

CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE
VALUE AND IMPORTANCE
OF THE
British North American Provinces,
AND
THE CIRCUMSTANCES ON WHICH DEPEND THEIR FURTHER
PROSPERITY, AND COLONIAL CONNECTION
WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

“SHIPS, COLONIES, AND COMMERCE.”

BY
MAJOR GENERAL SIR HOWARD DOUGLAS, BART.
K.S.C. C.B. F.R.S. &c. &c.

THIRD EDITION,
WITH AN APPENDIX.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

MDCCCXXI.

L O N D O N :
PRINTED BY C. ROWORTH AND SONS, BELL YARD,
TEMPLE BAR.

IN reply to the very erroneous observations and assertions which certain ignorant, interested, or prejudiced persons have published, on the facts and statements contained in this pamphlet, I have had reprinted, as an Appendix to this edition, some of the Addresses and Petitions that have been voted to His Majesty, and to the Commons House of Parliament, by the Legislatures of the North American Provinces, and other public bodies, setting forth the ruin which would be inflicted upon vested capital, commercial industry, navigation, the settlement and improvement of the colonies, the demand for, and price of labour, the condition and prospects of the emigrants, and, above all, *the great political evils* that must result from any change in the comparative duties on British colonial and Foreign Timber.*

* Lest it should be supposed that the documents printed in the Appendix, are copies of official papers addressed confidentially to me as Governor of New Brunswick, I think it right to declare that they are all extracted from the provincial newspapers, or other public sources, of the dates and titles noted on

It was not expected that representations would so soon be received from the Colonies ; but, it appears that, from the opinions which some members of His Majesty's present government are known to entertain on the theory of trade, it was feared that some alteration in the Timber duties might be intended ; and in anticipation of this, the following strong and urgent remonstrances have, it appears, been transmitted to His Majesty's government.

Intimately acquainted, by personal observation, with the condition, circumstances, and interests of all the North-American Provinces and Islands, and with the state of public opinion and feeling in all those colonies—estimating, I trust justly and correctly, their immense value, and how it may be improved, extended, and secured, I felt myself called upon, by the situation I held—by my presence here—and particularly by the circumstance of not having been

their respective margins. Exclusive of these, a joint Address of the Council and House of Assembly of Upper Canada has been voted unanimously, remonstrating against the late measure ; and Petitions to the House of Commons from the counties of Kent and Northumberland, in the Province of New Brunswick, to the same effect : but not having seen these in the newspapers, I have not inserted those representations. These Addresses and Petitions were voted on *apprehension* of the measure.—It remains to be seen what the provinces will say when they know it was in progress.

afforded an opportunity of discharging my conscience and duty upon the intended measure until the finance minister had brought it forward, and declared it to be his intention to persist, to lay before the government and the public, some considerations which might tend to avert those evils, which remonstrances from the colonies might be too late to prevent, and against which my own character, consistency, and conviction required uncompromising representation. Had addresses and petitions such as the following, been delayed until the declaration of the late measure should have reached North America, it might be surmised that they had been got up on the perusal of my pamphlet.—As it is, there can be no such suspicion.

In drawing up my little work, I endeavoured to advocate the interests of the colonies, as I knew they would themselves represent their case, when they should have time to speak. The Appendix fully shows with what truth and justice I have done this, and how remarkably all my arguments, facts, and views are corroborated. I confidently appeal, then, to the following important documents, to put down the wretched cavilling with which my devotion to the colonial interests, and to the true colonial policy of the British empire, has been assailed.

If these effusions have made any impression, I would intreat such persons as may have been misled by them, to compare what I have advanced, with what the colonies have now, spontaneously, said for themselves. Those, on the contrary, who have placed reliance on my views and opinions, and on the experience upon which they have been formed in a happy and successful administration, devoted, mainly, to the agricultural improvement of the country, as well as to the development and protection of its other interests, will find in the Appendix, ample proof that I have not led them into error ; that they have protected the real interests of those most important possessions and of the empire, and have complied, in fact, with the unanimous prayers of a loyal and dutiful people, who, anticipating what has been attempted, had already sent forth their complaints. I have no doubt, too, that the consideration which His Majesty, and His Majesty's government are bound to show to petitions which so strongly speak, in a constitutional sense, for all classes of persons, remonstrating by petition against an obnoxious measure, will be satisfied that the government have been rescued, by the wisdom and independence of the House of Commons, from the difficulty of carrying the measure

proposed by the finance minister into effect, in the face of remonstrances from the legislatures of all the colonies.

I refer to the Appendix to show that all the statements, contained in this pamphlet, are rather under than over the truth. The population of the British Provinces, which I rated at 1,000,000, is now not under 1,200,000. The value of British goods imported into the North-American Colonies was in 1830 at least £2,000,000, as I stated.*

The amount of tonnage to all the British North American provinces within the last year was beyond what I have represented. The amount of shipping is usually reckoned by tonnage, and not by the number of vessels; but, taking it in terms of ships, it appears that the number employed in the whole British North American trade is about 2000, navigated by

* I refer the reader to a very able and important pamphlet, on the Timber Trade, by Mr. Bliss, just published, for every detail connected with the annals and circumstances of the trade. These, and what is stated in the Appendix to this edition, will be found to establish the fact, that the population of our North American Provinces furnishes a demand (steadily increasing), per person, for British goods, nearly quadruple of that furnished by the population, per person, of the United States (which latter must diminish), and more than fifty times as great as the demand, per person, of the population of Northern Europe.

about 25,000 seamen.* As this statement was intended to exhibit the value and importance of the North American provinces generally, the injury which would be inflicted on the maritime power of Great Britain by abandoning or losing hold of them, and that the loss of these would soon be followed by that of the West India colonies, I did not, it is true, state what part of the whole quantity of shipping engaged in the colonial trade would be thrown out of employment by the intended alteration in the *timber duties*. My object was to show the circumstances on which, mainly, the colonial connection depends. This has been called by those who look at the mere mercantile consideration, as special merchants do, “ a jumble of the timber duties with other questions.” I would request the writer of that observation to observe the reference made, in the addresses to the King, to both those questions, as affecting powerfully the interests of the provinces, and having a tendency, if not *permanently* protected, to excite discontent, and to shake the loyalty of the people. My pamphlet was not written on the timber duties only, but on the course of policy indispensably necessary to foster and retain the colonies; and I contend that if the

* Appendix.

colonial interests, that is the colonial trade, be not protected, we shall lose, not only the tonnage employed in the transport of timber, but our right of trading with those provinces upon our own terms.

I intreat those who doubt that a continuance of our protective policy is essential to maintain the colonial connection, to look at some of the late British North American newspapers. The theorists who object to the policy of protecting the colonial trade, either carry their theory too far, or not far enough. It must be admitted that to reduce, equitably, the system of protecting duties, the arrangement must be *reciprocal*. It will not be pretended that there should be freedom of trade on the one part, and prohibition on the other. To reduce *only* the protective duties on the exports of the colonies to the parent country, leaving the imports of British manufactured goods *into* the colonies protected by heavy duties, imposed by the British parliament, on the manufactured goods of other countries, would manifestly be an act of such injustice as would occasion obvious results. We must either consider, and treat, the colonial trade as a home trade, or as a foreign trade; and accordingly as we may act in this respect, the colonists will either remain our fellow-subjects, or at no remote day resolve themselves

into a foreign people; for commercial independence is, in effect, and soon would become in reality, political independence. If the late measure had not been rejected, the British parliament would now be conflicting with the legislatures of all the North American colonies!—Can any one doubt to what issue that would tend?



THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCES.

THERE are two signs under which the Statesman may estimate the value and importance of the British North American Colonies. The one is positive, the other relative. The positive, or absolute value, consists in the shipping they employ, the seamen they form, the manufactures they consume, the supplies which they furnish for the British market and our West India Colonies, and the mastings and spars which they ensure for our navy in the day of need. The relative importance of these provinces may be considered by the effects which would be produced if all these elements of statistical greatness were placed in the opposite scale of the beam, by which the statesman should carefully weigh the effects of measures which, though treated as fiscal or finance questions, reach, in fact, into matters of the very highest order of policy.

The permanency of the colonial connection between Great Britain and the North American Provinces, rests entirely on the manner in which their interests are dealt with by the British Parliament; it is therefore of the greatest importance to consider what effects are likely to be produced upon the interests of those colonies, by the proposed alteration in the duties on foreign and North American timbers.

Some of the passages now reprinted in these pages, appeared in a periodical work of last year, for the purpose of showing the value and importance of the British North American Provinces, not only to the commerce, manufactures and navigation of the parent state, but to the maritime greatness and security of the British empire; but, finding that, though those passages appeared in a work of the highest character and the greatest circulation, they may again be used with some advantage to invite attention to those facts, which it is necessary to bring to a full and deliberate consideration of the many theories by which it is proposed to divest ourselves of those colonies, or at least to shake the interests which bind them to Britain, I embody those passages with other matter in this pamphlet, intreating the indulgence of the public for the hasty manner in which it is composed.

Had I been aware that it was the intention of the Finance Minister to propose any alteration in the timber duties, I should have considered it incumbent upon me, as entrusted with the government of a province whose interests are deeply at stake, to represent forcibly to the Government, in a timely manner, that no alteration could be made in the ratio of duties, whether by raising those on British timber, or by lowering those on the foreign article, or in any way destroying the present scale, without injuring, or totally ruining the British North American timber trade; but as such an intention was not suffered to transpire, it would have been unnecessary, and indeed out of place, to renew the representations which I had previously made to the Colonial Department on this important matter. The measure being now, however, brought forward for discussion, there is no alternative, short of my neglecting to advocate those interests, but to submit, forcibly, in this shape, whether any financial or fiscal measures can be considered paramount to the great objects, in national policy, which we should pursue, by a continued protection of the Colonial Trade.

It will occasion me infinite regret should any member of His Majesty's Government, and particularly the Noble Secretary in whose department I was serving, consider that this

step has thrown any unwarrantable impediment in the paths of its financial arrangements. I trust it will not be considered that, because I held an official situation connected with the colonies, I should be restrained from coming forward at this time, to make public the information which I have acquired in the provinces so deeply concerned, and from submitting the impressions which, as a British subject, I am under, as to the effects of the proposed measure, on the interests of the British empire. Being on the spot, it was impossible for me to avoid expressing, in some way or other, these convictions: and the course I have taken is the only open and manly line of conduct I could have adopted—namely, to lay the following “considerations” before the public. If the facts which I represent, and the deductions which have been made from them, are not considered such as ought to occasion any deviation from the proposed measure, they will be over-ruled, (they cannot be disputed) by those ulterior designs, for greater objects, (if there be any greater,) which the government may have in view; and I shall have the satisfaction of reflecting that I have done my duty in representing the injurious effects which I apprehend, from any change, upon particular provincial interests which, in common with those

of all British North America, I firmly believe to be of paramount importance to the British empire.

The population of the British North American Provinces was in the year 1828 about 1,000,000, and increasing in a higher ratio than that of the adjoining New England States; and the British Colonies consume in corresponding augmentations the manufactures and goods of Great Britain and Ireland, and take increasing quantities of West India produce, upon which the United States have laid heavy duties to encourage the production of their own sugars.

In 1828 the amount of British manufactures consumed in British North America, was about £2,000,000 value, so that those Provinces take about 40*s.* each person per annum of British goods.

The amount of British manufactures imported into the United States from the United Kingdom in 1826, (see Watterston's Statistics,) was 26,181,800 dollars, which at 4*s.* 6*d.* is £5,876,975; the population of the United States for that year being 12,000,000, it follows that the people of the United States do not take, per person, one-fourth so much of British goods as the people of the British Colonies; and this market must diminish under the influence

of the American system, by which the United States are manufacturing very extensively for themselves, and actually beginning to rival us in many articles in foreign markets. Nor is there any probability that the state and prospects of our trade with the United States will become more favourable; for it has very lately been recommended by a committee of Congress that no change in the provisions of the tariff be entertained, lest it spread alarm amongst the great interests concerned, and shake confidence in the faith of government by injuring, or destroying, the well-founded hope which had induced vast numbers of persons to make investments in those branches of industry which the government had encouraged.

The whole British tonnage trading to British North America before the Revolution, namely, in the year 1772, was only 86,745 tons. The British tonnage trading to the British North American provinces in the year 1828 was 400,841 tons, navigated by at least 25,000 seamen, which is nearly *one-fifth of the whole foreign trade of the country*; and this prodigiously increased, and still active trade, should be considered *a home trade*. There is no doubt that the foreign trade should not be preferred to the home trade; but that position which, in argument or in fiscal arrangement, would consider the colo-

nial trade not to be a home trade, brings the colonial interest under a wrong denomination.—Classed as it ought to be, the measure in question would appear in the proper light.

Whilst such has been, in point of fact, the happy effect of our colonial policy in that quarter of the world, to the manufacturing, commercial and shipping interests of Great Britain, let us see in what way this matter is viewed, and the possessions which aliment that trade are estimated, by our great commercial rivals; and what effect their attempts to countervail its eminent successes, have produced upon themselves. It appears* that the population of the British Provinces increased, between the years 1806 and 1825, more than 113 per cent., whilst that of New England increased only 27 per cent.: that the imports of the British Colonies have been almost *quadrupled* in amount, and the exports considerably more than doubled in that time;† while the exports and imports of the United States in 1828 were about the same in amount as they were in 1807: That while the whole foreign trade of the United States, with every part of the world, has remained stationary

* Report on the Commerce and Navigation of the United States, by Mr. Cambreleng, p. 28.

† Report, p. 28.

for fifteen years, the navigation of the British Colonies, with the mother-country alone, has increased, as the Report states, from 88,247 to 400,841 tons,* or about one half of all the American tonnage employed in its foreign trade, which in 1828 was only 824,781 tons, being an increase of only 253,528 tons, or a fraction less than 3 per cent. on what it was in 1820; while the increase of the foreign navigation of Great Britain from 1815 to 1827 was 741,840 tons, or nearly equal to the whole foreign tonnage of the United States in 1828! Again,† the whole tonnage of the United States with the British empire, had, in 1828, declined by 32,000 tons since 1815; whilst British tonnage employed in the direct trade between the United States and Great Britain, had, in 1828, increased 38 per cent!

Having stated these, and many other remarkable facts, which bear, most forcibly, upon this subject, the Report proceeds to state, “that whilst the British Provinces are making this signal and immense progress, the commerce and navigation of the United States have fallen far in the rear of their rivals for national power and naval ascendancy—that the rise or decline of navigation is the index of national prosperity and power—that the great object

* Report, p. 27.

† p. 26.

of a statesman, in a maritime nation, should be to lay the foundations of a great naval power in a hardy and extensive commercial marine; and that to prepare for war, it is palpably inconsistent for a maritime nation, to attempt to accomplish that object, by a policy destructive of its commercial marine, the most efficient instrument of war, whether offensive or defensive." Thus has our policy been eulogised, and the effects show with what justice, "as one of a lofty, wise ambition, which never sacrifices the power of a nation to the meaner considerations of speculative wealth;" as never permitting any conflicting interest to interfere with the steady growth of our commercial marine; and that the paramount motive, in all our colonial and commercial regulations, has been the enlargement and encouragement of our navigation. Shall we continue to deserve this praise, and to perpetuate the effects which our colonial policy has produced? What it has accomplished are *facts*; what it may further do, is *assured*. Is there nothing speculative, nothing uncertain, in the notions and principles of change, which are proposed?

Having soundly laid down these principles, the Report avows that the Northern British Colonies stand in a peculiar and dangerous relation to the United States, from the immense

progress those colonies are making; and whilst some persons are treating of throwing them off, or *making* them independent, or not properly protecting their interests as British Colonists, by persevering in that line of policy which has produced these happy and most important results, the following will show in what way, and with what views, these possessions are viewed by the United States:—

“ It is very desirable that the people of the
 “ United States and of the British Provinces
 “ should become better acquainted and be led to
 “ take a more lively interest in each other. Their
 “ fathers were united by the bond of a common
 “ country; and it needs no spirit of prophecy to
 “ foresee, that the time must come, when, in the
 “ natural course of events, the English colonies
 “ on our borders will be peaceably dis severed
 “ from the remote mother-country, and the
 “ whole continent, from the Gulf of Mexico to
 “ the coast of Labrador, present the unbroken
 “ outline of one compact empire of friendly con-
 “ federated States.”— *North American Review*.

One should have thought that the sage doctrine of “ *Letting well alone,*” would have been observed, with respect to a course of policy which has produced positive and relative effects such as these, upon Britain’s “ best bulwarks,” and upon Britain’s maritime greatness. But it

has of late become a favourite doctrine amongst political economists, that colonies are of no use; that the productions of any country may be procured at a cheaper rate, in commercial dealings with that country, as an independent state, than in a colonial connection, which forces, by protecting duties, the sale of its produce, on the parent state, at enhanced prices; and, applying this doctrine to our North American Provinces, it is asserted, that, inasmuch as the public is made to pay more for timber, than would be the case if the protection given to those colonies were taken off, so this protecting policy should be abandoned, for the purpose of lowering price. That protecting duties occasion higher prices to the consumer, is a truism, which applies to all subjects of taxation. But by what rule should we be justified in sacrificing or injuring national interests to mere considerations of price to the consumer? If the interests of the North American Colonies be not steadily protected, they may become disposed to seek a change of condition in the federal family of those, who, as I have shown, know better how to estimate them, from a thorough conviction of their immense value to us, and a deep sense of the vast importance which the acquisition of those provinces would produce to the American union and system. It

never was intended that the trade of the colonies should be free. It was at least the intention of Mr. Huskisson that the importation of foreign goods into the colonies should be made subject to duties sufficient to protect the productions of British industry, and that the colonies might enjoy the counter-monopoly, of supplying the United Kingdom with their productions. The economists assert that this mutual protection is an error in principle, and a failure in policy, and we are admonished to get rid, in toto, of our colonial monopoly, and likewise to take from the colonies that which they enjoy, as is now proposed in respect to their timbers. This would be, in effect, to render the colonies valueless to us, in the sense in which national policy should teach us to view them, and the colonial connection useless to them. In a word, to abandon our present policy, would be to lose our hold of the colonies altogether; and to do so would be to cut from ourselves, in the midst of all our difficulties, about one-third of the actual trade of the country.

According to this doctrine, as the Finance Minister has avowed, he proposes to double the duties on British-American timber, and to reduce those on foreign timber. If this be carried into effect, the scale will be completely destroyed, upon which only it is pos-

sible for the North American Provinces to compete with the northern European countries. According to this proposition, there will still remain a nominal difference in the amount of duties, and this the Finance Minister says will still be sufficient to favour the North American timber trade. So it would, if the voyages were of the same length. Nor would our shipping interests be injuriously affected, or other national interests interfered with, if the transactions were, in all other respects, similar. But the comparative duration of voyage, and other essentially different circumstances, are such, that the North American timber trade, instead of being favoured, would be utterly annihilated, if this measure be carried into effect. To equalize the duties would be to favour decidedly, and at enormous sacrifices to the nation, the *Baltic timber* trade. It is assumed, that this equalization, or alteration of duties, would minister somewhat to cheapness in building houses, and in other operations in which foreign timber may be used ; but the statesman should consider with what materials, and how produced, and whence procured, a nation's greatness is constructed, and in what way it may be endangered. It would be a poor consolation, should Britain's bulwarks feel the want of a hardy and well-trained race of seamen to pro-

tect the nation in the storms of war, that a fraction per cent. has been saved in the cost of our houses and the erection of our barns. There is not time to argue this case in detail. I avow, without fear of being found in error, and it may be depended upon, that the timber trade of the British Colonies can now barely compete in the home market with that from foreign countries.* Foreigners, particularly in the Baltic, build and sail their vessels vastly cheaper (about one half) than that at which British vessels can be built and navigated. The average voyage from the north-eastern parts of England and Scotland to Norway, the Baltic, and back again, is from twenty-four to thirty days; whereas the voyage to the North American

* Viewing the question in *policy*, I have said little about the minor consideration, *price*. Yet it may be expected of me to advert to a transaction which has been mentioned as having an adverse bearing—namely, that Baltic timber has been sent to Great Britain by way of the Colonies. The generally low rate of freight, the unoccupied tonnage resorting to the British North American Colonies, and the economy of fitting out vessels for long voyages in the northern European ports, where the prices of provisions are so much lower than in England, induced certain ship-owners to try this extraordinary experiment. Freight for five vessels was procured accordingly; but the experiment was not profitable, (it was highly discreditable,) and will not be repeated.

Colonies and home again may be calculated at about a hundred days, landing and discharging cargoes included. The former are chiefly performed by foreigners in foreign ships, the latter entirely by British subjects in British vessels; and if any alteration be made in the duties on foreign timber, compared with those on British timber—that is, if the modifications do not maintain the ratio of the present scale, the greater part of the timber trade will pass into the hands of foreigners. This would break faith with, and injure or ruin, the British subjects who have been induced to make investments in the colonial timber trade. The question here to be considered, then, is not the *adoption* of a course of policy which may purely benefit the British consumer, but whether a course of policy *long since adopted* shall be *abandoned*, and the persons who are engaged in it severely injured or ruined. In this just view, it may fairly be assumed, that persons who may have been most opposed to the adoption of the protecting duties by which those interests have been *created*, will be still more averse to turn round and *injure* or *destroy* them.

At different periods, chiefly during the French revolutionary war, large advances were made by British capitalists to the proprietors of forests in Norway, and the countries bordering

on the Baltic, who gave to the former security upon the timber growing in those forests. Such speculations would perhaps now recur with great activity, should the proposed measures be carried into effect; for it would become the manifest policy of the Northern merchants to afford every facility to the investment of British capital in their forests, and they would not concern themselves as to the effect this might have, upon the commercial and shipping interests of the British empire.

Even were British ships to become the carriers of timber from those countries, that trade would not be found so good a nursery for seamen for the British Navy as those formed in the North American trade, the hardy and healthy character of which, and the duration of its voyages, are known to form the best seamen in the world.

If, under the proposed duties, the North American provinces continue to carry on the timber trade, it will be in the shape of a forced manufacture of the raw material into ships, by which to save the freight home. This might for a time proceed; but it would, in the end, occasion embarrassment to the colony, and be injurious to the British ship-builder.

The amount of British manufactures consumed in the timber countries of the north of

Europe, is trifling, when compared with those consumed in the British provinces, and for which they have little else to pay than timber. If even the people in those countries had the means, and they probably never will have, of consuming as much of British manufactured articles as the people of the British colonies do, their own habits, as well as the policy of their respective governments, forbid the hope that they would consume British goods to an extent which would warrant a preference being given to the foreign trade. Their timber will be chiefly paid for in money; for the importation of British manufactures into the northern timber countries is known to be constant, and not to fluctuate with a greater or less consumption of their timbers in the British islands—whereas the whole population of British America draws its supplies from the manufactures of Great Britain, and these supplies must steadily increase to a prodigious extent, if the trade of those colonies be cherished and properly protected. The direct emigration to the port of Quebec alone in the two last years was nearly 50,000 souls, and the British colonies altogether have received within the last ten years at least 250,000 settlers from the mother country. The British tonnage trading to the British North American provinces increased in 1829 to 432,000 tons;

and the export of British manufactures to those provinces continues to increase steadily with the augmentation of their population. In 1829 it had increased to £2,206,913 value. The imports of dry goods into the port of Quebec alone in 1829 exceeded that of the former year by £111,000. With the loss of their trade the British provinces would lose commensurately the means they possess of paying for British goods; they would sink into comparative poverty and insignificance; and, in place of thriving settlements, and of an active, increasing, and contented population, there would soon be seen depopulated towns, a dispirited and discontented people; and the large amount of British capital now usefully employed among a British people, would be withdrawn from the colonies into foreign countries, or those provinces would themselves become, in the worst of humour, foreign states.

The British Parliament has under its consideration the important measure of directing the current of emigration to the North American provinces, to relieve the mother country of the inconveniences and distresses of a redundant population; and to remove a portion of its people to a country in which they may better their condition, and contribute, by their labour, to the further prosperity of the colonies and the

empire. It is not my object now to consider the conditions under which an extensive system of emigration may with any safety be carried into effect. This is an important and serious subject, which will, no doubt, be maturely considered; *first*, as it regards the well-being of the persons who may be removed, for that is our first duty; *secondly*, as it concerns the circumstances and capacities of the British islands to employ its population at home, and whether an actual and accurate adjustment of the supply of labour to the demand, if that could be effected by emigration, might not produce very disadvantageous results, should we have occasion to enlarge our demands upon our population, either for national service, manufacturing industry, or commercial enterprise. If our population were, at this moment, but barely equal to the demand for labour to the full extent of its powers, it would be insufficient for great national exertions, particularly if these were accompanied by an increased activity of trade. *Thirdly*, should a system of emigration be adopted by the Government, the expense of sending the emigrants out, and establishing them on the land, must, somehow or other, be provided for. The difficulty of making pecuniary provision for these purposes has caused it to be suggested that the emigrant may him-

self be made liable to repay, out of the produce of his labour and of his land, the sums expended in placing him in so prosperous a condition; and accordingly it has been proposed, and is still urged by many persons who are pressing this subject upon the Government, that the emigrant should enter into conditions to pay a certain rent to the Crown, redeemable by the accumulations which his industry may produce. This is a most erroneous notion,—a fallacious hope, and would proceed upon a dangerous and unwise tenure. All such settlers would be mere tenants at will, renters of the Crown, neither endowed with the qualifications, nor properly imbued with the sentiments of freemen. To collect such rents would be difficult; to enforce them dangerous. The funding system is, in principle, highly *conservative*, inasmuch as by making the governed the creditors of the Government, it is calculated to give a vested interest in its stability. But what should we say of reversing the principle, and making the people the debtors of the Crown, in such a manner as is still spoken of? It would operate as a premium on a change of allegiance. But leaving, for the present, these considerations aside, and reverting to the circumstance upon which the assurance of bettering the condition of the surplus population that may be sent to

the provinces proceeds, namely, that those colonies offer a profitable field, and an increasing demand, sufficient at once to absorb into the class of employed labour any number of emigrants that may be sent out, has it been well considered, in what way those philanthropic arrangements and prospects must be ruined by measures which shall consign the subjects of this experiment, to scenes and sufferings such as those which I have depicted, and which will assuredly follow in the train of the proposed alterations. The measures which the government has been taking for some years, with a view to promote the settlement and cultivation of the North American Provinces, have encouraged and stimulated a rapidly increasing population to apply itself to the very labour, which the proposed financial measure will fatally check. The pursuits of the emigrant are, it is true, essentially agricultural ; but let it not be overlooked, that agricultural operations in a country covered with forests, must commence, and be accompanied, by the operations of the lumberer. Much error prevails in this country with respect to the timber trade, and it is very generally supposed that it may be considered to be a branch of industry distinct from the settlement and cultivation of the colonies. It is in the very nature of things that these ope-

rations are, to a certain extent, intimately connected with, and must act beneficially on each other. The current of emigration, whether individual or organized as proposed, has for its external or colonial object, the settlement of the country, by bringing waste land into cultivation. To effect this, the settler must begin his operations, and extend gradually his improvements with the axe, to clear his land of wood, before he can get at the soil. If no part of the timber to be removed were in demand in the market, he would have to burn all that he chops down, save what he requires for his own use. But if the operation of clearing his land be encouraged by such a demand for timber as may excite the settler to manufacture it for sale, as well as to clear it away, he is led by a double impulse to exert himself in doing that upon which his prosperity as a cultivator of the soil essentially depends; and he is moreover rewarded for thus applying his industry at times and seasons when his labour cannot be given to the cultivation of his land, by being enabled to procure British goods in exchange for the lumber he manufactures. The timber trade, therefore, acts most beneficially on the settlement and improvement of the colonies; and a discreet and industrious prosecution of it by the settler, who on any scale applies to it such

means and portions of time as cannot be devoted to the soil, must benefit much by such an economy of his industry. Any measure having the effect of lowering the demand for lumber in the colonies would therefore occasion an immediate reduction in the demand for labour there, and a diminution of the means by which the settler can procure imported articles. The effect of the financial measure which I presume to question, would be, in this respect likewise, to affect prejudicially all the positive values I have represented, and likewise throw something into the opposite scale; for it would cause the tide of emigration which we, at great cost, may have been directing to our colonies, to proceed onwards to discharge itself upon and benefit the United States. If this measure be not withdrawn; if the British North American trade languish; if the intercolonial trade with the West Indies be unprotected, the miseries and the distresses, which the emigrant may have endured as a pauper at home, would be nothing to those to which he will be consigned in the wilds to which he has been removed. We have begun this work.—It originated in a desire to relieve ourselves; if it turn out in a manner to reduce to misery, or in any way to injure the interests of those to whom we have held out the assurances of removal to a better condition—I know not the name, for the case

has, happily, never yet occurred, by which to call such an act.

The prosperity of the North American Provinces depends not only on the activity of the timber trade with the mother country, but on a substantial and permanent protection of those interests which were created in the North American provinces by a course of policy, which threw the West Indies upon their sister colonies in the north, for supplies.

It is unnecessary to say anything as to the stages through which the West India intercourse question has passed. But the measure of reopening the ports was adopted, conditionally, proposing that it should be accompanied by a scale of duties, which should substantially protect the interests which had been created in the British North American provinces, and still make it worth their while to continue the supply trade with their sister colonies in the West Indies. The continuance of this trade is, therefore, also a matter of policy of very high order, and cannot safely be lowered to any consideration of a mere mercantile nature, as affording supplies to the West India merchant, a shade lower in price.

This is so important a matter to the North American Provinces, that I must say a few words upon the subject. The very active trade which has been carried on, since 1826 in par-

ticular, between British North America and the West India colonies, is evidently calculated to cultivate, in the best manner, the internal industry of the former, and ultimately to be productive of great advantage to the latter, and to the British empire; but if the interests so created are not protected, the late abandonment of that commercial policy under which the British Provinces have so signally flourished, will operate with ruinous reaction upon extensive enterprises, which commenced with the fairest prospects of success, and will be attended with commensurate loss of confidence in any measure of policy which may be adopted, upon however fair and apparently permanent a basis. The *real* question now to be determined, with respect to the timber trade, and in fixing a scale of duties on productions imported into the West India colonies from the United States, is not that of a mercantile character, as to the extent of relief which the late alteration in the course of trade is, either now, or prospectively, to afford to the West India interests, or to reduce the price of timber in the British market, but whether it is, or is not to be, the policy of the government to foster, and long retain, the North American colonies.

There is not at present any such difference of price in the supplies received in the West Indies from the British Provinces, compared

with those formerly received from the United States, as should be admitted to be any consideration to the Government, or to the West India proprietors, against the measure of protecting the North American Colonies in that trade. As a commercial measure, all that the West India interests ought to seek is—permanency as to the places of supply to which they are to look. They all see, and many have ascertained personally, the capabilities of the British Provinces to supply their wants, and the great advantage to them, as well as to the empire, of protecting the course of trade between these two sets of British Colonies. Prices have not risen much since the measures of 1826 in the British West Indies: nor is price significant, when compared with the nature of the trade which has since been so beneficial: perhaps, too, the amount of West India produce taken off by the United States in return for their supplies, is by no means so great as is generally supposed; and whatever that amount may have been, it certainly cannot but diminish under the influence of the heavy duties levied in their ports on molasses (10 cents. per gallon), on foreign spirits (from 57 to 85 cents. per gallon,) and on sugars (from 3 to 12 cents. per pound,) and from the increasing production of sugars in Louisiana, which, though subject to some checks, already pro-

duces a very large proportion of the sugars consumed in the United States. From all this it is clear, that however desirous the Americans may be of selling their productions to us, they are using every exertion not to be buyers, particularly of our sugars; and this is surely a very sufficient reason for cultivating those sources which we possess in our North American Provinces for the supply of the West Indies with lumber, and for the consumption of their sugars in return; and I am well persuaded that the West India merchants, and proprietors, would best consult their own permanent interests, by giving all their influence to a protecting course of policy, which would undoubtedly, if steadily adhered to, enable the British Provinces to supply more plentifully the wants of the British West Indies, in fish, lumber, and grain; whilst the prosecution of this great course of policy is encouraging and promoting a mutual interchange between all the colonies, by which each will be contributing to the wants of the other, and the whole minister to the wealth and power of the empire.

The Welland Canal, constructed in Upper Canada to connect Lake Erie with Lake Ontario, will be signally successful in transporting the produce of the vast regions bordering on the lakes, with convenience and at a mode-

rate rate, down the St. Lawrence to the ports of Montreal and Quebec for export. But these ports being locked up in ice for at least five months in the year, it becomes a matter of some importance to connect, by a canal, the waters of the Bay of Fundy with the Gulf of St. Lawrence, so that when the Schubennacadie Canal shall be finished, the ports of Halifax, St. John and St. Andrews, may become entrepôts, in which the grains and productions of the Canadas may be warehoused, before the winter sets in; and, reduced to flour with the abundant *water power* which the country possesses, be shipped off for consumption in the West Indies, with assorted cargoes, as required for use. There can be nothing more advantageous to the colonies, and to the empire, than this course of trade; whilst on the other hand it is needless to repeat, that the North American Provinces must all suffer the greatest distress, if they are not insured a market for their surplus productions.

The lands and waters of British North America contain inexhaustible supplies, just such as our West India colonies require, and for which they would become entirely dependent on foreign states, if we did not retain possession of our Northern Provinces. Giving up the one set of colonies, would therefore incur

the risk of losing both; it would at least oblige us to submit to whatever might be exacted as to the rates of supply, when we should no longer possess the means of competition. The fisheries in the British waters of America are the most productive in the world. If they were not ours, whose would they be? What would be the effect of the total abandonment and transfer to another power, of this branch of industry, upon our commercial marine, and consequently upon our maritime ascendancy? Can we be assured that we shall never again be shut out from the Baltic, by a northern coalition, and so have occasion to depend entirely upon our North American Provinces for the necessary supplies of masts and spars to enable Great Britain to maintain her naval superiority?

This question cannot be lowered to the consideration of anything of a financial nature; and it is not therefore my object to investigate whether the financial proposition would be very productive or not. This may certainly be doubted: but are the effects *in policy* correctly estimated, by which the abandonment of a protecting policy in our colonial trade, must be followed? There is no element of greatness, power, and influence, that would not be conceded, and made to minister to others, should we trifle with the interests of

the North American Colonies, or show any disposition to undervalue them, far less to divest ourselves of them. In those very regions, which policy, such as that which the new school professes, would assuredly be the means of severing from Great Britain, there are, besides many other valuable and inexhaustible resources, vast and boundless stores of the very article in which the manufacturing and chief shipping states of the American Union are most deficient, and the acquisition of which would be to strengthen that Union more than the addition of half a continent of mere agricultural soil, and enable them to proceed with vast advantages in their avowed ambition to contend with us for commercial ascendancy and naval empire. The British Colonies contain coal of the first quality, and in immense abundance; and no more need be said to satisfy persons who look beyond the mere surface of things, that upon this account alone they are inestimable; that this precious ingredient of their value may be made to bring them nearer to us, and cement them firmly with us; and that to surrender such a boon to a rival nation, for that must be the consequence of our throwing them off, would be an act of political suicide.

It is useless to deny, that we have something to apprehend from the maritime pursuits and

ambitions of the United States; and it is our duty to countervail these by a fair and honourable course of policy, to protect the colonial trade, which, by their own showing, has flourished so signally.

Nor is it in a colonial sense only that the statesman should estimate the importance of our North American Provinces; for over and above their value as colonies, under the heads of *shipping employed, seamen trained, manufactures consumed, emigrants established*, and all the other advantages which might be enumerated, and exclusively, too, of the tremendous effects of putting all these elements of additional wealth, and power, and convenience, out of our reach and into the opposite scale—beyond these there are considerations of a higher order still, which the statesman should view with forecast—the influence which Great Britain may continue to exercise,—but which, by losing her possessions there, she would for ever abandon in the affairs of the Western World;—retaining those possessions, Great Britain may indefinitely improve her influence; but if she neglect this, she must submit to be successfully rivalled, and perhaps in the end overpowered.

The experience of all nations—the lessons of all history, teach the value and importance of colonies. America has been planted, peopled,

and enriched, but not by such schemes as those of the new school. The United States make no such experiments on themselves: nor will they meet any such propositions from others. If the duties protecting the colonial timber trade are lowered, and those on colonial timber raised, the North American Colonies would become, *pro tanto*, valueless. We might buy timber cheaper, but the greater part would be brought in foreign vessels, and paid for chiefly in money; and if, together with this, the course of trade were unprotected, which is rapidly forming a very beneficial intercourse between the West India Colonies and the North American Provinces, the latter would be entirely ruined in almost every expectation of advantage to which they can look, as dependencies of Great Britain. It is well for us, then, that the restrictions, which have hitherto protected the colonial and intercolonial trade, are not taken off. If that should ever happen, their industry, as colonists, would be ruinously injured; and the immediate consequences would not only be, a “turning of their skill, industry and capital, to other pursuits,” but a disposition to think seriously of turnings of another description.

The economists assume, that if we were now to divest ourselves of our North American Provinces, we might make them an independent

state, and that, in intercourse with them as such, we should have every commercial advantage, which we are now supposed to possess. First, we cannot make them an *independent* state; nor if we could, should we dispose them to be one friendly to us, by the act of throwing them off *prematurely*, for *selfish* and *narrow* reasons. We may train them to become such; but this must be by a mode of treatment very different from that which certain economists inculcate. There is no higher object of policy than to raise up, in that quarter, a powerful and finally independent state, as there is no doubt we may do, provided we continue to act on old-fashioned principles, which appear, however, to have been rejected by the political economists.

It is even asserted that if we had no colonies, we should be able to purchase from them, as independent states, at a lower price to the consumer, the articles which we now get from them as colonists. Treating this as a mercantile, and not a political consideration, is it not perceived that, by divesting ourselves of our colonies, we should render ourselves entirely dependent, for what we now get from them, on foreign states, and, consequently, be obliged to deal with foreign traders on their own terms? So long as we possess sources from

which to procure what raw materials we require, we can retaliate and compete; but without these, we must submit to take what we must have, upon such terms as it may please the seller to dictate.

It is undoubtedly a great deal cheaper to descend to be a feeble, and to submit to be an inferior power, than to be rich and powerful; and if perpetual peace could only be established, and we could persuade all other nations to adopt practically the new notions of commercial policy, the wisdom of retaining our foreign possessions might be doubtful. But how, without these, could Great Britain have gone through the late struggle against all Europe? The very sources of her industry, the raw materials of her manufactures, half the elements of her greatness, might have been cut off by such a combination as has been already witnessed among foreign nations—a combination which nothing but the colonial power of Great Britain could prevent their renewing, or enable her again to defy.

But why should the *doctrinaires* halt at the conclusion, that the *number* of colonies should be *reduced*? If this theory be true in principle, it is true universally, and would prove that *no* colonies can be so beneficial to the parent, as the same countries would be in the character of

independent states. According to this the *whole* should be declared independent; trade made perfectly free; ships and troops recalled and paid off. Ireland, by the same rule, should be given up to Mr. O'Connell; and then, at last, a general prosperity, a commercial millenium might be expected!

But even if this reasoning were unanswerable, is it safe for this country to act upon the theory, before others are equally convinced of its soundness, and adopt it accordingly? The old prejudices, that mankind are benefited by associations for the exchange of labour, under mutual compacts of a protective nature; and that it is impossible to apply pure and original theories, however true, to artificial statistical conditions, and to the infinite and peculiar varieties which may exist in productions and pursuits—these prejudices (as the economists take them to be) are still so inveterate, that there is danger, if we discard our colonies, of their forming a new confederacy, either with some rival power, or with each other, for the express purpose of adhering to the former system, to keep up the same kind of monopoly, as it is termed; and even if it could be shown that we gain nothing by having the colonial monopoly in our favour, it must be admitted that we

have something to lose in the case of one being formed against us. Foreign powers, without exception, still remain most obstinately attached to the old system. They seem to prefer the example by which our power has been created, to the theories by which we are told it *may* be increased; but by which, in my humble opinion, it is much more likely to be undermined and ruined.

So long as Great Britain is desirous of continuing a manufacturing, commercial, ship-owning country, and a first-rate power, colonies are essential to her; without such possessions, she would soon cease to be pre-eminent in any of these capacities. Founding colonies, is like planting trees; they must be fenced, nursed, and protected. The return may not be immediate; but it may be rendered certain, by good management: and so far from conceding, that the separation, which, through *bad management*, has taken place between Great Britain and her former North American Provinces, must necessarily be followed by an abandonment of those which remain attached to us; or from admitting that the state and prospects of our trade with the former are such as should reconcile us to view with indifference the separation of the latter,*—neither moral rectitude,

* See page 7.

nor political wisdom could be more flagitiously violated, than by listening seriously to any such proposals respecting those loyal colonies which nothing but *bad treatment* can separate from us. High considerations of present interest, and considerations higher still as to the future, demand that our policy should be to cherish and protect the provinces that have remained faithful to us—to set their interest apart from others—to entwine them with our own—to attach them by every bond that can be formed to protect their trade as colonists—to provide for their defence against external force—to assist them in fostering and developing their vast natural resources—and to advance with paternal solicitude their moral condition. By such a course, we shall not only *enable*, but *dispose*, our American colonies to take upon themselves, in due season, such expenses as we shall have given them the means of sustaining—until at length, strong enough to stand alone, they come forward to act the part of a son who has been kindly treated, well educated, protected, and liberally provided for in his youth; and who, when ‘set up in the world,’ and enabled ‘to do for himself,’ would scorn to be a burthen to the parent who has so formed and treated him. Let not this be considered a romantic expectation; so far it is felt, very generally, in the

North American Provinces; and, so far, to such a happy issue is this conduct tending—There are such sentiments in our nature, and why should there not be such principles in our policy?—What a power should we thus raise!” But to effect this, we must not be so ungenerous as to withdraw any provision which has been hitherto made, and which is essential to maintain the colonial connection, until by a distinct understanding, and by a permanent arrangement with the legislatures of those countries, we may, with safety, make that saving. The colonial connection between Great Britain and her North American colonies can only subsist in the monarchical form of government; and whatever is essential to that, should be considered as contributing indispensably to the chief political bond of union. At present, the British Provinces which have not yet taken upon themselves the expenses of their civil list, are totally unable to do so with due regard to the internal improvement of the country, for to this the whole of their very limited revenue is devoted. The time will come when they may be disposed to take these charges upon themselves; and we should endeavour to accelerate that period, by so protecting their interests in the colonial connection, (which can only be done by protecting the colonial trade,) as to furnish them

with the means of doing so. This, therefore, is another question which should be considered as one of imperial policy, and not one of finance. To save £6000 upon a parliamentary estimate for a few years, and thereby to throw abroad a question which should be settled upon safe and suitable previous arrangements, would be destructive of the great objects which the statesman should steadily regard, and which the British Parliament, if such views were forcibly put to it, would not break down. Is, or is not, the colonial connection to be maintained? If it is, let nothing be spared that can be proved to be essential to it. If not, let the other course be taken. But it will be one that would be considered as a proclamation made by Britain, of fearful import to herself. If even Great Britain were in such difficulty as to require so paltry an economy as this, let her be persuaded that these are not the items upon which retrenchment can safely act. If she be in such difficulty, let suitable measures be adopted; but let her not abandon the course which made her the first maritime power in the world. Let her not, recreant like, unrig and dismast herself, and drop anchor in the midst of a stormy ocean, and in a stormy time; but with a steady hand at the helm, and a gallant, resolute crew, let her continue to spread her wings to

the gales which waft her vessels over all the oceans of the world.—Let her keep rigged for the storm, and ever ready to arm and animate her bulwarks for the fight, when needful,—persuaded that the course of policy, which made her a great maritime power, will maintain her in supremacy; but that in proportion as she deviates from that course which made her great, she will become feeble.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

[From the Fredericton New-Brunswick Royal Gazette of March 2, 1831.]

The Joint Address of the Council and Assembly to his Majesty, upon the Subject of a Reduction or Abolition of the existing Duties on Foreign Wood.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble Petition of your Majesty's Council and House of Assembly, of the Province of New-Brunswick in General Assembly convened.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

Your Majesty's most faithful subjects the Council and Assembly of New-Brunswick, being greatly alarmed at a report which has reached this country of an intention entertained by your Majesty's ministers, so to alter the duties upon wood imported into the United Kingdom, as to destroy the protection afforded to colonial over foreign wood, by the existing system of duties; a measure (if carried into operation) fraught with consequences so ruinous to all your Majesty's North American Colonies, and to New-Brunswick more extensively than to any other, beg leave to lay at the foot of the throne this our humble representation.

Under this protecting system, originally adopted for the purpose of rendering the mother country independent of foreign nations for a supply of wood, a trade of vast magnitude has grown up, in which British capital alone is engaged and British interests alone are promoted.

We have not at command the documents from which we can accurately ascertain the actual extent of this trade, but from the information which we possess, we

are induced to believe, that the number of vessels employed in the whole trade with the Canadas and the lower Provinces, does not fall short of 2000 annually, and that the number of sailors required for navigating them amounts to 25,000.

This is the staple trade of New-Brunswick. In its two branches, of ton timber and deals, nearly the whole commercial industry of the country is interested, while the commercial establishments and outlay of capital are altogether arranged with a view to its prosecution.

We have as yet no article of export which would find a market in the United Kingdom but the produce of the forests, and if our means of paying for British manufactures cease, the importation of these manufactures must cease also.

With a sinking commerce, our credit with the British merchant must wear away; the revenues of the country must dwindle, internal improvement be stopped, and the settlement of the wilderness lands in a great measure suspended.

That the commercial intercourse between the United Kingdom and the Northern Colonies, especially this province of New-Brunswick, would be very greatly reduced, if not altogether annihilated, by withdrawing the protecting duties on our wood, and the consequent increase of supply of this article to the mother country from the northern powers of Europe, we fear is too evident to need any proof, and we therefore contemplate the disastrous consequences of such a measure with no small degree of discouragement and dismay.

But the commercial evils which would ensue to these Colonies, are not the only ones which we apprehend; we very much fear that the ruin of the wood trade with the United Kingdom, following so soon after the opening of the West India Colonies to the United States, would be viewed by all the North American Colonists, as such an abandonment of their interests in your Majesty's Councils, as could not fail to excite discontent, and have a strong tendency to shake the loyal affection, which they have hitherto cherished with such honest zeal towards the parent state; and there is no political evil which the inhabitants of this province would more

seriously deprecate, than a weakening of their ties to that country, which they, and their fathers before them, have so steadfastly adhered to throughout every change of fortune, prosperous or adverse.

We forbear to enlarge upon the effects which a change of the existing policy, with regard to the colonial wood trade, would have upon the general interests of the empire in its bearing upon the shipping interests, and as a nursery for British seamen; these are topics upon which your Majesty's ministers must have far more extended means of information than are within our reach. But there is one most important consideration connected with this trade, which we cannot refrain from distinctly bringing to notice, and that is, the facility which it affords for the emigration to these colonies of the surplus population of the United Kingdom, and the means of employment which it lays open to the emigrant after his arrival in the colony; circumstances which we do not hesitate to declare, are both of them absolutely essential to the continuance of that tide of emigration which now so fortunately, both for the mother country and the colonies, is directing its course to these British American shores. If the colonial wood trade cease, there will be neither ships to bring out the emigrants, nor business in the colonies to give them wages for their labour until they can clear and cultivate their lands, nor a market for the produce of the soil, after their cultivation of it has rendered it productive.

The Council and Assembly, therefore, most humbly implore your Majesty to take the foregoing circumstances into your most gracious consideration, and earnestly pray, that your Majesty's government may not be induced to alter the present system of protection to the Colonial Wood Trade, which is so vitally important to the interests of these North American provinces, as constituent parts of the British empire.

And as in duty bound will ever pray, &c.

[Signed as usual by the President of the Council
and the Speaker of the Commons.]

APPENDIX No. II.

*Copy of a Despatch from Lord AYLMER to Lord
Viscount GODERICH, &c. &c. &c.*

[From Papers ordered to be Printed by the House of Commons, 10 March,
1831.]

Castle of Saint Lewis, Quebec,
8th January, 1831.

MY LORD,

The circumstances stated in the accompanying copy of a Letter or Memorial which I have just received from gentlemen engaged in the Lumber Trade in this Province, requiring immediate attention; I lose no time in forwarding it to your Lordship *via* New York, by the post for that place, which will leave Quebec in less than an hour, a circumstance which, I trust, will serve as my excuse with your Lordship for any inaccuracy or want of order which may be found to exist in this despatch.

It would be highly presumptuous on my part to intrude on your Lordship's notice any observations of my own regarding the policy of the measure to which the inclosed Memorial adverts; but it becomes my duty, as Governor of this Province, and consequently the peculiar advocate of its interests, respectfully, and at the same time most earnestly, to solicit your Lordship to exert your influence in protecting the Interests of the Memorialists on the occasion alluded to by them, in so far as this advantage may be afforded consistently with your Lordship's view of the general interests of the empire.

I am well assured that the interests engaged in the Lumber Trade in *Canada*, are by no means confined to the gentlemen who are parties to the inclosed Memorial, but that the great mass of the Inhabitants of the extensive and important possessions of His Majesty are, all of them, more or less interested in the result of

the measure which appears to have caused the alarm, or rather the panic (for such it may truly be called) which has been excited in the minds of the Memorialists, on becoming acquainted, by the recent arrivals from England, with the announcement by Mr. Stanley in the House of Commons, of his proposed measure regarding the Lumber Trade.

I have, &c.
(signed) AYLNER.

(Enclosure.)

*Letter from Mr. WILLIAM PRICE to Lord AYLNER,
&c. &c. &c.*

Quebec, 8 January, 1831.

MY LORD,

I am directed by the Committee of Trade, earnestly to entreat your Lordship that you will have the kindness to address a Despatch to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, to represent the extreme anxiety and consternation which exists in these provinces, in consequence of its having been proposed in the Imperial Parliament to make alteration in the Duties on Lumber, to the prejudice of the North American Trade; that any such change will be attended with the most disastrous consequences to the Colonies; but more particularly I am directed to implore that your Lordship will warn His Majesty's Government, in the strongest terms, of the overwhelming Ruin and Misery, which an immediate and sudden change would spread, far and wide, throughout the country; and to entreat, that if the Imperial Parliament in its wisdom should consider the proposed change necessary for the general welfare of the empire, that it will, in its mercy, grant a continuation of the protection which the trade at present enjoys, for a term of five, or at least of three years, that those, who, relying on the existing laws, have invested their capital in lumber establishments, in saw-mills, in stocks for spring shipment, and in preparations for new supplies, may be

enabled to realize some portion of their property, so fearlessly embarked, which, in the *Canadas* alone, cannot amount to less than £1,250,000 at the present moment, and which a sudden or immediate change would render almost a total sacrifice.

Your lordship must feel how dreadful would be the consequences to this young Colony of such a visitation and loss of capital; and the Committee rely with confidence on your Excellency's representations and intercession in their behalf, and in the justice and mercy of His Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(signed) WILLIAM PRICE,
Acting Chairman.

APPENDIX No. III.

*Copy of a Despatch from Sir P. MAITLAND, K.C.B.
to Lord Viscount GODERICH, &c. &c. &c.*

[From Papers ordered to be Printed by the House of Commons, 10 March,
1831.]

Government House, Halifax,
17th January, 1831.

MY LORD,

At the request of His Majesty's Council and the House of Assembly, I have the honour, herewith, to transmit to your Lordship, and to recommend to His Majesty's favourable consideration, their humble Address to the King, praying, that the protection which has hitherto been afforded to the Timber Trade of these Colonies, by the discriminating Duties on Foreign Timber imported into Great Britain, may not be withdrawn.

I have the honour to be,
&c. &c. &c.
(signed) P. MAITLAND.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

We, your Majesty's Council and House of Assembly, now convened in General Assembly, of your loyal Province of *Nova Scotia*, humbly approach the Throne, to state to Your Majesty the alarm and uneasiness which has been excited among Your Majesty's Subjects in this Province, by the report that it is the intention of the Imperial Parliament to withdraw the protection upon our Timber Trade, which it has hitherto received from the duty upon foreign timber.

We beg leave to call to Your Majesty's recollection, that after years of unsuccessful solicitation on the part of the Colonies, this protection was at length afforded, and fully realized the expectations of its most sanguine advocates. That it not only accelerated the internal improvement of British North America, but increased its trade with the mother country, and caused the Colonists to consume a much greater quantity of British Manufactures than they could have done if they had not been enabled to pay for them with timber.

That the amount of Imports from Great Britain into this Province has, consequently, been augmented in a great degree, and now annually exceeds the sum of £500,000. Should the policy of the Parent State lead to a reduction of the present duties on foreign timber and deals, a diminution in the consumption of British Manufactures to a great extent must inevitably take place, as the export of timber constitutes one of our main sources of payment for those manufactures.

That not only the Export of timber from the colonies, and the consumption of British goods would be affected by the adoption of such a measure, but the fisheries also would become greatly injured thereby, as the supply of salt, and other articles for the fisheries, is principally obtained from Great Britain in return for the timber exported thither, and is brought to British North America in ships which would otherwise be unemployed.

That the very existence of trade in these Northern Colonies, depends upon the prosperity of the fisheries,

which are the principal support of the trade to the West Indies. We could not supply the Islands with timber, and numerous other articles, if our fisheries failed, as that staple article affects directly or indirectly every other branch of commerce from these Atlantic colonies.

That the recent measure of the British Government, whereby the Ports in the British West Indies have been opened to the vessels of the United States, has caused the most serious injury to our Merchants, many of whom have been extensively engaged in the transportation of flour and other American products to the southern colonies. In consequence of a firm reliance that no concession of such a nature would have been made by our Government, these persons have made large investments in warehouses, wharves and shipping, the value of which will now be greatly diminished in consequence of this sudden and unlooked-for change in this branch of our trade. The protection hitherto afforded to Colonial Timber and Deals in the British market, is therefore more imperiously called for at this time, in consequence of the loss of a great portion of our carrying trade to the West Indies. That the amount of capital vested in British Shipping in the mother country and the Colonies, has been progressively increasing under the fostering aid of those protective duties, which, if now withdrawn, must be productive of the most ruinous consequences, in the depreciation of the value of Shipping, and the various other important interests connected therewith.

That the capacity of the North American Colonies to supply the mother country with timber to an almost unbounded extent, will, it is presumed, be fully admitted by all who are acquainted with them, and with the annual imports of the various descriptions of wood from thence into Great Britain.

That the sound and enlightened Policy which has heretofore encouraged the importation and consumption of British productions, in preference to those of foreign countries, having been recognized as the great bulwark of British prosperity, and adhered to at the present day in all the leading commercial arrangements

with other nations;—we therefore confidently rely upon the justice and parental regard of His Majesty's Government to continue to Your loyal Subjects in these Colonies, that favour and protection which has hitherto been afforded by the discriminating Duties on Foreign Timber imported into Great Britain.

11 January, 1831.

These passed in the House
of Assembly.
(signed) V. W. ARCHIBALD,
Speaker.

11 January, 1831.

These passed in Council.
(signed) S. BLOWERS,
President.

APPENDIX IV.

Copy of a Memorial to the Board of Trade by the Merchants of Quebec, respecting the Timber Trade.

[From Papers ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, March 14, 1831.]

THE MEMORIAL of the undersigned Proprietors of Lumber Establishments and Saw Mills in the Neighbourhood of Quebec,

HUMBLY SHOWETH,

That your Memorialists have heard with the greatest anxiety and consternation that it has been proposed in the Imperial Parliament to make an alteration in the Duties on Timber and Deals, prejudicial to the North American Colonies :

That your Memorialists, and a vast number of the inhabitants of the Canadas, have made large outlays of capital in saw-mills, and the various establishments indispensably requisite for carrying on the trade, on the faith of existing laws :

That the winter-establishments for preparing the

new supplies of lumber for shipment next season have now been established throughout the country for more than three months, and stocked at a heavy expense:

That many of your Memorialists provided in the autumn at Quebec, large stocks of lumber for the loading of their early spring ships, an essential and usual precaution to ensure the accomplishment of two voyages during the season:

That these undertakings have been entered into unsuspecting of any change, and that the capital so invested, amounts at the present moment to at least £1,250,000:

That any immediate alteration in the duties unfavourable to the North American trade would render these investments a total sacrifice:

That such loss of capital, and sudden withdrawal of employment from so many persons, would be a dreadful visitation to this young Colony, and spread overwhelming ruin and misery far and wide throughout the country:

That the trade having risen up under the protective system adopted in the first instance by the British government from motives of policy, for the purpose of opening channels for the supply of timber independent of foreign countries, ought not, your Memorialists respectfully represent, in justice, to be abandoned without ample notice, that those who have been encouraged thereby to embark their capital in the trade may have time to withdraw a portion of it; such, your Memorialists believe, has always been the just system of his Majesty's paternal government, as in the cases of the bounty to the Linen Trade, and on Barilla; any other system would be but calling forth the energies of his Majesty's subjects to involve them in ruin:

That a continuation of the present protection to the trade would be requisite for a term of at least five years, to withdraw a portion of the capital embarked in it, and three years to realize the stocks of lumber on hand, and now preparing.

APPENDIX V.

Memorial of Merchants of Quebec.

[From Papers ordered to be printed by the House of Commons,
March 14, 1831.]

To the Right Honourable LORD AUCKLAND, President,
and the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's
Privy Council for Trade and Plantations;

THE MEMORIAL of the Committee of Trade of Quebec,
representing the Merchants thereof,

HUMBLY SHOWETH,

That your Memorialists have learned with the greatest alarm, that it has been proposed in the Imperial Parliament to take into consideration during the present session, the existing scale of duties on lumber, with a view to an alteration prejudicial to the North American trade:

That the duties as they stand at present, afford but a bare protection to the trade, and that any such change must put an end to it:

That the lumber-trade is the most valuable and extensive trade enjoyed by the North American Colonies, and that the loss of it will be attended with the most disastrous consequences to the inhabitants generally, and bring upon many utter ruin:

That capital to a very considerable amount has been invested in the trade, both by merchants in Quebec, and by inhabitants throughout every part of the country, to form the establishments indispensably requisite for carrying it on. In Quebec for the security of the lumber, and of the ships while loading in the strong tideway of the river St. Lawrence, and throughout the country in erecting saw-mills, forming log-ponds, and in building craft for the transport of deals; most of which works are of great cost, many forming the only hope and dependence of their proprietors, and all useless for other purposes:

That the lumber trade is of the utmost consequence

to the poorer inhabitants of the country, furnishing to a very large number their only means of support during the severity of our long winter, particularly after seasons of bad crops, (which in the lower province is of frequent occurrence,) and to the young men, and the new settlers, the most ready way of enabling them to establish themselves on lands:

That emigration from the mother country to the Canadas has been increasing annually:

That in the year 1829 it amounted to 15,945 persons,
And in the year 1830 28,100.

And that should the present state of extreme distress of the labouring classes of Great Britain and Ireland unhappily continue, emigration must go on increasing to a very considerable extent, offering as it does the most immediate and effectual means of relief:

That on this score the lumber-trade is all important to the mother country, to the emigrants, and to the provinces, as affording prompt means of employment on their arrival to the poor emigrants for their immediate support, and enabling those who are frugal and industrious, in a short time to establish themselves on lands:

It is important to the inhabitants of the provinces, as relieving them from the severe pressure of a constant flow of needy strangers by the work so afforded them. And most important and consolatory to his Majesty's government in their paternal care, and to the gentlemen of Great Britain and Ireland, in sending forth their poor countrymen to find an asylum in the Canadas, that such ready means exist of obtaining employment for them, and that it is in their power to maintain this desirable state of things. Every part of the country, but most especially, the new settlements in the neighbourhood of Quebec, and the River Ottawa, afford abundant proofs of the benefits which have been derived from the lumber-trade.

That thus it is the means of retaining as settlers in the Canadas a vast body of emigrants, who would otherwise be driven for immediate occupation to the United States:

That moreover the extensive amount of tonnage employed in the trade affords the means of cheap transport to emigrants, nor have they far to travel from the homes they leave to find a conveyance, as vessels are constantly departing during the summer season for North America from almost every port in the United Kingdom:

And these your Memorialists call to the attention of your Lordships as most material considerations; it being evident, that without such means the expense of immigration would be beyond the reach of thousands who now immigrate here:

That the amount of the importations into Lower Canada by sea during the season of 1829 was £1,275,000 sterling; that the returns of 1830 are not yet made up, but that the amount is considerably larger, almost entirely from the United Kingdom and its dependencies, and in British shipping. The amount of foreign tonnage being only 430 tons out of 225,513 tons entered:

That the Canadas being thus consumers of British manufactures, and British West India produce to so large an amount, merit the consideration of his Majesty's government in the protection of the produce they have to offer in return, more especially as the trade is carried on by British native subjects, British capital, and in British ships:

That there were cleared out from the ports of Lower Canada for all places beyond the limits of the province in British shipping,

In the year 1829—240,880 tons, navigated by 10,742 men.
In the year 1830—225,083 10,030 —

and that a still larger number of British ships are employed in the timber-trade from the other ports of North America:

That your Lordships having a perfect knowledge of the value and importance to the mother country of a trade which employs so large an amount of British shipping, and forms so extensive and excellent a nursery for British seamen, as well as affording an opening and employment for so large a number of the members of our family (in these distressful times more than ever

requisite), your Memorialists need make no comment on the subject. It would however be grievous to your Memorialists, to reflect that as these advantages will be sacrificed with the destruction of the North American Timber Trade, so will be increased the employment of foreign shipping, the nurseries of foreign seamen, and the employment and prosperity of foreign subjects :

That by the return of imports into the United Kingdom, it appears that foreigners under the present scale of duties enjoy a very considerable share of the lumber-trade with Great Britain; that in this regard the competition of Colonial Timber operates most serviceably in keeping down the price of foreign Timber, for it cannot be supposed that the Baltic proprietors and merchants will neglect to take advantage of the additional demand which will be made in their markets for 600,000 tons of timber, the necessary consequence of any change of duties in their favour. Inasmuch as the British North American Timber will be thrown out of the market altogether, and thus British interests further sacrificed to enrich foreigners :

That the scale of duties adopted in the session of 1821 was determined on after a very long and laborious inquiry of a Committee of the House of Commons, and after weighing maturely the conflicting interests of the various parties who appeared before them; and it was considered a very nice and delicate adjustment, enabling competitors from all quarters to meet on equal terms in the British markets :

That under this impression, and on the faith of the permanency of this scale of duties, many of your Memorialists, and of the inhabitants of these provinces, made their outlay for carrying on the Lumber-trade, which will become a total loss to them on any further change in favour of the Baltic trade :

That it having been said by opponents to the trade that it has a demoralizing effect in the population engaged in it, and tends to divert their attention from the cultivation of lands :

Your Memorialists beg leave to state, though owing to peculiar circumstances it formerly was attended by such effects, that it is now no longer the case; on the

contrary most conducive to forwarding the settlement of lands :

It had naturally the effect complained of when, during the late war, the United Kingdom, cut off from her usual sources for the supply of timber (then most wanted) the trade newly introduced into the North American Colonies became suddenly forced to a considerable extent, on a limited agricultural population, high prices, and high wages, with dissipation in their train, could not but be the natural consequences. But the trade having now been long established in the country, and the labouring part of the population surprisingly increased by immigration, prices and wages are moderate, and emigrants and young men find the lumber-establishments the means of enabling them, by saving their wages for two or three years, to establish themselves on lands, which otherwise it would be out of their power to accomplish :

Your Memorialists can state this as a fact, coming within their own knowledge ; and that in establishments where upwards of 200 labourers are employed there is the most perfect sobriety, and no opportunity of obtaining ardent spirits to excess ; nor are they used but when given out by the foreman in moderation, after exposure to hardships :

That your Memorialists have heard with concern, that an unfounded prejudice has gone abroad respecting the quality of the Fir Timber imported from British North America :

On this subject they feel themselves entitled to state with confidence, as respects Fir Timber, that the Red Pine is equal in quality to any brought from the North of Europe, either for ship-building or domestic purposes. That the Yellow Pine Timber affords masts for the Royal Navy, not obtainable elsewhere, and when sawn into deals, an article unequalled by any other for the interior or joiner's work of houses ; and that the white spruce-deals, afforded at a low rate, are quite equal to any, and superior to some from the Baltic, and can only be said to yield in quality to those from Christiana in Norway :

Your Memorialists therefore most humbly pray that

your Lordships, taking the premises into your favourable consideration, may be pleased to recommend to the Imperial Parliament to maintain the present scale of Duties on Timber and Deals, as established in the session of 1821, relying on the permanency of which, your Memorialists, and many thousands of his Majesty's faithful subjects, have embarked their capital and labour, and in which any alteration prejudicial to them will involve them and their families in utter ruin :

And your Memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

(signed) JEREMIAH LEAYCRAFT, Chairman.
H. LE MESURIER.
G. PEMBERTON and Others.

Quebec, 28th January, 1831.

APPENDIX VI.

[*Extracted from the New Brunswick Courier, St. John, Saturday, February 5, 1831.*]

To the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council for Trade and Plantations.

The Memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of the City of St. John, Province of New Brunswick,

HUMBLY SHOWETH,

That your Memorialists have learnt with much surprise and alarm, that it is in the contemplation of his Majesty's Ministers to recommend an alteration of the present duties on Foreign and British Colonial Timber and Deals, and such an alteration as, if adopted, will be productive of much immediate embarrassment, and ultimately will prove most injurious to the mother country and to these Colonies.

Your Lordships must be well aware of the strict and growing connexion which exists between Great Britain and her American Colonies; and your Memorialists strongly urge the policy of fostering, in place of interrupting, that connexion, which the proposed measures, it appears to your Memorialists, are calculated directly to loosen.

Should the foreign nations, bordering on the Baltic and North Sea, have the privilege of importing timber and deals into Great Britain, at less than the present duty, there can exist no competition between them and the American Colonies, arising from the greater length of the voyage from America, and from the indisputable fact of the ability of foreigners to navigate their vessels at rates greatly lower than possibly can be done by the subjects of Great Britain.

The effect of the alteration contemplated in the system of duties, will be to prohibit the importation of timber and deals from the American Colonies altogether; and in this manner the establishments of the subjects of Great Britain will be broken up, and the Colonies be deprived of almost their only medium of exchange for the manufactures of the mother country. For if these manufactures cannot be paid for in the produce of the Colonies, they cannot continue to be imported, and the intercourse between Great Britain and the Colonies will be in a great measure suspended; and thus the consequences to which the memorialists have before adverted, must inevitably follow.

Should the duty on timber imported from the Baltic and Norway be lessened, the effect of the measure will operate to the prejudice of the trade with the Colonies, in precisely the same manner as an increase of the duties upon Colonial Timber would do, should such an increase take place while the duties upon Baltic Timber remain as they now are.

The greatest advantage to the mother country which your Memorialists can suppose to be contemplated to arise from the alteration proposed, will be an increased demand by the northern states for her manufactures. Yet it is most obvious, that as an article of commerce, if the consumption on the one hand is to be regulated

merely by the demand for the commodity offered in exchange for the other, she will eventually gain nothing; and even the reduction in the price of the article itself will not do more than make good the difference in the mode of payment, as those countries ever have had, even at the present rate, the balance of trade in their favour. She is in such a case merely carrying her goods to another market, while she is losing the market offered by the Colonies, and benefiting states of opposite interests and altogether unconnected with herself, at the expense of one of the most valuable of the dependencies of the British Crown. Your Memorialists further beg to state, as an example of the spirit which at present actuates the inhabitants of this Colony, that they have voluntarily taxed all foreign manufactured goods considerably in addition to the amount of duties chargeable on the same articles by Act of Parliament. Thus showing a desire to prohibit the introduction of all but the articles of British manufacture.

Besides, from the facts which have been stated in the event of the alteration contemplated taking place, the carrying trade must necessarily be thrown solely into the hands of foreigners, which it appears to your Memorialists will ultimately more than counterbalance any present advantage, which the measure might possibly produce to the manufacturers of the mother country.

It is with the utmost deference submitted to your Lordships, that the consequences would be most ruinous to the shipping interests of the kingdom, so large a proportion of which is employed in the conveyance of lumber from North America, and that they must prove fatal to the various departments of trade connected with that intercourse.

Your Memorialists further beg leave in the most particular manner to observe, that the greater part of the shipping employed in the conveyance of timber from British America, is exclusively calculated for that purpose. The vessels are too large for the Baltic trade, and are by no means adapted for the West India or indeed any other trade; and the alteration proposed,

must occasion the loss of almost the whole of this class of shipping.

Your Memorialists further beg to state, that within a few years many of the inhabitants of this and the adjoining provinces have, at almost incredible expense and labour, erected saw mills and other expensive establishments necessary for the manufacture and exportation of deals to the market of the mother country, relying upon the permanency of the trade being sustained. In the events of any alteration of the duties, materially affecting this branch of it, the proprietors must all suffer severely, and in many instances be inevitably ruined.

Your Memorialists, therefore, cannot but press upon your Lordships' most serious consideration, the probable effects of a measure involving the employment, and even the mercantile existence of so considerable a portion of the British community.

Your Memorialists would also beg leave to suggest to your Lordships, that the encouragement of the trade to Great Britain, from her own Colonies, is of the utmost importance, considered in a national point of view, and that the length of the voyage to North America, the invigorating nature of the climate, and the extent of the trade itself, have formed a nursery for seamen which can hardly be equalled, and which most valuable class of men, admirably calculated for manning the British Navy, must be altogether lost, should the proposed alteration take place.

Your Memorialists, therefore, humbly pray for your Lordships' most serious and favourable consideration of all the premises. And as in duty bound they will ever pray.

(Signed) L. DONALDSON,
President Chamber of Commerce.

St. John, N. B. 25th Jan. 1831.

APPENDIX VII.

[From the Quebec Mercury, February 22, 1831.]

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, UPPER CANADA.

TIMBER TRADE.

Friday, February 4.

On the motion of Mr. Morris, the House went into Committee on certain resolutions respecting the Timber Trade.

Mr. Morris said, the Resolutions which he was about to submit for the consideration of the Committee became necessary for the protection of a most important branch of the trade of this country. The Imperial Parliament, are, it is said, about to alter the duty on Baltic Timber, and unless the people of the Colony take immediate steps to convince His Majesty's Ministers, that any material change affecting the Timber trade of the Canadas will cause its utter ruin and the bankruptcy of many persons, who have embarked their fortunes with a confident belief that no sudden change would take place—he stated that the expensive voyage to Canada, and the high rate of wages to labourers and seamen put it out of the power of the Canadian merchant to compete with the Baltic trade, unless some protection is afforded. He contended that the importance of this trade to the Empire ought to induce His Majesty's Government to listen with caution to representations, which would drive 700 ships out of a trade that employs thousands of British seamen, and causes the consumption of vast quantities of the manufactures of our countrymen. Another advantage of the trade with Canada he thought to be the means of removing vast numbers of the emigrants to the Colony, who could not leave home but for the cheap passages afforded by the ships arriving at Quebec in ballast. These persons become respectable settlers and thereby

relieved the nation of a most serious burthen. It had been argued that the Lumber trade was an injury to the country as it diverted the farmer from agricultural pursuits, but this opinion he could by no means agree to. The thousands of persons employed in that business consume vast quantities of the flour and pork sent from the western parts of the Province, and are the means of introducing an extensive circulation of money which could not otherwise exist. He thought also that the timber was injured materially by the duty of one penny per foot on all timber of a certain description which is cut from the waste lands of the Crown. This he thought ought not to be exacted, as it operated as a direct tax on the raw material, and was as injurious as if it met a duty in the home market. Besides he knew of no advantage derived from its collection, for the public were kept in total ignorance of its application.

Here Mr. Morris read his Resolutions as follows:—

Resolved, That by the latest accounts from England, the Imperial Parliament contemplate some material alteration and reduction in the present Duties on Timber and Deals imported into Great Britain and Ireland, from the North of Europe.

Resolved, That the timber trade of Upper and Lower Canada, in consequence of the protecting duty imposed on timber imported into Great Britain from the North of Europe, has, of late years, induced capitalists to invest large sums of money in the construction of expensive saw-mills and other works necessary to ensure a regular and extensive supply of all kinds of timber, deals, and staves for the British and West India market.

Resolved, that any material diminution of these duties will wholly exclude Canada timber from consumption in the British market, in consequence of the more expensive voyage to North America, and the higher rate of wages paid for labour in these Colonies, as well as to British seamen.

Resolved, That the employment of many hundred ships, manned with British subjects, is, of itself, a consideration which, in the opinion of this House, ought to induce the Imperial Parliament to continue a regula-

tion, so important to the welfare of the people of His Majesty's North American Colonies and the shipping interests of the Empire, especially as the nature of that trade enables the Colonists to consume vast quantities of the manufactures of the mother country, while at the same time the redundant population of the kingdom find an easy method of being conveyed to a country where industrious families have a certain opportunity of earning a livelihood, and thus relieve the nation of a most alarming burthen, besides the expense of their removal as a national measure.

Resolved, That besides the long and expensive voyage and high rate of wages, which operates so injuriously against the Canadian timber, the recent regulation, which imposes a duty of one penny per foot on timber cut from the waste lands of the crown in this province, is not the least of many discouragements which fetter and blight the efforts of those who prosecute this interesting trade.

Resolved, That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty in pursuance of the foregoing resolutions.

Mr. Hagerman thought this a question of great importance, and his hon. friend from Lanark (Mr. Morris) was entitled to the highest credit for bringing it forward. The trade of the Colony required protection—we enjoyed already great advantages from the home government in this respect, but it was necessary to extend and continue such advantages, and nothing tended more to continue our connection with the mother country. The Colony had improved more under the fostering hand of Great Britain, within the last ten years, than could have been anticipated. The North of Europe was certainly nearer the mother country, and the Canadian timber could not meet it on a common footing—therefore, an additional duty has been hitherto imposed upon it, but it was now said the British Ministry were about to relax, and admit European timber at a less duty. If so, it would be ruinous to the timber trade of Upper Canada. In the districts of Niagara and London, there were immense forests of white oak and black walnut, which could be readily transported to the Atlantic, when the Welland Canal came into full opera-

tion, together with lumber from the United States, which he would admit free, and this would increase the shipping at Quebec; but if a reduction of duty on the Baltic trade take place, it will put a stop to all this, and deprive thousands of profitable employment, who are now and would be engaged in the lumber trade of this country. This measure concerns not only the persons engaged in this trade, but many others; a vast number of vessels employed in it brought out to our shores, at a low rate from Great Britain and Ireland, thousands of active, industrious and loyal settlers, to strengthen and improve the country, by whom agriculturists and others would be equally benefited. He therefore considered it the duty of this House to show to the British government the absolute ruin, that a reduction of the duty on the Baltic timber would bring upon the trade of this Colony.

The Resolutions were put and carried unanimously.

APPENDIX VIII.

[*Extracted from the St. Andrew's Herald of Tuesday, February 8, 1831.*]

To the Right Honourable and Honourable, the Commons' House of Parliament, in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of the Chamber of Commerce, at St. Andrews, New Brunswick,

HUMBLY SHOWETH,

That your Petitioners have reason to fear that the views of his Majesty's Ministers are directed to a reduction of duties on Baltic and other Foreign Timber, on importation into Great Britain, which, if carried into effect, will eventually ruin the trade of the North American Colonies in that article.

Your Petitioners respectfully beg leave to state to your Honourable House, their reasons for giving this

decided opinion, which will at once appear, by reference to the proximity of the Continental ports in the Baltic to Great Britain, in comparison with these Colonies, which enables foreign shipping of cheap construction, and navigated at a trifling cost, to carry their productions at one third the freight required for the protection of the trade to these provinces.

Your Petitioners beg leave to remind your Honourable House, that the consumers of wood are chiefly the respectable and wealthy class of the community, and it not being, like exciseable commodities, indispensable for the daily comfort and support of the poor. And that the carrying trade from hence is entirely in the hands of British subjects, employing fully one fourth of the tonnage of the empire.

That the mercantile body in these provinces have lately been kept in a continual state of agitation and alarm from the ready attention paid to the applications of foreigners, for any alteration in the Colonial trade, without being desired by any class of British subjects.

Your Petitioners further wish to draw the attention of your Honourable House to the fact, that the trade of these Colonies, as respects the imports in manufactured goods, is virtually confined to Great Britain, by excessive duties imposed on the manufactured goods of other countries by Acts of Parliament: And that, to reduce the protective duties on their principal article of export to the parent country, whilst they labour under such restriction, would be a manifest act of injustice.

Your Petitioners, with all due deference for what they are given to understand are the views of Government on the principles of free trade, consider such wholly subversive of the true interests of these Colonies and the Parent State. They draw this conclusion from practical experience and the evidence of facts; and they beg your Honourable House will confirm a permanent commercial system of Colonial Policy, to give stability to credit, and to restore that confidence so essentially necessary to the true interests of trade, and to the security of the affections of his Majesty's subjects in these provinces.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that your

Honourable House will not sanction any change in the trade between these Colonies and Great Britain, either by increasing the duty on Colonial Timber, or lowering it on Foreign Timber, in order that capital may be invested in security, free from the fluctuation and ruin consequent on vacillating measures.

And as in duty bound will ever pray.

JAMES ALLANSHAW, *Chairman.*

APPENDIX IX.

[*Extracted from St. Andrew's Herald of Tuesday, February 8th, 1831.*]

A great alarm has not unreasonably been excited respecting the Colonial views of the present Ministry.

From the opinions their adherents have long been supposed to entertain from their published pamphlets, and from their speeches in Parliament, it may be feared that some alteration will be made in the timber duties, not favourable to this country. The speeches of Mr. Warburton go directly to annihilate the Canada Timber Trade—but we cannot believe that Ministers will commit an act so suicidal to the prosperity of British and Colonial navigation, as the removal of the protecting duties would undoubtedly prove. Not only in a commercial view, but as friends to emigration, we look upon such a change in the timber trade with dread. It is in these vessels that most of the emigration reaches this port. It is a profitable freight to the ship-master, it is beneficial to the province from the expenditure caused on arrival, and it is cheap and convenient to the emigrant himself.

To Ireland in particular, which has lately become an extensive ship-owning country, any change in the duties will be disastrous. Much of the Irish shipping,

we might say the greatest part, is engaged in Colonial trade. Most of these vessels bring out settlers to this country. Instead of eight hundred vessels being numbered on arrival in this harbour, we fear the number will be diminished nearly one half, should the measure we deprecate, in common with the mercantile body, ever be adopted into the councils of the nation, the motto of Canada will lose the fine meaning hitherto attached to it, and become an unmeaning and unintelligible sentence.

Ducit opes animumque ferro.

The avowed hostility constantly expressed by some members of the House of Commons, who form part of the present Administration, to the system of protection afforded to the British North American timber trade, by duties imposed upon the same articles imported into England from the Baltic, has occasioned no small alarm amongst the mercantile body of this city.

These protecting duties, it is contended by those who wish to admit the Baltic timber on equal terms with that from the British North American Colonies, (though on what data they found this extraordinary misconception it is difficult to conceive,) amount to a tax of a million and a half sterling upon the people of the mother country, for the benefit, as they assert, of a few individuals in distant colonies. This opinion, long maintained by the members referred to, has been again expressed on a recent occasion, in a debate, in the Commons, only a few nights before their party and themselves came into power.

In considering the question of the British North American timber trade, it is not taking a fair view of the question, to reduce it within such narrow limits. Even admitting that the protecting duties do operate as a tax to the extent asserted—a point we directly deny,—it should at the same time be recollected that the timber trade of the British Colonies has been cherished and has grown to its present extent by the employment of British capital to a great amount, embarked in it under the encouragement afforded by such

protection, first granted for the express purpose of rendering the mother country independent of foreign states for a supply of timber.

It may well be doubted if the state of Europe was such when these protecting duties were first imposed as to lead his Majesty's government, in consideration of the uncertainty of a supply obtained from foreigners, to make such protecting enactments, whether its present situation does not imperatively call for the continuation of such precautions.

Whilst it is admitted that the timber trade of the British Colonies cannot exist without the assistance hitherto granted, it should be also taken into consideration, that our liability to compete with furnishers of the same articles from the north of Europe is, in a great measure, occasioned by the heavy freights from this country. But these freights are paid to shipholders, and our goods are conveyed in vessels manned by British seamen. The trade, from the first stroke of the axe in the forest, to the delivery of the goods at their destined port, is conducted by, and yields a profit to numerous classes of British subjects, the whole resolving itself into the wages of labour. In the trade with the North of Europe a great portion of the outlay is shared by foreigners, and encourages a foreign navy in preference to our own.

In estimating the true value of this trade, these circumstances must not be overlooked; nor must it be forgotten that the trade of Canada alone, during the past season, employed 858 vessels, the aggregate of whose tonnage was 22,248 tons, and which were manned by between 10 and 11,000 seamen. The lower ports of this province, with those of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, have freighted a larger number, and it is not an overstrained calculation to fix the total at 2,000 sail annually to all the British North American ports, and the number of sailors employed at 25,000 men.

Nor does the benefit of the timber trade, as the nation at large is concerned, rest here. Amongst the thousands of labourers who derive a livelihood from

this traffic, none are more assisted than the emigrants from the mother country, who find employment from it on their first landing, and derive also the means of taking up their lands in the settlements, unless they permanently remain in the neighbourhood of the large cities, and work as constant labourers in the numerous and extensive lumber yards which, there, line the shores of St. Lawrence.

It is a fact which must also be regarded, and which was stated in the Report of the Emigration Committee of the House of Commons in 1828, that the timber trade, in itself, affords facilities to emigration to these colonies which would not exist without it. Of the vast number of vessels which visit the British North American ports, by far the greater part come out in ballast. The expense of receiving and discharging this is a dead loss of as much as it amounts to, on the return freight of the vessel. The ship-owner, therefore, gladly takes passengers at a low rate, by which this expense is covered, and he makes a saving freight out, whilst thousands of emigrants are enabled to traverse the Atlantic, who would not command the means of procuring a passage but at the very low rates offered by the lumber ships.

Putting therefore, for the present, the claims of the Canadian timber dealers, and the prosperity of the Canadas entirely out of the question, we would ask these advocates of free trade, who would withdraw all protection from the Colonies, and allow the children of the parent state to be excluded from her markets by strangers, who, being placed nearer to her in geographical position, can reach her ports at less expense—we would ask them, we say, whether this is the moment to carry their speculations into execution? Whether, even if their most unfounded assertion was true—that the Canada timber trade operates as a tax on the mother country to the amount of a million and a half sterling, is it not a tax which, as it can never press on the lower orders, may not be borne, when it is known that it affords also a bridge over which the thousands, whose distress now fills England from the Tweed to

Penzance, may escape from that misery which finds no relief in the bosom of their native land, and instead of remaining a helpless burthen upon, become, as colonial subjects, a bulwark and a glory to the country that gave them birth.

APPENDIX, No. X.

[From the St. Andrew's Herald, 15th Feb. 1831.]

Extract from the President's Address to the House of Assembly.

“ I shall order to be laid before you, without delay, the treasurer's accounts and other documents therewith connected, which, I am happy to acquaint you, will be found highly gratifying; the revenue of last year being more productive than had been anticipated, and largely exceeding that of the former. It would not, however, be prudent to calculate on the permanence of this prosperous degree of the provincial income; for, without apprehending the adoption of any other measures affecting the trade of the northern colonies, the commercial arrangement recently concluded with the government of the United States, must have an immediate tendency greatly to lessen the amount of revenue to be collected in this province under the acts of parliament.”

[*In the Debate that followed, an Honourable Member said,*] “ he hoped his Honour was mistaken in his view of the colonial system of the mother country. He hoped the conduct of the mother country has been different from what is feared, and that, under the wise management of the Ministers at home, the colonial trade would continue to be prosperously carried on.”

Another Hon. Member “ added a few words in agreement with the last speaker, and anticipated a decrease of the revenue, in consequence of the measures

adopted by Ministers, which tended to injure the trade of the province."

A third Hon. Member "always supposed that the opening the West India ports to the Americans would injure the North American Colonies. But the mother country had certainly done great injustice to these Colonies. The Colonies had no right to suppose that, as the Americans were already excluded from those ports, the mother country would, without any notice to the Colonies on the subject, reopen those ports to the Americans.* It was, therefore, high time that the Colonies should speak out. If they did not speak out, it would be highly injurious to them, because no time had been given them to prepare for the change, and they must therefore take the calamitous consequences. There was every reason to believe, that if the Colonies were not careful and urgent, much more injurious measures would be adopted by the mother country. The duties would probably be lessened on foreign timber, and increased on colonial timber; which would amount almost to an abandonment of the Colonies. If it was left to the present Ministers to decide whether the duties on timber should be altered, *the Colonies would be ruined*. This Colony, with no revenue, unable to export its staple commodity, would be a miserable country. There would be no article of export in the country for fifty years to come; nothing with which to pay for British manufactures. There could be no means of producing exports,"

* In rescinding the order in council of 1826, for closing the West India ports against the vessels of the United States, it was conditionally proposed by the late governor, that a scale of duties should be adopted, sufficient to protect, *permanently*, the interests that have been created in the British North American Provinces, by the shutting of the West India ports, in consequence of the refusal of the United States to meet the provisions of the British Acts of 1826, and sufficient likewise to enable the British North American Provinces to continue the supply trade with profit and advantage. If this be done, a great national purpose will be obtained, and the Provinces will have no reason to complain on this point. If the scale and duration of duties be not sufficient, there will be much discontent.

L O N D O N :

C. ROWORTH AND SONS, BELL YARD,
TEMPLE BAR.