizens were called upon to fill up the ranks of the manufacturing population, which did not in itself increase in proportion to the increasing enterprize which British industry and accumulated capital called into existence. In this state of affairs, England acquired possessions in many parts of the world, but the emigration to those possessions consisted of those who, discontented at home, sought in America the freedom of conscience which, at the time, was denied them in their own country, the rapid acquirement of wealth which the steady progress of affairs at home did not afford, or the enormous advantages which enterprising men of the British race had, when as conquerors they overran the rich and almost boundless Eastern Empire. The emigration to Continental America was almost the only one made with a view to permanent settlement,—and this, as we before observed, more from a desire to escape from institutions disliked by the emigrants, but which were nevertheless sustained by the people of England for the time, and in a manner which made the attainment of political objects, which those who became emigrants had in view, wholly impossible at home. These men settled in the New England States, and to the steadfast and determined English character brought with them is undeniably owing the foundation of the great American republic. In the West Indies, and in the Southern States, the mercantile spirit prevailed, and because these countries produced luxuries very valuable in the European markets, they were occupied by merchants, and principally inhabited by slaves.

We repeat, therefore, that the British immigration into the country now forming the Eastern States, was almost the only one made for the purpose of actual settlement.

Yet even in that country for a great many years manual labour was so difficult to be procured, that the convicts furnished from England were deemed an acquisition, and the most unjustifiable means were used to induce destitute and desperate men to sell themselves into a kind of slavery called apprenticeship.

The American revolution caused the Emigration of the Loyalists to the remaining Colonies. They left the United States, however, not because they wanted room, or from any special inducements held out in the Colonies, but because they retained their loyalty, and sought in the British Provinces the peaceable enjoyment of their political principles. Thus we see a certain and most remarkable affinity between the early settlement of the Eastern States, and that of Upper Canada,—namely, that neither took place because of redundant population in the country from whence the emigrants came, but, on the contrary, from other ascertainable moving causes.

For some years past, though of comparatively modern date, emigrants have in increasing ratio, as time advanced, come from Europe to the United States, and some settled in the British Provinces. In the latter, the settlers principally consisted of retired officers and soldiers, who chose to remain in the country when the war was over. The immigration into the United States from Britain was composed to a considerable extent of mechanics, who were induced to leave their own country by the prospects of high rates of wages, and the great scarcity of artizans on the American Continent. This, however, was so much opposed to English policy, that until a very few years back mechanics were not permitted by law to emigrate to America.

In short, it was not until some years after the conclusion of the last American war, and in consequence of the uncertainty caused by the sudden change from war to peace, and of the cessation of the enormous outlay of the Government, that people in some parts of the British Islands began to feel that they were too

much crowded. Those who had been in moderate circumstances during the war, found that if they remained they and their children must sink in the scale of society; and then emigration commenced—not upon mercantile speculations, or because of political inducements—but it was undertaken as a refuge from poverty, and in search of the necessaries of life.

Great changes in the state of a whole people do not suddenly take place. A people attached from sentiment and deep feeling to their native country, will make great efforts, and submit to extraordinary privations, before they decide upon bidding adieu for ever to the abodes of their fathers,—and upon breaking asunder ties dear to humanity even in the midst of suffering and apprehension. The exhaustion consequent upon the struggle to remain, in too many instances left the victim without the power to fly—and he was left to view his lessened resources, and to deplore the infatuation which left him in hopeless distress, when if those resources had been timely employed, he might have escaped the danger. Temporary prosperity, and temporary expedients also brought, alas, their temporary alleviation to distress, and interrupted the natural course of relief for a redundant population.

But the population continued to increase, the continuance of peace with foreign lands, as well as the absence of those terrible visitations of Providence, in the shape of pestilence, and civil war, and even the great improvements in medical science, and the efforts made to prolong the life and increase the comforts of the poor, but added to the redundancy of population, until at length the time is come, when, with the wealth of the Nation incalculably increased, and with means of employment great almost beyond conception, one portion of the people of the British Isles are unemployed, another employed to such an extent only as to afford from the profits of employment the bare means of living in the midst of privation; while many of those whose circumstances place them above want look with apprehension to the future, and ask with anxiety—What are our children to do in this crowded country? We have even denied ourselves what we were accustomed to consider the common comforts of life, for the purpose of giving them education, but we cannot be blind to the fact, that amongst so many competitors our children are in danger of the penury and wretchedness, which in no class of society is so dreadfully felt as in the one which from its own experience can understand the difference between a life of even partial developement of the mind by education, of even a limited enjoyment of the refinements of civilization, and the continued presence of a gaunt and wolf-like anxiety after the daily means of satisfying the absolute wants of nature. It is in vain that political discontent points to accumulated wealth in the hands of fortunate individuals, and requires its dispersion; for it scarcely requires an argument to demonstrate that upon dispersion it would vanish, like a volatile essence exposed to the atmosphere.—It is plain upon the slightest observation that if the concentrated capital of England, which enables her to afford subsistence to so many, even at the expense of foreign nations, were diffused, the superiority which England maintains must be speedily lost. All may be made *poor by political convulsion, but all cannot in* such a state of society improve their means of comfort or subsistence. If property be made insecure in England, how soon will it fly to enrich other countries, while the millions which are enabled to subsist by its presence, must be left, not merely to distress, but to absolute annihilation.

Our readers will now be inclined to ask, what all this has to do with the question of the Union? We wish them to ask the question as a preacher desires his congregation to remember the text, even when his sermon appears to wander most widely from the doctrine which the text is intended to inculcate. We pledge ourselves to make our facts apply, and we only desire our readers to take their share of labour, and preserve in their memory the strong and leading points that we exhibit for observation. To assist those who are not inclined to undergo the labour of continuous argument, we shall now state shortly the facts, and then shew their application to this branch of the subject.

We maintain then, in the first place, that until very lately emigration from the British Isles was not induced by redundancy of population, and that of late its moving inducement arose from that cause.

Secondly, we say, although we do not see the limits to the prosperity, and power, and wealth of the British Empire, yet, we hold that no improvement of this nature will warrant the

supposition, that the population of the British Isles can be all profitably employed at home, should its present ratio of increase be continued.

Thirdly, we advance the doctrine that unless the kingdom is to be reduced to the state of the city of Rome, where corn was daily distributed to idle multitudes, to which end the poor law system seems to be rapidly approaching, emigration, not upon mercantile or political speculation, but for the sake of plentiful acquirement of the necessaries of life, must be the principal remedy.

Fourthly, we solicit the attention of our readers to the wide distinction which must be taken between mercantile emigration, which speculates upon money returns, upon proximity to markets, upon the value of human beings torn from their homes by the slaver, to cultivate marketable luxuries; upon the question whether it would be cheaper to keep up the supply of these unhappy beings by permitting them to breed, or by continued capture of new victims; upon the acquirement of populated regions, where the conqueror and the capitalist gather wealth, but where the European tiller of the ground, even if he were permitted to come, could not now make a livelihood; upon the search for gold and silver in the mines of South America, haunted by the ghosts of murdered natives; upon the profits of a fur trade, which finds its wealth in the solitude of a desert continent; and the more legitimate colonization and emigration, which is now only commencing; whose votaries seek space in which to live; who prefer battling with the forest and forcing from the wilderness its treasures, instead of contending for a morsel of food with fellow men; who wish to look upon children as a blessing, to say, in the language of inspiration, "Blessed is the man who has his quiver full of them," instead of regarding their offspring as a burden, having calls upon the scanty proceeds of industry, and when they sicken and die to depend upon the closed and reluctant hand of overtasked charity, or the forced pittance which law takes from the needy, to give to those who are only a little less in want; who in the end aspire to be amongst the founders of one of the great western empires, raised by England, their children to be amongst its sages and law-givers, its historians, its philosophers, its poets, and its apostolic preachers of the gospel of salvation.

We thus direct the minds of our readers to the wants of the emigrant population of the British Isles; and we, in the next place, assert that in no country on earth can a place of settlement be found that offers to the emigrant so extensive a field as the North American possessions of his own country. Take it in the most disadvantageous light in which it can be placed; represent its interior as distant from market, and unfavourable to the accumulation of monied wealth, yet even its distant regions unexplored, except by the wandering hunter, shew capabilities of furnishing the necessaries of life, and such luxuries, as an abundance of home raised food and home made clothing can furnish; such advantages as have induced the enterprising British American to reject the city and the close settlement, and to advance towards the setting sun, cheered by his long and calculating view into the future, and the almost present certainty of revelling in untaxed and ungrudged abundance. And why to us, acquainted as we are with Canada, should this appear a visionary prospect? We know that in the first settlement of Upper Canada, hundreds of miles of forest intervened between the peopled part of the revolted colonies and the portion of this province now most wealthy and flourishing; that weeks of dreary travel had to be passed, with women and children bearing their share of the scanty supplies which were to furnish the brave settler during his first exertions; have they not lived for years in solitude, without road, market, church, or school; has not even their loneliness been perpetuated by their own inordinate desire to possess land; and with all these disadvantages have they not succeeded? and have they not given to their country a race of men of which it may be proud? Compare these unassisted and uncombined efforts with the easier work of pushing population, from stage to stage, into the forest, with the advantage of neighbourhood, of protection and assistance from Government, of welcome in a land already partly occupied, and of a firm conviction, in the minds of its present occupiers, that their further progress in the rapid course they aim at is to be promoted chiefly by immigration; and above all, let us remember the unfailing source from which that immigration is to be supplied, and the ease and rapidity with which combined exertions can overcome all the difficulties of first settlement; and we ask with confidence, is there a portion of these vast regions capable of sustaining life in abundance

that will not be filled with a bold and enterprising people, yet full of the spirit which led their ancestors from the wilds of Northern Europe and Asia to seize upon the fruits of civilization, and who have commenced an inroad upon the forests of this vast continent, that may prove as important in the history of the human race as the overthrow and regeneration of the Roman Empire? To make the western country the seat of a great and numerous people external trade is not necessary; neither would the commercial spirit ever have procured its being inhabited: it will owe its population to its soil, climate, and its capability of producing in abundance all the necessaries of life.

But if, as we prognosticate, the population of western Canada must at no remote period be very large, in consequence of Emigration from the British Isles, and the inducements which the country holds out to emigrants whose primary object is to seek a new home, we have the test of experience to prove that wherever population is found, external trade which gives a money value to property must follow. Not only is this proved by the increase of our own trade, both as regards imports and exports, but by the progress of the western American States, which is more rapid and remarkable in proportion to their proximity to the source from whence the stream of human life was derived wherewith to fill the interior wilderness. These extensive regions were settled by a people who sought homes, not money, in the heart of North America; but in seeking one object they have found both. And from a vast distance to the westward of any Canadian settlement, within only a few months, the surplus productions of the western States have begun to pour down their abundance through our waters to the ocean, even their transit adding greatly to our commercial resources. If western Canada be later in the field, it is only because British emigration has scarcely commenced in earnest, and because Canada has been preserved as a home for British emigrants. The western States settled rapidly, but silently; no attention was paid to them, no trouble taken on their account; but thousands of waggons passed westward, bearing the old and the young, with the worldly goods of the emigrant tribes, while the robust and able settler marched by the side, seeking no advantage after his tedious journey of a thousand miles, but fertile land, and a healthy climate. These they found, but they found wealth also. They seemed to have banished themselves from the habitations of human beings, and from the presence of civilization, but while they were almost unheard of and forgotten, the axe and the plough were busy, and they began to revel in super-abundance. Then came into existence the throng of steam-boats which crowd the long Mississippi and her tributaries; then came the long canal, bearing into our waters the products of the new-found regions; and then started into political existence State after State, six millions of people, whose increasing numbers and resources bid fair to sway the destinies of the great Republic. Already are they sending emigrants to still more distant settlements, gradually spreading, advancing and increasing, until conjecture is at fault, and anticipation baffled in the contemplation of the result.—And if western Canada be behind in this march of conquest over the wilderness, it is, we say again, only because British emigration has only commenced, and because Canada is, as we fervently hope, reserved as the plentiful home for British emigrants.

But the Atlantic American States have felt the effect of this interior settlement. Cities have increased, supported by internal trade, until they equal European capitals. And the frontier States are rivalling each other in opening the internal communications, in the hope of profiting by the stream of wealth pouring through every practicable channel to the ocean. And Canada has not only its own products to transport, but she already shares, and requires only proper exertions on her part to secure, the profits of transit—the lion's share of the produce of the North Western States.

These we believe are the certain prospects of Canada, and well and boldly has the Upper Province fulfilled its part! But it is time to inquire what has been doing in the sister Province.

Lower Canada was settled under the authority of the old French Government, as a military possession at one end of an intended line of military posts, extending up the St. Lawrence and the lakes, and down the Mississippi to the Gulph of Florida, where another great military position was taken up at New Orleans. Brilliant as was this projected scheme for the extension of the French power on this Continent, its object was not true emigration, or the foundation of a real Colony;—no! it was only

intended to secure France the monopoly of the North American Fur trade.

In fairness, we feel bound to express our admiration of the military genius which dictated this plan, and of the profound sagacity with which the best positions were chosen along this immensely extended line. We also say with pleasure, that never was there a bolder hunter or a more daring navigator than the Canadian Voyageur. Active, patient, temperate, and enduring, what rapid pours through the wilderness that he has not climbed in his frail canoe? What recess of the forest has he not explored, braving the inclemencies of the stormy north, and the murderous knife of the savage whose solitudes he disturbed? But this was not true colonization. True colonization was proceeding slowly but certainly in the British possessions; and while the French possessions remained mere guarded posts of traders, population and civilization were advancing in the British Colonies. This made the fate of French America certain: and the gallantry of the immortal WOLFE only anticipated by a short time the inevitable fate of French America.

After the conquest, Quebec remained a military post. Montreal was partially inhabited by fur traders, who were its first British inhabitants. Peace and plenty, and the protection of a liberal Government carried the increase of the French people at a ratio far beyond what existed before the Conquest.—The British inhabitants increased and became wealthy through the means of Upper Canada trade. Quebec now sees beneath her battlements 1200 British ships arrive annually to bear away the produce of the interior. Montreal has become a very rich and flourishing city by means of Upper Canada commerce.—Lower Canada is now receiving the whole exportable produce of the Upper Province, and a large portion of that of the western States. She is importing millions of British manufactures for the interior market. They are no peddlers, these Montreal merchants: their gains are not counted by pounds, but by thousands: and yet they are but beginning; indeed we may say the prospect is but opening of the immense mercantile resources to be accumulated in that favoured position.

But while Upper Canada, with for a long time not one half the population of the Lower Province, has been making the most strenuous exertions to open a trade, of the profits of which the sister Province must of necessity have the largest share; while with one-third of the revenue collected on imports at Quebec, she has been expending upwards of a million of pounds sterling in opening communications with the ocean, of which the sister Province must have the chief benefit, what has Lower Canada been doing? Why squabbling about national distinctions; striving to uphold musty institutions and barbarous laws, obselete throughout the rest of the civilized world; quarreling about the predominance of *races*;—standing still in the midst of advance, like a rock in a stream, breaking the billows, and impeding the current. This has continued until Upper Canada, exhausted by efforts beyond her strength, almost bankrupt from expenditure, beyond, but which ought never to have been wholly chargeable on, her resources, is driven to ask the question,—are my people to build up your Cities, to enrich your merchants, to open your communications, to bring fleets into your harbours, while you supinely look on, or only stretch out your hands to receive the heavy toll upon our commerce?

But this is not all the Upper Canadians have to complain of; they have opened their arms to receive the emigrant, who has been taxed for the privilege of a passage through the dominions of his Sovereign. They have invited their fellow-subjects to come and join them in their arduous course; but the country was rendered unsafe by reason of Lower Canada disputes, and the stream of emigration was directed to other lands. They have asked Lower Canada to share in the expenses of a trading co-partnership, but Lower Canada would only share in the profits.

We do not say that the merchant inhabitants of Lower Canada were so blind to their own interests as to desire this state of affairs; but why should we express an opinion as to which of two fierce and irreconcileable parties was in the right? What can it be to Upper Canadians which was in fault when legislation was suspended, and improvement stayed, and their access to the ocean impeded, and when at last they were threatened to be cut off for ever from their father-land by violence and treason? They only say things cannot so continue. If the Canadas were independent countries, things should not so continue. And they seek for remedy, for justice, at the hands of their supreme

government, and it is granted in the only mode consistent with the spirit of British institutions, or worthy of the acceptance of a free people. They have been given a Legislative Union!

Thus the burden of constructing internal communication is made to bear equally and justly; and thus between two contending parties is thrown a third, a powerful peace-maker, too much, far too deeply interested in the preservation of peace and tranquillity to admit of the perpetuation of the quarrel.

The equality of representation enacted by the Union Bill is just; because, although Upper Canada at present has the smaller number of inhabitants, she has in fact the deeper interest in the welfare of the United Colony: it is prudent, because Upper Canadians have not joined in the contest between the races, and have no sympathy with the angry passions excited in the quarrel; it is wise, because the arrangement is likely to be the most lasting; for were it otherwise, one year of emigration would have made a change necessary in the representation.

We think we have shown that Upper Canada has reason to be satisfied with the Union. We know that many would have desired more favourable terms; but what they required would only have been maintained as visiting the sister Province with punishment, forfeiture, and disfranchisement. Their terms were such as Lower Canada could not have accepted without dishonour, or remained contented with and be worthy of the name of British subjects. We are too well convinced that Acts of Parliament cannot maintain injustice; that political institutions cannot long sustain partiality; and that a people who feel the weight of oppression, cannot feel it a duty to be faithful, to wish for more favourable terms, and we feel that terms less favourable to Upper Canada could not in justice have been awarded.

The great objection to the Legislative Union is found in the great extent of territory to be governed by one Legislature. This, we have no hesitation in saying, will be severely felt so long as local business continues to be managed by the General Legislature. We, therefore, express our deep regret that elective institutions for the management of local fiscal offices, were not created by the Union Act. Much of the time of the Upper Canada Parliament has been occupied in mere parish business; and the device of placing the financial affairs of districts in the hands of justices of the peace was a most awkward expedient, only tolerable in the infancy of society in the Province. Even if these functionaries were the best persons to manage the local affairs, their powers were too limited; and if they were increased, we do not think a body of men appointed for the preservation of the peace by the Crown, would be found to take upon themselves the responsibility required. Moreover, taxation without representation would not be endured as a system; and without local taxation Parliament would not be relieved from the burden of local business. Let the money affairs of the several districts be managed by a small representative body, with a limited power of levying rates for local improvements, and if the roads remain bad and the country unimproved, we shall no longer hear the fact quoted as a reason for discontent against the Government. The disgrace will rest where it ought to rest, and the remedy will be in the hands of those most interested. Members will no longer be returned to the General Legislature on the principle of obtaining all they can for their own counties, or feel themselves under the necessity of advocating unfair distributions of public funds, for the sake of pleasing their constituents. The General Legislature will take a more elevated stand, and be occupied about its proper business of legislation; and the very rivalry created by the popular power in each division to improve it, as compared with others, will have an instantaneous effect in improving the face of the whole country. We are far from being in favour of conferring magisterial power upon these municipal bodies; for the peace of each division of the country, and the due administration of the laws within it, are much too important to the rest of the country to permit of the removal from Government of magisterial responsibility; but as to the fiscal affairs of each district, and the superintendence of local improvements, we repeat that they cannot be in safer hands than those of the people themselves, by their representatives immediately elected for the purpose.

We cannot close this article without noticing some points of objection to the Union Act, which we have heard and seen urged against it in this Province by two very opposite parties. The first is, we think, very conscientiously brought forward by reformers, who complain of the settlement of the civil list as depriving the representatives of the people of control

over the Government, and of the power of effectually stopping the supplies, should the proceedings of the Executive Government be unsatisfactory. If the parallel could be drawn between the power of the House of Commons to stop the supplies, and that possessed in the Colony if there were no civil list provided, the same arguments would hold good in one country that have been maintained in the other,—but let us examine the question.

In the states of Europe after the feudal system was introduced, the King was but a kind of President amongst the nobility, as Lord Paramount, under whom all estates were held; some upon condition that the tenant should serve for a certain time in the wars of the King, others upon conditions of a different nature, but still intended to support the royal power and dignity. The King also possessed himself large domains, of which the profits went into the royal exchequer, and it was with his own revenue that the King carried on the Government, and supported the national expenditure. In process of time, however, improvements in the art of war made it necessary that standing armies and navies should be provided, in lieu of the military service due from the landholders as the King's tenants; and then came taxation of the corporate towns, and of the Clergy, at first asked in the shape of free gifts. For the purpose of obtaining these gifts, the commonalty of the country were required by the King to send their delegates to meet the nobles of the land in parliament, when the necessities of the nation were laid before them, and the Sovereign asked at the hands of his faithful commons aid in the peculiar emergency of the kingdom. When this was granted, he thanked them (in the form which is still preserved,) for their benevolence, and accepted the grant as a free gift. This course gradually erected the House of Commons, composed originally not of the nobility, who had a right to sit in Parliament, or to make laws, but of those who having no such right, according to the then Constitution of the realm, gradually acquired it by degrees, in proportion as the necessities of the Sovereign enabled them to annex conditions to their grants of money, and to insist upon certain immunities being conceded in return for their grants.

The grants of money made by the Commons were always for some extraordinary purposes, most generally for that of national defence; but the King paid his own officers of government out of his own hereditary revenues, at his own pleasure. It was not until a very late period in English history, that, in consideration of the surrender by the King of his own hereditary revenue during his life, he was granted by Parliament, for the same term, a sufficient sum to pay the civil list,—i.e. the ordinary expenses of his household and Government.

But it was not through means of this civil expenditure that the Commons of England acquired their power, uncontrolled and unlimited as it has become. On the contrary, it was because the money which they possessed was necessary for the national preservation, and the Sovereign without the aid of the Commons for the support of his fleets and armies, became powerless as a private individual.—In England, the paltry system of making the revenues of necessary officers of the Government precarious, and subject to yearly vote, was never adopted; but the Commons had the real efficient check upon the Executive, through their appropriation of money for national purposes of strength and defence, and they have continued to be yearly appropriated to the present day; so that the House of Commons, although they cannot require the dismissal of the advisers of the Crown, can render it wholly impossible for them to carry on public business, by denying them the means even of defending the Kingdom.

But the defence and preservation of this Province does not depend upon resources derived from its people; nor are the people ready or able to take this burden upon themselves. They belong to a great Empire, and are liable to the enmity of great nations, against whom, with their own resources, they cannot contend; and therefore they cannot have the same power of actually enforcing their opinions against the Government. Their power lies in a different source, and only there: namely, in the extreme resort of physical resistance, in their power of opposing oppression, should it be attempted, with the strong hand, or of calling in the aid of foreign nations, and subjecting themselves to the power of a foreign people.—Even these extremes have been weakly and criminally resorted to, happily in vain. But reformers should deeply consider the question, and see once for all, that, failing the moral

influence which the opinions of the people as expressed by their representatives ought to have upon the Government, the popular power does not and cannot extend to absolute control upon the Government by other means than positive violence, which is productive of too many calamities, and of too much positive evil, to be slightly resorted to.

The refusal of supplies, as respects the Civil List in this country, never has had any effect which the well-founded remonstrances of the representative body would not in themselves have had; very much injustice, great oppression to individuals has been occasioned by the measure; but it always has been, and always must be, ineffectual for the intended purpose. Nay, it is less than ineffectual, for the evils created thereby raise up a strong antagonist principle, and the public evil becomes so great, and the injustice and cruelty of the proceeding so apparent, that the destruction of all liberty is the consequence, one not brought about merely by the appliance of power from abroad, but assented to and maintained by the people themselves.

Why then lose the advantage of having one important subject not liable to daily debate? why not have something settled and decided? and why not trust to our power of influencing the Government by remonstrance and complaint, if such be provoked, instead of keeping by us the desperate and most ineffectual expedient of a civil list under the control of yearly sessions of Parliament?

Such are the broad considerations of the question; but let the reformers, who wish for responsible government so far as it can be attained, or procured from a supreme government, which can have no interest separate from those of the people of the province—let them call to recollection scenes which themselves have witnessed. They surely cannot wish that the members of a united government such as they advocate, should be forced to cringe about the lobbies of the House of Assembly, to gather friends to oppose some motion for the reduction of salary, instigated by private malice, but ostensibly founded upon patriotic motives. They cannot desire that the Government and the representatives of the people should be brought into the risk of daily collision, by *personal* legislation on the one hand, and the determination to resist injustice and oppression on the other. Parliament in the United Province will have greater things to do. It is rising into the dignity of almost a national Legislature. If it opposes Government, it will be Government as a whole, accountable for all its acts by whomsoever they are advised or performed, and true reformers will be the last to wish that Parliament should usurp the details of public business, or relieve the Government from the responsibility of conducting them.

To those who have hitherto adhered to the strict rule of the Pharisees, who have looked upon it as a kind of rebellion boldly to impugn the proceedings of Government, but who, now that the Government is professedly liberal, are ready to court popular favour, and to create an opposition on this question, we have little to say. Their power is little, their motives are little, and they cannot help the Government in any way so effectually as by taking up and advocating what they are pleased to consider reform principles.

The allusion to this class of politicians brings to our mind another point upon which they have a most hankering desire to make themselves popular, that is to say, the necessity imposed by the Act of Union for grants of money being asked by the Government. No argument is more likely to seize upon a mind uninstructed in the principles of responsible government, but inclined to uphold popular immunities, than the one used in this case. They say the money belongs to the people, and the representatives of the people should dispose of it. But let the point be gravely considered. Here we have a people desirous that a *Government* should manage the public business in accordance with the popular will: a Government supposed to be, and which ought to be, intimately acquainted with the extent of public resources and public credit. It is expected to be accountable for the use of that credit and of these resources; but how certainly is it relieved from all such responsibility by the system of money grants unasked by the Executive. In England, if an expenditure is thought to be required, the Minister is asked, by the party interested, to advise Her Majesty to bring it before Parliament. If he will not, he must defend himself and his Government for not doing so; but no man dreams of moving for the grant without the sanction of Government. If the army be reduced too much, or the building of ships and the maintenance of the navy neglected, Ministers are called to account, and threatened with impeachment because *they do not* ask for money: but who ever

heard of a member of Parliament moving seriously for the raising of a number of new regiments, or the building of a number of ships of the line! Yet the contrary course has been pursued here, very much indeed to the injury of the country, but at the same time relieving the Government from all responsibility.

Let us imagine the case. The Government is instructed to carry on the affairs of the Province in accordance with the wishes of the people. Well, it does nothing at all, and therefore does not act against the wishes of the people. It perhaps is of opinion, that an expenditure of money is advisable in a public work, or that a law ought to be passed for the regulation of militia, or the taxation of property. It is not moved by Government. Oh, no! Government is to wait, and ascertain the wishes of the people, expressed by their representatives. Then stands up some Member of the House, all the time, perhaps, in communication with the Government, who prefaces his remarks, by declaring that he never held office, that he never desired office, and that he never would hold office, and he moves that a sum of money be granted to Her Majesty, to make the Falls of Niagara navigable, or, to construct a railroad for racoon hunting to Hudson's Bay. He has nothing to do with the Government, not he! He would disdain the imputation. Yet he introduces into his bill the whole paraphernalia of debentures, rates of interest, clauses for raising money, taxing Districts, &c. &c. Well, the officers of Government are in the House, and they, wishing to act according to the wishes of the people, most emphatically disclaim any connection of the Government with the question; and to shew that there is no connection, one lays his hand on his heart, and votes one way, another, to shew his independence, votes the other way, while a third puts on his hat, and goes home to dinner, because it is not a Government question. Then the measure passes the Commons, and is taken to the Legislative Council; but in that body, the wishes of the people being already expressed, the officers of Government must hold their tongues, because if they are in opposition, they are opposing the expressed wishes of the people through their representatives. If they are in favour of it, and are wise, they hold their tongues, lest it might be deemed a Government measure; and the bill passes on to be presented for the assent of the Queen's representative.

The law officers of the Crown then examine it, to see if there be any thing legally wrong; and the Governor finding nothing of that kind, and finding also the *wishes of the people* expressed in the bill before him, gives the Royal assent. Surely this is all in accordance with instructions.

But the Act has scarcely reached England, when the Governor finds it necessary to write a despatch, and to say, that the public revenues and credit are exhausted,—that the projects have been all failures; in short, that what to do in the premises, he knows not. All that he can say is, that he conducted his Government according to his instructions, and to the wishes of the people.

In the name of common sense, is this Government? Is it not the most childish nonsense to expect any thing from Government upon such a system? It is certainly most comfortable for Governor and Government Officers, to charge the House of Assembly with the evil state of affairs, but where is the House of Assembly? A new Election has scattered it to the winds, and the Government and the new House join together in condemning the old House, who were the *real Government!* Is it not the veriest nonsense to call this state of things Government, under any Constitution?—Yet, is it not all mathematically deducible from the course pursued in this Colony, of granting money to Government, without its being insisted on, in the first instance, that Government should take upon itself the reponsibility of asking for the money, or of refusing to ask for it? But we are exceeding our limits, and must bring this article to a conclusion.

We have thus founded all our arguments in favour of the Union on the vast increase of importance in Upper Canada interests: that increase is founded on coming immigration; and if the expectation be well founded, it is demonstrable that independent legislation cannot be permitted in a country lying between Upper Canada and the sea, or that Lower Canada can be allowed to take the profits of interior commerce, and bear no part of the expenditure. If, on the other hand, our expectations be visionary—if the population do not rapidly increase by means of immigration, how, we would ask, can the country prosper? or how, if we must ask the question, can it remain a British Province?

BRITISH AMERICA.

"Turning to the north of this Continent, the foundations of a new Empire are seen in Canada. This region is, for all actual purposes, boundless—stretching as it does from Nova Scotia, in forty-five degrees North latitude, to the Pole, and from Newfoundland to the Pacific, through eighty degrees of longitude—If it be objected that the Canadas are still a wilderness, and visited with intense cold, it is justly answered that this whole extent is capable of sustaining life, as is shown by the residence of the Indian Tribes, and the hunters of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies;—that the most populous part of Russia is twenty degrees to the north of the American border of Upper Canada;—that *Montreal* lies in nearly the same parallel which cuts through the south of France, the Adriatic, and the Black Sea? And above all, that the Colonists crowding to that country are *Englishmen*—a race proverbially successful in all the tasks to be achieved by patient vigour and fearless adventure. Those men require only room, their native energies will do the rest. The forest will be cleared, the morass drained, the prairie will be a corn-field, the sandy-hill will bear the vine. The huge lakes, those Mediterraneans of the new World, will be covered with the products of the mineral and agricultural wealth of the country;—Coal has been already discovered in abundance—Iron and the various metals are already worked—the hills abound in every kind of limestone, up to the purest marble. The climate is singularly healthy—the higher latitude repels all the summer epidemics that ravage the United States.—Even in the severity of its winter, all that is injurious will yield to the thinning of the forests, the drainage of the swamps, and the other labours of the accumulating population. The temperature of the European climates has gradually given way to the same means. The north of France, at the time of the Roman Conquest, was incapable of rearing the vine. The north of Germany was the habitual seat of winter.—Its frosts and damps, more than the sword of Arminius, repelled the Roman soldier, seasoned as he was above all other men to all vicissitudes of climate.

"But whatever may be the dreams of England's supremacy in this quarter of the globe, in one thing she cannot be a dreamer,—in the lofty and cheering consciousness that she has laid the foundation of a great society where all before was a wilderness.—Whether the Canadas shall retain their allegiance or shake it off, there will at least be human beings where once was solitude, law where once was the license of savage life, religion where the Indian once worshipped in brutish ignorance,—and England's will be the wand that struck the waters from the rock, and filled the desert with fertility and rejoicing."—[Croly's George the Fourth.]

Such are the eloquent and striking words in which one of the most powerful writers of the age, in his splendid survey of the glory of the British Empire, has touched on her North American Provinces. There are few, very few, (and those few are little to be envied,) throughout the boundless spread of dominion reposing under the shelter of the flag of England, who can read without a proud feeling of delight that glowing compendium of the splendour and magnitude of British power. The lowest and meanest of her countless millions, the smallest atom of a mass so brilliant, if he be not dead to every generous feeling that exalts or ennobles our nature, will feel his cheek glow and his eye brighten when he hears a master spirit singing of the surpassing glory of his country—her martial deeds by field and wave, her unequalled achievements in the regions of science, her ceaseless efforts for the general good of mankind, and the magnificence of her far spread realms, of an extent and majesty beyond the wildest day-dreams of a Grecian or Roman Victor. To no spurious enthusiasm should this feeling be attributed, to no overweening nationality does it owe its birth. With the purest and best aspirations of the heart, and the soundest deductions of common sense, it is indissolubly interwoven. No sensible British subject, however prejudiced he may be on certain points, when he takes for his theme the real and positive greatness of his Country, or her exertions in the cause of truth or of humanity, will utter a sentiment or pronounce a panegyric which the understanding and intelligence even of an alien will censure as too exalted or too little deserved. Take an enlightened inhabitant of every nation of the Earth, and let the question be propounded to him—"Which are the two greatest Countries

of the world?"—The old anecdote of the Athenian Generals when struggling for precedency will furnish an answer. Each wrote his own name first, then that of Miltiades. So would the representatives of the nations, in answer to our question, reply: That their own country was the first, and England the second in the world.

"If" says the writer already quoted, "true dominion is to be found in being the common source of appeal in all the injuries and conflicts of rival nations, the common succour against the calamities of nature, the great ally which every power threatened with war labours first to secure or to appease, the centre on which is suspended the peace of nations, the defender of the wronged; and, highest praise of all, the acknowledged origin and example to which every rising nation looks for laws and Constitution, England is now the actual Governor of the Earth. For whose opulence and enjoyment are the ends of the earth labouring at this hour? For whom does the Polish peasant run his plough through the ground? For whom does the American, with half a world between, hunt down his cattle, or plant his cotton? For whom does the Chinese gather in his teas, or the Brazilian his gold and precious stones?—*England* is before the eyes of all. To whose market does every merchant of the remotest corner of the world look? To whose Cabinet does every power from America to India look with an interest surpassing all others? Whose public feeling does every people struggling to raise itself in the rank of nations supplicate? The answer is suggested at once, England's."

As denizens of that mighty section of the Empire designated as *British America*, it cannot be considered an idle or unprofitable task to speculate briefly on the position which it is our lot to fill, not only in relation to the residue of our fellow-subjects, but to the world at large. The fact of our being about entering on a new political existence, renders it more imperative on us and the country at large rightly to comprehend the peculiarities of our present circumstances, and from a dispassionate survey of what we see around us to endeavour to arrive at a conclusion, either that our best interests and our known duty concur in pointing out *one path* for us to travel; or that each indicates a different course, and that the time has come when they have ceased to act together. We wish not to enter into minor political details, far less individual allusion, but to throw together a few general reflections on the subject of what we have been, what we are, and what we will, or rather, *ought* to be. The practical philosophy of history will teach us the first, our ordinary perceptive faculties the second, and the action of the past on the probabilities of the future will guide us to a tolerably correct knowledge of the third.

There are three positions in which the British North American Provinces can be placed. 1st, in their original condition of Colonies of the French Monarchy. 2nd, as integral portions of the British Empire. 3rd, as abandoned by European authority, and left to themselves.

As French Colonies the Canadas present a not uninteresting field for the research of the historian, or the remarks of the political economist. Their annals were brief, but most eventful; and much that is truly valuable and instructive can be gleaned from their perusal. The theory and practical operation of the principle of Colonization, has been a problem whose solution has been frequently attempted, and the result of each effort has been to leave the inquirers as much in the dark as ever, and compel the world to come to the conclusion, that no fixed or general axioms could possibly apply to it, but that the success or misfortune of every Colonial adventure must depend on fortuitous circumstances, utterly independent of any settled principle. France, Spain, and England, each in her turn, has tried her fortune, and attempted to found new Empires beyond the mighty ocean that swept between each parent State and her dependant realms. Each of the two first-named nations has utterly and signally failed in carrying out her original conceptions. The history of generations yet unborn can alone narrate whether England has been more successful in her efforts. Spain stands deservedly at the head of European nations as the first, most powerful, enterprising and indefatigable in the prosecution of the spirit of Discovery. The extraordinary extension of her gigantic trans-atlantic domain for centuries dazzled the imagination and blinded the judgment of surrounding nations. A mighty change was produced in the whole frame of European society by her unfolding the golden fields of tropical America to the gaze of enterprize and civilization. From the farthest corner of China to the Tagus, from the Pillars of Hercules to Archangel, the effect of her extension of dominion was perceptible.—The untold treasures of the plundered Incas, the dazzling spoils of Mexican and Peruvian magnificence,—were poured forth in a glitter-

ing flood of wealth over the hitherto poor and unambitious fields of old Spain. An almost immediate change was visible in that kingdom. Her youth poured forth to reap an easy fortune in the El Dorado of the west. A new impulse was given to her commerce; and of necessity her hitherto paltry marine was increased to an amazing but indispensable extent, to meet the exigencies of her new position. Throughout the whole Eastern Hemisphere a change was being wrought in the monetary system of every nation. Money fell rapidly in intrinsic value. The quantity of specie thus required for the negotiation of commerce was rapidly quadrupled by the influx of the produce of Potosi and Mexico. Every article of traffic altered in price; and from the President of the Bank of Amsterdam, to the sable-hunter of the Siberian forests, every one became aware that the genius and valour of Spain had opened the flood-gates of a wealth equally incalculable and inexhaustible. The immediate advantages to Spain were beyond the most sanguine expectations. From being a country of but little consideration in the scale of nations, she rapidly assumed a position at the head of all the European States. From a shattered and divided Kingdom, actually struggling on her own territory with the gallant though decaying spirit of the Moorish chivalry, she as it were awoke, and found herself famous. Her commercial and warlike marine assumed an extent and importance suitable to the transport and protection of the vast trading interests for which it was required. Her nobles became Princes in wealth and possessions.—Great commercial cities sprang into life along her Atlantic and Mediterranean sea-board.—The treasures of Indian mines equipped and maintained the gallant armies that triumphed at Pavia and St. Quentin, and sent forth at a later period the Armada, that most gigantic naval force of modern warfare, to threaten the very existence of England, and immortalize with a renown equal to that of Pizarro or Hernando Cortez, the dearer and purer names of Drake, Effingham, and Hawkins. The warcry of a Spanish champion had never echoed near the walls of Rome, the marshes of Flanders, or the forests of Germany, had not his country's enterprize torn the jewelled crown from the head of Montezuma, or laid bare to the grasp of a rude soldiery the sparkling treasury of the slaughtered Incas. Even when in the course of years the internal strength of the Spanish monarchy was rotting at her heart's core, when her Colonies were wavering in their allegiance, and champing the rein that linked them with the Parent Country, she lived on for ages, upheld as much as by the efforts of her fleets and armies, by the bright halo of Colonial glory and distant territorial splendour with which her early triumphs had invested her, and which in her later and weaker years encircled her as with a rampart, and dazzled the eyes of mankind from a contemplation of her actual weakness. Spain has fallen: her trans-Atlantic diadem has melted like a frost-wreath from her brow; her arch of conquest that had for so many ages spanned the western world from the southernmost peak of the Cordilleras to the mountains of the Rio Norte, passed like an exhalation, and she herself lies bleeding at every poro, the alternate prey of the banditti and the military blood-hound, more helplessly, hopelessly wretched, than when prostrate at the feet of the Moorish victor.

We now advert to France,—with her and her Colonies we are in more immediate connection. We stand on the ground once owned by her, and the ancestors of our present fellow-subjects first trod American ground under the lilies of the Bourbons. France, as a colonizing power, occupied a different position to that of Spain. Behind the latter in priority of enterprize, and less fortunate than she was in the acquisition of territory teeming with wealth, France possessed some advantages unknown to the other. The French character from its easy adaptation to circumstances, and chameleon-like power of assuming the hues of neighbouring objects, was infinitely more successful among the inhabitants of a new country than the Spanish. Where the Gaul conciliated, the Spaniard exterminated. The aborigines of a Colony became extinct beneath Spanish oppression—they were generally the friends and allies of their French invaders. "When the Frenchmen," says an old Chippewa Chief, "first came to these Falls, they kissed us.—They called us children, and we found them fathers. We lived like brethren in the same lodge, and we had always wherewithal to clothe us. They never mocked at our ceremonies, and they never molested the places of our dead. Seven generations of men have passed away, but we have not forgotten it. Just,

very just, were they toward us." But with all this facility of adaptation and amenity of character, France would never have become a great Colonial power. A careful observer of human nature has remarked somewhere, "that there is no people like the French for the zeal and rapidity of their enterprize at first, they are almost always successful for a time, but they soon fall off, and others reap the fruit of their early efforts."

Let us look at the progress made by France in the colonization of the American Continent. The colonial and the naval history of every country are so closely connected, that it is impossible in remarking on the one to avoid bringing the other constantly before the attention of the reader for reference or illustration. At the time that the bold spirits under Jacques Cartier first planted the *fleur de lys* on the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the navies of the European nations had not commenced playing that important part in the political drama which they assumed in subsequent years. No great, distant expeditions were sent forth to traverse oceans, and bombard the capitals of rival powers. Naval architecture had not then produced vessels capable of combining in themselves the requisites for enduring the protracted straining of long voyages, with the adaptation for warlike purposes necessary to produce any great effect on the enemies they were sent to oppose, intrenched on a firmer and more solid element. The French admiral Du Quesne at Algiers, and our own Blake at Teneriffe, were almost the first of their respective nations who ventured successfully to oppose their ships to close combat with land batteries. Not many naval combats producing any great or important effects, with the exception of the destruction of the Armada, had taken place among the northern nations of Europe, till the bitter contests for the mastery of the narrow seas in the days of Charles II., when Tromp and De Ruyter so gallantly strove to arrest the upward flight of England to the Empire of the seas. France had down to the close of the seventeenth century always occupied a respectable position among naval powers, frequently contending on equal terms with England herself—no marked superiority had as yet elevated the reputation of the latter. France started in the great race for Colonial Empire on tolerably fair and equal terms with England. Neither power had spread its conquests to any extent on the shores of the Indian ocean.—Portugal and Holland were long left to dispute between themselves for that bright portion of the world, while France and England fixed on the western Continent for their scene of colonizing activity. Each nation set about her task in a manner characteristic of her national peculiarities. It would be a tedious and idle delay on our part to attempt to give even an outline of the well-known events that marked respectively the settlement of the Gallic Colonists along the St. Lawrence, or on the Gulf of Mexico, and the spread of the Anglo-Saxon race along the Atlantic shores of America.—The difference between the progress of each strikes even a cursory reader of Colonial annals. One striking distinction we must however notice, viz. Fast as every settlement of the English emigrants was made on American soil, a community was immediately organized, laws were made, rulers appointed, the proper bounds assigned to the two great forces in every body of civilized men, the Executive and the democratic; the liberties of the subject were generally defined, and the extent of the Magistrate's authority; in short, *a Constitution* was framed, suitable, as far as their knowledge and experience went, to the wants and rising interests of an infant settlement. Many schemes of government, faulty, and sometimes impracticable, were designed for the various little communities gradually breaking forth into political existence, from the Bay Colony to the Savannahs of Georgia,—witness the unsubstantial and hyper-theoretical plan devised by John Locke, and other equally crude designs; but still every nucleus of British population had its government,—and this fact we would especially call attention to, as eminently characteristic of the genius, and prophetic of the future destiny of the people.

Now turn to the French settlers, and a different spectacle presents itself. The European emigrant on the strand of the Atlantic proclaimed his power and ability to frame laws for his own guidance and well-being:—on the banks of the St. Lawrence and the Lakes he quietly sat down under the arbitrary rule of a military despotism, and remained the faithful subject of a Government in which he had no voice. And yet old France had not utterly abandoned all popular interference with the management of the State,—the democratic branch had not yet sunk vanquished and ex-

hausted in the strangling grasp of kingly power. The vehement struggles of the Parliament of Paris for the rights of the "third Estate" had not wholly ceased, and that last effort of a gallant people for their expiring liberties, the Insurrection of the Fronde, which shook the minority of the 14th Louis, had not yet passed from the sympathies and memory of Frenchmen. The popular rights of the nation had not yet sunk into that dull lethargy which froze their energy for so many long years, till startled into warmth and life by the spreading flames and the wild trumpet of the revolution. Yet the emigrants who pitched their tents in a North American forest seemed to have not even a wish to form in the vast heart of new France even the semblance of a popular Government. In this they displayed the leading difference between their character and that of their Anglo-Saxon rivals for Empire. To this may doubtless be traced back the marvellous dissimilarity in the result of their respective labours. One race laboured to lay broad and deep the foundations of a mighty society, not unworthy of the glorious stock from whence it sprung, imitating all that was splendid in the institutions of its parent, and endeavouring to reject what was acknowledged to be vicious, or at the best, useless :—the other made no such effort, and from choice or apathy, each individual abandoning all his relative duties as a member of a civilized community, took no thought about the laws by which he was ruled, and hardly seemed to be aware of the character of his rulers.

As the 18th century advanced, the difference between the progress of the French and British American Colonies became more and more apparent. During this period the English navy was gradually proving its superiority over that of France, and Hawke, Benbow, and Boscawen, were acquiring brilliant reputations at the expence of their fallen foes. As her inferiority on the seas became more evident, the condition and prospects of her Colonies became darker, and France early in that century must have felt the reins slipping from her hands. The communication between the Mother Country and her American possessions, dependent as they were to a great extent on her exertions for their maintenance, became every year more difficult; and as the indefatigable perseverance of her southern neighbours was gradually extending northward the name and influence of England, she was losing the confidence and support of her Indian allies, and becoming more and more isolated and dependent on European aid. The life of the French Colonist was during the many eventful years that preceded the conquest of Quebec, a most unenviable existence. The constant warfare with the British and aborigines incessantly called the yeoman from the plough to the garrison.—The lands were necessarily left uncultivated, while the peasantry were fighting for their very lives with an apparently exhaustless and indestructible foe. Writers of that period gave a melancholy picture of the hardships endured by the Canadians. Every page of their annals is stained with a bloody legend of some fearful Indian massacre,—some sudden irruption of Huron or Iroquois, and devastation of happy and peaceful homesteads. We hear of the French garrisons of such posts as Niagara or Detroit, dying of the ravages of scurvy, being compelled to live for long months on salt provisions, and not daring to go far enough from the walls of their fortress to gather a few green herbs, for dread of the rifle and scalping knife of their unwearied assailants. Then as to the price of provisions,—of the common necessaries of life, and the general condition of commerce, we find striking details in some recently published records of the period, drawn from the archives of Paris.

For example, it is stated that a barrel of wine bought in France for 50 livres, could not be delivered in Quebec at a cost of less than 277 *livres !* to which was to be added the Quebec trader's retail profit.* Insurance, which rose to 50 and 60 per cent, and freight from 450 to 1000 livres a ton, accounted for this exorbitant price. This item may be taken as a specimen of the prices paid by the Canadian settlers for European goods—even for the productions of their own Mother Country, which of course reached them free of duty. The Provincials along the British American sea-board were never placed under similar inconveniences, but on the contrary continued springing into commercial wealth and political importance at a rate rapidly outstripping the tortoise-like progress

* "L'Eau de Vie s'est vendue jusqu'a 200 livres la relte, ceque fait 25 livres la pinte. Un chapeau de laine, des plus communs, qui vaut quarante sols en France, s'est vendue quarante et cinquante francs, et les autres marchandizes en proportion.

of their northern neighbours. But the inevitable consequences of a state of things such as existed in new France were becoming apparent; gradually the dominion of the House of Bourbon was becoming narrower and narrower, as the resources of their indefatigable assailants became more fully developed. Post after post fell into the hands of the English, and every succeeding year saw the French flag torn down from another of that line of forts with which the magnificent genius of Richelieu designed to ensure the empire of his country on the American Continent, by hemming in the British possessions in a gigantic string of garrisons from Quebec to New Orleans. Occasionally, a transitory gleam of success lighted the Gallic banners when the fiery valour of some intrepid soldier of fortune, like Montcalm, made a successful dash into the Provinces, but it was only to leave in blacker gloom their after prospects—the expiring flash of the exhausted lamp. The year 1759 saw the French lilies lowered from the ramparts of the Gibraltar of the north, and the echoes of the trumpets of the victors as they rang through the bold rocks of Cape Diamond, or died away in the distant thunders of Montmorenci, told to the world that the Royalty of France had ceased to reign over the forests of Canada. Honour to the memory of the vanquished—peace to the ashes of Montcalm; right nobly and manfully did he strive for his sinking cause, and the grave hath seldom closed over a braver or more gallant soldier of that nation of heroes.

It mattered but little to the *permanency* of French dominion in America whether Wolfe triumphed or had been repulsed on the Heights of Abraham. Sooner or later the same result must have happened—a mighty effort, a vast expense of blood and treasure on the part of the Cabinet of Versailles, might have preserved for perhaps a few years longer their Canadian empire. But even a superficial glance at the subsequent history of the world will suffice to show the impossibility of her retaining such distant Colonies against a power like England, who was constantly chasing her navy from the seas, capturing her ships almost as fast as they were built, and rapidly obtaining the undisputed sovereignty of the ocean. Look at the repeated victories of England, from Howe and the 1st of June, down to the closing triumph of Trafalgar, where the darkest cloud passed over the bloody star of the most successful soldier that had ever led the armies of France to victory.—That day left England without a rival on the four oceans, and France without even the shadow of a fleet. Almost every foreign possession of France passed one by one into her mighty antagonist's hands. She could not protect them by those life-strings of Colonial existence, powerful vessels, and perpetual naval protection, and they fell. Her fair West Indian islands, the bright vales of the Mauritius, all surrendered either to the thunder of Britain's floating castles, or the slow but certain advances of blockade and famine. Look at France at the brightest hour of her unparalleled prosperity. The victor of Marengo, absolutely the dictator of Europe, gathering a mighty army for the avowed purpose of conquering Britain, and haranguing his legions, almost within sight of her white cliffs, while at that very moment the English flag was floating in undisputed triumph outside every one of his harbours, and not a single vessel bearing the redoubted tricolor durst shew itself a mile beyond the protection of the land batteries of Brest, Boulogne, or Cherbourg. Could France *then* have held the Canadas? The idea is preposterous. Jean Baptiste could not and would not, with all his tried affection for La Belle France, afford to pay 500 per cent over cost, for his wine and other luxuries and necessaries, even if not actually bombarded by a hostile fleet in the St. Lawrence, or an army on the Heights of Abraham. The command of the sea in the hands of her great rival rendered it perfectly impossible for her to hold possessions to which constant supplies of even the necessaries of life in that rude age had to be forwarded across an ocean. It mattered not that her flag waved over the almost impregnable Quebec, or that gallant soldiers were around, ready to die in its defence. Malta, at a much later period, possessing double the strength of Quebec in its then state, defended with indomitable courage, and within a few days' sail of the coast of Provence, had to lower the tricolor to an English squadron: and why?—Not the smallest vessel loaded with provisions or ammunition could be sent from the mighty Kingdom of the First Consul, to relieve the starving garrison of one of his most important fortresses. Such was the vigilance of England's naval heroes, who had swept his fleets and commerce from all seas and shores, and one by

one snatched every Colonial jewel from his glittering diadem..

It was a happy hour for the French Colonists that witnessed the lowering of their country's flag from the ramparts of Quebec. A period was then put to the fearful privations they had endured throughout the series of bitter years of alternate European war and Indian massacre. The commencement of the sway of Great Britain over this country was the signal for the resumption, on the part of the settlers, of those agricultural and commercial duties, on the prosecution of which their worldly prosperity exclusively depended. A new career of peaceful enterprize was opened to them, as the fearful struggles in which they were so constantly engaged were succeeded by the bloodless contests with the natural difficulties which a rude new country, with a severe climate, ever offers to the progress of settlement.

We can offer nothing so strong in support of the positions which we have wished to prove, that the Colonists were materially benefited by their change of government, as the following extract from an address to the electors of the West Ward of Montreal, in July, 1820, from the pen of no less an authority than that of Louis Joseph Papineau:—

"Not many days have elapsed since we assembled on this spot for the same purpose as that which now calls us together—the choice of Representatives. The opportunity of that choice being caused by a great national calamity, the decease of that beloved Sovereign who had reigned over the inhabitants of this country since the day they became British subjects, it is impossible not to express the feeling of gratitude for the many benefits received from him, and those of sorrow for his loss so deeply felt in this as in every other portion of his extensive dominions. And how could it be otherwise, when each year of his long reign has *been marked by new favours bestowed upon* the country. To enumerate these, and to detail the history of this country for so many years, would occupy more time than can be spared by those whom I have the honour to address. Suffice it, then, at a glance to compare our present happy situation with that of our fathers on the eve of the day when George the Third became their legitimate monarch. Suffice it to recollect, that under the French Government (internally and externally arbitrary and oppressive) the interests of this country had been more frequently neglected and maladministered than any other part of its dependencies. In its estimation, Canada seems not to have been considered as a country which, from fertility of soil, salubrity of climate, and extent of territory, might have been the peaceful abode of a numerous and happy population; but as a military post, whose feeble garrison was condemned to live in a state of perpetual warfare and insecurity—frequent suffering from famine —without trade, or with a trade monopolized by privileged companies—public and private property often pillaged, and personal liberty daily violated—when, year after year, the handful of inhabitants settled in this Province were dragged from their homes and families, to shed their blood, and carry murder and havoc from the shores of the great lakes, the Mississippi and the Ohio, to those of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay. Such was the situation of our fathers;—behold the change! George the Third, a Sovereign revered for his moral character, attention to his kingly duties, and love of his subjects, succeeded Louis the Fifteenth, a prince then deservedly despised for his debauchery, his inattention to the wants of his people, and his lavish profusion of the public monies upon favourites and mistresses. *From that day, the reign of the law succeeded to that of violence; from that day, the treasures, the Navy and the Armies of Great Britain, are mustered to afford us an invincible protection against external danger; from that day, the better part of her law became ours, while our Religion, Property, and the laws by which they were governed remain unaltered; soon after are granted to us the privileges of its free Constitution*—an infallible pledge, when acted upon, of our internal prosperity. Now, religious toleration: trial by jury—(that wisest of safeguards ever devised for the protection of innocence;) security against arbitrary imprisonment, by the privileges attached to the writ of Habeas Corpus; legal and equal security afforded to all, in their person, honour, and property; the right to obey no other laws than those of our own making and choice, expressed through our Representatives:—*all these advantages have become our birthright, and shall, I hope, be the lasting inheritance of our posterity. To secure them, let us only act as British subjects and freemen.*"—*Quebec Gazette*, 1820.

We have thus cursorily glanced at the history of Spanish and French Colonization on the American Continent. The progress of the third great Emigrant Race, if we may so term it, the Anglo-Saxon, merits a few remarks. Of the two first we speak in the dispassionate and measured terms of calm, unbiassed inquiry. They are the property of the past; they live but amid its floating shadows and memorial pageantry. With the existence of the third we are personally identified: as part and parcel of its substantial realities. We look on the rise, progress and decline of extinct dynasties—the struggle, the triumph, the destruction, as they flit across the broad disk of history; not, it is

true, with an eye as cold as that of the dreamer in the dark cavern of Memory, but still almost wholly unbiassed in our contemplation by the contact of those shadowy children of the past, with the preconceived opinions or prejudices of our present existence. We look on them but as skeletons of things for ever gone by; but we *feel* the actings and doings of the race of which we form a part, as we do the jostling of the crowd that journey with us along the busy thoroughfare of human life—the passage from time to eternity. Let us see, however, if it be possible for us, keenly alive as we ever feel to the existence of jarring interests and antagonist principles around us, to comment in a brief general way on our present situation, contemplating it through a quiet medium, lighted rather with the calm ray of moralizing reflection, than coloured with the false and evanescent tints of party zeal or political animadversion.

The French and Spanish races are politically extinct. Our fellow subjects of Lower Canada retain the language and perhaps many of the feelings of their Gallic origin; but they are now merged in the great mass of British subjects; and the grandson of the vinedresser of Gascony, the sturdy Hampshire yeoman, the Munster labourer, and the Glengarry highlander, are in the eye of the laws of their common country what their duty, and, we hope, their wishes alike would lead them to be, all true and faithful subjects of Great Britain, governed by the same institutions, and looking to the one unfailing source for justice or protection.

Let us regard ourselves *as a British Colony*, exposed to the well known difficulties, and enjoying most of the acknowledged advantages of a young and unexhausted country. Foremost in the stirring history of all modern enterprize, first in every achievement in which activity, skill, and perseverance were the ingredients of success, stands the British, or, as it is more generally termed, the Anglo-Saxon race. On the American continent, it has laid the foundations of a great society, sown the seeds of empires yet to come, and rooted out the wilderness, to make way for the development and perfection of all that is great and noble in the progress of human industry. From the icepeaks of Labrador to the Mexican Cordilleras, its settlements are struggling, not merely into existence, but into power and influence. The Coral Islands of the Pacific bear witness to its unwearied perseverance; the *fifth* continent of Australia resounds with its voices of busy life; and the richest portion of the Golden East, beneath its stimulating influence, bends her exhaustless energies to deeper and broader efforts in the field of commercial enterprize. We speak of the vast and mighty republic on our southern shore, in these general remarks, as peopled from the same source, guided by the same pre-eminent spirit of social, intellectual, and political improvement, as any actual or integral portion of the British Empire. Strictly speaking, it is no more to us than Russia or Austria; but in the broad reflections of humanity, it must ever be to us a member of the one great family; as a scion from the one root; a fellow labourer, not a rival, in the struggle for moral supremacy. But for all practical purposes, the Canadas must look on themselves as integral parts of Great Britain, as much the inheritance and dominion of our youthful Sovereign as the fairest vale beneath the ramparts of her royal Windsor. From the distance at which we lie from the centre of her mighty empire, we cannot enjoy exactly the same political institutions as her Yorkshire and Middlesex subjects. We are compelled to have a Parliament of our own to manage our local affairs, and a Representative of her Royalty has to wield some of her authority and prerogative, the honoured medium through which the light of her sovereignty shines on her faithful lieges. But with this exception—a difference more in name than in deed—we stand on the same broad foundation of popular right and privilege as the denizens of the British Isles. No claim, no immunity, no birthright of liberty can be claimed by one of the latter to which we cannot substantially attain. No case of oppression or personal wrong can possibly occur, in which the sufferer cannot at once appeal to the same all-powerful and ever ready protectors of life, character, and property, the laws and constitution of England, with the same facility and certainty of redress that would greet the resident within the very shadow of Westminster Hall, or within hearing of the independent voices of Saint Stephen's. That great bugbear of the poor—that "raw head and bloody bones" of the timid and struggling peasant, Taxation, can but excite a smile in the careless face of the Canadian yeoman. He hears of it, but he feels it not. A national tax, for the purposes of government, is totally

unknown in British America. Some trifling impost, paltry in its extent, and utterly unoppressive on either capital or industry, is levied on the farmer for local purposes, keeping his roads and bridges in order, and maintaining the indispensable municipal arrangements of his district. Where his neighbour in the United States pays *dollars* into the public treasury, the Canadian pays *shillings*. Where his fellow subject at home actually groans beneath a weight of burdensome imposts, the sturdy Backwoodsman laughs at them; sees the tax-gatherer enter his dwelling with indifference, and only wonders what induced that functionary to travel so far to receive so little. No country in the civilized world, we advisedly assert, feels so lightly the pressure of that taxation which every kingdom must more or less endure. No country obtains so much, both in the way of protection and commercial advances, at so trifling a cost to herself as Canada. The fleets of England hover on her shores, or ride in her havens; the armies of England garrison her fortresses; and the least show of necessity calls forth a display of force from the watchful Lion, that tells how ready and willing he is at all times to exert his great strength for the protection of his distant realms. Not one farthing, directly or indirectly, does the Canadian pay for this mighty privilege of reposing in perfect security beneath the broad shadow of the British flag, in the calm and happy consciousness of certain safety.

But tear down the "Meteor flag" from the rocky crest of Cape Diamond; strike it by the waters of St. Clair, the rapids of the Niagara, and the pine forests of Toronto; let the last voice of a British trumpet ring through the cliffs of the St. Lawrence, as the last of her recalled soldiery floats down that lordly river;—and in what condition is Canada left? She has two courses—one, to endeavour to maintain a stand as a free nation; the second, to add another star and stripe to the motley banner of the neighbouring Republic. Should the first be her choice, necessity would immediately order the equipment of a sufficient land and naval establishment to protect the young state—to save the infant empire from being strangled in the cradle. A tenth of the force now gratuitously employed by England, for the defence of her North American sovereignty, could not be maintained by independent Canada for twelve months, without increasing tenfold the taxation of every individual in her bounds. *Now*, she enjoys ample protection *for nothing; then*, she would have it, unstable and doubtful at all times, at a cost fearful and overwhelming to a country of her slender population and undeveloped resources. The rending of her ancient allegiance might be gilded by the flash and transient glitter of a new order of things; her independent existence might float awhile on the restless waves of a hasty popular enthusiasm; it might spring up in the air with the fierce bound of the firework, "*rising like the rocket, but falling like the staff*," but when the temporary fever subsided, and men came to reflect on what *they had abandoned and what they had gained*, it needs but little gift of prophecy to foresee the fearful responsibility which the country would have taken from her parent and placed on her own young shoulders, or to tell that the fatal and increasing burden of a public debt, necessarily incurred, and incurred *abroad*, must weigh down her energies, and draw heavily on the slender means of the struggling husbandman, to ensure to him that protection without which his life would be embittered by perpetual anxieties, his property the prey of the bandit or the pirate, and he himself like the wretched peasant of the dark ages, constantly called on to spring to arms at some sudden alarm of insurrection or invasion—his hand alternately on the broadsword and the plough, and defensive weapons his inseparable companions at his ordinary rural avocations.

That sagacious, practical philosopher, the Clockmaker, the laughter-loving Democritus of the western hemisphere, in the following comment on the possibility of an independent Canadian nation, has veiled some profound political truths beneath the playful garb of sarcastic admonition:—

"You need not flatter yourselves, Doctor, you can't be a distinct nation; it aint possible in the nature of things. You may join us if you like, and there would be some sense in that move, that's a fact; but you never can stand alone here, no more than a lame man can without crutches, or a child of six days' old; no, not if all the Colonies were to unite you couldn't do it. Why, just see here, doctor, you could not show your noses on the fishing-ground for one minute; you can hardly do it now, even though the British have you under their wing. Our folks would drive you off the banks, seize your fish, tear your nets, and lick you like a sack, and then go home and swear you attacked them first; and our Government would seize

the fisheries as an indemnification. *How could you support an army, and a navy, and a diplomacy, and make fortifications? Why, you couldn't build, and support one frigate, nor maintain one regiment, nor garrison Quebec itself, let alone the outposts.* Our folks would navigate the St. Lawrence in spite of your teeth, and the St. John's too, and how could you help yourselves? They'd smuggle you out of your eye-teeth, and swear that you never had any. Our fur traders would attack your fur traders, and drive them all in. Our people would enter here and settle; then kick up a row, call for American volunteers, declare themselves independent, and ask admission into the Union; and afore you know'd where you were, you would find yourselves one of the States. Jist look at what's going on in Texas, and what *has* gone on in Florida, and what will go on here. We shall own clean away up to the North and South Pole afore we've done."

May thy words live unforgotten, oh, thou most illustrious of all Clockmakers! for thou hast spoken like the wisest and keenest of thy sagacious nation. Relinquishing the further consideration of protection, let us look at the advantageous commercial position which we occupy as a British Colony. Millions upon millions of English manufactures annually are landed on the American Continent, to supply the necessities of a young community. Where the Canadian receives these products of European industry at a mere nominal duty, the citizen of the States commonly obtains them burdened with the exorbitant duties of an unprecedentedly extravagant tariff; where we pay 2½ per cent. impost, our neighbours disburse 20 or 30. The carriage across the Atlantic and the profit of the retailer, form almost the only difference in the price of articles purchased in Canada or in Sheffield. The policy of the American Union is to protect her own vastly inferior manufactures by imposing almost prohibitory duties on English productions, which, if admitted at any thing approaching a low rate, would at once drive out of the markets the ill-fashioned workmanship of the infant factories of New England. But this patriotic protection of home productions weighs most heavily on the impoverished consumer, and we would almost feel inclined to doubt whether the Massachusetts' farmer, when purchasing a piece of English broadcloth, and knowing that he is paying some 30 per cent. more than his northern neighbours, would not wish destruction to the grinding tariff, even should its abolition involve the decline and fall of the great factory whose chimnies were visible from his door, poisoning the pure air with smoky exhalations, and demoralizing the surrounding population.

But not merely in the advantage of receiving British manufactures at a cheap and easy rate, is the Canadian remarkable. His connection with England gives him a never-failing market for every production of his fertile lands. His timber floats down the lakes and rivers to the shipping at Quebec, to be transported across the Atlantic, and received into London and Liverpool at a light duty, while the nearer and in some respects superior wood of the Swedish and Norwegian forests is taxed at a heavy rate, for the express purpose of protecting the Canada trade. While a high duty on all foreign grain protects the labours of the Rutland or Suffolk corn-growers, the hardy Backwoodsman's distant clearing is not forgotten by the parental Legislature of England; a low *fixed* tax on the Canadian's wheat and flour renders him always certain of a ready market for the millions of bushels his unrivalled grain-fields can be brought to produce. Divest him of his character of a British Colonist, and three great and immediate evils must in any event befall him. His timber trade would be almost annihilated, the instant the Baltic duties were lowered. His wheat placed on the same footing as foreign nations, could not be sent to English Ports and sold for any thing like a remunerating price; and lastly, those necessaries of life, British manufactures, must at once rise rapidly in price, as the expenses of his Government, no longer defrayed from a British Treasury, would be only raised by obtaining an adequate revenue from taxation of imports.

All the elements of wealth and true greatness lie scattered in profusion around the Canadian Colonists. Living under a climate of unexampled salubrity,—possessed of a boundless extent of the best wheat-land in the world,—surrounded by a chain of splendid waters,—strangers almost to taxation,—ignorant alike of military despotism or civil oppression,—locally governed by their own chosen representatives,—and above all, *enjoying complete protection without paying for it*,—it surely will be strange if a destiny of some splendour does not await a country situated as theirs, if a conspicuous part in the great drama of the future be not assigned to her.

The speculator in changes can only contem-

plate the Canadas in two positions: first, as independent—second, as joined to the great American Republic. We have cursorily reasoned on the probability of the first, the second merits a few reflections. Would the Canadian benefit himself in any way by enrolling his name among the citizens of American democ...? Would his liberty, his property, his social or political condition be the gainer by the transfer of his allegiance? We cannot possibly conceive any advantage resulting to either from the change. The wildest raver against the Colonial condition has never dared to aver that liberty and property were not most amply and fully protected under the mild but vigorous Government of Great Britain. Admitting then, that freedom and security from oppression are alike enjoyed by the dwellers on *both sides of the great lakes*, we confess we feel incapable of imagining any possible argument in favour of supposing that a junction with the American Union would raise the standard of social or political excellence in the Canadas, or in any wise advance the worldly prosperity of the seceder from his ancient allegiance. At present the Canadian farmer with an average amount of cleared land, cattle, and implements of husbandry, pays in actual taxation about twenty shillings. A resident in the State of New York, with exactly the same quantity of property, pays in actual taxation near twenty dollars. The former buys all his necessaries, implements of farming, his clothes, &c. &c., at a cheaper rate than the latter. The price of produce, except in particular situations, is generally as high, and sometimes much higher; and almost in no particular, except perhaps in the enviable privilege of being much more frequently called away from the plough to the ballot-box, is the free citizen of New York superior to the sturdy leveller of the London or Simcoe forests. As regards the morality of the two countries, we wish to advance no claim to any especial exemption from crime or its consequences, but we will content ourselves with asserting, that the Canadas in that particular will contrast not unfavourably to themselves with the American States, or any other civilized country on this Continent or elsewhere.

Last in place, though perhaps first in importance, in the long list of reasons which induce the honest Canadian to desire no severing, no tearing asunder, of his present political relations, is his *National feeling*—his sense of his position and character as a subject of Great Britain. Experience and observation concur in representing this feeling as burning strongly in the bosoms of the vast majority of the inhabitants of these Colonies. Persons interested in asserting the contrary may, it is true, easily adduce proofs of the occasional existence, evidenced by overt acts, of an opposite predilection, but such we strongly maintain would form only the exceptions to the rule, and but little weaken the truth of our general assertion.—The whole past history of America lies unrolled before the gaze of the sceptic in this belief, open for rigid scrutiny, teeming with undisputed evidence. When the flame of revolt spread over the greatest part of this Continent in 1775; when faith was held but an empty word, and loyalty became a *stigma*, *the Canadians showed* they had not so quickly forgotten their duty to a paternal Monarch, their respect for oaths of fealty, their sacred obligations as subjects and Christians. The baffled attempt of Montgomery on Quebec—the stiffening pile of dead, whitened with the thickly falling snow on the spot where the bravest of the storming party with their gallant leader were mowed down, bore witness to the fact that England had yet some true, true hearts and hands to guard her trans-Atlantic Empire. The later struggle of 1812–14, proved that in place of diminishing, the spirit of ancient loyalty was growing with the growth, and strengthening with the strength of our young country—within the bounds of the Canadas there seemed to be but one sentiment. No internal strife seemed to exist, save the noble rivalry between our French fellow-subjects and the settlers of British origin, in being foremost in the struggle in defence of national rights. The events of 1837–8–9 have in no wise altered the aspect or character of the loyalty of the vast mass of the Canadian population; and a just and honourable confidence in the principles of our country leads us to predict that the annals of the future will have as noble a tale to tell of the conduct of the British Americans in any national crisis, as the proud record left of their fidelity and gallant bearing in the brief but stirring history of their past existence.

Strong is the feeling of distinctive nationality planted in every breast. The Swiss for his mountains—the Gaucho for his wild savannahs—the Arab for the date tree, and the fountain

in the desert. "I am a Roman," was the proud boast of a citizen of that stupendous Empire, that glory of the ancient earth, in the golden days of her boundless dominion, when the imperial purple flowed round her Trajans and Antonines, victors of the world. "Io sono Romano—I am a Roman," still breathes in temporary exultation from the wasted lips of some famished peasant of the desolate Campagna, yet proud of his being a dweller among the crumbling altars of the ruined City of the Seven Hills. Has not the prophecy of the Druid to the British Boadicea—

> "Realms that Cæsar never knew,
> Thy posterity shall sway,
> Where his eagles never flew;
> None invincible as they!"

been fulfilled seven-fold? And are there not millions now living, and tens of millions yet unborn, who with pride and inward joy can echo the boast of the ancient Romans, in proclaiming themselves subjects of an Empire as much nobler and more glorious than the colossal dominion of old Rome, as they are, and will be, individually superior to the rabid democracy of the Aventine, or the rough and venal mercenaries of the Legions. "I am a Briton." To our ears it has a rich and pleasant sound, and bright thoughts of present excellence and national supremacy breathe in the echoes of those few words, and mix with the memories of a brilliant series of dazzling triumphs, such as the world had never known before, eclipsing all legends of past victories. May the hour be far, far distant when the lips of the brave Canadian will cease to pronounce them, or his heart cease to respond to their sound, combining as they do the essence of his political creed, the birth-right received from his gallant fathers, the inheritance for his own free children, the index of his duty, the watchword of his allegiance.

"The Queen of England is monarch over one hundred millions of men! With her the old Spanish boast is true—'On her dominions the sun never sets.' But the most illustrious attribute of this unexampled Empire is, that its principle is benevolence, that knowledge goes forth with it, that tyranny sinks before it, that in its magnificent progress it abates the calamities of nature, that it plants the desert, that it civilizes the savage, that it strikes off the fetters of the slave—that its spirit is at once 'Glory to God, and good-will to man!'"

Toronto, Dec., 1840.

THE UNITED PROVINCES.

> "WESTWARD the tide of Empire rolls its way."
>
> [BERKELEY.]

Blue skies and glorious forests! Life and light—
The downward rushing of a thousand floods,
The far-heard thunder of the torrent's might;
The free winds wrestling with the giant woods:
The fresh wild splendour of the spring-tide morn,
Sunshine and youth their golden treasures flinging—
The careless gladness of a heart unworn,
And hope's clear voice to chainless freedom singing,—
"From thy short annals dash one stormy page;
Toward the veil'd future gaze,—there lies thy heritage!"

The West! the West!—High theme for minstrel's lyre
Whose heart is fresh—whose glance is ONWARD cast,
Whom hope hath touch'd with her prophetic fire,
Who leaves to colder harps to sing the past.
The west! the west! Where Empire's course is speeding
To found broad realms—to rear her mightiest throne,
Where worth and strength to earthly fame are leading,
Where victory shall sound her boldest tone,
Where unborn glories with triumphant blaze
Shall dim the past's proud deeds, shall pale its flaunting rays.

Roll soft, blue waters of the "Thousand Isles"!
Superior! calm thy ocean-giant's sweep!
Flash up, fair Erie, in the warm sun's smiles;
Gray Huron, wake thee from thy troubled sleep.
Hark! from the green old woods hoarse voices come,
The spirits of the solitudes are out:
Up waves and winds! Blue rush and sparkling foam,
Ring thro' the startled West the mingled shout
Of strength and gladness, the wild jubilee,
In which ye speak your might, the anthem of the free!

Roll on bright waves, along your swelling tide
No ruin'd fane, no dark dismantled towers
Gaze on your depths in melancholy pride,
To mar the freshness of your forest bowers.
Not yours the time-worn arch—the shatter'd dome,
The mournful loveliness of slow decay:
The splendour of the morning light's your home,
The fresh magnificence of opening day:—
Time o'er your land with baffled might has flown,
No works of man to fall—fair nature bow'd alone.

Hark! from yon giant mount a war-drum beats,
A trumpet rings upon the morning air;
A glorious flag the quivering sunlight greets,
With blood-red cross and snow-white volumes fair:
'Tis thine, ST. GEORGE! That war-worn banner's fold,
The victor o'er those lordly waves streams forth;
Thine the bold notes—thine Island warriors hold
The grave of Wolfe—the fortress of the North!
And proud defiance from its crest is hurl'd,
Where Britain's genius sits,—throned o'er the western world.

On speed the martial sounds, o'er wood and lake,
From fortress-rocks and garrison'd defiles;
St. Helens' bids her sleeping echoes wake,
Fort Henry wafts them through Ontario's isles;
And banners flash, and English music springs
From camp and fort along that fatal wave,
Where dread Niag'ra's giant thunder sings
His everlasting requiem for the brave—
And on, o'er Erie's sands, o'er soft St. Clair,
The same free trumpet rings, the red-cross flutters there!

Aye, tis a fair, a lordly heritage,
For British heirs by British valour won.
A youth predestin'd for a glorious age,
A spot for freedom's ark to rest upon.
And there bright memories come floating down,
Borne from the past on fame's least earthly chords,
Warming the children with the sire's renown,
Singing of crimson fields, of conquering swords,
Trafalgar's wave—old Runnimede's fair sod,
How patriots bled for home—how martyrs died for God.

Where lurks the parricide whose impious hand
Britannia's standard from its height would tear,
And false to faith, truth, HEAVEN, AND FATHER-LAND,
Bow to some specious rag usurping there?
Woe to the craven statesman's plotting brain;
Shame on the perjur'd soldier's dastard crest,
Who rends the "Ocean Empire's" proud domain,
Who drives the lion from the glorious west,
And leaves the children of the Isles a prey
To dark and hopeless strife, or worse than Vandal sway.

Land of the West! Before the minstrel's glance
Bright visions float magnificent and free;
Fair glories light the future's broad expanse,
And hope, wild prophet, sings—they gleam for thee.
Rise, eagle-wing'd and lion-hearted, rise,
Youth, strength, and freedom, nerve your upward flight;
Fix on the morning sun your quenchless eyes:
Trust to your stainless name, your children's might;
Thine be worth, genius, victory, splendour, praise,
Meet for a clime like thine, where flag, like England's sways.

Onward, fair clime! The holy arch of peace
Spans in its light thy green and smiling shore,
And golden plenty sheds her rich increase,
And hope and health their priceless treasures pour.
Rest, calm and true: should darker days be known,
Should foemen taint the freshness of thy sod,
Thine is the rampart of earth's mightiest throne,—
Thine the sure aid of freedom's watchful God.
Speed on! No mortal gives this high command,—
Stand by the patriot's creed,—"FOR GOD AND FATHER-LAND!"

TORONTO, December, 1840.

ROAD-TAX ON WILD LANDS.

AT a time when the curtain seems almost descending on the last act of the political drama of Upper Canada, as a distinct Province, it may not be an altogether unprofitable task to review somewhat of things gone by, as a guide in things to come, and among these to select for observation a subject not so much of party interest as of practical utility.

Of the difficulties of a first settlement in a new country most of our readers have a tolerably accurate idea. Those hardy pioneers who cut their way into the forest, and planted the first germs of civilization in its pathless wilds, as well as their immediate followers, who extended the settlement which the others had commenced, have in after years been rewarded for their original privations by the successful result which has generally followed their enterprising efforts. Where they found a wilderness, they see a fertile land—the howling of wild animals has given way to the bleating of the flock and the lowing of the herd—the giant trees of the forest have disappeared, and their place is supplied by fields and pastures green. But the very conquest over first obstacles, the very success of industry and toil, has created wants before unknown, and has rendered necessary further changes and additional improvements, in order to the full enjoyment of the advantages which have been gained. The settler who at first laboured for a subsistence has now a surplus to dispose of. The superabundance of what is necessary to existence affords him the means of obtaining further comforts, or even luxuries, and he claims these as his reward for early privations, unwearied industry, and unconquerable perseverance,—He has, moreover, a rising family for whose sake he has borne the heat and burthen of the day, and to whom he is anxious to afford much

which the *res angusta domi* had compelled him to forego. What is it that stands in his way? What difficulty is it, which he whose life has been passed in overcoming difficulties finds himself unequal to? It is a very simple, but at the same time to every settler in the woods a most serious one. It is the want of good roads.

To the unimitated in these matters it is necessary to explain, that between the settlements made along the line of the St. Lawrence and the lakes, and those which are commonly called the back-woods, there are miles of unimproved, though unfortunately not of ungranted forest land. It is useless, as well as foreign to our present purpose, to enquire into the origin of the system of large allotments that once prevailed, or to trace out the gradual relaxation of the system which made actual settlement a condition of every grant of land. It is sufficient at present to refer to the indisputable facts, that these grants of a former day have isolated the inhabitants of one section of the country from those of another,—have retarded the general improvement of the Province,—have added to the difficulties of a first settlement,—have deprived those who successfully combated those difficulties of the full measure of advantage to which they were entitled,—and have (in the hope and with the intention of curing these acknowledged evils,) given birth to a system of taxation, into the nature and consequences of which it is our present object to examine.

As early as 1793, assessments for local purposes, such as building and repairing gaols and court-houses, payment of gaoler's salary, the support and maintenance of prisoners, payment of fees to coroners and other officers, and many other district purposes, were imposed upon the possessors of real and personal property in the Province. The principle first adopted was a classification of the inhabitants according to the actual value of their property, which was left to the judgment of the assessors, and each inhabitant was liable to a fixed rate, according to the class within which the value of his property placed him. After some years, however, (in 1811,) instead of classing the inhabitants, and imposing a fixed rate on them accordingly, property itself was declared rateable, and a value was placed on the different kinds of real and personal estate, according to which assessments were to be charged and levied. Then cultivated land was valued at twenty shillings per acre, uncultivated at four shillings: lots in different towns valued according to the size and importance of the place; houses according to the number of stories, the material of which they were built, and the number of fire-places; and personal property according to its assumed relative price. No authority was, however, then given to recover these assessments except by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of the owner making default. In 1819 further provisions on the same principle were made, with an important addition as respected unoccupied lands. Each treasurer was required to keep an account of rates against such lands in his district, and authority was given, whenever distress should be found thereon at any subsequent period, to distrain for all taxes which had become due while the land was unoccupied. If the rates were suffered to remain in arrear, they were increased one-third; if in arrear five years, the increase was in the proportion of one half; and if in arrear eight years they were thenceforth doubled. In the same year, also, a tax of one-eighth of a penny per acre was laid upon wild lands, towards the improvement of the roads. This was considered only just, as the inhabitants whose property was included in the assessment rolls were obliged to perform statute labour in proportion to the amount of their assessed property.

The objects which the Legislature seem to have had in view may be thus stated: 1st. To enforce a proportionate contribution from the non-resident owners of wild lands, both for general district purposes, and for making the roads in the townships where the lands were; and, 2nd, to induce the settlement of waste lands, by subjecting them, while in a state which yielded no present return to their proprietors, to taxation.

These enactments did not, however, prove sufficient for the attainment of their objects, and to remedy the defect another law was passed in 1825, which authorized the sale of lands upon which these taxes were in arrear, or so much thereof as was necessary to raise the amount. An opportunity was afforded to the owner to redeem the lands so sold within twelve months from the time of sale, by paying the full amount which the purchaser had been called upon to advance, together with twenty per cent. But upon the expiration of twelve months, the property sold for taxes was irre-

trievably gone. The owner might have been in a foreign country—an infant—a married woman—an idiot or lunatic—the forfeiture was the same.

This measure, during its progress through the Legislature, was violently opposed. And even after it was passed, a strong impression prevailed throughout the Province, that the Legislature would interfere and prevent the sale of the lands for so trifling an amount as the taxes on each lot; and indeed a bill was introduced for that purpose into the Assembly, which failed. Some modifications were however made. In 1829 the ratio of increase of tax, where it remained in arrear, was limited to fifty per cent, instead of being doubled, as before provided;—facilities were afforded for payment to treasurers in other districts than those in which the lands were situated; and relief was given where the assessments paid had not been duly credited. But the sales were made pursuant to the law, and it is stated that at the first sales in the several districts, nearly four hundred thousand acres were sold, —the amount on each two hundred acre lot being £3 13s. 1½d. A very large number of lots, either of one hundred or two hundred acres, were sold for the amount of taxes. In other cases, fractional parts only of the lots were sold. There are no returns, without making a search at each treasurer's office, from which the number of acres redeemed can be shewn. The whole amount raised by the sale of these four hundred thousand acres, was only about £13,000.

It is useless, in the absence of actual information, to speculate as to what class of people were the principal sufferers by this sacrifice of property. How many farmers, who had wild lots on which they intended to settle their sons as they grew up, lost the opportunity from mere ignorance of the slow but certain working of the law; and how many others, through absence from the province, or inability at the time to protect their own interests. It may be said with great truth that these first sales took the country by surprise. Of the strong probability of valuable property having been sacrificed from inadvertence, we happen to be able to afford an illustration. A friend of ours received timely notification that six hundred acres of his land had been sold for the upset amount of the taxes in arrear. By paying that sum, with the additional 20 per cent., he redeemed his land, and sold a part of it very soon after for £1 per acre. Not living in the district where the land was, he had not the opportunity of seeing the notification, and was not one of the very few by whom the Government *Gazette* is taken. But for the kindly notice sent him, he would have lost his whole property, and the advantage gained by the public in return for compelling this private injury would scarce have been a fortieth part of the value.

But whoever may have been the losers, there is at least no doubt that these land-tax sales have from first to last caused the transfer of much real property from the original owners, without any compensation to them, and for sums infinitely below the market value. Have those objects, the public advantage of which was considered to justify such a measure, been attained? Has the law achieved the design of its framers?

Have the local improvements of a public nature in the several districts, and more particularly have the roads and bridges, improved in such proportion as ought to have been the case to justify depriving the owners of such an amount of their property without compensation? No one, not even the least sanguine or most sincere of the advocates of the measure, but must admit that in this respect the results have disappointed him. Not only has it not afforded good roads of its own efficacy, but it has proved unequal to this task even with the assistance of £103,000, which at different times since 1829 have been granted by the Legislature in aid of that object, exclusive of the large sums expended on MacAdamizing. Go into what part of the province you will, away from the small extent of MacAdamized road, and what is the universal cry of the people? "Improve the roads." From east to west, from north to south, good roads, more than any thing else, are the wish and want of the inhabitants; and from one end of Upper Canada to the other call loudly for an additional tax on wild lands, because of the absolute necessity of improving the roads. Let, then, any impartial judge say whether in this respect the law has accomplished any thing to justify the acknowledged individual loss of property which it has caused.

With regard to that portion of the tax which was applicable to district purposes, such as building Court Houses, the local administration

of Justice, &c., it is not necessary to do more than remark, that the amount of assistance derived from this source has not been enough materially to relieve the resident inhabitants, or to accomplish more than they would have done (although in a somewhat longer time) without this aid: and it may well be made a question whether it would not be an improvement on the present system, and be even more just in principle, to apply the proceeds of all rates on wild lands of non-residents solely to the improvement of the roads. For the value of these lands is certainly more directly increased by opening the communications through the country than by most, if not by all, of the other purposes for which the district assessments are usually expended, most of which (gaols and court-houses of course excepted) are of a fleeting character.

But, assuming that in these respects, and especially in the former, the benefits resulting from this law have not been so great as were expected, or that there has been no benefit at all; still if it has had the effect of settling tracts of land which were lying waste and neglected, and which the owners valued so little as not to enquire after, or pay the tax, an advantage of no ordinary character will have been gained;—one of the evils which has operated so greatly against the resident in the back-woods will be in the progress of removal, and the statute labour of these new settlers will materially assist those of an older date in opening and improving the communications, and though much still remains to be done, success will appear attainable. Upon this point it is only by general enquiries that any information can be attained. There are no known official returns the examination of which would lead to a satisfactory conclusion one way or the other. We are sanguine in the belief that some good has been attained in this respect, but we fear that its amount bears a very, very small proportion to the quantity of land sold. The larger quantity of land has, so far as we can ascertain, found its way into the hands of individuals who purchased as a matter of speculation, and who both can and will keep the lands till they will realize the anticipated profit. Nor is this a matter of surprise, when we consider what the working of the law has been. No one, we venture to say, ever anticipated that such an immense quantity of land would have been brought to sale for taxes. But when such was the case, the result is not surprising. There were but few persons in the Province whose capital was large enough to enable them to enter successfully into the field of speculation thus opened. But to those few there were inducements enough to go as far as their means would enable them. The certainty of getting twenty per cent for their advances at the end of a year, if the land was redeemed, or if it were not, of buying land at about an average price of eight pence per acre, (and taking the whole quantity sold in connection with the whole amount produced, this was the average,) ensured a good return for the outlay of capital; and from the return made to the House of Assembly seven or eight years ago, it appears that one individual purchased thirty-four thousand acres of land in a single district of the Province, and we have reason to believe that in other districts purchases of large, tho' perhaps not quite similar, extent were made.

During the last Parliament, the course followed on different occasions by the Legislature tends to confirm the views we have already suggested. On the one hand, some acts were passed to improve particular roads, part of the funds for which purpose were to be derived from a tax on wild lands, or lots on which there was no resident settler. On the other, the sales of lands under the assessment laws were postponed, apparently because it was considered that to suffer them to take place at the time appointed would lead to inevitable and extensive sacrifices of real property. There was no other and more direct expression of the Legislature on this important subject. But what was done seems clearly enough to indicate an opinion that the law as it stood was entirely insufficient for the improvement of the roads, and yet that in the then state of the country its operation ought to be delayed, since to permit a sale then would only benefit the few who had money at command, by the injury of the proprietor of the land, and without providing any countervailing benefit to the community.

From the foregoing observations, our readers will, we hope, have perceived,—first, that we sustain the imposition of a tax upon unsettled lands for the improvement of the roads. In our opinion, such lands principally derive their increase in value from increased facilities of approach to them, and therefore in justice should be charged in aid of their own improvement.—

Secondly, that we consider a change in the present system necessary. Upon the latter of these topics we shall in conclusion offer a few remarks.

Facilities of access and communication will always invite and encourage new settlers, while materially adding to the comfort and prosperity of the old; and in the same proportion as the number of settlers, does the power of the community to maintain and improve these lines of communication increase also.—Better far is it for the general interests of the neighbourhood, to say nothing of the Province, to have a settler on a lot of land, than to have *the same lot vacant, though subjected to an* assessment larger than the resident would have to pay. This axiom should never be lost sight of in the consideration of what purpose the proceeds of any tax on unoccupied lands should be applied to. We do not mean to underrate the value of other objects to which the district expenditure is directed, when we assert, that the improvement of the roads is superior to them all in its power of conferring benefit on the present settlers, and of affording inviting encouragement to new ones; and further, that such improvement is the principal cause of any general rise in the value of wild lands. If it be objected that such property, while in a state of nature, yields no return to its owner, and therefore is not a legitimate subject of taxation, the answer is, that its owner should contribute to that object which directly increases the selling price of his estate, and which ensures him a larger return on his original outlay than could otherwise have been obtained, and that he has no right to insist that the law should grant him an exemption which tends to retard improvement, and to cripple the industry of actual settlers.

The result which appears to us deducible from the foregoing considerations, is, that unoccupied, or as they are usually called, *wild lands*, should be rated and assessed for the sole purpose of opening and repairing the roads of the township within which the land rated lies. To attain this, let there be an annual rate and assessment of one penny per acre on all lands not returned on the assessor's roll, in lieu of the tax at present authorized. Allow the payments to be made as now to the treasurer of any district in the Province. If payment is made within a fixed time, say a month after it falls due, let that be treated as in time, if not, let interest be charged, making the whole a direct charge upon the land, as well as on any personal property found upon it. This will afford a security to raise money for the amount of taxes in arrear, this may be safely done if a time be limited when payment of these arrears with interest will be enforced,—that is, supposing the land to be worth enough to produce the sum for which it is liable, and there are comparatively very few *granted* lots in the Province which are too swampy, or too rocky, or too poor in quality to be worth that amount. On ungranted, or to use the term adopted by the Legislature, lots not "described as granted", there would be no tax. If the rates remain in arrear (say) ten years, let a writ issue to the sheriff to levy the amount from any personal property on the land. If to this he returns nothing, then let the Treasurer of the district make up a statement (to be verified by himself and the sheriff,) of the amount due and expences incurred, and that no distress can be found, to be filed with the Clerk of the Peace, certified copies of which return should be transmitted to the Secretary and Registrar of the Province, and to the Commissioner of Crown Lands. Let it be declared by law that upon the enrolment of this return in the office of the Secretary and Registrar, it shall operate as a surrender, and vest the lands therein mentioned in the Crown;—let such lands be therefore sold by the Commissioner of Crown Lands, declaring that the proceeds shall be applied, first, to pay the treasurer of the proper district the amount of rates due, with interest and expenses, and secondly, to invest the surplus either in debentures of the district wherein the lands be, or in Provincial debentures, to be deposited in some safe public custody,—for instance, the accountant general of the Court of Chancery,—for the use of the former owner of the land sold, with a proviso, that if no person entitled shall make good his claim within ten years from the date of the return to the Secretary of the Province, such debentures shall from thenceforth become public property.

We will conclude by a statement of leading points which should be steadily borne in mind as the basis of any legislation on the subject.

To increase the means for improving the roads, by an increased tax on unoccupied lands. To tax such lands for no other purpose. To

authorize the local authorities to pledge the proceeds of this tax as a security for raising money by loan, in order that the country may derive an immediate benefit. To provide for the sale of any lot upon which the taxes are in arrear beyond a certain period, and on which lot no sufficient distress can be found,—at the same time securing to the owner the surplus proceeds of his land if claimed within a reasonable period, investing such proceeds in public debentures, and if no claim be made good, then to give the advantage to the Province, instead of some private individual who has speculated in the purchase of lands sold for taxes.

We trust the early attention of the United Legislature will be drawn to this important subject, and if any of the hints we have thrown out for the improvement of the present system lead to beneficial changes our object will have been fully attained.

THE LITERATURE OF A NEW COUNTRY.

History and experience concur in establishing as an axiom, that the youth of all new countries can afford to dedicate but a very brief space to the developement and cultivation of literary or scientific attainments. The anxious cares and struggles incident to that feverish stage of their existence, the efforts that *must* be made to maintain firm on a perhaps tottering foundation the new-born fabric of their nationality, the frequent necessity for the display of physical strength, and the pre-occupation of thought resulting from a constant racking of the brain to devise means of warding off dangers that too often threaten to strangle the infant Hercules in its cradle, draw too heavily on the mental resources of the intellectual members of the community not to exhaust the fund of reflection and contemplative invention from which, in the absence of such resistless subjects of consideration, all literary efforts, or spontaneous outpouring of the human mind, must be derived. It was not while the hardy Romans, in the infancy of their glorious republic, fought inch by inch for their very existence on the soil of Italy—while the Volscian horsemen plundered the frightened peasants of the Campagna, —or the Gaul thundered at her humble gates, that the rich genius of her poets, historians and orators proclaimed to the world the existence of a national literature. A hundred triumphs had wound their glittering way up the steep ascent of the regal capitol, a hundred kings in chains bore testimony to the might of the victorious legionaries, when Horace sang at the banquet of Augustus, or Cicero thrilled the hearts that drank his burning words in the hushed and listening Forum. When Athens first landed a weak and fugitive colony on the shores of Livadia few bards, save the ephemeral strain of the wandering minstrel, cheered her early struggles, or prophesied her unborn glories.—Stately fanes sprang toward Heaven on the mount of her Acropolis, the spoils of the East floated in her gallant ships on the waters of the Piræus, when Pericles spoke, or Euripides sang; and it was the day of her decline that was lighted with a melancholy splendour by the glowing genius of Demosthenes.

When a population assumes a great commercial or manufacturing character, a tone of mind is given to the people highly unfavourable to literary progression. All the strength of mental invention and assiduity is devoted to the advancement of pecuniary interests, and the genius which might under different circumstances have produced an Epic, or a Chronicle, is exercised in extending the arm of commercial enterprise unto some quarter it never reached before, in mining for gold, or fishing for pearl. Leisure, the hand-maiden of literary effort, is wanting, and till her advent the thoughts of the mind die unrecorded, the high conception flowers but to wither, and fancy is nipped in the bud by the cold winds of distaste and ridicule, which, in such a matter of fact community, breathe chillingly on every thing apparently profitless, and consequently looked on as vain and trivial. It is only as the nation advances in importance and standing, when wealth has been produced by the successful labour of com-

merce, and that wealth grants to its possessors the boon of leisure, that a new turn is given to public taste, that the nation, conscious at last of its own successful progress, deems that the time is come to have its name recorded on as fair a page as that which chronicles the glory of preceding or contemporary powers, and certain spirits, always ready for the exigency of every time, step forward with new-born alacrity, and the literary void is soon filled by those emulous to follow in their track, and earn the same applause which greeted the efforts of the first pioneers.

No nation, even in its earliest stages, was wholly destitute of some description of literary pretension. With the people of antiquity, the wandering Bards and strolling chroniclers of love, war, or wine, founded the rude and imperfect foundation of a future literature. In a new population of the present age, such a class is represented by the newspaper and periodical press, which finds its way into almost every civilized community, almost contemporaneously with its earliest existence, and for many years, longer or shorter according to the peculiar genius of the people, forms the ephemeral but only record or comment of the acts, character, or manners around it. The nations that have been longest in moulding to maturity their various elements of greatness, who have had the fiercest struggles, not only with external foes, but within themselves before their policy had assumed a settled shape, or Government become stable or permanent, have seen the longest period elapse before the arts and learning dared to raise their timid heads above the stormy multitude. The Russian, occupying a third of the Continent of Europe, has only within the last fifty years, since civilization began to assert her empire over barbarism, given any important addition to the general literature of mankind. Spain, torn for centuries by Moorish invasion and internal tumult, has been almost equally backward. Portugal has made still fewer advances. Take away from both half a dozen such names as Cervantes or Camoens, and their literary annals are a blank. Wealth and leisure, two legitimate descendants of successful industry, must be found before a nation exhibits either of the two classes, authors or their patrons. Startling exceptions may doubtless be found to this rule, but experience fully warrants the generality in its statement.

The early existence of a Colony presents an interesting field to the observer of the rise and progress of national literature. When a number of the inhabitants of an old nation abandon their homes, and emigrate across an ocean to a virgin country, they of course bring with them the leading characteristics of their father-land. Language, religion, peculiar opinions, generally remain unchanged: but many of the minor details of thought and custom are left behind in the land they grew in. Popular superstitions are abandoned with the local altars of their ancient faith; opinions and beliefs never thoroughly tested by reason, and merely kept alive by the constant presence of particular natural objects or conventional usages, cannot bear the rude transplanting to a strange soil,—and the emigrant in his new abode, while yet the same *man*, feels himself almost wholly freed from the "diminutive chains of habit" which once bound him as strongly as the tiny needles of Lilliput held down the struggling Gulliver.

We all are aware how strongly every national literature is tinctured and imbued with the spirits of its early superstitions, the quaint fancies or stirring recollections of local usages and conventional habits. A Colony torn from its former homes, and placed in the antipodes, abandons or forgets all these, and while retaining sufficient of the parental impress to warrant its legitimacy, invariably commences a new social existence, and enters on a new era of recollection, thought, and feeling.

The United States present a striking instance in illustration of the preceding remarks.—Peopled from almost every civilized nation of Europe, how totally have its citizens forgotten the thousand and one local usages of their respective countries; how completely have they merged the shadowy in the real, blended the fanciful in the matter of fact, and forgotten the peculiarities and sectional customs of their former abodes in the stir and bustle of a new existence. The wild Highlander left his historic recollections of clans and feuds when he lost sight of the hills of Morven; the Irish peasant drowned his old superstitions in the tears that mourned for the "last glimpse of Erin"; and the German stalked coldly through a North American forest, without a thought on the once dreaded apparition of the wild Huntsman, or the spectres of the Hartz mountain.—The country is now upwards of two centuries

old. The Printing press has been in full operation during the best part of that period. No nation surpasses it in commercial activity, or daring struggling with natural difficulties; but its literature is as yet only in its tottering infancy, and its authors, with one or two fair exceptions, a mere crowd of butterflies playing with the flowers that deck the lower slopes of Parnassus. Those who have been most successful are they who have thought and written as if they thought and wrote on English soil, imitating with generous and creditable enthusiasm the model authors of our language. No *national* literature yet exists on the American Continent. All that is creditable in authorship is English, or based on English models; and though the Red Cross has long ceased to float over the fair battlements of Independent America, the language of Shakespeare and Milton yet holds undivided sovereignty over the thoughts, hearts, and learning of every intellect in her wide dominion.

With us, as dependencies of the British Crown, literature is of course at a much lower ebb. We have none in fact, and till the unwearied struggles of industry and enterprize have smoothed down the rugged face of our country, and wealth and leisure are acquired by at least a numerous portion of our fellow-subjects, but little can be done toward giving our adopted home a place even in one of the lowest niches of the great temple of literary fame. That we could possess a distinctive literary character must for centuries be impossible. That our country could even contribute, in proportion to her resources and population, to the literature of the mighty Empire of which we boast to be an integral portion, is, under present circumstances, equally unlikely, and can only take place by slow degrees and gradual progress. A Colony is a peculiarly unpropitious spot for the developement of learning or the arts. Its population, from the very nature of its constituent parts, is all bent on the engrossing task of advancing personal interest, or extending personal enterprise and industry. It is a land of struggles with the difficulties of climate, untamed nature, and limited resources. A "mute, inglorious Milton" may be found among its forests, but his soft voice will be drowned in the hum and bustle of active life. He may bud, but it will be only to wither; he may put forth blossoms, but it will be only to be frosted at once by the sneer or laugh of those around, intent on far more matter of fact pursuits, and ready at once to wonder at or pity the unhappy wight devoted to what they cannot but deem a frivolous vocation, or an "unprofitable investment" of talent or industry.

A colonial author, should such a black swan appear on our waters, would have two evils to dread—two courses to adopt. He might at once attempt to devote his genius to the peculiar circumstances of the new country in which he found himself; to attempt to clothe in harmonious numbers her particular features, habits, or general attributes: in fact, to attempt to lay the foundation-stone of a national or colonial literature; or, in place of attempting to strike out any such "short-cut" to the Temple of Fame, to content himself with plodding along the beaten road over which the thousands of his country's authors had trodden before him, and on which hardly a space remained vacant for the new comer's step that bore not the impress of some former footstep. In other words, he would have to become an *English* author or *nothing*. In the first case, he would have to dread the chances of a signal and complete failure, rendered more conspicuous to his fellowmen by the fact of his having, as it were, called all eyes on him and his movements, by starting into a new path apart from the rest, raising himself on a distinct pedestal, to render his attitudes and general appearance more palpable to every one. In the second, he would have to fear the still more galling doom of utter and total oblivion, the misery of not even having his failure noticed. So completely would he risk having the gleam of his humble taper lost in the rich blaze of almost unearthly splendour that circled the shrine of his country's literature, that his name, should it even so far emerge from obscurity as to be mentioned, would be spoken of as that of some feeble imitator, some impudent filcher of the thoughts or expressions of a sterling writer, whose posthumous reputation was outraged by the glaring plagiarism of the audacious aspirant.

Imitation, plagiarism; ay, these are the two fatal words: there lie the Scylla and Charybdis of literary navigation; these the twin serpents that seek to strangle the struggling infant; these are the bugbears of the author; these are the stock scourges of the merciless critics.

Was it not one of the authors of the far-famed "Rejected Addresses," who proposed,

some years since, the adoption of a measure avowedly aimed at the relief of those innumerable candidates for immortality, called authors, from the pressure of those afflicting scourges of their tribe, and smooth for their eager footsteps the upward road to fame and honour? Yes! it certainly was one of the "Smiths," and the idea was well worthy of the brain of a bearer of that renowned surname. After bewailing, in expressive and feeling terms, the crisis at which literary affairs had arrived, of the storms that threatened, the oceans that gaped to ingulf the Ship of Authors (not the Ship of Fools, fair reader,) the swarms of piratical critics cruizing against her, the shoals of plagiarism, and the breakers of imitation, he proposed as the only relief—as the last resort of a despairing age, "*a general and unsparing conflagration of books!*" of *books!* ay, of *books!* Start not; the plan emanated not from an Attila or a Bajazet, but from the respected lips of a "Smith." Let us not, therefore, despair of seeing the great conception carried out, or forbear indulging in sweet anticipation of the results of so sweeping a remedy.

Alas for the early ages of literature! for the golden age of the primæval bards of earth, when critics were an unknown race, and plagiarism not even a name; when the bright and the beautiful of all worldly things, and the shadowy visions that Fancy caught of Heaven, found meet and willing interpreters in the undiseased imaginations of the first minstrels. Then was every thing fresh and fair: the waving of the green old woods, the moaning of the breeze through the mountain hollows, the deep song of the lonely ocean, had not as yet been desecrated by the daring impiety of the children of men. They had not as yet been beslavered and be-rhymed by mawkish enthusiasts, or false, unmanly sentimentalists. Aught that was glorious yet stood forth in its undimmed beauty, not seen, as in our degenerate age, through the false and cloudy medium of never-ending verbosity of description, or through the tinselly haze of sparkling yet senseless epithet and flattery, which the countless hosts of our authors and authorlings have woven around it. And the master spirits of old drank deep of their loveliness, and their mind, reflecting the image of its Creator in its fresh and unadulterated youth, imbibing ideas and impressions through legitimate channels alone, and forming them, when received, into the combinations which Nature whispered were the images of her own workings, produced those unforgotten, undying works which the long lapse of years seems but to encircle with a yet greener chaplet of immortality.

But equally brief and glorious was that happy age. When the early fathers had passed from the earth others sprang into existence, ready if possible to reap the same harvest of fame. They too passed away in their turn, and their places were filled even to overflowing by a succeeding generation. Even then was perceptible the first dawn of the evil which now presses with such deadly weight on literary effort; but in those primitive days its ravages were but trifling. Even then the world was blessed with some specimens of the critic breed; then, certainly, few in number and of questionable reputation. This race of animal would surely seem to have been created for the especial torment of genius, generated from the unwholesome swamps of literatur like the unclean reptiles warmed into life in the noisome slime of the Nile, and clinging as pertinaciously to it in all its journeying as the shell fish of the deep to the timbers of the gallant barque, till they have completed their ignoble efforts for her destruction. Need we further describe the "Critics?"

Even the second and third generations of literary men seemed insecure from their attacks. The very high priest of poetry, the august Homer, was obnoxious to their pert censuring. They called his similes inapplicable, his images forced, his ideas borrowed, ay, *borrowed*. But a cold smile of contempt can alone be accorded to such attempts, accompanied with a passing wish that every reputation had escaped as unscathed from the fiery ordeal of genius. In those days, the mischief of criticism could but have been comparatively small, as it must have been confined to small circles. When no means existed of cheap and rapid transmission of sentiment and reflection, the author as well as the critic could but communicate to a small circle, such as a neighbourhood could furnish. But time rolled on; author succeeded author; and, alas! with equal rapidity critic succeeded critic; till at length things have arrived at such a condition that the authors of the "Rejected Addresses" have been driven, by a sense of the desperate condition of literature, to propose the no less desperate remedy of a general "conflagration of books."

So terribly has the writing mania overspread

our population (of course we do not mean in the Colonies) that to be an author ceases to be a subject of remark. In fact, the difficulty *now* is to find one who has not distinguished himself in the scribbling line. It will soon be, nay, it is almost now, a boast for a man of education to exclaim, "I am not an author; I have never figured in a title-page; never published my name in modest assurance to a dedication, writhed under the solemn quackery of the reviews, or smirked beneath the turgid declamations of the newspapers."

It has been attempted, but with little success, to calculate the numbers of the author tribes. We hear of the five million and a half contributors to the scientific catchpennies, the monthly, weekly, daily, hourly, knowledge-and-news-diffusing journals,—the half million historians and political economists,—and the eighty thousand greatest living poets; but the "foolscap uniforms turned up with ink," are utterly and totally beyond the scope of calculation.—Our ignorance of decimal fractions is a bar to our even making the attempt. Proceeding a step further, we come to reflect on those tremendous engines, the printing-presses, and their immense powers of multiplying the various productions of man's teeming brain, when once committed to paper, with their endless and varied capabilities, from the mammoth engines of the Penny Magazine, to the humble establishment of the village Editor, to be met with in every hamlet in the Empire, from John-o'-Groats to Penetanguishene. Gradually we begin to form some faint idea of the difference in the position of literature, from the far-off day when Æschylus etched on the solitary papyrus roll the burning thoughts of his unearthly *fancy; or, nearer our own period, when estates* and flocks, herds, and valuable privileges, were given to some Monkish library for one of its illuminated volumes, and the present age of steam-presses and stereotype impressions. It was reserved for our century to shew what a literary chaos could be created by the joint labours of innumerable authors and uncounted type-setters. How then, in the midst of all this hurly-burly is originality to be preserved? It would be an amusing, but we fear, most fatiguing task, to attempt an answer to this question in figures,—thus, it is said, there are about fifty thousand words in the English language. It could of course be calculated the possible number of combinations in which these words can be placed, and the solution will exhibit the probable bounds of originality in composition. As soon as the number has once been gone through, it is plain, that there is an end of all originality, and that all subsequent writers must double back on the sentences of some, at least, of their predecessors. Readers may smile at our suggestion of computing the extent of the capabilities of fifty thousand words, but if we could shew the whole extent of compositions of all writers, living and dead, we would make sure of proving our position, that a limit must already have been almost attained, and that plagiarism must soon change from a crime into a necessity. Descending to the level of our every-day life, we find that our own expressions and conversations contain little or no originality, that they are, in fact, endless repetitions of what thousands and tens of thousands have said before us. The orator in the senate, the theologian in the pulpit, the advocate at the bar, all, all fall into the same beaten track which their fellow-men have trodden before them, with endless repetition, but unequal success.

Let us look at the various prominent objects in the natural world, and with sorrow we find, that they suggest few, or rather no new ideas, for the sons of men have long since furnished us with every thing that the human mind could suggest relative to their several attributes of loveliness or terror. Let us take, as an illustration, that unhappy vagrant the moon. Does she not shine forth a melancholy instance of an exhausted theme? From Homer to Barry Cornwall, has she not dwelt in an eternal pillory of rhyming or metrical flattery? What can now be said of her acknowledged and palpable beauty, *that she has not heard before a thou*sand times repeated by her earthly admirers? And yet her fate is not singular, from the Pyramid of Cheops, down to Day and Martin's blacking, every object is alike worn threadbare. The discovery of a new Continent, or a new planet, might afford some relief, but would soon be pounced on by hungry authors, and left soon as trite as every thing else. In this general dearth of subject and illustration, things of a trite and even puerile cast employ the thoughts of authors. Thus we have odes to the sea serpent,—addresses to Paganini's bow, —and sometimes a treatise on a set of fossil blacking brushes lately discovered in the Rocky Mountains. Such is the condition to which

the multitude of her votaries has reduced our literature. Now for the scheme of the philosophic Smith, to remedy all existing evils,—the unsparing conflagration of books. Heap up the pile higher and higher yet. Bring forth every record of past author or ancient learning, —every remnant of monkish lore,—of pagan poet and christian historian,—Chinese sage or Provençal minstrel,—the stereotypes of the Penny Magazine,—the quaint designs of Chaldean manuscripts:—higher yet! higher,—bring them from their musty repositories, from the shelves of the fashionable library, from the dark recesses of the monastery. Let the one flame consume them!—The lofty strains of the Children of Fame,—the sweet breath of Grecian and Roman minstrels,—the starry thoughts of our own immortals,—they are all a blackening heap of ashes! And now, hey for originality! —for the fresh morning of literature, the new dawning of the arts,—for the bursting into life of the bright fountains of inspiration,—the matin song of resuscitated nature.

By removing (in accordance with this scheme) the works of all past authors, we destroy at a blow all the chains that weighed so heavily on the wings of genius, and the authors of the present day may commence a new era, embodying all their thoughts in the unlaboured and natural forms that first suggest themselves, in the unadulterated purity of the first conception. The old landmarks have been removed. The gleam of the ancient beacons is extinguished, and we are to embark on a new and untried ocean, untroubled or perplexed by the old charts that so long guided the wanderers over its now trackless bosom.— The crowns that for ages have been twined round the peaks of Parnassus and Olympus, are rent from their brows, and our children shall point out some equally fair and glowing spots of earth, as the future head-quarters of genius, —the destined source of the yet unborn founts of inspiration; and on us, mayhap, and our efforts, shall future generations breathe the same language of intense and impassioned admiration that we and our cotemporaries freely lavish on the memories of the unforgotten departed; and far away in the depths of untold time, the philosophic "Smith," of that distant period, may be found gravely propounding the necessity of adopting a scheme like the present, for the remedy of similar evils.

Years, long years must elapse, before a Colony, situated like Canada, can cause her voice to be heard in the literary world. She can offer but little inducement to the wise and learned of her glorious mother to forsake the classic fields of home for a sojourn in her wild forests; and the materials of which her own native and acquired population is composed, render it unlikely that many of her hardy children will be clothed with the bright mantle of literary inspiration. We have already glanced at the natural effect of the life of a struggling new country, endeavouring to support a thrifty and industrious population, and warmly devoted to the "*Quærenda pecunia prima est,*" on the cultivation or development of learning or the arts. As soon would we suppose such a people would devote time or attention to matters not immediately affecting their pecuniary or political prospects, as that the chorus of the soft-eyed muses would desert the mossy vales of Tempe, or the fair slopes of Olympus, for a permanent residence in the bustle and turmoil of the Royal Exchange, or the pleasant retirement of Cheapside or Smithfield.

But there are other causes, apart from the ordinary avocations of the people, which materially affect the literary prospects of these Colonies. The very nature and character of the land itself, its past history, its former inhabitants, all conspire against its literary success. Almost every one of the European or Eastern nations, that has furnished a proportion to the general array of authors, has contained within itself the ordinary materials for the formation of a national literature. Tradition, legend, tale, and song, have sent down from the floating shadows of the past, rich and exhaustless stores of mingled fact and fiction, from which the successive writers of ages could draw, as from a vast historic reservoir, and weave from their sparkling fragments the rich chaplets of their own creative and combining powers. Strongly tinctured with the spirit of its early superstitions is the literature of every land, with the peculiar physical characteristics of its vales and mountains, and above all, with the influence which early events exercised over the minds and destinies of its first inhabitants. The achievements of unforgotten heroes, almost incredible and impossible as they seem to modern eyes, magnified through the mists and vapours of past centuries; the struggles for

liberty, kept up by a gallant few in the rude fastnesses of the mountain land; the strife for freedom, "bequeathed from bleeding sire to son," found fitting chroniclers in the fervid harps of the wandering minstrels, who sent down the thrilling legends from bard to bard, till a more advanced age reduced the crude narrative to writing, and printing ultimately insured it against destruction.

For a time, a nation may attempt to forget its old traditions, and take to itself a false and spurious literature, foreign to the genius both of its language and its own character; but nature will, after a space, re-assert her right, and bring back the diverted stream to its legitimate channels. We have a striking illustration of the truth of this position in the history of English poetry. In the early part of the last century, the taste or prejudices of the age had almost completely discarded the genuine English lyric, and in its stead had adopted either the cold and foreign tinsel of the ancient classic, tricked out in a modern stage dress, or a false and stilted sentimentality equally unmanly and unreal. But the age that could tolerate Garrick's Macbeth, arrayed in the full-bottomed wig and broad flaps of George II., could easily endure the destruction of its own vigorous minstrelsy. Dr. Percy at last published his "Reliques of Ancient Poetry," and though exposed at first to the polished raillery of the Addisonian critics, and the elephantine sarcasm of the clumsy Johnson, ultimately succeeded in hurling from their throne the twin usurpers, classicality, and affected-sentiment, and rescuing from darkness and chains the enslaved genius of his country's genuine poetry.

Every one conversant with the annals of the last century, is aware of the effect of thus bringing back the taste of the age to the "pure well of English undefiled," and of seeking for models of imitation in the simple but true and hearty reliques of ancient poetry, steeped as it ever is in the genuine feelings of the people among whom it had its birth, and of whose existence it might be said to have formed a part. The lyrics of Spain all breathe of the strifes and achievements of its ancient history,—of the gallant bearing of a nation beneath the overwhelming weight of invasion. The Swiss and the Tyrolese delight in the free strains that sing of Tell and Hofer. The Scot has his Wallace and Bruce; the Irishman his Brian and O'Neill; but the American is destitute of all these. The inhabitant of this Continent has little, if any, early recollections to be entwined with the local characteristics of the land he inhabits: he has to cast his eyes beyond an ocean, should he ask for legends or memories of the past to awaken the inspiration of the present.

An attempt has been made by American authors, to form poetic materials in the stirring history of their Revolution, but the subject possessed no poetic charm or lyrical association, and the attempt though still repeated, was, is, and ever will be a failure.

The characteristic of transatlantic mind, is an almost universal want of imagination. All the perceptive and reasoning faculties may be strong and active, but this faculty is unquestionably the rarest in the intellectual endowment of a native of this Continent. His education, his habits, his predilections, all militate against his success in the paths of fancy, or the flowery walks of poetic creation. History is a pursuit naturally foreign to his habit of thinking, for his own country, the youngest born of nations, has but little of her own, and no local enthusiasm, that essential of the highest order of annalist, can prompt him, should he take the past occurrences of other lands for his theme. The language in which he speaks and thinks, is but a borrowed medium, a language in which have excelled the greatest masters that have ever ennobled an earthly tongue, and who must, in the rich excess of their brightness, outdazzle and outshine the highest efforts of a nation of imitators. Hence the American writer cannot but feel, that how far soever he may outstrip all rivals that strive with him on his own shore, a hopeless contest still awaits him with the almost invincible giant of English literature, who requires from his transatlantic children unreserved homage and fealty, in return for his extending to them the rich boon of his glorious language, and the priceless treasures of his departed votaries, as models to guide their taste,—beacons to light them on their path to intellectual celebrity, should they have courage to attempt its perilous ascent. In small communities, distinct in habit and peculiar in language, an author of moderate ability may rise to distinction, and be known to the world as the first poet, novelist, or historian *of his country*, though in the general assembly of literary talent, his place might be far from foremost. An American, however,

cannot share this advantage. From the snows of Labrador to the Andes, he may have no equal; but till he perform the Herculean task of mounting higher than the starry names in the literary galaxy of England, the world at large will only accord him his fitting rank among the authors who spoke or sang in the language of Shakspeare and Milton. Most of these latter remarks will apply equally to us in our position as British Colonists, with a few unimportant exceptions. Let us glance at the physical aspect of the country, as connected with the literary character of the inhabitants. The few local traditions haunting any particular spot, refer almost exclusively to the wild struggles of the first Colonists, with a savage, unlettered race, with whom we have no sympathies in common, and whose opposition could not even leave to posterity the stirring legends or the bright episodes of the soldier's stormy existence, which usually descend from a period of chivalrous or civilised warfare, to delight the winter fireside of the hardy peasant, or give to the ingenious novelist a store of materials from which to mould the pleasant tale or sparkling romance. No ruined castle, clothed in the wayward folds of the glossy ivy, and tenanted by the hooting owl, frowned from the pointed rock, or gazed on its own melancholy shadow on the free waters of the passing river. No harmless goblins scared the benighted shepherd in the twilight forest. No playful fairies danced by the moonlit fountain, or basked in the merry starlight in some open glade of the greenwood. Oberon and Titania held no sway over the Canadian forests.

> The honey-bees from the cowslip suck,
> But Ariel lurks not there,
> And hush'd is the voice of the merry Puck,
> The child of the frolic air.

Fancy and Fiction, with the filmy offspring of their fantastic dreamings, have but little to do with the matter of fact, sober, plodding routine of Colonial existence. Public business interferes with their development; popular taste asks for a coarser but more palatable stimulus; acquisitiveness despises, prejudice sneers at them. But with the altered circumstances of this rapidly improving country, these exotics may yet flourish. We are told, that when the early settlers first planted some of the fruit trees of their native land in their Canadian gardens, they blossomed at the period to which they were accustomed in the European spring. The frosts of this severe climate soon withered their untimely efflorescence, but the vegetable instinct soon suited its operations to its changed circumstances, and after one or two more seasons had given experience to the strangers, they became perfectly acclimated, and blossomed and bore fruit as freely as if born in the rude soil to which nature so beautifully adapted them.

So will it be with literature and the arts in our new country. Now they are strangers totally unknown, or introduced and planted but to wave and shiver in the cold blast of our rude climate. Like the transplanted fruit trees, they too may acclimate themselves, and a golden harvest reward the exertions of the fostering hands that cultivated and cherished them.

Years, too, cannot pass over, without changing the face of the country itself. Its natural roughness must disappear before the march of improvement; its now inclement skies will moderate their rigour; and as great a physical amelioration must be in store for the Canadas, as that which has converted the cold and stormy regions described of old by Tacitus, into the fair and smiling fields of modern Germany.

An elegant writer of the present day, whose rapid transit through this country has been recorded in rich and eloquent language, thus meditates on the inevitable destiny of the fair land outspread before her:

"On reaching the summit of this hill, I found myself on the highest land I had yet stood upon in Canada. I stopped and looked around, and on every side, far and near, east, west, north and south, it was all forest,—a boundless sea of forest,—within whose leafy recesses lay hidden an infinite variety of life and movement, as within the depths of the ocean, and it reposed in the noontide so still and so vast. *Here* the bright sunshine rested on it in floods of golden light,—*there* cloud-shadows sped over its bosom, just like the effects I remember to have seen on the Atlantic; and here and there rose wreaths of white smoke from the new clearings, which collected into little silver clouds, and hung suspended in the quiet air.

"I gazed and meditated, till, by a process like that of the Arabian sorcerer of old, the present fell like a film from my eyes,—the future was before me, with its towns and cities, fields of waving grain, green lawns and villas, churches and temples, turret-crowned,—and meadows tracked by the frequent footpath, and railroads, with trains of rich merchandise steaming along —for all this will be,—will be? *It is* already, in the sight of Him who hath ordained it, and

for whom there is no past nor future.—though I cannot behold it with my bodily vision, even now *it is*."—Mrs. Jameson.

Let those fair words form the bright prophecy of our destiny,—and when their promise is fulfilled in the substantial evidence of Colonial greatness,—the name of a Colonial literature will cease to sound strange or unfamiliar in the ears of the wise and learned in the civilised universe.

CURRENCY.

"Let us have plenty of a circulating medium!" is the common expression of the Provincial political economist, as he makes his long bead-roll of promises to his expected constituents. Yes, 'tis the land-holder who wishes to treble his money by a speculation in wild lots, "Let us have circulating medium."—"Alas!" sighs the debtor, "were it but plenty, I should be at peace, and out of the hands of law and lawyers." "True," cries the creditor, and then I would realise my property. "Certainly," says the merchant, "for then I could sell my goods." "Right," exclaims the mechanic and the labourer, "we shall have plenty of employment and high wages." "Glorious prospect," ejaculates the ardent and bold projector, "give us abundance of circulating medium, and we shall have towns and cities, roads and canals." "True friend of your country," they all shout, "go into Parliament; tell the Government and the House our wants; tell them that Parliament is legally omnipotent; that the people will have no excuse, they will have an abundance of circulating medium."

So many books have been written, and so many speeches made on this all-engrossing subject, that it would be the greatest excess of vanity in us to hope even our article will be read by any who have had the opportunity or leisure to hear or read. But books imported from abroad do not always reach the house of every member of the community. All cannot attend the lobby of the House of Assembly.—Their newspapers, of which there are no scarcity, (we wish with all our hearts that they would do for a circulating medium,) are in so much haste and hurry to convince, they are forced to take so many postulates for granted, and they write so much for that intelligent portion of the people who have made up their minds already, that they are comparatively useless to the unenlightened inquirer who seeks for elementary principles, and who would build up his political faith as to money and finance, as he would his mathematical knowledge, by admitting only what is certain and very plain to his apprehension, in the first place; afterwards to build up a structure founded upon admitted facts and incontrovertible reasoning.

Let us commence our lecture, which we offer only to the uninstructed and commencing student, by asking, what is the precise meaning of the words circulating medium, in their political acceptation?

Is it money? No; for although money, that is to say, gold and silver, would make a very tolerable circulating medium, yet with all our respect for the omnipotence of Parliament, we are obliged to confess, that even Parliament cannot make gold and silver coins, without having gold and silver wherewith to commence the operation. Gold and silver can only be obtained in return for articles of value in the country from which these metals are to be brought. No laws passed by our Parliament will cause a bushel of wheat to procure for us a grain more of silver than it is worth in the market to which the wheat is exported, and, therefore, we humbly conceive it to be a plain deduction, that money, *i. e.* gold and silver coin, is not the attainable circulating medium to be created by Parliament. Money would moreover have the disadvantage of being *valuable* in foreign countries; and even if it were miraculously to be rained down in the next thunder shower, unless we could contract for a continual supply from the same quarter, the plenty of circulating medium would be as far distant as ever.

But our pupil, whom, to avoid offence, we

declare to be an uninstructed, imaginary being, (not by any means the keen and intelligent reader who takes up this copy of the Review, and who now turns up his proboscis at this A B C lesson,) has yet sufficient of the spirit of argumentation to say:—"Mr. School-master, even a child can upset your argument. Our Candidate, if he would only condescend so far, would do it in an instant, but he has something of more consequence in hand. Let me propose, in return to your interrogations, a question or two. And in the first place, let me ask you, supposing that money were to come amongst us ever so slowly, cannot our Parliament, by prohibiting its exportation, make it a constantly increasing commodity?" Indeed, we answer, my child, wiser heads than yours or ours have hit upon the expedient long ago, and it has been tried many times over and over, but notwithstanding its excellence, it has failed in all cases. We will not insult you who have the advantage of being born in this enlightened age, and in this enlightened continent, by detailing the number of times when it was made a crime, punishable with death, by European nations, to send abroad the current coin of the realm. Indeed, we scarcely presume to say, that in England, at a very late period, it was made by law a felony to send gold bullion or coin out of the kingdom, and that the law only made the fortunes of Jew brokers, who bought up the prohibited article, and smuggled it out, packed up with British manufactures, with the pretended most patriotic purpose of smuggling the latter into France and Germany. We will go further with you, and admit the possibility of retaining money in a country by this means, and let us quietly inquire into the consequences of such a measure. But lest you should think it strange that English statesmen should attempt what is really not possible, although we have admitted it to be possible for the sake of argument, we let you into the secret, that the Government, while they pleased people like you by pretending that they wanted to keep gold in the country, in fact only wanted to get hold of it themselves, for the purpose of sending it abroad, to pay the armies in the field, and to pay foreign countries for fighting for themselves.

To return to our argument, we give you then all the advantage of an admission, that law will keep money in the country, and we will then see the results. Let us suppose, in this case, our neighbour, the merchant, who, in consequence of the plenty of money has been able to strip his shelves, and to fill his strong box with dollars. But he owes the wholesale merchant in Buffalo for a great many chests of tea, and kegs of tobacco; and he owes the manufacturer in England, or the Montreal merchant, who owes that manufacturer, for a great many pieces of printed calico, or broad cloth, or packages of Whitechapel needles, warranted not to cut in the eye; what is he to do with the money? He may, you will say, buy wheat, and export it in payment of his debt. But he will tell us that he has already done this, so far as he could procure wheat at a price which would remunerate him, and that there is not in the country one half so much wheat as would pay the debts of the merchants. He might buy land with his money, ay, and so too many of the merchants do to their ruin, but he cannot send the land either to Liverpool, or even to Buffalo. What then is he to do with the money? and how is he to pay his debt?—Well, then, for a moment place yourself in the position of a dishonest man, and say, let the creditors sue and come for their money, or send a power of attorney to our neighbour the lawyer, who will be willing enough to take hard cash for the debt, and, if you press it upon him politely, even for the costs, the latter of course as a personal favour; but the difficulty is not yet surmounted. How is the British or American merchant to get his money; He cannot, as you must remember, take it across the border, or ship it to England. Such a proceeding would be against law, and an offence against the omnipotence of Parliament. Then *you, the student*, will break out into an exclamation, perhaps not quite consistent with the moral and religious education you have already received, let him buy land with the money!—Alas! our friend, land will not pay the mechanics who have made the printed calicoes; land in Canada will not pay the Spanish or Australian wool which Canadians have consumed in their finery; land cannot be sent to China, or to Virginia, in payment for tea or tobacco. And to the foreign merchant, every article that he can purchase with money, is as valueless as land, unless it has a value in foreign countries; and as in the case we suppose, money is prohibited to cross the frontier, that most available article of commerce would forthwith lose its value. It could not purchase any other article

in another country, because it could not be taken there in payment. All are ready to admit that a surplus quantity of wheat over and above what is used in the country, would be of no value if the export were prevented; but men have been so accustomed to consider money as wealth intrinsically, that it is not easy to force upon them the equally plain conviction, that money which cannot be used is as valueless as any other unavailable commodity.

But our pupil here sharply turns upon us with another argument. "You go on swimmingly, Mr. Schoolmaster, in your proofs that money is of no use at all, though in my humble opinion more of it would nevertheless do neither you nor I any particular harm at present. But do not, because you have proved money, unless it be exportable, useless for the purpose of export trade, imagine that you have proved it useless to all other classes of the people besides the merchant. For my part (he says) I am in the farming interest, and if keeping money in the country will give the farmers better prices for their produce, and the landholder more purchase money for his land, I am willing to forego the importation of luxuries. Let us do without tea, tobacco, silk and broadcloth. Let the importing merchant change his occupation, and turn farmer, and with plenty of money farming is by no means an unpleasant business, or let him commence domestic manufacture, and then the money which cannot leave the country will flow into his pockets in payment for the articles he fabricates."

We answer, this again is a common error, for it is full of plausibility, and will easily deceive the inconsiderate. Remember, in the first place, that we are considering a state of affairs in which a great plenty of money is produced by the prohibition of its export; and then let us illustrate the consequences by supposing one or two cases, and by tracing cause and effect from stage to stage. Let it be granted that the bushel of wheat which was worth one dollar in silver for the purposes of exportation, has in consequence of the plenty of unexportable money risen to two dollars, that the wages of the labourer have increased from three quarters of a dollar per diem to one dollar and a half, that the price of building a house has risen from 500 dollars to 1000, and all other valuable things in proportion; then we say that as two dollars will only purchase what one dollar was used to purchase, two dollars are worth precisely what one dollar was formerly worth; therefore, the man who now possesses 1000 dollars is worth precisely what the man used to be worth who had 500 dollars in his pocket. So far as it affects the whole community, it has gained nothing by the increase of money; but on the contrary has been at the expense of importing the money, and of giving in exchange for it the available resources of the country, and the law has foolishly reduced the hardly acquired money to one half its value. But let us proceed further, and suppose the bushel of wheat purchased for two dollars, and sent abroad to England or the West Indies, where the prices not being in the least altered by our internal regulations of currency, it will only fetch in the market one dollar. Of course money will not be imported in exchange, because it would be imported at a loss of one half the capital invested. Goods may, it is true, be imported, but a yard of cloth purchased in England at one dollar would cost the merchant who purchased wheat at two dollars, and sold it at one dollar, exactly two dollars, and it must be sold for that sum, with the addition of expenses and profits, before wheat can be exported. We now leave it to our pupil to apply this argument forwards and backwards to all questions of trade, foreign and domestic, and to currency: and when, as he must find it, it seems indisputably to apply in all imaginable cases, and when he is puzzled by a specious argument, and confounded by long words, let him sit down quietly with his slate and pencil, call one medium of value a dollar, and another a bushel of wheat, and we will warrant him that instead of thinking himself stupid because he cannot understand men who in fact do not understand their own meaning, he will learn to pity those who have not energy and industry enough to comprehend the difference between simple and immutable truth, and political humbug. But having thus shewn that nothing is to be gained by making money plenty in this way, there are two classes of men whose interests are yet to be considered, namely, the debtors and the creditors. Almost every man in the Province belongs to one or other of these classes, and most of them belong to both. In discussing their interests, we shall pursue the mode in which we have set out, still requesting our pupil to keep in mind the

great change which plenty of money, produced by Act of Parliament, has produced.

Suppose then, that our Pupil himself has worked very hard for his neighbour, and in return for his work has received a promissory note for one hundred dollars. He has counted his gains, and like a prudent young man has asked himself what he will do with his money when it becomes due. He has even congratulated himself with the certain prospect of payment, now that money is plenty. He wants, for instance, to purchase a farm, but he finds that land has doubled in price, without any addition to its real value, to its productiveness, or the means of making its produce available. He then sees that his 100 dollars are only worth 50. He then rejects the land speculation, and proposes to buy wheat for exportation; but he finds that he has to pay 100 dollars for what will only bring 50 in the foreign market. He gives this up, and proposes to hire labourers, to be employed on the piece of ground given him by his father; but he finds that the wages of labour have increased two-fold, and that although an acre of cleared land will produce no more than it did before the great plenty of money, yet the clearing of it costs exactly twice as much. He then finds that he has been cheated, actually defrauded by the law which made money plenty, by making it valueless, his capital being in fact reduced one-half. In this state of things, there is one class, and one only, which gains by the artificial plenty of money, namely, the debtors, who gain it by a legal fraud, being able to pay their debts at the real rate of 10s. in the pound.

But supposing the artificial state of money affairs thus introduced not to be permanent, and that debts are contracted while it still exists.—The debtor borrows while money is plenty, when his wages or his produce will bring double their real value; how is he to pay his debt should the unprofitable act of Parliament be repealed? Money then assumes its real foreign value, and it will take twice as much labour, twice as much land, twice as many bushels of wheat, to gain the same number of dollars as he borrowed at the time he incurred the debt: he consequently has to pay two dollars for one.

Or supposing that he has purchased a stock of goods at the artificial rate, he cannot sell them when the change takes place, because every dollar is at its real worth, and will buy its real value, and he must sell out at half price and be ruined, if, as is generally the case, he is a debtor for his stock on hand.

Our pupil is now prepared to admit, first, the impracticability of preventing money, having intrinsic value, from leaving the country—because he well knows that contraband articles may be as easily exported as imported; and secondly, he cannot deny, but that, even if the scheme were practicable, it must be unavailing. He therefore hits upon another expedient for making money plenty. He still has another resource for the production of wealth created by act of Parliament, which he thus explains. "It is true we cannot interfere directly with the import or export trade in money or commodities, but the same end may be accomplished indirectly by increasing the legal value of the coins in use in the country, and thus as it must be a losing trade to send them away, it is to be presumed that no one will be so foolish as to engage in it." This he explains practically by proposing to place the American eagle, the American silver half dollar, or the British shilling, at a higher rate in the Province than they are worth abroad. In this manner the exportation of money must not only be prevented, but it will become the interest of foreigners to bring coin and money into the country in which it is made so valuable.

But here we meet him again with practical illustration, and suppose a merchant to have in his possession 1000 dollars in money, and that he has customers who want tea, which he has to pay for in these dollars, for he has nothing else wherewith to pay for his tea; but his 1000 dollars are only worth 800 dollars in Buffalo, their value in Canada having been increased 25 per cent by act of Parliament. This will not prevent him from importing the tea, or from exporting the money, for it only causes him to make the following very simple calculation. I take with me 1000 dollars in Canada money. I buy with it only 800 dollars worth of tea in Buffalo; but the tea costs me 1000 dollars notwithstanding, and I must therefore charge my customers the whole price at 1000 dollars before I can be remunerated. The American merchant who sells the tea loses nothing, because he receives Canada money at what it is worth to him; the importing merchant loses nothing, because he charges for his tea in proportion to what it really costs him. He no longer considers a legal dollar in Canada as

equal to an American dollar, and the only effect of the Parliamentary increase in the value of coins, is to depreciate so much all the moneyed capital of the Province. The money is in fact worth no more than its value in the foreign country, for it will buy no more than that value from thence, the consumers pay the difference, and the whole property of the country invested upon credit, is sunk in value 25 per cent by the operation. It does not cause the import of a penny, or prevent the export of a dollar, or cause one pound of tea less to be purchased,—it merely depreciates the value of the whole currency.

For example, let us suppose a moneyed man in Toronto to have 1000 dollars lodged in a sound bank in Buffalo, or in the hands of a trusty agent there, and the importing merchant to come to him saying, give me an order for the money you have in Buffalo, and I'll give you 1000 dollars, Canada money, made legal by act of Parliament. The owner of the money in Buffalo says, no, that will not do. With the money I have in Buffalo any one may buy 1000 dollars worth of tea, but with the money you offer me he can only buy 800 dollars worth: therefore do you give me not merely 1000 dollars Canada money for my order, with 25 per cent premium, to equalize our bargain, but give me in addition something to make the bargain a gaining one. Then he gives the order, which is neither more or less than a bill of exchange, at, suppose, 26 per cent premium, the one per cent being the sum which the purchaser is willing to allow for the advantage of making his remittance by letter, instead of proceeding with a bag of specie to make the payment in person.

We have confined ourselves so far to the discussion of this question as regards money in specie, because, taken in this way, every thing is simple and incontrovertible as the rule of three. We are quite prepared for the sneer of the hackneyed politician, who is ready to mock our proof of principles almost self-evident. So we felt in our younger days, when we were instructed to remember that a straight line was the shortest one which could be drawn between two given points, that things which are equal to the same thing are equal to each other; and even when we learned that all the angles of a triangle were equal to two right angles, we felt as if our school-master, and the redoubted Euclid, were in the situation of the youth who was so presumptuous as to teach his grandmother how to suck eggs. But, bless our souls, when we found out what a dance of perplexity we were led out of by the admission of simple, self-evident principles, and how perfectly the axioms successively admitted cleared up difficulties, and rendered every thing certain, we learned to value inductive reasoning, and to treat *ad captandum* propositions which are not capable of proof as they deserve to be treated.

We now are prepared to hear from our pupil the assertion that money, that is to say, gold and silver, is not the circulating medium required, it being very difficult to be had, and its value being intrinsic, and generally recognized, and therefore exceedingly stubborn and unmanageable by local authority. Paper, he will say, answers every purpose, and is capable of receiving any stamp of value, and a paper circulating medium may be created to any extent under the authority of Parliament.

A person accustomed to see bank notes passing unquestioned from hand to hand, is apt to think at first that there can be no difficulty in making any country rich by increasing the quantity afloat; and when even he considers the case more deeply, he only sees a necessity that there should be some security for the notes being ultimately redeemed, should people be foolish enough to limit the circulating medium, by presenting notes for payment. But then he thinks that so long as there is public confidence in the banks, there cannot be any necessity for redemption of notes, or for limiting their issue. He will even go so far as to argue that a suspension of specie payments is no evil, so long as the banks have a large amount of specie in their vaults, and are *able* to redeem their liabilities, though they actually do not redeem them. Very few indeed will consider the matter more strictly, and very few will admit that the rules applicable to money, almost all apply strictly to a paper currency. This is an important lesson in financial politics, if it be a true one; and if it be true it can be made simple by the application of admitted principles. We therefore solicit our young reader to bear in mind the rules we have applied to specie transactions, for the purpose of testing this opinion.

We admit that if money were not wanted for foreign trade at all, the intrinsic value of the coinage would not be of much consequence, so long as a perfect confidence was felt in the

stability of the Government which stamps the coin with a nominal value, and so long as the quantity in circulation is only what is strictly required for internal commerce. But money is wanted for external trade, and is procured by means of external trade, and therefore is dependant upon it; and the value of the currency, therefore, is always being compared with what it is worth in all countries, so that the nominal value is of no consequence.

On the other hand, even Bank paper is required to a limited extent for external commerce, as is proved by the exportation of Canada bank notes to the American frontier.—But it is still more largely wanted for the purpose of purchasing funds existing in foreign countries, in the shape of Bills of Exchange. If there were no external commerce, bank notes like specie might be stamped with a nominal value, or the value might be made to depend upon the confidence of the country in the stability of banks, but, as the facts stand in reality, it, like a specie currency, is always liable to have its value tested by comparison with foreign funds.

Thus, to illustrate our proposition, we suppose a bank to issue 1000 dollars in one dollar bills; suppose again that these are paid to 1000 labourers for one day's work each. These labourers with the greater part of the money buy provisions from the farmers, with some of it, however, they buy imported goods, such as tea, tobacco, clothing, or other foreign articles. So much of the money, therefore, falls into the hands of the merchant. But the farmer again has to purchase foreign articles from the merchant, and thus another portion falls into his hands. Perhaps he pays the Canada Company for his lot of land; thus another portion falls into the way of transmission from the country. The farmer also employs hands, who in their turn consume imported articles. We all know that neither the labourer, nor the farmer, nor the merchant, nor the land-owner, keep the money, or the bank notes. The greater part in its course of changing hands not merely circulates (in which case it may be called a circulating medium,) but it falls into a custody where it must be used for foreign trade, and then it circulates no more.

Now, let us suppose the one thousand dollar bills to have accumulated in the hands of a merchant, who wants the value in tobacco for his store. He may take the bills to the other side of the lines, and they will pass, if the merchant on the frontier has confidence in the bank, and if he can send them back, and procure from the bank of issue specie, or foreign funds for them. Now it is plain the value of these bills will no longer depend upon the confidence of the people of the Province, or in the ultimate means of the bank to redeem, but in the readiness with which it does redeem, and upon the intrinsic value of the coin in which it redeems.

The American silver dollar is, for instance, the standard of value in the United States; but let us suppose that for the 1000 dollars the history of which we are tracing, the foreign merchant can only receive coins not so valuable, by 10 cents in the dollar, as the American silver dollar. His 1000 dollars are then most palpably only worth 900 dollars, and he, knowing this before he sold his tobacco, either adds to its price, according to the medium of payment, or receives the money at a discount of ten per cent, and thus though we call our bills dollars, they are in fact only Canadian dollars, worth 90 cents each.

But supposing the American merchant to take bills of exchange upon New York, in preference to money, he must either find a bank or a person who has money in New York; but that money is in American dollars; it can only be replaced with American dollars or their value, and consequently, to enable the seller of exchange to replace his money he must charge 10 per cent premium upon his bill, not to mention his profit and expences of agency.

Thus after all, the value of the bank note is tested by its capacity to procure funds available in a foreign country, and all the acts of Parliament that ever were passed cannot give it a greater value than it will bear in comparison with foreign currency.

But the nominal statute value attached to the dollar does not prevent in the least the exportation of money, for the foreign merchant does not lose by the transaction, and the importing merchant does not lose, or forbear a farthing of his gains thereby, for he charges the expense of procuring foreign funds upon the imported article, and the consumer of the article only receives 90 cents worth for his Canadian dollar. The currency of the country is thus depreciated, and although the law still may say four dollars shall be a pound, Halifax currency, and that this pound shall bear a

certain proportion to the pound sterling, the premium of exchange shews the depreciation to be utterly unavoidable, and beyond the remedy of legislation.

But again, let us suppose the payments in specie suspended, and that specie cannot be legally demanded in exchange for the 1000 dollars. The inquiry of the seller of tobacco in the United States must then be, at what rate he can purchase specie, or exchange on New York. Even suppose the banks prohibited to pay out specie, then he purchases exchange; but as before, the owner of funds in New York having procured them at a certain expense, and having the option of importing coin and selling it, or of selling his bill upon New York, charges his premium of exchange. He receives the thousand dollars, depreciated in value by the amount of the premium, and when he seeks to replace his funds, he has to buy specie with his bills, and though they are Canadian dollar bills, they only are worth in fact the sum in foreign funds which they will purchase. The circulating medium would be thus incontrovertibly and unavoidably depreciated by an ascertainable amount. Let us again suppose that, from a cessation of credit in England, a limitation of the export trade, or from a stop put to the immigration of moneyed men, all of which are sources from which money or foreign funds are derived, specie or foreign funds to become very scarce, or even not to be obtained in exchange for bills at all. It is plain that in the case of great scarcity of these funds the currency will be proportionably depreciated, and if these funds cannot be obtained at all, the bills will have no value whatever, except in the hands of capitalists who speculate upon holding them in anticipation of a return to specie payments. Even in this case they may be employed to a limited extent in the purchase of foreign commodities, as the bills of a partially insolvent bank are circulated at a discount; but the depreciation would be almost ruinous, and would have to be dearly paid for when the day of reckoning came.

In any of these cases, every article of trade rises in nominal price, exactly in proportion to the depreciation of the currency. This is very apparent in countries where inconvertible paper is circulated, but where there still exists very much available wealth, and unbounded confidence in the stability of the Government. But in weak or poor countries there are very often accompanying circumstances of terror and distress, which depreciate the nominal value of property, particularly that of a fixed nature, in spite of the want of value in the currency. In England, for instance, rents would rise, and the price of land increase, with an inconvertible paper currency. But here we may see real estate continue nominally low, yet the price is notwithstanding no less nominal and false in one case than the other, and the 100 dollars paid for the lot of land in legally inconvertible paper, must be reduced by an allowance of the amount which will actually make it convertible into cash, or foreign funds of intrinsic value.

All these cases exhibit what we call a depreciation of the currency. We have shewn that as a system, to have any permanence, the remedy must be ineffectual in producing plenty of money; but let us look at the certain evil to occur, and which must arise from every legal depreciation. Supposing a merchant to have 1000 dollars due in shop debts, and the currency depreciated either by an increase of the nominal value of the standard coin, or by the legal inconvertibility of bank paper. He receives 1000 dollars in legal money, but it will no longer pay his debt of 1000 dollars in a foreign country. He loses the difference beyond doubt; and it only requires to trace any transaction throughout to find that the same consequences must ensue; therefore the value of all money investments must be lessened by the depreciation; and creditors of the Government, as well as of individuals whose debts are payable in the Province, are so far actually defrauded. A debt payable in London, or in New York, is not so depreciated, because the debtor must be at the expense of finding funds intrinsically available, to the amount due at these places, and the increased premium of exchange is the simple mode of discovering the depreciation in the domestic currency.

But suppose the state of depreciation not permanent, or that the coin is afterwards placed at its real value, that is to say, its real and nominal value the same: or the suspension removed, and bank paper made available. Then it rises in value, and becomes more difficult to be obtained for property. Then is the debtor who borrowed during the depreciation defrauded, for he borrows in dollars of one value, and he pays in dollars at an increased value.

But after all, it may be said that if Banks issue large quantities of paper, and are liberal of their accommodation, the circulating medium will be plenty. We fully agree that credit will be plenty, provided the Banks possess in real money capital a sufficient amount to stand the large demands consequent upon an expanded circulation, and provided they actually do answer these demands: but this prosperous state presupposes a real investment of real money, or available money's worth, and this cannot be created by Act of Parliament.

The term "circulating medium," as describing the thing wanted by the country, is in itself *essentially false. Circulating medium means* in reality the amount of money or its representative which actually remains in use in the country. The identical money or bank paper is continually changing its character and purpose. One day it is a part of the circulation, the next day it is withdrawn from circulation in the country, and is applied for purposes apart from circulation altogether. To prove this falsity of definition to the mind of a person accustomed only to behold limited moneyed or trading operations, it may be necessary to familiarize the idea connected with the subject, by supposing familiar and common instances which every man has had an opportunity of observing.

Thus, let us not lose sight of our country-merchant. We well remember a time before Banks were established, when he sold his goods for produce, and for such money as the Government expenditure placed in circulation. In that case, the farmer either brought in his produce directly, and sold it for goods; or he obtained a credit from the merchant, and when he thrashed out his wheat and converted it into flour, or when he made his pot-ash, he brought it in to discharge the debt. In this state of things there was scarcely any circulating medium beyond the small change employed in making trifling balances in large transactions, or in small transactions themselves; but it was found not to be a good plan; the farmer was obliged to submit to large charges on the goods he purchased, and to prices for his produce such as the merchant pleased to give; and the produce the farmer had did not always suit the merchant's purpose, and the goods the merchant had did not always suit the farmer's purpose. Then we saw advertisements and sign-boards with the attractive words, "Cash for wheat," and on the other side of the road, "Goods cheap for cash." Now, each of the owners of the sign-boards found it necessary to use money, as a medium or middle representative of value; and supposing there were but the two merchants, let us trace the necessary course of their transactions.

The one who sold the imported goods for money would not find it necessary, in all cases, to send the money itself abroad in payment for the goods he imported; nor would the purchaser for cash find it profitable to import cash to pay for the produce he was exporting. On *the contrary, when the exporter of produce had* his thousand dollars worth of flour, or pork, or potash in Montreal, and sold, he had so much funds there; the seller of goods for cash had his 1000 dollars in money here; he therefore would go to his opposite neighbour and ask him for an order on Montreal, which, if the currency were equal, would be given him at a small price in advance, just sufficient to cover the expense of transmitting the money; or if the funds in Montreal happened to be more plentiful than the money here, at a small deduction, just sufficient to cover the expense of bringing money from Montreal. Now, all the produce was not purchased for cash in one day, nor all the goods sold for cash in one day; and it is very evident that although the transactions of each of the merchants might amount in the year to many thousands of dollars, yet one thousand or five hundred dollars would answer as well as the whole circulating medium; for if the exporter had always funds in Montreal, in consequence of his exports thither, and the importer was always receiving money for his goods, the transactions in exchange might individually be as small as they liked, and it would be for their mutual interest to keep as little funds by them unemployed as possible. Yet it is very plain that this small fund which the receiver of money would keep by him, would constitute the whole circulating medium necessary in the transactions of these men; and it is easy to calculate how very small a proportion the circulating medium employed bears to the whole amount of transactions in which they are engaged. They may in fact each of them want *large credits*, but circulating medium is not their want.

Now, let us suppose the case a little more

complicated, and that the importing merchant sold more goods for money, and thereby got into his possession a larger amount of money than his neighbour could furnish him with funds in Montreal for. Is any one so silly as to suppose that this would increase the circulating medium employed in the trade? Certainly it would not; for the receiver of the money must with it pay his debts in Montreal, and he accordingly sends or takes the money itself there, and the circulating medium remains the same as ever, confined to the amount in money which is required for constantly recurring transactions. Let all the goods in the merchant's store be purchased for money—let them be paid for in dollars, it is in the end all the same, because the merchant sends the money away to purchase a new stock, and the money only for a moment forms a part of the circulating medium.

In the varied transactions in the business of the country, a larger proportion of the money is necessary to be kept on hand than in the instance we have adduced; but still we may confidently assert that no man keeps more money by him than he really wants immediately to use. The most wealthy do not keep more than the poorest men who have the means of conducting business profitably; and this sum, reserved for the internal and daily trade of the country, is therefore beyond dispute its whole circulating medium.

It is found that banks in good credit can, by means of their promissory notes, supply the medium for internal trade as well as by the issue of money; and as a very large sum in bank notes is kept afloat for this purpose, which cost the banks almost nothing, an inducement is offered to a certain extent for men with moneyed capital to engage in the lending of money by banking; for, so far as the circulating medium requires the use of money, they can receive interest for what costs them comparatively nothing; and thus, though their rate of interest is only 6 per cent. per annum, they are enabled to pay the expenses of banking-establishments, and to have a profit of 8 or 9 per cent., or, in other words, two or three per cent. above the ordinary rate of interest upon the loan of money.

If the banks were to confine their issues merely to what would supply the necessities of a circulating medium, they might in fact invest their capital stock at interest any where; or, in other words, they would want no capital stock at all: but if we look into any of their statements, we find that, with the exception of a sum of money retained in their vaults, to answer common demands, the whole is lent out. And let us deduct the sum in the vault from the amount of notes in circulation, and we then see the amount of circulating medium supplied by the banks at the moment when the balance is struck. This bears but a small proportion to the debts due to the banks; and we must not blame the bank because the proportion is small, for they do their very utmost to make it large, and keep their notes afloat in as large quantities as possible. But it will not do; the country will not hold more circulating medium than it absolutely requires; and bank notes will not be kept in the pockets of either rich or poor individuals, and therefore they are returned to the banks or exchanged for available foreign funds the moment the circulating medium is supplied with a sufficient amount. If any bank in the province were to double its issues of bank notes, the relief to the borrowers might be very desirable, but the excess would return upon the banks, and they would be forced to redeem them in money or available foreign funds; and thus, instead of lending notes which cost them nothing, they would be lending money; and to lend money, they must have it beforehand; and to have it they must have capital stock in money paid in: and if they lend real money and not bank notes, their profit must be diminished in proportion, and they must moreover have their capital stock increased in proportion.

Thus we may see that the supply of the circulating medium in bank notes assists the banks in enabling them profitably to lend money. The advantage they return to the country is not the supply of the medium, but the credit they are, by the means of being the organs of that supply, enabled to give in lending real funds; and we may draw the further conclusion, that when we hear a complaint of the want of a circulating medium, it is credit that is really wanting, and not the medium of internal commerce.

We are fond of illustration, and with our "wise saws" we are always ready to give "modern instances." No course of argument is so good as the putting cases; and, lest we should give offence, we shall put our own case.

We have a great though not an uncommon desire to make an honest livelihood by enlightening the public; but, before we can employ

the mighty engine the press, it is necessary that we should import a press and types. We may say most truly that money we have none. But let us suppose, oh! that we could suppose it truly, that all the banks were emulous of giving us the requisite accommodation. Well then, suppose that we have honored one of them by borrowing a thousand dollars wherewith to buy our materials. They lend it to us in bank notes, what do we do with the notes? We are forced to say that we must either change them into specie, or purchase with them a bill on Philadelphia or New York. The notes return into the bank, which gives hard cash or foreign funds for them. The operation is one of a single hour: good reader, what has it added to the circulating medium? We should have got our press and types, but the money which paid for them would have been real money, and not cheap paper notes.

Again let us imagine, which we can do without taxing our own or our reader's imagination too much, a merchant in great need of the means of meeting his bill drawn from New York or Montreal, at 60 or 90 days' sight. He looks round for assistance from the banks, and at last finds one in a liberal humour. He borrows a sum of money in bank notes; but his next step must be the changing these notes for specie or foreign funds: now let us ask whether this adds to the quantity of circulating medium?

But let us again suppose a farmer who has purchased a lot of land from the Canada Company, and he very properly, upon being pressed for his money, wishes to pay his instalments. Well, he procures good endorsers, who see that he has a crop in the ground, promising a good return, and he borrows the money. It is paid in, and the next day employed in the purchase of a bill upon London. Pray, reader, what has this added to the circulating medium?

We are forced for want of space in our present article to forbear from pursuing our illustrations into more complicated transactions. We have much more to say upon the subject, and we intend to resume it in a future number. We shall bring our present remarks to a close, by an observation which we think supported by our previous argument. That it is not circulating medium we want in this country, but the investment of real capital; that legislation cannot give us this, but that a confidence in the peace and safety of the country, together with a knowledge of its undeveloped resources, will give it in abundance; and with the development, or in other words bringing into active life the dead capital of the country, consisting of its fertile lands, now covered by the wild forest, the circulating medium will increase of itself without legislative assistance. We conclude this article by throwing out another hint for the discussion which will occupy our next number, by expressing an opinion the soundness of which we do not pretend to have yet demonstrated, namely, that unproductive and unsaleable property is not a proper foundation for banking credit, which according to our humble notion requires active and immediately available means of operation; and as we have not space or leisure to demonstrate our proposition at present, we make one quotation from a principal American mercantile journal. Not, reader, a democratic, anti-banking, hard-cash, newspaper, but on the contrary, the great upholder of credit and banks in the United States. This quotation is on the subject of Land Banks, one which has occupied much public attention here, and which is therefore well worthy of the most serious consideration.

"The difficulties we have already stated as likely to encumber the operations of the banks, under the general banking law, based upon real estate, became apparent soon after the first concerns went into operation. It was seen that directors and stock-holders occupied the position, not of capitalists associating for the purpose of making money by legitimate banking, but of needy men coalescing for the purpose of raising money for each other.

"In an institution thus formed, is it uncharitable to suppose that the scrutiny established in o the value of the securities was not over rigid, when all parties concerned had the same object in view? Monied men were told, you may buy our stock with perfect confidence, our securities have been judiciously and carefully selected, and our business cannot fail to be profitable. The degree of confidence attached to these representations will be best seen from the facts. The stocks of all the institutions formed in this way fell rapidly, some to seventy or seventy-five per cent discount; many that were projected were never carried through, seeing that the stock would not command a market; and several of those established and under operation have wound up, and the bills been redeemed by the Comptroller. The position of those still in existence is extremely painful; without credit and compelled to be constant borrowers instead of lenders of money, receiving nothing or comparatively nothing on account of the interest due upon their bonds and mortgages, and subjected to heavy ex-

penses. If they foreclose upon non-payment of interest, they are compelled to become the buyers themselves, as the mortgages are in most cases more than the property will bring or is worth; and if they happen to hold second mortgages, without the means of buying and protecting themselves from a total loss in case the property is foreclosed under a first mortgage. It is easy to see that the longer such institutions are continued the greater must be the loss to the stockholders."

MONTHLY SUMMARY.

This department of our work is intended to give an abstract of the principal proceedings of the Government for each month, up to the latest period, so as to form a compendious record of public affairs, accompanied with such notices of matters in preparation as it may be advisable to make known. But at the commencement, it is necessary for us to look back to some leading point, from which to date our departure on the voyage, and thus render our work complete, by connecting it with the whole of the period it is intended to review. For this purpose we shall go back to the commencement of the Governor General's administration, and take a brief retrospect of public measures from that time to the present.

His Excellency the Right Honorable CHARLES POULETT THOMSON, (now Lord Sydenham,) having been appointed Governor General of British North America, arrived at Quebec in the *Pique* frigate, on Thursday, Oct. 17, 1839. Having waited for the arrival of Sir JOHN COLBORNE (now Lord Seaton,) from Montreal, His Excellency landed on the 19th, took the requisite oaths of office on assuming the Government, and issued a proclamation, in which he says:—"In the exercise of this high trust it will be my desire, no less than my duty, to promote, to the utmost of my power, the welfare of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects. To reconcile existing differences; to apply a remedy to proved grievances; to extend and protect the trade, and enlarge the resources of the Colonies entrusted to my charge; above all, to promote whatever may bind them to the Mother Country, by increased ties of interest and affection, will be my first and most anxious endeavour."

The Magistrates of Quebec presented an address to His Excellency, congratulating him on his arrival, and expressing their hope, that his official duties would permit him to reside in that city. The merchants also presented an address of congratulation, in which they stated the importance of continuing the protection of the timber trade. A levee was held at the Castle of St. Lewis, which was attended by all the principal inhabitants of Quebec and its environs, without distinction of parties.

On the evening of October 23, the Governor General reached Montreal, and in consequence of indisposition landed immediately. The Magistrates of the city presented a congratulatory address, and the levee was numerously attended. His Excellency Sir GEORGE ARTHUR arrived at Montreal on the 25th, having been requested to meet the Governor General there, in order to consult with him on the affairs of the Upper Province. The Special Council of Lower Canada was assembled on the 11th November, by the Governor General, who nominated Chief Justice Stuart to preside in the Council during His Excellency's absence.—Among other measures passed by that body, they adopted an address to the Governor General, in favour of the re-union of the Canadas, agreeing in substance with the terms on which it has since been effected. There were fifteen members present, and the address was passed with only two dissentient voices, Messrs. Neilson and Quesnel. The Session closed on the 14th.

The Governor General arrived at Toronto on the 22d of November, and opened his commission as Governor of Upper Canada on the following day, taking the usual oaths of office

on the assumption of the Government. On the 23d, His Excellency held a levee, which was very numerously attended. An address was presented to His Excellency by the Mayor and Corporation of Toronto, another from the merchants, and another from the inhabitants of the city in general. Several addresses were also presented to His Excellency on his way from Montreal to Toronto, and many others were sent from various parts of the Upper Province. Some of them were merely congratulatory, but the greater number alluded more or less to the state of the country, and the government it required. In reply, His Excellency expressed the firm determination of the Imperial Government to maintain inviolate the connexion between these Colonies and the Parent State, their desire that the Government should be conducted in harmony with the feelings of the people, and that their measures should be founded upon principles of equal justice to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects; and for himself, that he would apply his best endeavours to these objects, and to develope the resources of the country.

The Legislature of Upper Canada having been summoned to meet on the 3d of December, His Excellency opened the session that day.—The opening speech adverted to the tranquility of the Province, the proposed re-union of the Canadas, the condition of the public departments and the finances, together with some other matters of ordinary occurrence. The re-union was specially brought before the two houses by a message from His Excellency on the 7th.—In this message it is stated that:—"to relieve the financial embarrassments of Upper Canada; to enable her to complete her public works, and develope her agricultural capabilities; to restore constitutional government to Lower Canada; to establish a firm, impartial, and vigorous Government for both, and to unite the people within them in one common feeling of attachment to British institutions and British connexion, the Union is desired by Her Majesty's Government; and that measure alone, if based upon just principles, appears adequate to the occasion." The terms on which it was proposed to effect this Union were,—the equal representation of each Province in the united Assembly—the grant of a sufficient civil list—and that the public debt of Upper Canada should be charged on the United Province.

The consideration of this message was adjourned in both Houses from the 7th to the 10th, on which day resolutions in reply were introduced into the Legislative Council by the Hon. R. B. Sullivan, and into the Assembly by Solicitor General Draper. The subject was discussed in the Council until the 14th, when the resolutions were adopted by a vote of 14 to 8. It is worth notice that an amendment having been proposed, to negative unconditionally the re-union of the Provinces, only 4 members could be found to support it. The Council waited on His Excellency with their resolutions.

In the Assembly the question was under consideration until the 19th, when the resolutions were adopted by majorities varying from 18 to 33. The address founded on the resolutions was carried by a majority of 13, the vote being 33 to 20. Various amendments were proposed during the discussion, but all were rejected. It was reported by some persons at the time, that the measure had been carried by an unusual exertion of influence over the members who voted for it; but in the two most important amendments, that, namely, of Mr. Robinson for negativing the Union altogether, and that of Mr. Cartwright for negativing it except on certain specified conditions, the minority consisted in the former case of 10, of whom 5 held places during pleasure, and in the latter of 21, of whom 9 held places during pleasure. The members who had been defeated in these various amendments afterwards brought forward their views on the subject in the form of an address to Her Majesty. As in this shape their address merely amounted to *suggestions*, there was no difficulty about them, and the address was passed by a majority of 11. Some of these suggestions have been adopted in the Union Act, as the use of the English language alone in all Legislative records, and the property qualification for members of Assembly from Lower Canada.

The Union having been agreed to by both branches of the Canadian Legislature, on the 23rd December a message was sent by His Excellency on the subject of the Clergy Reserves; and a bill for disposing of them was introduced, passed both houses, and was sent home for approval. Its fate is well known.—One of its provisions was declared to be unconstitutional, and a new Bill, differing widely in

some respects, passed the Imperial Legislature, and received Her Majesty's approval.

Before the close of the session, a commission that had been appointed by His Excellency Sir GEORGE ARTHUR, in compliance with an address of the Assembly during the previous session, to inquire into and report the condition of the public departments, presented their report, in which various suggestions were made for rendering the several departments more efficient and satisfactory. Yet it was generally remarked, that the object would have been better attained if the Commissioners had not been connected with the several departments, but "disinterested" persons, as the Assembly's address required them to be.

On the 11th of January, the Governor General sent down to the House an answer to their address on responsible government, in which he stated:—"The Governor General has received Her Majesty's commands to administer the Government of these Provinces in accordance with the well-understood wishes and interests of the people, and to pay to their feelings, as expressed through their Representatives, the deference that is justly due to them. These are the commands of Her Majesty, and these are the views with which Her Majesty's Government desire that the administration of these Provinces should be conducted; and it will be the earnest and anxious desire of the Governor General to discharge the trust committed to him in accordance with these principles."

It is not necessary that we should notice the other measures of the Session, as they were chiefly of ordinary occurrence. The Parliament was prorogued on the 10th of February, 1840. Considering that the session continued but little more than two months, and that 70 Acts were passed, besides 14 bills that were reserved for Her Majesty's approval, it is evident that there must have been a close application to business. The debates were also entirely free from that personal acrimony which once characterized them, so much so that His Excellency's closing speech adverts to the "calmness and dignity" which had marked their deliberations. The result of the Governor General's proceedings so far had at least equalled his most sanguine expectations. The storm of political contention was allayed, confidence in the Government revived, men of all parties were disposed to unite for the promotion of useful measures, and the general public feeling was one of tranquillity, hope, and joy. Her Majesty's Government also justly appreciated His Excellency's conduct, as will appear by the following despatch from Lord John Russell to the Governor General. As the despatch is short we publish the whole of it. It bears date March, 20, 1840.

"SIR,

"Her Majesty has directed me to express to you Her gracious approbation of the *various steps which you have taken, in order to* procure the adjustment of the differences which have so long prevailed in Canada.

"The promptitude with which you have acted in ascertaining the sentiments of the Special Council,—the decision which you made to resort in person to the Upper Province,—the conciliatory spirit in which you met the Legislature of that Province,—and the zeal for Her Majesty's service and the good of Her people which you have on all occasions evinced, have been observed by the Queen with the greatest satisfaction, and have inspired Her Majesty with a confident hope, that you may successfully complete the work you have so ably commenced.

"I have, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL."

On the 12th of February, some expected legal appointments were announced. Mr. Justice SHERWOOD retired upon a pension; Attorney General HAGERMAN was appointed to the vacant Judgeship, and was succeeded in his office by Solicitor General DRAPER. ROBERT BALDWIN, Esq., long known as a leading reformer, was appointed Solicitor General.—This last appointment was of course highly acceptable to the reformers, as it showed that they were no longer to be debarred from office on account of professing the same political principles as those which had placed Her Majesty's Ministers at home in office.

The Governor General left Toronto on the morning of February 17, and reached Montreal (376 miles) in 35 hours and 40 minutes. The horses were changed 24 times, and the stoppages on the whole amounted to about 5 hours. The travelling rate was above 12 miles per hour, and the roads in many places were bare of snow. Mr. Weller of Cobourg was the conductor for the journey, and he was presented with a splendid watch by His Excellency.

The Special Council of Lower Canada were assembled again on the 20th of April, and continued in session about a month, passing vari-

ous ordinances which the state of the province required.

As party strife was running high in Nova Scotia, the Governor-General decided upon visiting the Lower Provinces, and accordingly left Quebec for Halifax on July the 3d, in the steam-packet Unicorn, calling at Charlottetown, Prince Edward's Island, for the Lieutenant-Governor. The Unicorn reached Halifax on the 9th of July, when the Governor-General assumed the government of the province, and invited several influential members of the Assembly, and other persons, to confer with him. An address was presented to his Excellency from the Town of Halifax, and from the reply we make the following extract, as it gives a correct summary of the principles which actuate the Government:—

"You have been pleased to express your approbation of my discharge of my duties since I have assumed the government of British North America. My earnest endeavour has been to put an end to personal and party feuds, and to lead the people of these Colonies from fruitless and idle disputes upon theoretical points of government, to the consideration of their real and personal interests, the amelioration of their laws, the advancement of their commerce, and the improvement of their country.

"It is the anxious desire of the Queen that her British North American subjects should be happy and prosperous, that they should enjoy that freedom which is the birthright of Britons, and bless the tie which binds them to her Empire.

"Her commands to her Representative are, that he should consult their wishes and their feelings; that he should promote their interests by well-considered reforms, and suit his administration of affairs to the growing importance and varying circumstances of each Colony; that whilst it should be alike his interest and his duty to listen respectfully to the opinions which may be offered to him, and to seek the advice of those who may be considered to represent the well-understood wishes of the people, he can devolve the responsibility of his acts on no man, without danger to the connexion of the Colony with the Empire, and injury to the best interests of those whose welfare is committed to his care." And again:—"It is the duty of the Representative of the Crown, and of those who are responsible to him in the administration of your affairs, to lead the way in improvement, and to submit for adoption whatever may be calculated to remove abuses or promote your advantage; and the Queen will expect from him a faithful discharge of these duties. But upon your co-operation must depend the success of his endeavours, and his efforts can fail or succeed only in proportion to your readiness to support and assist him in the task."

The Governor-General afterwards visited New Brunswick, and then returned to Quebec. His Excellency's visit to Nova Scotia was attended with the happiest effects. The Reformers were inspired with a confidence in the government, and the strife of parties was hushed. Subsequently, Viscount FALKLAND was appointed to the government of that province, and on his arrival an important change was made in the composition of the Executive Council, three of the old members having been removed, and three leading reformers appointed in their place. Elections for the Assembly have since been held, and the reform party retain their ascendancy. As the Government is now in harmony with the people's representatives, Nova Scotia will become as contented, and prosperous as she is loyal and true.

On the 30th of July, a large meeting of the militia and other inhabitants of Upper Canada was held on Queenston heights, in order to take into consideration the steps necessary for the re-construction of BROCK'S MONUMENT, which some miscreants had shattered by an explosion of gunpowder. It was said at the time that about five thousand persons were present at the meeting. Nine or ten steam-boats ascended the Niagara river to Queenston, with passengers from all parts of the lake counties and the St. Lawrence, as low as Glengarry. His Excellency Sir GEORGE ARTHUR took the chair, the colours of the militia regiments being placed on each hand. Various resolutions were passed, one of which recommended the militia to subscribe one day's pay each towards the re-construction of the monument. For the same object the Governor-General sent a donation of £50, Sir George Arthur £25, Sir Richard Jackson £20, and Sir John Harvey, Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, £20. Among the speakers on the occasion were Chief Justice Robinson, the Hon. R. B. Sullivan, Mr. Justice Macaulay, Sir Allan McNab, Attorney-General Draper, and the Hon. William Morris. The deepest feeling of indignation pervaded the meeting and the country at the unmanly insult offered to the illustrious dead, whose memory, however, was more endeared to the people of Canada by the inglorious attempt to overthrow his monument. He has a more durable memorial in the hearts of his countrymen.

The column on Queenston Heights may be levelled, but BROCK'S MONUMENT will endure whilst there are true hearts and gallant spirits in Canada. After the meeting broke up, about seven hundred gentlemen dined together in a pavilion near, Chief-Justice Robinson in the chair.

The Governor-General left Montreal on the 18th of August, for the purpose of taking an extensive tour through the Upper Provinces, in order to ascertain, by personal inspection and intercourse with the people, the country's character, condition and wants. In pursuance of this object, his Excellency ascended the St. Lawrence to Kingston, where he embarked for Hamilton, from which he visited Niagara and St. Catherine's, and inspected the Welland Canal. His Excellency intended to have proceeded to Goderich on Lake Huron; but, when ascending the St. Clair, an accident happened to the steamer which it would take some time to repair. His Excellency, therefore, landed, and rode from Chatham through the interior of the Western, London, Brock, and Gore districts, to Oakville, where he embarked for Toronto; and after a short stay in that city, from which he visited Penatanguishine, returned to Montreal by way of the Rideau Canal and the Ottawa, having been absent above a month. In this tour his Excellency saw the finest part of the province, and held intercourse with great numbers of the people. His reception was highly flattering throughout. In every place to which he came he was presented with an address, expressing satisfaction with his past proceedings and confidence for the future. And it is worthy of note that these addresses were concurred in by both political parties, the only place where opposition manifested itself being Toronto, and there both parties at length agreed in one address. About this time, accounts reached this country that the Queen had been pleased to raise his Excellency to the peerage, under the name, style and title of Baron Sydenham and Toronto. The patent is dated August 10. This distinction was justly merited, both by his Excellency's unwearied attention to business and the successful issue to which he had conducted his measures.

At this time arrived accounts of the death of the Earl of Durham, which occurred at Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, on the 28th of July. His Lordship had been ill for a considerable time, and gradually grew weaker, but his final departure was rather sudden. Although the Earl of Durham's administration of the government in these colonies was brief, and terminated prematurely, it was nevertheless productive of important benefit, by the able manner in which he investigated their condition, and brought forward the constitutional remedies for the evils under which they suffered.

The Special Council of Lower Canada were assembled at Montreal on the 5th of November. The chief matters brought before them were ordinances for establishing municipal authorities, and for the election of parish and township officers in the province.

By the arrival of the steam-ship *Acadia*, which sailed from Liverpool on the 4th of December, we have received the gratifying intelligence of the birth of a PRINCESS ROYAL. As this event is regarded with the highest interest by Her Majesty's Canadian subjects, we subjoin the following account from the London *Morning Chronicle* of Saturday, November 21, 1840. At the time of the *Acadia's* sailing, the Queen and the infant Princess were doing well:—

"We have the gratification to announce that Her Most Gracious Majesty was, this afternoon, at ten minutes before two o'clock, safely delivered of a Princess. Her Majesty and her illustrious offspring, the country will rejoice to learn, are both doing well. Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent was present at the accouchement, together with his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Melbourne, Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston, Lord Errol, Lord Albemarle, and other members of the Ministry and the household.

"The intelligence of Her Majesty's safe accouchement and the birth of a Princess Royal spread like wild fire through the metropolis, and the crowd, which had assembled round the gates of the Palace, was soon augmented by the numbers who came running from all directions to ascertain the fact.

During the afternoon the bells of the Royal parishes of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, St. Margaret, Westminster, and those of St. Clement Danes, St. Giles-in-the-Fields, and St. Dunstan-in-the-West, with St. Bride's, and other churches in the metropolis, rang merry peals. At Kensington, the birth-place of the Queen, within ten minutes after the arrival of a messenger at the apartments of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, in Kensington Palace, with the gratifying intelligence, the news got circulated through the town, and within an hour after the occurrence the bells of the old church, which

were the first to welcome the birth of the Royal Mother, were pealing forth their joyous strains on the occasion of the birth of her illustrious daughter.

"Below the bridge the Thames presented a peculiarly gay and picturesque aspect. The shipping in the Pool and on each side of the river, from the Custom House down to Limehouse and Rotherhithe, were decked in their most gorgeous ensigns. The foreign vessels, of which there are so many now in port, seemed to vie with the British commercial marine in their homage to the royalty of the Queen of the Isles and her illustrious offspring. The various foreign steamers, as well as those of the river, sported their ensigns, flags, and streamers: whilst even the tiny craft of various clubs hauled up every inch of bunting they could muster, to make glad the bosom of old Father Thames. The brightness of the atmosphere materially contributed to enhance the variegated aspect of this exciting spectacle."

It is stated in the English papers that the PRINCESS ROYAL is to be christened ADELAIDE VICTORIA LOUISA, and the christening will be deferred until after the meeting of Parliament.

The length of time which we have had to include in our abstract this month has necessarily confined us to a bare epitome of leading facts, with which we have embodied the substance of various public documents, in order to form a record of principles avowed by the Government, as well as of facts. To these principles appeal can be made if necessary hereafter. In future, we shall be able to make this department of our work short and more interesting, by explaining the reasons and pointing out the effects of government measures as they transpire. The chief objections that have been made to the measures of the Government are answered in the first article of the present number; and it is matter of surprise that some of these objections were ever started at all, especially that which complains of Executive interference with the freedom of election. Ministers of the Crown in England are always candidates for seats in Parliament; yet the most ultra-radicals that ever lived never dreamed that their becoming candidates was an interference of the Executive with the elections. Even the Chartists never committed this absurdity. It was reserved for some sagacious spirits in Canada to make this sublime discovery. Doubtless they expect a place among the stars for it; but whether it will be among the fixed or *falling* stars we leave the public to determine.

The management of public business in the Legislature by heads of departments differs from the kind of provincial ministry that was asked for by most of the advocates of responsible government, but the difference is more in appearance than reality. They would have made the *Executive Council* that ministry: but if the heads of departments are to manage public business in the Legislature, they must of necessity consult and advise with the Head of the Government respecting all that business, and thus they will be a managing council, whether they are all members of the Executive Council or not. *It will be observed also, that the responsibility is still with the Head of the* Government: because, as it is his policy which they have to execute, so he alone can be responsible for it. The Governor General stated in his reply to the Halifax address, that Her Majesty's Representative can "devolve the *responsibility of his acts on no man, without* danger to the connexion of the Colony with the Empire, and injury to the best interests of those whose welfare is committed to his care." As to his responsibility, if his policy does not obtain the support of a majority of the people's representatives, he must change it and his advisers together, except in the very few cases which have been specified in the first article.—Some persons entertain an idea that the head of the Government is merely the Queen's representative, but the fact that he is liable to impeachment for his conduct sufficiently disproves this notion. If he were merely Her Majesty's representative, he could no more be impeached than the Queen herself could be impeached.—His liability to impeachment proves that he is the Queen's Minister as well as Her representative. The opposite notion is necessary to those who would attach all responsibility to the Executive Council, but this has never been admitted by Her Majesty's Government.

The new position that Government officers will sustain in the Legislature will impose new duties upon them, and render them more effective public servants. It is probable that some public officer will sustain a position analogous to that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in England, and on him will devolve, besides his present duties, the duty of providing the *ways and means* for each financial year, and of organizing and maintaining a regular system of finance throughout. How much this will aid

the country is evident. For when the current expenses of the Government and the Legislature, and the interest of the public debt, are provided for on a regular system, in which revenue answers to expense, as the swelling tide answers to the full-orbed moon, the exigencies of the Province will be permanently met, instead of being shuffled over by some temporary expedient of the day. And not only so, but capitalists at home will recover confidence in Canadian resources, and become willing to advance the loans we yet require for the completion of our public works. It is not enough that we have vast resources:—they must be wisely managed, or they will avail us but little. A bad manager will spend a fine estate; whereas a good manager will create one. We must show to the world that our affairs are managed with such prudence and skill, that perfect reliance may be placed on our ability to meet all our engagements; and then Canada will never want money to perfect her improvements, any more than she wants stout hearts and hands to defend her rights. And our present public works are not such a dead weight on the Province as some persons have imagined. The Welland Canal, for instance, will yet be a profitable work, as is evident from the following statement of the increase of its trade, made by Mr. Beaton at the last St. Andrew's dinner at St. Catharines.

"He said, that nine years ago, the number of vessels navigating the canal was but about 40—this year the number was upwards of 200.—The transport of produce by the canal had increased in an amazing degree: he would instance one or two articles. Nine years ago, the number of barrels of salt which passed upwards by the canal, was only 1,500—last year the number of barrels of the same article passing up was about 200,000. Nine years ago the number of bushels of wheat passing down by the canal was quite trifling—this year the number exceeds 1,000,000 bushels. The tolls collected, nine years ago, were but a trifle over £1,000—this year they came up to £20,000.—These instances, he said, were sufficient to shew the great and rising importance of this national work."

This sufficiently proves that the public debt of Upper Canada is not such a monster as some squeamish people in the Lower Province have taken it to be. That debt will yet be liquidated by wise and vigorous management, for our resources are almost boundless. The rapid growth of the country will increase the revenue from 50 to 100 per cent. in very few years, and will thus place a large sum at the disposal of the Legislature annually, over and above what is appropriated to the civil list. Canada is capable of containing ten times its present number of inhabitants, and of increasing its strength and revenue tenfold. Wonderful is the difference between an old, crowded country, with an exhausted soil, in which the only means of increasing the revenue is by increasing the taxes, and a new country, with not a tenth part of its cultivatable soil occupied, and the whole presenting one of the finest fields in the world for the labours of productive industry. Canada would redeem her debt in a few years, merely by her necessary progress in population and improvement, if not a single penny of additional taxes were levied. The country must be filled with an industrious population, its soil must be brought under cultivation, its produce must thereby be amazingly increased, and its consumption of manufactures in equal ratio; and this steady and irresistible increase in all the sources of wealth must necessarily increase wealth, both private and public, until the debt, which so many regard with infinite horror, will be discharged and shaken off, "like dew drops from the lion's mane." We do not mean to vindicate all that has been done in the contraction of that debt, nor yet to say that it has been wisely managed; but we do say that a young country like this, with not a tenth part of its soil settled or its resources developed, should not be discouraged because of that debt, or be stayed in its onward career on that account. She may have shot "a-head" of her available means; but they will soon overtake her, and carry her onward with redoubled velocity and strength. How can it be otherwise? Are there not tens of thousands of our countrymen at home, cooped up and pressed down, without room to stretch their limbs or breathe a bracing air, but who, if transplanted hither, would stand erect and breathe new life—would spread themselves through this new country, and increase its products by ten thousand additional tributary streams, and in improving it would elevate themselves, until each would leave his children in the possession of "paternal acres," and rejoicing in the vast expanse of fruitful fields, where the soil is now cumbered with the forest, and tracked only by the wolf and the bear? And are not the means for securing this increase already in operation? Is not emigration be-

coming (may we not say, has it not become?) a Government business? and when it is no longer left to individual caprice, but is conducted on a systematic plan, adapted to benefit both the emigrants and the country, by guiding them in their transit, preparing for their reception, and distributing these new and ever flowing streams of capital and labour through the whole land, according to the wants or capacity of every part, may we not expect still greater results than have ever yet been seen, or ever dreamed of by the cold-blooded croakers who vent their sorrows or their spleen in doleful lamentations about the debt? Yes, if the public works for which that debt has been contracted were to produce nothing, still we say that the country's onward progress would discharge that debt without levying a penny of additional taxes. This is a bold assertion; but we make it with a just confidence in the vast resources of our country, and our countrymen's boundless energy in bringing those resources into play. We do not mean to say, however, that it would be unwise to levy any additional taxes; far from it. We have as much aversion for debt in the abstract as any man, and as little favour for the bungling expedients by which our public debt has been shuffled over from year to year, instead of being fairly met and systematically provided for. Something is requisite to be done immediately, and the country is well able to bear some additional burden. The utmost care and judgment should also be exercised to render our public works productive. In all this we shall be as strict and unbending as any. But we shall not allow any man, or class of men, to possess the public mind with a notion that the country's fortunes are desperate, and that the public debt is a millstone that will sink her to perdition. On the contrary, we maintain that the country possesses such abundant resources as must, under wise and vigorous management, not only extricate her from debt, but also place her in a condition of prosperity far exceeding the most sanguine expectations. "There remains yet much land to be possessed," and tens of thousands are waiting to come up and possess it, and their countrymen, with the Government at their head, are waiting to assist these destined conquerors of the wilderness, who will yet make it bud and blossom as the rose. And when all unite in this determined effort, who can set bounds to the country's rapid advancement? Let those who would do so go to sleep for ten or twenty years, and then wake up and gaze on the altered scene. Why, unless they heard the thunders of Niagara, or stood on the ramparts of Cape Diamond, they would then hardly believe it was Canada they saw, so changed and improved would the whole land have become. Why, even the broad Ontario could hardly be recognized: for where ten keels cut its waters now, there would then be hundreds.

And when we speak of the country's abundant resources, we do not allude so much to any thing the Government may possess, as to the capacity of the country for sustaining an immense population. The strength of a Government consists in its people, more than in treasures or domains. And there is this vast difference between an old and a new country, that in the former increasing population only increases poverty; but in the latter, to increase the people increases plenty, so great is the difference betwcen having no land on which to place another man, and having an immensity of soil on which to plant a nation. All the elements of immense wealth are dispersed throughout Canada, and only require the wise application of labour to bring them forth; this labour is about to be applied in a manner worthy of its object, and we are content to let the future decide whether we indulge in empty boastings when we declare the country's capacity to multiply ten-fold every department of her productive industry and source of individual and national wealth. A vast extent of unoccupied, fertile soil, is better than mines of gold and silver, because these will be exhausted, and will leave the people in a worse state for having had temporary possession of riches; but a fertile soil, under proper management, is a mine of exhaustless wealth, and it keeps the public mind in a healthy state, accustomed to exertion, trained to deeds of noble daring, either intellectual, moral, or physical, and fitted both to use and bestow freedom, instead of being enervated by luxury, and fitted to be only either tyrants or slaves. Canada is richer than was Mexico or Peru in their most palmy days, when the galleons of Spain were laden with their treasures, and the discoverer of a silver mine made a fortune of several millions, one having had a nett profit of £250,000 per ann., another built a church that cost £87,000, and presented it with a magnificent *custodia* set with diamonds, worth £21,800, and another gave to his Sover-

eign (Charles III.) two ships of war, one of them of 120 guns, and lent the court of Madrid £200,000, which was never repaid, and the sweepings of the royal mint in the City of Mexico produced the sum of 20,000 dollars, the rooms not having been swept for 20 years. Yet all this immense wealth, of which these instances are but specimens, has vanished, and in the vicinity of the richest mines the people in general are the most wretched of their species. But in our virgin soil we have a mine of wealth that will pour forth its treasures with undiminished flow for ages, each returning season renewing its pristine vigour and fertility. We have only to fill the land with our industrious countrymen, and maintain those principles which conduct a people to the summit of earthly glory, in order to render Canada prosperous, powerful and free, reposing with conscious pride and delightful security under the mighty ægis of her Parent State.

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

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