

LETTER
ON
FREE TRADE,
AND
NAVIGATION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE,
ADDRESSED TO THE
EARL OF ELGIN AND KINCARDINE,
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF HER MAJESTY'S NORTH AMERICAN POSSESSIONS;
BY JAMES BUCHANAN, ESQ.,
LATE HER MAJESTY'S CONSUL AT NEW YORK:
WITH
AN APPENDIX,
SHEWING THAT IT IS CONTRARY TO THE LAWS OF ENGLAND,
TO RAISE A REVENUE FROM THE MANUFACTURE OF
SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS, AS ABETTING CRIME.

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FALLS OF NIAGARA,
15th October, 1846.

To the Right Honourable the EARL OF ELGIN AND
KINCARDINE, Governor General, &c. &c. &c.,
the following observations in relation to Free
Trade, as it respects Canada, are respectfully
submitted, by his Lordship's obedient humble
servant,

J's. BUCHANAN.

MY LORD,

Having for twenty-seven years had the honour to hold the office of British Consul at New York, although unconnected with this province, I was led, from what I had heard of Canada, on the arrival of emigrants at New York from the United Kingdom, who came to ask my advice, to turn their attention to Canada; and, from my representation to the Secretary of State, I was authorised to recommend loyal subjects for free grants of land in the province, and to aid them on their journey. During the years 1817-18-19, I forwarded above four thousand settlers, by some of whom the settlements of Cavan and Monaghan were commenced, and for loyalty, industry and enterprise, they are not inferior to any portion of her Majesty's subjects,—while for years I also forwarded numbers to other parts of the province. In consequence of this I became deeply interested

in the prosperity of Canada, and determined, from all I had heard and seen of the province, to adopt it as the country of my children, for whom I purchased considerable tracts of land; and at this hour, to my great comfort, thirty of my family reside in the province. I merely refer to these facts, my Lord, to shew that probably no other subject of her Majesty has a deeper interest in the country.

Moreover, being unconnected with trade, manufactures, or commerce, I stand free from the natural and legitimate inducements to advocate certain measures; and from the experience my official duties afforded, and having been called upon by the late Lord Wallace, when at the Board of Trade, to report upon several measures in relation to the trade of these colonies, and honoured by frequent confidential intercourse with several of the Governors during my Consular duties, I stand, my Lord, in a different position, as to the subject of trade, from any other subject identified with the province. While I beg leave to state I was early convinced, and uniformly so stated to all gentlemen connected with the Colonial Office and with the government of the colony, "that in order to preserve British connection, and the prosperity of the province, freedom of trade and exemption from a dominant church should be enjoyed by all the colonists; so that no subject of the crown, if loyal and obedient to the laws, should be regarded with less favour on account of his adhering to his religious views, and that so long as a contrary policy should continue to operate in the most remote degree,

such would necessarily diminish, in the feelings of all so circumstanced, attachment to British connection."

Pardon me, my Lord, thus stating facts well known, that I may not be viewed as trimming with the time, in advocating principles which some years ago had few supporters, and which are opposed by many amiable men, also deeply interested in the welfare of the province, viz: Free Trade and Religious Liberty in its fullest sense.

The sentiments expressed by the great Lord Chatham should appear in letters of diamonds, set in plates of gold, and placed in all halls of legislation. The question in substance was, "*What shall we do for trade and commerce?*" His Lordship answered, "*Let them alone.*"

The clamour of the day is "Protection." A fascinating term; as it is an appeal which enlists the finer feelings of the strong in behalf of the weak, and for ages, like many erroneous principles, has been the flag borne by advocates for popular favor, as well as upholders of monopolies. Yet, let us bear in mind, all advocates of the latter class may be placed as interested, where the term refers to trade or manufactures, who, particularly in the United States, instead of being the weak have become the strong, yea the lords and aristocracy of the country; they are the powerful advocates for monopoly, sustained under the plausible term "*Protection*," which term should be replaced by that of "*Injustice*" to the people. In support of this charge, I ask, who are

those protected by sustaining monopoly? Surely not the people, as the consumers are taxed by the extra price they have to pay to support the monopolists; yes, those who go on foot, or plain waggons have to pay to enrich those who ride in their carriages. Protection, to be just and equitable in the honest sense of the term, if it did not embrace all, certainly should include the great body of the people; while protection as to trade and manufactures only embraces the few, so that the many are taxed to benefit the few; wherefore I apply the term *injustice*, to what the advocates of monopoly call "*protection*." The principle is so anti-democratic, so manifestly unjust, that I do not wonder to see the entire democratic party in the United States, boldly resisting what they term an aristocratic principle and monopoly, ruinous to all states, in proportion as the people have been subjected to it. But as the master mind of Sir Robert Peel has at length given way to the long and arduous struggle for freedom in trade, there is little doubt but a new and prosperous era will follow, and that the remaining restrictive drags, called *protection* and monopolies, will be cut loose, as well as the accursed system of slavery; so that with steam, energy of industry, and the electric fire of mind which pervades the Anglo-Saxon race, the United Kingdom and the United States may, under the protection of equal laws as to person and property, go forward in the honourable race of prosperous and friendly rivalry, while other nations, unless awakened from the incubus of aristocratic and protective systems, will remain in their lethargic state.

My Lord, justice will say, “my brethren and fellow-subjects claim a preference in my dealings :” true ; but if my brethren neither will be allowed, nor can accommodate me, unless at a sacrifice on my part, I ask upon what principle of justice, should I be taxed and punished for their advantage ?

Viewing the monopolists, comprising the great manufacturing, and mining companies of the United States ; as it respects their rank, influence, and luxuries of life, comparable with the British aristocracy, including the West India proprietors and landed interest, opposed to free trade in corn ; these are all united to require that the entire people should be taxed to uphold their respective classes ; yet not one of these classes have to devote one day in 365, to labour, or yield one drop of sweat, to afford food for their families.

I now turn to the protection, contended for by electioneering candidates, in favour, as they call it, of our Canadian farmers, which I denounce as *injustice* to the community at large, without increasing their advance in wealth, or general improvement ; and I ask, upon what principle can such be claimed ? save to retaliate for the imposts upon our produce on importation into the United States. So that *injustice* begets *injustice* ; yet it is called by both—*protection* ! I shall examine the ground on which it is claimed in favour of my fellow-subjects, the Canadian farmers, in whose prosperity I am deeply interested.

Is the climate of Canada inferior, or more unhealthy? * Is the quality of the land inferior? Have they to pay more for their lands? Have they, in general, greater difficulty in reaching a market? Are not their local assessments under their own control? Looking at the lands some time under cultivation, all admit (including citizens of the United States), that I ever conversed with, that in all these natural advantages, the Canadian farmer has a decided superiority, save some of the newly opened townships as to market. In justice, however, I am bound to admit, that while the United States farmers are not required, to contribute to the support of the general government; as is also the case with the Canadian; yet they are exempt from duties on tea, coffee, molasses, sugar, tobacco, as well as some other articles of necessary consumption. While I have no doubt, but in justice to the provinces, as all favour is to be withdrawn from their exports to the United Kingdom, the imperial duties will cease to be levied in Canada. Wherefore then, have the residents in many parts of Canada, who have to purchase any portion of their household wants, produced by their fellow-subjects, to pay for meats, butter, cheese, and all kinds of bread-stuffs and grain, from ten to twenty-five per cent.; while for furniture, machinery, harness, hardware, with many of the necessary fabrics from the States, used in clothing, a still higher rate has to be paid than in

* In respect to climate, I have in view that part formerly known as Upper Canada; while fever and ague, and many diseases common in the United States, are not known in Lower Canada; and in my neighbourhood, the disease called consumption is unknown.

the States, arising from what is termed *protection* ; but from which, I have no doubt, the free trade principle, if honestly carried out, will relieve us, and prove of incalculable advantage to the province at large, by the emulation it will give rise to.

My Lord, I openly avow my conviction (as I am not a candidate for a seat in the Provincial Legislature), while I am aware I shall, for some years, suffer reproach, that so long as we have the protection under which *we now suffer*, I view such as a premium for indolence and want of energy in the great body of our agriculturists and working people ; and that from that emulation which freedom of trade would introduce, all residing in the province, who have to sell, would adopt the energy so manifest on crossing the frontier into the States. I feel pleasure in having seen in some districts, farming industry well rewarded ; some old Dutch loyalists, some few Scotch, but chiefly those from the United States, give proof of the success attending energy and attention, to an improved state of cultivating their lands, particularly from subsoil or deep ploughing ; while I regret that the production of butter and cheese, fattening of sheep and cattle, have been as yet but partially regarded. Yet, from the price of labour, such pursuits would prove more advantageous ; and as population increases, and the subject better understood, the dairy, and rearing of cattle, will, I doubt not, become general. All engaged in relation to the dairy must bear in mind, that it is by the *head* the cow gives milk ; without the supply there be abundant, the return to the pail

will be scant. I would suggest the great advantage of the cultivation of lucerne: one acre properly cultivated, would prove an ample supply, for some years, for four cows during the season of grass being scarce. Bran, shorts, or Indian meal should be given daily with the other food (if lucerne be not cultivated), to produce abundance of milk. The disgraceful, as well as unprofitable state, of milch cattle and sheep; with few exceptions, is evidence of want of attention to that source of profit, and demands punishment, rather than what is called protection. The little attention hitherto paid to the breed of cattle, sheep, and pigs, is a reproach to the province. While in justice, the efforts made by Sir Peregrine Maitland to improve the breed of pigs, with that of the late Mr. Galt; also of the Hon. Mr. Fergusson, Dr. Hamilton of Queenston, Mr. Prince of Sandwich, and some others, as to fine cattle and tillage,—such gentlemen should be regarded as the best friends of the province.

It may be asked, would I throw open our ports to the United States? Certainly not; but upon terms of just reciprocity. While, from my knowledge of the leading and influential men in the States, I have no doubt, if the subject is approached through a proper channel, such will be met in a spirit of liberality and good feeling, notwithstanding the clamour as to the late reduction of the tariff by Congress; such clamour being used for electioneering purposes, arising from that deplored evil, and so considered by all respectable citizens, viz., “UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE,”

the cancer of the United States, and the *doloureux* of all in office.*

My Lord, from the result of much observation, it has long been my opinion that the abolition of all custom-houses, and all restraint on commerce, would be productive of great prosperity. But the long existence of the system has raised so many guards against such a desirable state, that the object cannot be approached but gradually. At my advanced period of life, I can have no hope to see even a near approach to it; yet, as sure as just principles of liberty gain ground, and the energies of men are freed from all impolitic restraint in commercial intercourse, fifty years will not pass before the vexatious exactions and fetters on human enterprise will gradually pass away; while the upholders of *protection* will be placed among the enemies of their country's prosperity. When we take into consideration the vast expenditure connected with the collecting of the revenue, arising from commerce, including the buildings, and host of officers necessarily connected with the system, I conclude that a small portion of the *indirect* taxation, all are subject to pay, would be ample, for

* The great evil of universal suffrage, is, that it has lowered the respectability of the *Electors*; placing men who have no stake in the country, on the same footing as to voting, with those who have much to guard and much to lose. The remedy is, by raising the character of the *elected*, and that alone can be effected by doing away with *daily pay*. There is now no state in the union, but abounds with honorable and talented men, having much at stake, ready to fill the halls of legislation; who will consider (as it ever should be) an honor to devote a portion of their time to the public service? These views accord with the sentiments of honorable and talented citizens, not inferior to any class of men on earth, but who are trodden down by universal suffrage.—From this awful evil, I trust Canada will be saved; as any industrious sober man, by the labour of his *own hands*, in less than seven years, can acquire property to vote, and none but men having a stake in the country should have the privilege.

the support of the state ; provided any approach to new England economy prevailed, while all reflecting men not in office deeply regret, the great increase of extravagance, which has arisen in the Administration of the affairs of this Province since Lord Sydenham's time.*

After this digression my Lord, I turn again to the subject of trade. Nearly eighteen years ago, I published a pamphlet in relation to the navigation of the St. Lawrence : being in office, I did not affix my name to it, while it was known I was the author, and I was honored with abuse, (as I shall be for this effort), but paper shot, I ever regarded of little importance, as I was aware the time would come, when the principles I advocated would be approved. That period has to some extent arrived, while care must be taken, that the interest of the Empire may be kept in view, of which I trust Canada may ever remain a part, firmly persuaded the principles I advocate is essential to such continuance. An Empire, with which, none that has yet existed since the creation, has been productive of so much good to man, both as it respects his temporal and eternal interest. The following is the pamphlet, and I respectfully intreat, your Lordship, to bear in mind, the period at which it was written, as some of the restraints then existing, have been modified. It bears date 20th Nov. 1828 :—

* The following extract is from the *Quebec Gazette*, in reference to the creation of public debt:—"Indeed since we have got elective institutions responsible government, or self government, the whole country is in the high road to excessive taxation, under which 'free trade' will afford very little relief, as it will be impossible to sell cheap, and support the tax gatherers, and those who live on the money, or quarrel about it."

THE OPENING OF THE NAVIGATION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE CONSIDERED.—Fifty years since, the Island of Cuba, or Port of New-Orleans, was deemed by not a few essential in the English scale, to counteract the influence which the United States would one day exercise in relation to British supremacy on the ocean; the present trade of the Western States, and great extension of the United States was not then in view. The trade by the Mississippi, it may be stated, will, in a few years, outrun the most extravagant estimate, notwithstanding the efforts which are making by the States of New-York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, by means of the canals and railroads now in progress, to draw part of the commerce from its natural outlet, the Mississippi, through these Atlantic States. Such efforts are by artificial means, and are onerous, clogged with many obstacles, and will entail heavy and unavoidable imposts. If it be so important an object to the Atlantic States, to draw a portion of the western commerce through their artificial ducts, what should be the policy of Her Majesty's Government, when they look at the map, and perceive that the great British outlet by the St. Lawrence washes a lake and river navigation of about four thousand miles running into the Western States, and reaching towards the Rocky Mountains? As it is deemed so important by the States to incur so much expense in making canals and railways, to obtain a portion of the trade, is it not worth serious reflection on the part of Her Majesty's Government, to consider how far British interests may be promoted by opening the navigation of the St. Lawrence

to the western trade of the United States? The subject should be taken in a two-fold light; politically and commercially—and, first, politically:

May we not view Quebec as possessing all the advantages which the politicians to whom I referred allowed to New-Orleans, provided the navigation of the St. Lawrence should be thrown open? The States of Vermont, New-York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, to which I might add Kentucky and Tennessee, by means of the canals now in progress, would all become deeply interested in the free navigation of the St. Lawrence. Far be it from me to adopt the Machiavelian policy of cherishing distinct interests between the States, in order to promote British interests; on the contrary, my aim is to perpetuate peace by giving an interest in the navigation of the St. Lawrence, which would be destroyed by a war, as it cannot be understood by any but by such as have been resident in the United States, what an amazing influence a small interest, cast by a judicious policy into the scale of any party, can produce on the public measures of the Republic. But setting apart any considerations tending to keep alive British interests in a people not subject to the Crown of England, I will endeavour to show that the opening of the trade of the St. Lawrence is a measure fraught with interest to Canada and to the British Empire: and here an objection may be stated by such as will allege that the opening this trade would create a school for navigators inimical to British interests, who would be ready to unite in conquering and separating Canada

from England. Results of a character quite opposite to this doctrine may be expected, when the navigation of the River is opened as every man whose trade would lead him to the West, would become interested in every measure tending to preserve it open, and as has been hinted at, hostile to what would interfere with, or interrupt it.

Let the Americans bordering on, or connected with the lakes and river, feel they have an interest in the open trade of the river, and the general government of the United States will find it difficult to enter into a war so long as we possess Quebec, thereby wielding such power of checking or promoting the interests of their commerce ; nor will they readily support any President, or any measures which may endanger their commercial prosperity. But to leave these high and momentous questions to the statesman, it may be fitter to meet the objections which will flow from the adoption of the proposed measure.

There are some who fear that the trade would be chiefly carried on by Americans, and that French and China goods would be introduced into Canada. That such might be introduced into the United States by that channel, in consequence of the high tariff lately passed in the States is probable, but the measure contended for can excite no fears as to a contraband trade injurious to British interests. In fact, the danger arising from smuggling would rest entirely with the States. But if the British merchant enjoyed the same privileges in the China trade as the American merchant, great advantages would arise to the

Port of Quebec, separate from the duties that the introduction of these foreign articles would supply to the Colonial Treasury.

The narrow and selfish policy of the East India Company, though driven to send teas to Quebec, still operates on those arrangements, which private merchants would obviate, not only in the selection of teas suitable to the market, but also to sell them at such a rate as would make the market of Canada assume that position as to the United States, which the latter recently possessed in relation to the Colonies, viz., the warehouse for the supply of their teas, and India manufactures.

Another cause of apprehension, is the admission of American produce or manufacture into Canada. This objection could only be made by those ignorant of the trade, as the protecting duties and charges being equal to fifty per cent., on importation which the manufacturers deem inadequate to enable them to compete with the British in the United States ; in fact, there is no article of consumption in the Canadas but what may be afforded by the British much lower than the American manufacturer, and by thus opening the navigation, British manufactures can and will find their way into the heart of the United States. Did clearer views prevail as to freedom of commerce, there is no part of the empire where it could be exercised with more effect for the advantage of the British manufacturer and shipping interest than in Canada. In the opening of the trade, I would propose to confine the *Americans to carry to the sea* the produce of their own

soil only, and to bring up such articles only as were to be landed in their own ports.

In like manner, British vessels should alone convey to the ports in the United States, on the St. Lawrence, or Lakes, such articles as are supplied by Canada. The policy of admitting American vessels to the navigation of the Canada canals, under the above restrictions, is further evident, as enriching the province by the transit, and the consequent expenditure thereon; but, by such concession on the part of Her Majesty, a corresponding arrangement might be looked for in opening the canals of the Union to British boats, on the same terms to Her Majesty's subjects, as the citizens of the United States should enjoy in passing the British canals; as such facilities would enable the colony to convey by the Erie Canal, to Jamaica, the flour, pork, and beef of their market, and in return bring back rum, molasses, and salt from the Bahamas, so essential for curing provisions for the West India markets. The flax-seed, also, which could be raised in large quantities in Upper Canada for which is paid annually to the United States, £150,000 sterling, could be sent to Ireland by the same route; for the want of which privilege the growth of that article has not been cultivated, as the late opening of the St. Lawrence precludes the shipment, until at a season too far advanced beyond the period of sowing that crop in Ireland.

The writer of these observations has fully considered an arrangement to guard against any abuse of the privilege by either party in the proposed trade, as

it respects smuggling, which it is unnecessary to set forth at present, as also to guard against the vessels or boats of either carrying other than the produce of and for their respective countries. These he is prepared to communicate; indeed, he sees in the measure of a regulated free port in Canada as it respects the products of France, China, and other countries, consequences of such vast magnitude, and of such a bearing on our manufactures and shipping, that he prefers detailing them in a separate article.

At the period my Lord, when I wrote the foregoing, no ear in authority was open to hear arguments in favor of the free trade, now contended for, aware of which, I did not plead for what I was sure at that time would not be granted, and am happy, that not only the mercantile interest, but others in the Province, have become the advocates of the opening of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, for with me they are aware, that unless means are devised, by which the flour and products of the Province can be exported on as favorable terms by the River, as sending what is produced in the upper part of the Province by New York, the trade must pass away, whereby the expensive and important improvements of the navigation to the ocean, will remain a reproach, as well as a heavy loss to the Province. It is to be kept in view, there are but two sources of inward freight from England, viz.: emigrants* and merchandize,

* By a return from her Majesty's Chief Agent for Emigration at Quebec, the average as to passengers for the years 1843, 1844 and 1845, the number of vessels carrying over 30, was 263, and with less than 30 passengers 131, while for the year 1845, I was favored by a return from Messrs. MacDougall and Glass, of Montreal, from which it appears the number for that year of arrivals with passengers and cargoes was 635, and in ballast 1064.

the latter is chiefly confined to a few regular traders while those conveying emigrants, with a few exceptions, are of the lowest description of vessels in the merchants service,—in fact unfit for any other cargo than timber. From the defective state of these vessels, the better class of emigrants bound to Canada proceed from Liverpool by way of New York, although paying one-third to one-half more for their passage. Aware of the loss sustained by the Province, arising from the “*ill found*” state of those vessels coming for timber, in my official capacity I made representations to my Government, and also to the shipping interest in London, and forwarded for adoption regulations, as to the qualification of masters of vessels, for which I received the thanks of the merchants, but still the vessels in the timber trade, with few exceptions are so defective in the nautical phrase “*well found*,” that insurance is difficult to be obtained on many of them, and that valuable source of profit, arising from conveying respectable emigrants is driven to New York, although bound to this part of the Province, as also those bound to the Western States, as the accomodation in preparation, and even at present afforded, renders the St. Lawrence the most direct rout—thereby turning away from the facilities thus provided at the expense of the Province, the vast advantages to be reaped from the transit of emigration—this state of trade will continue so long as the monopoly of the carrying trade, is necessarily confined to so many ill found vessels, while the permitting vessels of other countries under regulations, which I beg leave to submit herein, the emigration driven to New York, would be drawn

to Quebec, and ample accomodation for the transport of the produce of the Province obtained on moderate terms, as also thereby our river navigation and forwarding interests benefited.

The mercantile interests of New York, regard the freight from England their chief source of profit, while the regular sailing packets cheerfully accept a moderate rate of freight, rather than carry ballast, as they must sail on their appointed day; not so, the vessels to this Province, save a few regular traders to Montreal, as the homeward freight to England is their main profit, so that unless imports are increased to Quebec, which can only be done by a class of vessels better found than those in the timber trade, so as to lead the passenger trade by the St. Lawrence, the produce of the upper part of the Province will be drawn by New York, while from the inferior class of vessels in every respect included under the term "*ill found*," as the timber vessels generally are, trade cannot be retained by Montreal, wherefore I know of no more effectual method, but opening the navigation of the St. Lawrence to the vessels of the United States, not only to carry their own produce to markets, but also that of the Province as hereinafter stated. I am fully aware of the long and justly cherished feelings, as to "*the wooden walls of England*," and no man is worthy of the honor, and privileges of being a member of the British Empire, who does not regard the upholding that elevation of rank, which the Empire sustains from its marine superiority, as a paramount

duty, while I respectfully submit, the measure I propose, would in some degree meet the wants of the Province, and if further extended in no material extent, (if at all) defeat the great object of the navigation laws.

It is to be observed if my recollection is correct, that under peculiar circumstances these laws have been partially relaxed, and when I take into consideration the great proportion of her Majesty's subjects, who at present are employed in navigating vessels in the mercantile, and naval service of the United States; the creation of seamen to man the British Navy, would in no serious degree be affected by the open navigation of the St. Lawrence.* I therefore propose, that all vessels bringing their authorised number of emigrants to Quebec or Montreal, should be permitted to take in return, cargoes to British possessions or elsewhere.

The peculiar circumstances arising from the altered state of trade, and mode of conveyance of merchandize, alone could justify any devoted servant of the Crown in proposing any change in the navigation laws, regarded as they have been, but from the change referred to, by which the produce of the Province can be forwarded to England, so much less from New

* My long residence at New York, in my consular office, enabled me to form an estimate of the comparative number of British seamen, in the merchant foreign service of the United States, excluding the vessels in the whaling and fishing trade, (the vessels in that line being manned exclusively by citizens, who ship on shares and what is worthy of particular notice, not one glass of spirituous liquor is allowed in that frigid and arduous service), fully half are British subjects, and the same holds good as to the United States navy, while many say, I would be nearer the truth to say two-thirds.

York than by Montreal and at all seasons,* and also viewing the contemplated railway route from Montreal to Portland, what statesman would calculate on upholding the British Navy, by destroying the carrying trade in vessels to and from Montreal and Quebec, while in the shipping navigating the St. Lawrence, four-fifths would be subjects of her Majesty.

I earnestly submit to your Lordship's consideration, that the natural advantages of the St. Lawrence, and the privileges arising from the peculiar position of that part of the Province, lying between Lakes Erie, Huron, and Ontario, if called into action, with the energy which characterises our enterprising neighbours, an opening would be afforded, embracing and controlling the intercourse with the Pacific and the Atlantic at no distant day, and in a short time, draw through that part of the province the greater part, if not the entire travelling intercourse between the Western States and the cities of New York and Boston. Not only, my Lord, may a portion of the vast products of the west be drawn by Montreal, by a liberal policy; but the vast number of citizens passing from the states of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, the Wisconsin, Upper Mississippi, Missouri and Oregon Territories, from the lines of communication partly in operation and determined

* The following extract I take from the Canadian *Economist*, of the 24th of the present month:—"We showed that the excess paid by the Canadian producer on three articles alone exported, viz. : flour, wheat, and timber, in the year 1844, 1845, and 1846, amounted to £924,098 10s. 6d., over what the same article would have cost if shipped from New York, and this we set up as a valid ground to claim relief from the restrictions of the navigation laws."

on. All, all may be drawn to reach the Atlantic by the proposed Great Western railway of this province, in connection with the proposed suspension bridge near the Niagara Falls, for which the provincial legislature passed a law at the last session ; while the legislature of New York, in furtherance of the great object, have also passed a law for the same purpose, connecting the line with the great Buffalo and Boston railway, as also with the Erie railway to New York ; while at present there is a railway in operation, from the site of the contemplated bridge to Buffalo, also to Lewiston and Lockport.

When it is considered that the number of passengers who at present pass from the Western States from Detroit to Buffalo, during the lake navigation (not six months), exceed one hundred thousand persons, and the time required by their splendid steam vessels is from thirty-six to forty-eight hours, subject also to violent gales and fogs on the lake ; and that by the proposed Great Western railway and bridge, when complete, this vast multitude could be conveyed in to from ten to twelve hours, if not in six hours ; while, from the peculiar nature of the country to the south of Lake Erie, no line of road can be constructed to interfere with the Great Western. May I not with confidence state, the proposed route should be regarded, as embracing advantages equal, if not superior, to any line in existence or contemplated, as to its importance. Yet, my Lord Cathcart was pleased to reserve the bill for the completion of said route and bridge for the approval

of her Majesty, a measure so extraordinary, so highly prejudicial, to the trade and prosperity of the province, and which has done incalculable injury, by suspending preparations for proceeding with the enterprise. While there is no doubt, but upon an open examination, so that no private or sectional interests may be allowed to operate, your Lordship will without delay not only sanction this great improvement, but all others which will call forth the full and free energies of the province, and remove the just reproach, by contrast, which passing the river from the state of New York at all points exhibit, as to living under royal and democratic rule. Your Lordship will please observe, that without the sanction of the Crown to the railway and bridge, the vast amount of travel referred to will not come near the province ; while it is further to be kept in mind, that when the line of roads mentioned is completed, which may be effected within three years, the conveyance of merchandise and passengers will not be confined, as at present, to the period of the open navigation of the lake, but continue all the year ; and as the population of the vast territories referred to double every ten years, who can calculate the advantages which await the province.

My Lord, at my years, enthusiasm generally subsides ; yet I fear not to leave on record, that the proposed Western railway and Chain bridge will prove the great leading line of communication from England, by the Atlantic and Pacific, to China ; as the proposed line by Mr. Whitney, which has met

the favourable reception of Congress, and which is to extend from Michigan, by the valley of the Columbia river, has no other so well circumstanced route. On looking at the map, there is no other favourable line for passing the river by a bridge, but near the Falls of Niagara, and there alone can this continuous and straight line from the Atlantic to the Pacific be carried into effect. This is indeed a proud feature in this valuable portion of her Majesty's dominions, and I hesitate not to say it will prove, when carried into effect, one of the most important lines of communication on the globe.

Before I close this erratic letter, I once more refer to the agricultural interests. In my pamphlet of 1828, I adverted to the culture of flax seed. I wish hemp to be kept in view; hops grow remarkably well in this quarter. While it is to be hoped the Provincial Agricultural Association recently set on foot, in which every man who deserves to be regarded a friend to the best interests of the province will take an active part, as alone from such institutions may we look for the advance in importance and value of a country, unequalled in all the blessed and natural advantages as respects health, soil and climate. I conclude this letter, by adding the advice, I have for many years given to the numerous emigrants, who called at my office in New York, on their way to Canada, to whom I uniformly stated, there were three things which it was in their own power to avoid, namely: “ *Spirituuous Liquor, Tobacco and Politics* ;” which, if they observed, independence

was sure to await all who had a disposition to work, although they arrived there without a dollar. While to my countrymen, who were Orangemen, I earnestly urged (as I had been one myself during the rebellion in Ireland, in 1798) that they should abandon all connection with any association which engendered bad feeling, and was sure to mar that peace and good neighbourhood essential to happiness and prosperity. The evil consequences of universal suffrage and extension of the democratic principle, the evils of which my long residence in the states (with no unkind feeling) enabled me to estimate, has long convinced me that the three stimulants above named are the greatest enemies to the domestic happiness and advancement to independence to which the country is subject. In conclusion, my Lord, I shall feel honoured and happy to afford explanation, as I feel my deficiency in setting forth the important matters herein as clearly as I should wish, deeply sensible, without any affected humility, of my deficiencies.

APPENDIX.

I pray your Lordship to pardon my adding the following observations to the foregoing letter ; but as I consider the principle I contend for herein, would, so far as acted on, conduce to the prosperity of the Province, as well as the happiness of the people, I should be doing injustice to your Lordship's reputation (as it has reached us), if I deemed any object having such a tendency, would prove displeasing. But I have a further reason. I wish to bring the subject before the Legislature and Magistracy of the province, while in a separate article it would not claim their attention in the same degree, if at all considered. Moreover, I shall leave on record my sentiments in favour of a measure for which I contend, on grounds I have not yet seen held forth, by any of the numerous advocates of the cause, either in the United Kingdom, the United States, or these Provinces. My object, my Lord, accords with those who deem it the duty of all legislators, and those in authority, to repress crime, or whatever calls it forth. And the avowed sentiment of all members of the legislature on the hustings is, that they will support every measure, that will promote the prosperity of all their fellow subjects ; and they avow as a means, the education of the rising generation, and enforcing obedience to the law ; while the magistrates, on assuming office, undertake to repress crime,

and protect all classes from suffering by it. The question, my Lord, is, how do such professions of the magistracy accord with the disgraceful riots and crimes which latterly so shamefully prevail in many parts of the province, and more reproachfully at Montreal, where force abounds to repress all violation of the law. I am, therefore, my Lord, solicitous to awaken attention to the subject, so that a remedy may be set in motion, bearing on all parts of the province, with a determination that all shall be obedient to law.

When we reflect on the murders, crime, misery and want, which may be traced to the use of spirituous liquors, does it not become the duty of all legislators, and conservators of the peace, to take measures to remove the incentive or cause of such evils. “ *The restraining of crime is an acknowledged principle of English law;*” and it has always been esteemed praise-worthy, as well as a duty, in all those authorised and appointed to uphold it. But is this the case in this province? On the contrary, does not the legislature authorise the raising of revenue from permission to dispense the cause of crime and misery among their fellow-subjects, whom they are bound to cherish and protect? It appears the revenue in the United Kingdom, for the year 1845, arising from spirituous liquors, was five millions sterling; but no reference appears to be made to the other side of the account, as to deducting the expense of collecting, preventing smuggling, and the great increase of expense of pauperism, and expense attendant on crime, all arising

from what produces the five millions sterling. I regret I have not before me the result as to certain returns, moved for during the last session, by that persevering and highly talented member of the Imperial Parliament, Joseph Hume, bearing on this subject. But whatever that gentleman undertakes, he will follow up; and I have no doubt he will shew, that instead of the state deriving five millions sterling,—the actual loss, independent of crime and misery produced, will far exceed the limits I am enabled to set forth, judging by the effects produced in those districts in the New England States, where the sale of spiritous liquors has been prohibited.

My Lord, pardon my stating my conviction, that should the raising of a revenue from the cause of so much crime and misery, come before our gracious Queen, as not only the guardian of all her people, but also as head of the church, (who lives in the hearts of her subjects with more ardent loyalty and affection, than ever was the lot of any former Sovereign on the British, or any other throne), as also the Lords spiritual, as well as the clergy of all denominations professing the religion of the Blessed Lord and Saviour, Her Majesty would never sanction any measure productive of so much evil as that referred to. I recollect, my Lord, during the short peace of Amiens, in 1802, being in Paris, the licensing of gambling saloons, (called “hells,” in that city,) was, by my fellow-subjects denounced as iniquitous, drawing revenue from such a source of profligacy and crime, and proving the absence of all moral principle.

But I ask, does not the same measure of condemnation justly apply to all the authorities in the United Kingdom and this Province, as well as all others, for not only authorising the manufacture, but raising a revenue from the dispensing spiritous liquors ?

I am aware my Lord, that much intemperance and ill judged zēal, has arisen among those engaged in the promotion of that most praise-worthy measure, “*temperance*,” which has called forth much opposition, but if a view is taken of all those in opposition to slavery, the use of spiritous liquors, gambling and other sources of crime, I regret that not only influential, but talented men, will be found in condemning and ridiculing the efforts of those taking a lead, in this great reformation, which is one of the marks of the present, being the most extraordinary period that has yet appeared for raising the human character, from ignorance, vice, degradation and error, the evils referred to, if not at once removed, would be gradually deminished, by fostering and regulating the popular feeling, which is rapidly gaining ground, and in a praise worthy manner, among some of the clergy : were it not for laws to sustain the evils *enacted for the sake of revenue*. I repeat the question, upon what ground can those professing christianity, and avow it their duty to repress crime, yet, sanction and take part in making laws, licensing their fellow-subjects to make a gain of dispensing spiritous liquors, which they admit to be the great cause of crime and misery. Much discretion I am aware my Lord, is essential, not only in bringing

forward, but in carrying out the measure by preparatory steps, so as that the community at large, *may be led, not driven* to take part in the blessed and glorious work. I therefore venture to add, after much reflection, the first step should be to take up the important measure, to repress the manufacture and sale of spiritous liquors, or if any imported except for Medical or Chemical purposes; the prohibition of distillation, is not a novelty, as I recollect the Irish Parliament in times of apprehended scarcity, prevented distillation from grain for the *public good*, and such is the ground I hold forth for the prevention of the manufacture or sale of alcohol namely, **THE PUBLIC GOOD.**