FC 470
C38

c.4

Can. Canada: State of
political parties ...

2245

CANADA.

STATE OF POLITICAL PARTIES,

ECONOMY IN THE GOVERNMENT.

THE ST. LAWRENCE

AS A

GREAT COMMERCIAL HIGHWAY;

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION,

&c. &c.

TRANSLATED FROM THE

JOURNAL DE QUEBEC.

TORONTO:

PRINTED BY C. DONLEVY,

MIRROR OFFICE.

1851.

THE ORIGIN, COMPOSITION, AND FUTURITY

OF

POLITICAL PARTIES IN CANADA.

In order to give a correct idea of the relative position of political parties in Canada, it is necessary to take a retrospect and briefly to trace the history of events from a somewhat remote period.

Lower Canada, in consequence of the events of 1837 and 1838, had lost the constituton which it had enjoyed since 1791, and the Imperial Government had substituted to it, an organization designated a "Special Council," an anomalous and exceptional state of things which could only be transitory. In 1840 the Parliament of the Empire voted the new Constitutional Act, which re-united, under one Government, the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, separated since 1791. England, in a political point of view, was wrong in acceding to this first separation of the Provinces, since it tended to foster, on American soil, the developement of institutions of excessive mobility and which might be engrafted on any nationality and thrive there. One element alone is sufficient, under every zone, to favor their growth, that element is—Interest. England had been wrong in permitting the simultaneous development of two separate nationalities, arrayed, as it were, against each other—of two societies, essentially differing the one from the other in their institutions, their laws, their manners, their instincts, and their prejudices; and she was again wrong, and far more so, in 1840, when, in order to crush one nationality, the only real and enduring foundation to her power in the new world, she re-united into one the two Provinces which had grown fifty years older in the possession of those opposite institutions, laws, manners, instincts, and prejudices, Adopting the counsels of a perfidious man, who deceived himself in his cruel calculations, she sought to attain her end by violent measures and by extermination, whilst she might infallibly have found what she sought in good government; and whilst justice alone ought to have been the basis of her domination on the broad and free shores of the St. Lawrence.

The Act of 1841, by its odious division of electoral districts, gave a preponderance to the English race, and placed the Franco-Canadians, with all their political, social, and religious institutions, in a condition of political dependance upon it. The population of Lower Canada was by one-third larger than that of Upper Canada, and yet the latter had the same number of voices in the Elective Chamber. English boroughs were favoured, and valueless localities containing scarcely a few hundred souls, could elect representatives, whilst Electoral Districts, having a population of forty thousand souls, were entitled to elect but one. The injustice did not stop here. Constitutional tyranny had so far been perpetrated; it now remained to complete the measure, that unconstitutional tyranny should be exercised. Lord Sydenham, altered, by proclamation, the limits of the cities of Quebec and Montreal, fixed from time immemorial, by the proclamation of another governor, Sir Alured Clarke, and excluded from them the almost totality of the French population

that could, indubitably, have given the victory to the liberal party, and thus have convinced England, that that party was supported and upheld, at the great centres of information, commerce and influence. In other localities, such as the two Counties of Terrebonne and Montreal, Lord Sydenham triumphed through brute force, and by shedding the blood of peaceable citizens. In the legislative session of 1841, which was the first under the new Constitution, the Governor General not only had a majority, but, out of eighty-four members, composing the Legislative Assembly, only twenty-one were franco-Canadians, two of whom were partisans of the constitutional despot. The franco-Canadians were not, however, despondent, and, after solemnly protesting upon the records of the House against the partiality and injustice of the Constitution, they, like wise men, resolved on taking a part in public affairs, and await the supervening of better days. To stand aloof from the Constitution would have been suicidal, they, therefore, did no such thing, and time has shown that they were right.

Lord Sydenham's majority was composed of the English Tories of Lower Canada, and of men designated as the Liberals of Upper Canada. These were favorable to the Union, and hence the Governor General, by means of corruption and violence, had them elected in the very strong-holds of toryism, such as Toronto and Kingston. The Upper Canada Tories, heretofore the supreme rulers, were adverse to the Union, because it deprived them of the Government; and the Tories of Lower Canada were favorable to it, because it preserved their power, and, particularly, because it was to consumate the total ruin of franco-Canadian nationality and influence. Lord Sydenham obtained his Parliamentary majority especially by offering, in the way of ameliorations, thirty-six millions of francs to the covetousness of the fluctuating population of Upper Canada, which is incessantly recruiting and renewing itself by immigration. A few distinguished liberals preserved their public integrity amidst so much corruption, and the names of a Baldwin, a Price, a Durand, will be handed down, honoured and respected, in history. But in the middle of his triumphs, Mr. Poulett Thompson (afterwards Lord Sydenham) felt that his incongruous majority was wanting in those elements of cohesion that might warrant its enduring, for any length of time.— Hence did he endeavour, more than once, to draw over to his side Mr. LaFontaine and with that gentleman, the franco-Canadians. Unable to do this, he attempted, but in vain, to compromise Mr. LaFontaine in the eyes of his party.

This majority, composed of elements so strange and repugnant, and having no other affinity amongst themselves than hatred of a common object and covetousness, was about breaking up when Lord Sydenham descended to his grave. His successor at once understood that he could not govern without the concurrence of the franco-Canadians, whose union, independence, disinterestedness, and elevation of sentiments, were neither unknown nor unadmired. Overtures were several times made to Mr. LaFontaine to obtain that concurrence, and after four times coming to the charge, new concessions being made on each occasion, Mr. LaFontaine now, for the second time, leader of the Adminstration, and Mr. Morin, the Speaker of the Elective branch of the Legislature, accepted office with Mr. Baldwin, the present Attorney General for Upper Canada.— This ocurred during the first few days of the Session of 1842, and the Parliament was prorogued to give the new ministry time to prepare their measures. But Sir Charles Bagot died before the then next meeting of the Legislature, and Sir Charles Metcalfe came out as his successor.

Sir Charles Metcalfe, for a long time accustomed to despotic Government, and submitting very distastefully to the suggestions of a responsible ministry, whilst he, moreover lent an ear to the advice of irresponsible persons and intriguing men, such as Messrs. Wakefield and Higginson, made certain important appointments without consulting his responsible advisers, who were directly accountable to the people for those appointments. The Ministers protested and retired. Their conduct was approved of by nearly three-fourths of the Elective Chamber, which declared that the right of consultation was as much an attribute of the Ministry in Canada as of the Ministry in England. Sir Charles Metcalfe, who was rewarded for this autocratic conduct by a Peerage, appealed to the people of Canada. The elections were more of a personal than of a political character, if we may so speak, for at the very time that the recent peer was loudly protesting, through the press, against any design on his part to impair the consti-

tution, and that he charged the Ministry with having sought to make a political tool of him, he lavished his treasure with a profuse hand upon all our benevolent institutions and upon all enterprises of public utility. He was, however, affected by a destroying malady that was soon to terminate his existence. He died of a cancer in the face, that inflicted upon him most acute sufferings, which he bore with a silent courage and a calmness of resignation beyond all praise. All these circumstances conspired to draw to him the sympathies of all those who believed in the sincerity of his protestations, and in his avowed respect for Ministerial Responsibility, and who did not understand and foresee that upon the result of the then contest depended the perpetuation of the old despotism, or the establishment, for ever, of constitutional government in its plenitude. The Tories of Upper Canada, who had protested with all their might against popular government, ranged themselves, with ironical joy, around this other Charles II., and they carried an electoral triumph because they were the only compact element of Lord Metcalfe's party. The returning officers had been artfully chosen, and by means of several dishonest decisions, they gave a majority of two or three votes to the Governor General. Almost the whole of Upper C.nada ranged itself under his banner, whilst Lower Canada almost wholly took possession of the Opposition benches.—The Opposition was formidable, both in point of numbers and of talent, whilst the Ministry was composed of men, either new in public life or of patent incapacity. The former, had they willed it, might literally have arrested the march of Legislation and of Government. They, however, willed it not, and preferred a contest, more rational and more patriotic, which ultimately prevailed throughout the country. The Tories, during the three years that they were in power, attempted several times, but unsuccessfully, by their inexperience, to gain over the French Canadians; they prostrated the public credit; threw the country into inextricable financial embarrassment, and led it to the very verge of bankruptcy. They lost themselves through their impotency and corruption; and the General Elections of 1847 and 48 gave a brilliant victory to the liberal party, and recalled to power the principal elements of the Ministry of 1842 and

The change of Administration took place at the commencement of the session of 1848, after a vote of the Elective Chamber, which placed the Tories in a humiliating minority. The new Administration prorogued Parliament in order to prepare their measures. This overthrow of one party and elevation of another, took place without commotion. The adversaries of the new administration confessed that it was composed of the strongest and most homogenous elements that could be found in the Country, and it may be said, that if they did not like the Cabinet, they had at least confidence in its integrity, its ability, and experience. Peace reigned throughout Canada, and the new Government laboured with all is energies to extricate the Country from the financial embarrassment into which it had been plunged through the unskillfulness of the preceeding Administration.

Never had the Tories, as yet, found themselves so fractioned as a party; for scarcely could they, when mustering all their forces, command eighteen votes in the representative branch, and, unhappily for them, they had no bond of Union to keep them together. A leader was wanting who, by his superiority, might silence petty jealousies and group his party around him, himself preeminent in their midst. Sir A. McNab seemed disposed to take the command; but hardly more than two or three consented to accept as their leader a man who, at best,but understood some of the minor Parliamentary tactics. Some of the members of the late adminitration separately manifested the same desire by their disdainful and negative silence.—In this morbid state of existence they awaited the session of 1849, which was the most stormy and the longest since the Session of 1792.

At the commencement of the Session the Tories, numerically null and deficient in cohesion, were bewailing their impotency, when all at once they thought they had discovered the way to power.—It will be readily understood that we allude to the Rebellion Losses Bill.—The Tory press multiplied falsehoods in relation to that measure, and the Electric Telegraph carried them to the extremities of the Province with the rapidity of lightning. The agitation became extreme in Upper Canada, and in the English districts of Lower Canada. The Opposition knew that they could succeed best by kindling a war of races, and hence, in both

houses of Parliament, through the press, at public meetings, everywhere, they raised the hue and cry that the Governor General was rewarding French rebels, and, therefore, punishing the Anglo-Saxons for their loyalty and devotion to the empire. They moved that the hateful bill would not pass, and made prodigious efforts completely to stop the progress of Legislation. The House of Assembly sat without adjournment for twenty successive hours. Clubs were busy without, plotting in the dark, and threatening vengeance. The bill was sanctioned on the 25th of April.—A shriek of angry passion burst forth. Lord Elgin, who had but consulted his position and obeyed his duty as a constitutional Governor, was insulted in leaving the Parliament buildings; eggs and stones were thrown at him. On the night of that day a meeting was held on the Champ de Mars, and the multitude of gentlemen rioters and of bankrupt merchants moved towards the Parliament buildings which soon after exhibited but one immense conflagration. The hideous light was reflected over the whole vault of the Canadian sky, and the shouts, no less hideous, of the barbarian rioters were re-echoed on the extreme shores of the St. Lawrence and in the depths of the forest—they there inspired indescribable horror: a reaction took place which brought about strong manifestations favourable to the Governor-General and to his administration. The latter crowning the work by their prudence and their moderation, smothered this civil war—this war of races which threatened to be thus enkindled.

From this epoch may probably be dated the dissolution of the Tory party, which by its conduct lost the most respectable and most incorruptible of its members, Mr. Wilson of London. Upper Canada had discovered that the Tories had thus endangered the Constitution and shaken the foundation of society, but with a view of regaining that power which they had possessed and tyrannically exercised during fifty years.

The party thus vanquished and broken up by its own excesses, did not however wholly despair; they formed a political association called "The League" composed of a certain number of delegates from different parts of the Province. "The League" held its sittings at Kingston during the summer of 1849; but as it was without unity and had no definite object, it soon dwindled into a vague existence and noiselessly dissolved. It was to have resumed its sittings at Toronto on the very day upon which the Parliament should meet, but the League had expired; and since then a gloomy silence has reigned over its grave.

The League had scarcely existed when the merchants of Montreal, ruined for the most part by the rash speculations of 1847 and 1848 and by the excesses of 1849, published a document since called the *Annexation Manifesto*, in which they besought their Sovereign to grant them the liberty of annexing Canada to the United States that it might form part of the Federal Republic in order, they said, to escape from "ruin and decay;" some other persons without due reflection signed the document with them. This measure, as insolent as it was insensate, was of a nature gravely to affect the public credit, if not counteracted or silently condemned throughout the country. The election of the County of Sherbrooke (which, it must be observed, is contiguous to the United States, and is in a great measure peopled by Americans) was carried on the Annexationist *ticket*; but the victory, in that large County, was obtained by a feeble majority of thirty-six votes.—For the causes we have already stated, the result of this election passed almost unnoticed and lead to no consequences.

The annexationists knew one thing; they knew that if they could once carry any of those great centres of commerce and of instruction which, from their influence, usually give the political impulsion, they would have a fair chance of disorganizing the whole country; and hence they pounced with avidity upon the City of Quebec. Mr. Chabot had accepted office with a seat in the Cabinet, and was about presenting himself for re-election; they availed themselves of the occasion to try their strength. In this election not only was the struggle between the Ministry and their political adversaries, between the constitution, allegiance, and annexation; but moreover between socialism and the conservative principle; and the annexationist orators proclaimed the doctrines of Fourrier at their public meetings and clubs. The Tories voted with the annexationists, demanding at the same time that their protest against annexation be inserted on the poll-books. After upwards of thirty days of electoral caballing, and public meetings held almost without intermission by the anti-ministerialists, the constitutional

candidate, himself a minister of the Crown in the Province, was elected by a majority of 804 votes. This was overwhelming, and what was still more so, was the fact that the immense majority of the French Canadians whom they had hoped so easily to draw into the movement, voted against Annexation. The blow was decisive and annexation was extinguished.

But whilst the annexationists proclaimed from the house-tops the "ruin and decay" of Colonial Canada, Upper Canada gave them an emphatic denial by her unexampled prosperity and the growing activity of her commerce. Lower Canada herself was prudently emerging from that commercial crisis which had swept like a hurricane over the industry of nations, and her Customs-Revenue unequivocally gave the lie to the statements of disaffected alarmists. By and by the merchants became so engaged in their counting-houses, with sales, canals, rail-roads, and a thousand other useful speculations, that they no longer thought of annexation, prosperity having overtaken them so completely without its intervention.

We now come to the last phasis of our political history; we allude to *clear-gritism*. To it, no solution has yet been arrived at; and it is very difficult to foretel what will be the fate of this new political sect, which is the more dangerous from its keeping within the scope of the constitution, and its ostensible object being to urge economy in all the departments of the public service. A cause, very simple in appearance and very discreditable, has given birth to this new political creed, which has for it, as all new religions have, the fervor of proselytism, and which preaches its doctrines, naturally popular, however absurd, even under the roof of the log-cabins. *Clear-gritism* is an Upper Canada plant, which demagogues have sought in vain to implant in the political soil of Lower Canada.

Dr. Park, an Upper Canadian physician, had been appointed by Government as Physician to the Toronto Lunatic Asylum. He soon after quarrelled with the Commissioners of the establishment upon a question of predominance. Those Commissioners belonged to the Tory party; Dr. Park on the other hand was a Liberal. The difficulty was submitted to the Government, and as it appeared to it but just that Dr. Park should submit to the subordination inherent in the office he held, he was requested to do so—the Government found him inflexible and was obliged to dismiss him.

Dr. Park is the brother-in-law of Dr. Rolph, an eloquent man, who formerly took an important part in the politics of Upper Canada and in the events of 1837 and 1838. The Toronto *Examiner*, a weekly newspaper, now the most strenuous organ and advanced sentinel of *clear-gritism*, was heard in low murmurs to blame this dismissal as a sacrifice to the enemy; and these low murmurs it was confidently asserted, proceeded from Dr. Rolph. The *Examiner* lent an ear to them with indescribable joy, because it saw with mortification and wounded self-love that the *Globe* wore the aspect of a semi-official organ, and was the medium through which were sometimes reflected the views of the Government. It however, for a time ground its teeth in silence, watching the occurrence of some favorable opportunity, well knowing, that it might at all times rally round its discontented standard the disappointed men of all parties and the decayed and forsaken leaders of the old school of Radicalism. These complained that the oldest and most faithful patriots had been neglected to promote and reward new men and sometimes to purchase an enemy; whilst the others, on their side, cried aloud that the Government rewarded with places and honors the rebels of 1837 and 1838 and thus insulted the loyalty which, at that epoch, fought for the British Flag. It must be observed that the dismissal of Dr. Park took place at the end of 1848 or beginning of 1849, long before the burning of the Parliament Buildings; this spark remained thus incandescent beneath the ashes, until the moment of Mr. Malcolm Cameron's resignation, which took place in the winter of 1849-50, and which was the signal for division and strife in the ministerial party.

The Hon. L. M. Viger having resigned the office of Receiver-General and his seat in the Cabinet, because he disapproved of the removal of the Seat of Government to Toronto. Mr. E. P. Tache, Chief Commissioner of Public Works, was appointed in his stead, and the situation of Chief Commissioner was offered to Mr. Cameron, then Assistant Commissioner of Public Works, but he declined the offer, as he sought to be appointed Commissioner of Crown Lands. Mr. Price, the head of this Department, had publicly announced his intention of retiring from public life, and had thus awakened with all its

energy the affection of the Assistant Commissioner of Public Works for the office which it appeared would thus become vacant. Mr. Cameron, disappointed in the hope so entertained, petulantly left the Administration and threw himself unreservedly into the arms of the *Examiner* which warmly defended the convert, the sacrificed, the economist—for the ex-minister publicly avowed a diversity of motives for his resignation. In the first place his colleagues had shamefully used him by their slight; then, they had, without consulting him, made an important nomination to a ministerial office; and lastly he had forsaken them because he had endeavored to introduce economy into the Government and that those endeavours had been repelled. It is from this moment that the discontented were designated by the name of *Clear Grits*, a name in which they much gloried, although it seems in vain to seek for its just signification or rational application. The term was applied to them by an anonymous writer who ironically compared them to the fine grained burr-stone of a mill which rejects all as chaff that is not of the finest flour.

Mr. Jean Chabot, whose Electoral triumph at Quebec, was carried in opposition to the combined efforts of annexation and toryism, had just succeeded Mr. Tache in the Department of Public Works. Mr. Wetenhall a member of the House, and a large landed proprietor in Upper Canada, had been appointed to the place held by Mr. Cameron, in the same Department; but Mr. Wetenhall as well as the Chief Commissioner, were forced to take the chances of a re-election. Mr. Cameron was very popular in Upper Canada; he cast the weight of his influence in the electoral balance against the Ministry. He so far forgot himself as to decend to the lowest Taverns in the most obscure localities, to expound the motives of his resignation, and to unfold to a political club the secrets of the Cabinet to which he had belonged. The Liberals divided; the Tories, unable to elect one of their own party, coalesced with the *Clear Grits;* Mr. Wetenhall lost the election of Halton by a small majority. But in the midst, and at the height of the electoral cabal, the excitement of the contest, and the chagrin produced by the desertion of several of his old friends, so wrought upon his mind that the brain of that unfortunate gentleman became gravely affected. His thoughts wandered in an unknown and fantastic world, and he knew nought of his defeat. He shortly afterwards died an inmate of the Lunatic Asylum.

The *Clear Grits* shouted in triumph. Their pretext for opposing Mr. Wettenhall, had been that his office was unnecessary, and that one Commissioner of Public Works was sufficient for the exigencies of the public service. The contest was continued through the press, but it was within the walls of the Legislative Assembly that they especially promised themselves success at the then approaching Session. Opinion was rather wavering and anxious as to the result of the ensuing meeting of the Parliamnet. So many conversions were spoken of to the Clear Grit party, and so much was said about disorder in the Ministerial ranks that it is possible that even the administration which had not computed its friends, had also some misgivings as to the issue of the meeting of Parliament.—The Legislature, however, met, and hovering clouds were dispelled as by enchantment. The parties marshalled their respective forces on several occasions; and they were found to stand thus: Ministerialists 51; Tories 19; *Clear-Grits* 5; Annexationists 4; *loose fish* 4; independent 1.—Of the four annexationists, three voted alternately with the clear-grits, and with the Government, according to the nature of the question; the *loose fish*, political things that have no fixed principles, and who invariably espouse that cause which pays best, ranged themselves sometimes on the side of the government, sometimes on that of the Tories, and sometimes voted with the clear-grits.—As to the clear-grits they formed a band apart, now and then backing up the Tories and cordially cooperating with them in all attempts to demolish the administration. The Tories themselves descending for the same purpose from their aristocratic height down to the vortex of clear-gritism, would now and then sermonize on governmental economy and advocate the elective principles everywhere; divine right was abandoned because it was no longer popular.

It is unnecessary to say that annexation has no futurity, and that within the walls of Parliament it is a mere stranger and more a by-word than the designation of a party.—*Loose-fishism*, by its very essence, can never combine as a party, and cannot therefore arrive at the possession of power. All it wishes for is, *to live*. There are, therefore, but three parties that may look forword, with

any chances, great or small, to the attainment of power; the party that now possesses it, the Tories and the *Clear-grits*. The tories whom the general Election of 1847 had thrown into a bare minority in Upper Canada, deficient in leaders, cannot triumph in that part of the country, unless the *Clear-grits* should succeed in a notable degree to divide the liberal party; then will toryism (which is but an aristocratic despotism) have resorted to the most *outre* radicalism, and to the most abandoned democracy for support in the attainment of power. If, on the contrary, *clear-gritism* should absorb the whole of the Upper Canadian Liberal party, they cannot reach the Treasury Benches but by allying themselves to the Liberals of Lower Canada, the most numerous and compact portion of the Liberal party. But is such an alliance possible? This question naturally leads us to an analysis of the ingredients that compose the liberal, or, if you please, the ministerial party.

As we have already stated, the liberal party at the commencement of the Session of 1850, had the support of fifty one members out of eighty four, which is the total number of the Representatives composing the Assembly. Of these 51 members, 18 belong to Upper and 33 to Lower Canada. *Clear-gritism* or disappointment, had alineated five members from the Upper Canada portion of the liberal party, and annexation had deprived the same party of three members in Lower Canada, so that without those losses, the liberal party would now possess fifty nine members out of eighty four. But whatever befalls, it may hereafter count upon from thirty-two to thirty-six votes in Lower Canada. The Liberals of Lower Canada are called "the French party," by their political adversaries, because the great majority of them are French Canadians. Nevertheless, they have at all periods of the constitution, elected a certain number of men of other origins, for they chose their representatives without any regard to their language, their origin or their religious belief; what they solely and essentially inquired into is identity of political principles. In this respect their liberality and their good sense are proverbial. They have a marked antipathy to religious proselytism, and you very seldom hear them ask a man what religion he professes, unless it be in order to avoid saying any thing that might, unwittingly, wound or offend. Favorable as they are to all useful and gradual reforms, they still are much attached to the institutions of their fathers; it is that noble and patriotic sentiment which has been their preservation in times passed, and which will prove their safeguard for the future. From time to time, some partial divisions may exist among their ranks. The possession of power, to which they were unaccustomed, and of which they do not seem as yet to appreciate all the advantages; the impossibility that public men should be able to satisfy all wants, all wishes, all hopes, and all personal ambitions, to reward all political services, to carry out all projects originating in times of strife and in opposition, all those may, perhaps, for a time perplex them, and lead to differences. But they know that their position is exceptional on the continent of North America; they know that a work of demolition is going on around them; they know that they can be saved but by union and by unity of sentiments and principles, and a common danger would combine the six hundred and fifty thousand French Canadians of Lower Canada as but one man, but one mind, ready to act as a lever to edify or overthrow, at the pleasure of that potent and united will. They are undoubtedly, by their nature and the circumstances attaching to their existence, the only elements of cohesion, of strength and of durability in Canada, the Upper Canadian population, incessantly renewing itself by immigration and from its natural mobility and its instincts, passing alternately from the extreme of toryism to the extreme of radicalism.

No party, whatever may be its strength, can dispense with computing with the French Canadians; they form the *corps de 'elite* around which at all times may be drawn up in line of battle the dispersed fragments of the liberal party of Upper Canada whenever they aim either at the attainment of power or at presenting a formidable front as an opposition. Will England herself comprehend that her strength and her existence in America are alone dependant upon that social element; upon French Canadian nationality, so steadfast in its dogmas and its institutions and sentiment of self-preservation, and that she ought to the utmost of her power favor the developement of that nationality instead of repressing it, as she has done, for nearly a century and of bruising it under the hammer of despotism?

We remark in Upper Canada, even among the liberals, and perhaps more among them

than any others, a religious fanaticism insupportable and provoking, particularly for Catholics who seek but to practice in peace a religion which has existed for now nearly twenty centuries. The organs of Clear-gritism have in this respect displayed more insolence than all the rest. Not only is Presbyterianism, which appears to be their dominant religious ingredient, the only worship which, according to them, ought to enjoy the light of day; but there, also, alone is found the light of intelligence. They have proclaimed that Upper Canada was the intellectual organ of the country, and forgetting that they were absolutely impotent without the French Canadians they without provocation lavished insult upon them. They have attacked all their institutions and pledged themselves to their obliteration whenever such a power would be in their hands. It is evident that they have no settled direction and that they are blindly advancing towards the conquest of mere impossibilities. To convince one's self of this it suffices to read the labours of the levelling committee of last session, called the Committee of Retrenchment created by a vote of the House at the instance of the Government, and composed injudiciously of the most incongruous and chaotic materials. But if the Clear-Grits, always supposing that they should fundamentally substitute themselves in the place of the Liberals properly so called, do not coalesce with the French Canadians of Lower Canada, and it is evident that that coalition is impossible if these are insulted systematically in their religious sentiments, their nationality, their institutions (for an all-powerful instinct of self-preservation will suggest to the French Canadians the energetic rejection of such a coalition,) with whom will they ally themselves? Would it be with the Tories of Lower Canada? But then these are numerically null. The French element, the first condition of whose alliance will be a condition essential to its existence, will unite with that element, which will be its best guarrantee for such an existence, and that stupid radicalism, called *clear-gritism*, will writhe in its impotency, and in the convulsions of despair.

We have thus sussinctly shown the origin, composition and prospects of political parties in Canada.

ECONOMY IN THE GOVERNMENT

OF THE PROVINCE.

Ever since the birth of the League, that sanguinary abortion which sprang from the ashes of the Houses of Parliament, and now slumbers peacefully in the tomb, by the side of its younger sister, Annexation,—the Tory press, and with it, its helpmate, the organ of Clear-Gritism, that offspring of deceit and wounded pride, making its appearance on the field of battle like the Arabs, after the fight is over, to spoil the dead and plunder the vanquished, be they friends or foes, have not ceased to proclaim throughout the length and breadth of the land, that the public expenditure is enormous, and to accuse the present administration of increasing the Provincial debt at their pleasure, for the purpose of creating dependants and extending their influence, asserting that the expenditure might be reduced one half were not the men now in power, like their predecessors, solely occupied in advancing their own interests, and like them, disposed to go on wasting the public money.

The Provincial debt has, doubtless, been considerably increased since the Union, but not, as it is pretended, in creating for the responsible executive additional patronage, through the increase of salaries and multiplication of offices. No; the augmentation of that debt arises from the loans which have been applied to the construction of public works, unequalled in grandeur and the admiration of Foreigners; public works, which from their enormous dimensions and their no less gigantic destination are a subject of astonishment to the great nation which is our neighbour. Canada, despite the clamours of those who prophecy "Ruin and Decay," may feel proud of her Canals, and defy the rest of the world to show their equal. No one can deny at the present day that the enormous obstacles to the establishment of a means of communication from the ocean to our inland seas, which had been so long considered as insuperable, have been completely surmounted, and every one knows that vessels of five hundred tons may at this very moment, without the slightest obstacle or the necessity of transhipment, descend the waters of the St. Lawrence, from the very head of lake Michigan to the ocean.

But if our trade is no longer arrested by the rapids and cascades of the St. Lawrence, nor even by the formidable Falls of Niagara, reasonable men will understand that these obstacles have not disappeared before the mere will of those in power, and that to remove them by means of gigantic works, it has cost more than three millions of money, for which the country is now paying interest. Nevertheless, is there a man in the country at all capable of appreciating this great undertaking, who would venture to assert that without her debt, and, consequently, without her canals, Canada would be more prosperous and better able to rival in progress the neighbouring republic? One man alone, we are aware, has pretended that the dimensions of our Canals are extravagant and disproportionate to the wants of the trade. This man, who but lately expressed a wish to see all our public works blown up, is now more than sixty, yet should Providence grant him a few years longer life, commerce, which will furnish unceasing employment to our canals, will show the falsity of his views and of his petty and narrow ideas.

Which plan was the wiser? To com-

mence as they did with the Erie canal, in the United States, on so small a scale that it has been enlarged three times in fifteen years, or to construct, as we have done, Canals which will be sufficient for the wants of the trade, however enormous, for at least half a century to come? Any one at all conversant in matters of this nature, will unhesitatingly answer, that the plan which Canada has adopted, is by far the more economical and better one.

Our object, in laying before the public certain facts founded upon figures the correctness of which is incontestible, is not to convince the few evil-minded persons who sigh after ruin for the sole pleasure of being true prophets, and for whom the prosperity of their country is a constant cause of intense suffering, but to place upon their guard such well-disposed persons as may be exposed from want of information, or from not having sufficiently studied the subject, to echo the cro kings of those who have but one cry, that of Destruction, which they represent, however, in the most seductive shape and under the most sounding names. Annexation for a moment made its appearance full of life, seemingly, and the monster, clad in the filthy rags of Socialism, after having laid its foul paw upon national feeling and the finest and holiest institutions of the country, has expired from want of food and fuel, like the bankruptcy and incendiarism which gave it birth. The League, we have already stated, is another child of incendiarism and ruin, and is now a ruin itself. Next came that other monster, Clear-gritism, a financial harpy which lays its destructive claws upon men and things. How long shall this anomalous being last? God only knows.

Every ambitious fool, every man who has been foiled in his expectations, and who is able to write, like a new vender of drugs, offers his panacea, which, without the slightest doubt, will prove a cure for all the ills of the country, and for "all the past, present, and future evils" of our political society. These politico-social charlatans may be divided into two classes.

Some pretend that by diminishing the number of public functionaries by one half, & their salaries in the same proportion, a reduction of one half the public expenditure will be obtained; the others, on the contrary, assert that this sort of economy is hardly practicable, or is but a slightly palliative remedy, and that the only means of cure is to apply the scalpel to the *system* itself, which is defective. But all these economists, both great and small, old and young, do not state by what this system is to be replaced; they do not tell us how it can be possible to alter it without bringing on an infinitely worse state of things. Thus, both of them torture public opinion, either to further their own purposes or to parade their visionary notions, and all of them labour, some intentionally, others unwittingly, to revive those extravagant projects which the good sense of the people, it is true, has treated as they deserved, whenever they have been mooted, but which cannot fail to arouse fears in the minds of strangers as to the stability of our political institutions, and thus considerably to affect the public credit.

But let us proceed to facts, and see what our position was on the eve of the Union of the Provinces; let us inquire by referring to the Legislative records, whether, apart from the public debt, incurred for the construction of public works, the increase of grants for the instruction of youth, the administration of justice, the Sessions of Parliament, the encouragement of agriculture and the support of benevolent institutions,—the public expenditure, as far as regards the administration of the government, has in fact increased disproportionately to the increase of the population and the resources of the country.

We have, in a statement forming part of appendix No. 3 to the 6th volume of the journals of the Legislative Assembly for 1847, (with the exception of a few items the headings of which show that they do not form a portion thereof,) the Receipts and Expenditure of Lower Canada from 1792, and of Upper Canada from 1821, to the period of the Union. If we take the year 1840, as a point of departure, for both Provinces, and establish the amount of their respective populations, of their annual revenues and of their permanent expenditure at the period of the Union, we shall easily discover how the provincial debt has gradually increased to its present proportions, and ascertain whether, as the agitators affirm, it be possible considerably to diminish it, and if so, the particular items which might be reduced or entirely done away with—admitting that we continue to pay the interest of the debt punctually; that we maintain the administration of justice on such a footing of independence as to place it beyond the reach of suspicion;

that we give to the instruction of the people and to agriculture that encouragement which is due to them and which they have a right to expect from the country; that we continue to our benevolent institutions the assistance which they have up to this moment received; that we maintain the various departments on an efficient footing, and give to the public officers who are indispensable to the service of the administration, incomes proportionate to the importance of their duties, and sufficient to place them beyond the reach of temptation, and of that corruption or want which begs for bread, and unblushingly and fearlessly rears its shameless front at this very day, in the numberless public departments of the United States, and in the very councils of the government; a most demoralizing state of things which bears far more heavily on the people than the system of reasonable salaries.

From an approximate calculation, based upon the census of 1831 and 1844, the population of Lower Canada at the period of the Union of the Provinces, might have been 650,000 souls; and that of Upper Canada 436,436; forming altogether 1,086,436 souls. The Revenue of Lower Canada for 1840 was £184,132 9s. 0½d., and that of Upper Canada for the same year, £123,351 14s. 9d., forming a total of £307,484 3s. 9½d. currency.

The permanent expenditure of Lower Canada at the same period (see statement A) amounted to the sum of £143,312 4s. 4d., leaving a disposable balance of £40,820 4s. 8d.; a less considerable one, however, than there had been for several years before the suspension of the Constitution, in consequence of the enormous sum applied at that period to the outfit and support of an armed police force. But as this item for the support of the police, and which amounted in 1840 to £35,430 4s. 4½d., is not to be considered a permanent one, it must be deducted from the total Provincial expenditure; in its stead, however, we must place in the column of permanent expenditure the amount of the expenses of the Legislature, which was suspended at this period in Lower Canada, and which amount, if we take the average of the ten last preceding years, was £15,000. This leaves a balance of £20,430 4s. 4½d. out of the item of Police, and by adding this balance to that mentioned above, there will be left a total annual disposable balance in Lower Canada of £61,250 9s. 0½, which by the Union Act, became part of the consolidated fund of the United Provinces. Things were very different in Upper Canada at the same period, that Province having to pay (see statement B) an annual interest of £57,724 0s. 5½d. on the debt incurred for the construction of her public works; her civil, judiciary, administrative and other expenditure, amounted to a further sum of £107,353 16s. 11½d., forming a total which, with the grant of £33,779 10s. 0d. towards the public works for the current year, rendered it impossible for that Province to meet its permanent expenses and continue its works. The only dowry she brought into the common fund, therefore, was an empty coffer and a liability of nearly one million.

Thus it happened that on the 9th of February, 1841, the Province of Canada with a population of 1,086,436 souls and an annual revenue of £307,484 3s. 9d., had to pay a sum of £357,258 1s. 7d. for the expenses of the current year, in accordance with the budget submitted to both Houses during the first Session of the Parliament of the United Provinces. This, by reducing the police expenses, became an easy matter, and by raising the tariff of duties during the Session from 2½ to 5 per cent., a disposable balance was created, which could be applied towards the payment of a portion of the interest on the subsequent loan which we shall now consider, and which was raised in order to continue the public works.

At the very opening of the first Session, Lord Sydenham, who wanted a majority and was determined to have one at any price, presented his golden calf, the million and a half, a bait which produced a magic effect upon all who thirsted for general and particular improvements. Out of the members of a (so-called) Reform representation, he contrived to make, with the exception of Mr. Baldwin and half a dozen other men of honor, so many docile creatures who left their Lower Canada allies in the lurch and bowed themselves down before the idol, saying *amen* to all the iniquitous proposals of the shameless despot. This wholesale purchase of the Upper Canada representation was effected by means of a half-million which was voted for roads, harbors, and improvements of every nature in Upper Canada, and for which half million, Lower Canada has obtained as yet no equivalent. The zeal of the Upper Canada members, both Tories and Reformers, at this period was such, that they would have absorbed the whole of the million and a half in local improvements, had not the Lower

Canada Tories by uniting with the French Canadians, turned the scale in favor of grants for the purpose of completing the line of communication between the ocean and the great lakes, the very object which had served as a pretext for the union of the Provinces: The union must be effected, it was said, because Lower Canada refuses to take her share of this undertaking which has become a necessity.

We crave indulgence for these details which may at first sight appear a digression, but are intimately connected with the history of the increase of the Provincial debt, and are so many important facts which occurred during a memorable period which must not be lost sight of. Let us however, if possible, forget this unfortunate epoch of our history and continue our narration.

At the period of the Union, before this million and a half had been added to the debt already incurred by Upper Canada, Parliament had, as we have already stated, to provide for the wants of both Provinces, which amounted to the sum of £357,258 1s. 7d. The million and a half once voted for public improvements, and spent as a matter of course, together with many other sums which have been since voted for the same purpose, the Provincial debt must needs have increased from year to year, until the present day, when it rather exceeds four millions!—With such a debt on our hands, with interest to pay on it, is it astonishing that our expenditure has increased to so enormous an extent? The figures in the annexed statement will explain better than we can in words what appears a mystery to those ignorant men who will not give themselves the trouble of studying the question, or to those impostors who knowingly misrepresent it in order the better to attain their evil purposes.

PERMANENT EXPENSES CHARGEABLE UPON THE CONSOLIDATED FUND AND PAYABLE DURING THE YEAR 1849.

Interest on Provincial debt...	£182,727	19	11
Sinking Fund.....	75,000	0	0
Charitable Institutions, grants for Instruction, Agriculture, Penitentiary, Indians, Militia Pensions and Geological Explorations.....	23,704	6	7
Expenses of the Legislature..	54,091	7	1
Administration of Justice....	62,740	14	2
Civil and Judiciary Pensions.	7,027	17	7
Militia.....	2,034	11	1
Executive & its Departments	32,081	11	2
Printing of the Statutes, (about £5,000) and various other items, such as rent of Episcopal Palace, Losses' Commission, Montreal Registry Office Commission, Montreal Central Board of Health rent and repairs to Public Buildings, Assistance to inhabitants of Gaspe, &c....	16,593	0	6
Total amount paid on permanent expenses of 1849....	£525,913	8	2

Having taken the year 1840 as the point of departure, and the budget of 1841 for comparison, in order to obtain a correct result, we must add to the above amount the sum of £39,489 14s. 7d. being the unpaid balance of the budget of 1849, as the above statement contains only the sums paid during the year, and several items were not claimed or were only in part paid·

Amount brought down.....	£525,913	8	2
Unpaid balance of budget of 1849.....	39,489	14	7
Total amount Budget of 1849.	£565,403	2	9
do. do. 1841.	357,258	1	7
Increase from 1841 to 1849..	£208,145	1	2

Now, it is not necessary to enter into any abstruse calculation in order to prove that the figures placed opposite the respective heads of expenditure will show on comparing them with statements A & B, that the excess of expenditure for 1849 over that of 1841, does not proceed from the increase of the salaries or of the number of officials, but almost solely from the following causes :—

First,—The debt incurred for the construction of the public works, the interest on which has been increased since 1840 by new loans from £57,724 0s. 5½d. to £182,727 19s. 11d., (see the Budget) forming an augmentation of.....	£125,003	19	5½
Secondly,—Sinking fund.....	75,000	0	0
Thirdly, Education, 1849..£39,603			
do. 1840, 18,536			
Increase.....	£21,067	0	0
Fourthly, Agriculture '49 £8,585			
do. '40 2,137			
Increase.....	£6,448	0	0
Fifthly, Administration of Justice, 1849,.....£62,740			
do. 1840,..... 45,907			
Increase.....	£16,833	0	0

Sixthly,—Sessions of the Legislature, 1849,.....	£54,001
do. 1841,.....	23,421*
Increase.....	30,580
	£274,931

Let us now take up in their order these six classes of increase in the Provincial expenditure, and examine whether it be possible to interfere with them with a view to economy. Let us see how far it may be possible to relieve the people from this heavy additional burthen. It is indeed worth our while to make the trial, inasmuch as from what we have first seen, the progressive increase of the expenditure in the items above mentioned, has amounted within a period of eight years to the formidable sum of £274,931 0s. 0d.

1. In the first place is there any way in which we could get rid of the obligation to pay the interest of our debt? Is there any secret by which we may attain that object, which no statesman of any country has yet found out, and which is only known to the economists of the new school? If there be any such, let it be pointed out at once, for we are sure that no one in Canada would dare to pronounce the word *repudiation!* This hideous cry once uttered by a nation her honor and credit are irretrievably lost, and let her then beware of her future wants.

The debt has been incurred, and the borrowed money applied to its object; these are facts. If the canals did not exist, we should have to find means to make them, for they are indispensable to the prosperity of Canada. We shall be told there has been waste. True, but there still would be waste had we to begin them over again, notwithstanding the experience we have acquired; besides that cannot dissolve an existing obligation nor annul a solemn contract. Pay then, we must, there can be no difficulty on this head.

Secondly,—The sinking fund is a necessary consequence of the debt; it is no more possible to do away with it than to cease paying the interest on that debt. Without this fund our public securities would soon fall in value; we have an interest in keeping it up, and it is our duty to maintain this guarantee in favor of our creditors.

Thirdly,—Since the Union of the Provinces, a sum of £50,000 has been set apart yearly for the support of elementary schools, and this independently of the grants in favor of private institutions. Can our economists suggest any saving in this item? Do they consider the people sufficiently enlightened to do without this grant? Self-constituted apostles of the people, do you believe that your ministry obliges you to effect in the name of the people a saving which will arrest their progress? This item also, must therefore remain as it is, for you are silent and bow your heads, (servile sycophants as you are,) before the wants and the will of the people.

Fourthly, — Agriculture, the principal means of material existence to the immense majority of the people of Canada, in like manner as Education is their intellectual food, requires stimulus and encouragement as well as the latter, if you wish to see it prosper and attain that perfection which is indispensable. Will you deprive it of that stimulus? No, say you; and it is probable also, that the representatives of the people who have received a more direct mission and a more genuine apostleship than yours, would feel inclined to vote for a higher grant than that authorised by law. This is, therefore, another item which we must take care not to touch.

5thly. The administration of Justice, we admit, costs an enormous sum at the present day. The decentralisation of the judiciary tribunals and the local administration of Justice were long demanded by the people. The Legislature has satisfied this demand by creating new districts, and increasing, at the same time, the jurisdiction of the Circuit Courts. Justice has been brought to the door of the litigants to save them costs and travelling expenses; the public chest, however, has suffered by the change, as it became necessary to appoint more judges, and consequently to pay more. These observations apply to Lower Canada; for, previous to the Union and up to 1846, the cost of administering justice in Upper Canada were paid by the different localities. It was only in 1846 that the ministry of the day, with shameful injustice, charged them upon the Consolidated Fund of both Provinces. The Union took place, and was established upon this basis; that the contracting parties should remain with their reciprocal advantages and disadvantages as they

* But the Members indemnity for 1841, (£6,800) is not included in this sum, not having been paid out of the Contingencies of the Legislative Assembly, as it was in 1849.

then stood. Lower Canada had suffered sufficiently in other respects; the Union Act, it would seem, had done it enough of injustice, and laid upon it a sufficiently heavy load; and, surely, the clauses of the contract, and the trifling compensation and return they granted, might have been abided by. But the evil is done, and Lower Canada is saddled with the burthen until the *economists* relieve her of it. If they do so, we shall be rejoiced at their success.

6thly. The increase in the expenditure of the Legislature is enormous. Here, perhaps, a saving may be possible, although if we may judge from the past, there is very little probability of it. But the matter rests in the hands of the representatives of the people, and it is the duty of the people themselves to state what economy they wish for.

After examining as we have done, each head of increase in the public expenditure since 1841, it appears to us next to impossible to effect any reduction therein, as the increase is owing to new obligations which we cannot avoid performing, and to that of paying the interest on our debt. Nevertheless, this examination brings out a very important fact,—there is a considerable decrease in the administrative expenditure since the Union:

Thus, the budget of 1841 amounted to	£357258	0	0
Of which, was paid for interest, during the same year	57724	0	0
Leaving for administrative expenditure a balance of	£299534	0	0
Whereas in 1849 the budget being	565403	2	9
if we deduct the total interest on the debt and the additional grants which may be considered as indispensable, according to the above statement	£274931	0	0
Together with the interest paid on the Upper Canada debt which was deducted above, but must now be entered	57724	0	0
	£332655	0	0
We have, for the expenses of the administration in 1849, a balance of only	£232748	0	0

Thus clearly showing that there has been economy somewhere and that the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada had to pay, before the Union, an annual sum of £66,786 (being the difference between the two balances which we have above shown) for the expenses of their administration, from which the Province of Canada has been relieved by means of savings which have been gradually effected in the various branches of the public service since the Union.

Should proof be asked in support of our assertion, the following will bear us out:

In addition to his salary the Governor of Lower Canada received his share of forfeitures and fees of different kinds; he was, also, a military officer, and, as such, was in the receipt of a large income, thus making his salary higher than that enjoyed by the Governor General at the present day.

1st. The salary of the Governor of Lower Canada, for 1840 was	£5000	0	0
That of the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, payable out of the General Revenue	2222	0	0
Do. do. out of the Casual and Territorial Revenue	3232	6	3½
Total in 1840	£10454	6	3½
Salary of the Governor General in 1849	7777	15	4
Saving in 1849 of	£2676	10	11½
2nd. Both Civil Secretarys' departments in 1840	£ 6353	1	10
Civil Secretarys' departments in 1849	1925	8	4
Saving in 1849 of	£4427	13	6
3rd. Prov. Sec. and Registrar 1840	£6048	17	9½
Do. do 1849	5367	14	4
Saving in 1849 of	£ 681	3	5½
4th. Executive Council in 1840, Upper Canada, out of the General Revenue	£ 1590	6	9
Do. do. Casual and Territorial Revenue	168	6	8
Lower Canada, in do. do.	2235	0	0
Total in 1840	£3994	13	5
Executive Council, in 1849	2847	4	4
Saving in 1849 of	£1147	9	1
5th. Receiver General's Department in 1840, Upper Canada, out of the General Revenue of the Province	£3341	13	0
Do. Casual and Territorial Revenue	333	6	8

Lower Canada in 1840.....	1222	4	5
Total in 1840.....	£4897	4	1
Receiver General's Dep't 1849....	2056	0	0
Saving in 1849 of.....	£2841	4	1
6th. Crown Lands and Surveyor General's Departments in 1840, Upper Canada, out of General Revenue.....	£2033	16	7
Do. Casual and Territorial Revenue.....	3298	13	11½
Lower Canada in 1840.....	2958	6	4½
Total in 1840	£8290	16	11
Crown Lands Dep't in 1849.....	£6908	16	9
Less, Mr. Boutillier's salary.....	666	13	4
	6242	3	5
Saving in 1849 of.....	£2048	13	6

It may be well to remark that the Crown Lands Department does not only comprise the two departments of that name, which existed in Upper and Lower Canada, before the Union, but it includes also the two Surveyor Generals' Departments. We must also observe that as Mr. Bouthillier, the late Assistant in this department, has been since transferred to the Customs, the annual expenses have been consequently reduced by £666 13s. 4d.

7th. Pensions, Lower Canada, in 1840.....	£3825	2	2½
Upper Canada, from General Revenue	4306	9	7
Casual and Territorial do.,....	2615	4	7
	£10746	16	4½
Pensions in 1849.....	7027	17	7
Saving in 1849 of.....	£3718	18	9½
8th. Inspector General's Department in 1840, Upper Canada, out of the General Revenue.....	£1229	8	7
Do. Casual and Territorial Revenue	384	18	0½
Lower Canada in 1840.....	905	11	1½
Total in 1840 of.....	£2519	17	9¼
InspectorGeneral's Department in 1849.....	3910	3	4
Increase in 1849 of.....	£1390	5	7

The fees which were payable in the Customs' Department before the Union, have since been done away with.

9th. Department of Public Works 1840.....	£1821	6	10
Do. do. 1849.....	1900	0	0
Increase in 1849.....	£78	13	2

Before the establishment of a Board of Works, all public works were performed under the supervision of Commissioners, who were allowed five per cent., which was certainly a much more expensive plan, and one which gave less security to the public.

It would be easy to take up, in the same manner, all the items of public expenditure and prove, that in what may be called the expenses of administration, a considerable saving has been effected almost everywhere, but let us merely recapitulate the six heads which we have above examined, and the facts will strike even the dullest understanding:—

1st. Saving on Governor General's Salary.....	£2676	10	11
2nd. Civil Secretary's Dep't.....	4427	13	6
3rd. Prov. Sec. & Registrar's dep't	681	3	5
4th. Executive Council.....	1147	9	1
5th. Receiver General's Dep't...	2841	4	1
6th. Crown Lands Dep't.....	2048	13	6
7th. Pensions.....	3718	18	9½
	£17,541	13	3½

From the saving above mentioned effected under these six heads, we must deduct:—

8th. Increase of expenses of Inspector General's Dep't..	£1390	5	7		
9th. Increase of expenses of Department of Public Works.....	£	78	13	2	£1468 18 9
Saving on the above items in 1849					£16072 14 6½

In merely comparing, however, as we have done, the amounts of expenditure in 1840 with those of 1849, we do not obtain the exact amount saved, which is, in fact, much greater than would appear, inasmuch, as before the Union, many of the officers attached to the Departments we have just considered, were in the receipt of various fees, commissions, forfeitures, and emoluments of different sorts to a considerable amount, while at present not only have the salaries been reduced 20 per cent., but the fees have also been entirely done away with.

It is not to be wondered at, that the expenses of the offices of the Inspector General and Board of Works have increased by £1468 18s. 9d., inasmuch as before the Union the number of Public Works was very

small, and the provincial revenue which is collected under the immediate surveillance of the Inspector General, is now double what it then was. Let it be remembered that the population of the Province, which in 1840 was only 1,086,436 souls, is now at least 1,600,000, having increased by more than one half in ten years, and it will then be a matter of surprise that the expenses of these Departments have not increased in a greater proportion. Whoever looks fairly at these facts, must confess that some economy has been practised.

Now, we do not think it necessary, in order to satisfy the candid reader, to go on examining farther into the various branches of the public expenditure, in order to point out to him each item of saving which has been effected since 1840; but there is a class of public functionaries whose position in the government, and whose income have been a constant subject of attack, especially since the present administration has been in power; we refer to the Attorneys General. A few details respecting the situation of these officials may be of some interest.

There is nothing very astonishing, however, in these furious invectives of the press and these violent philippics against the Attorneys General. Are not these eminent persons at the head of their profession, and of the country? Do they not occupy a very high position in the opinion of their fellow-countrymen? Is not that sufficient to rouse the jealousy of every ambitious person, no matter what class he may belong to? We do not intend to discuss whether it would be more advantageous that these officers should or should not form part of the administration. The question we are discussing, being purely one of finance and economy, we merely wish to draw the attention of the reader to their salaries.

The salary of each of the Attorneys General is at present £1,100 *per annum*, with £250 for Contingencies, out of which they pay for their messengers, stationery, postage, &c. We know that the latter sum is insufficient to meet these expenses; and we know moreover, that £100 *per annum* is barely sufficient to cover the deficiency. This would then only leave to the Attorneys General a salary equal to that of their other colleagues, the contingencies of the latter being provided for by the Province. This gross allowance, however, of £1,350 *per annum*, seems to be a thorn in the side of many persons, who accuse these laborious and eminently useful men of enjoying their incomes in luxury and idleness. Never at any other period than the present, were these salaries so cried out against as enormous: have the present administration increased them? Let us take up the subject a little farther back; let us consult the public accounts before and after the Union, and ascertain whether the economists have any grounds for their bitter complaints, and how these high functionaries were paid formerly.

During the three years immediately preceding the Union, we find in the journals of the special council that the sum of £12,307 15s. 0d was paid to the Attorney General for his salary and contingencies, which, on an average, gave an annual income of £3,-692 6s. 0d. to the Honorable C. R. Ogden, independently of another trifling sum of £9,600 19s. 1d. for *extraordinary* services. We need not inquire into the nature of these services; they are sufficiently explained by the period at which they were performed. So that according to these figures, the correctness of which is incontestible, Mr. Ogden received, in every year, three times the annual salary enjoyed by Mr. LaFontaine. This difference is enormous, and yet it shows but a portion of the advantages attached to this office in Mr. Ogden's time. At that period the Attorneys General were not obliged to devote the whole of their time to the public service; they were not responsible ministers; they quietly carried on their private practice, from which they received heavy fees, in consequence of the position which their office gave them at the Bar and in the opinion of the public; nor were they even obliged to give up their practice and sacrifice their private interests to go and reside fifty or a hundred leagues from their homes. The contrast between the situation of the Attorneys General of the old school and those of the present day, is very great, doubtless because the system of constitutional government has been introduced into the country; and it is doubtless, in consideration of this change, and by way of reward, that these self-constituted spokesmen of *a grateful country*, load with abuse men who daily make enormous sacrifices for the public good.

The Union Act put a stop to the prodigalities of the old regime. The salaries, nevertheless, remained very high; but they were afterwards reduced one-fifth, as we have already stated.

It is intended, we have heard, to reduce them again by one fifth, should the Imperial Government consent; at all events our ministers have made that declaration in the House. As for us, our opinion is well known on this subject; we have expressed it more than once. We have shown the danger of yielding at every moment to the foolish cries of ambitious men, of gradually bringing down the ministers to a level with persons who are without capacity as politicians or as professional men, by reducing their salaries, and of preventing men of high intelligence in the country from ever taking the management of public affairs. Ministers must remember that government will be necessary when they are gone, and must consequently avoid rendering it impossible to be carried on. They will, therefore, think twice before yielding to so disorganizing and so dangerous a measure. Besides, neither this promised reduction or any other which may follow, will be a sufficient sacrifice in the eyes of demagogues, and ambitious and incapable men will always cry out for reduction, in order that salaries and public honors may be so lowered in value as to be placed within their reach. These interested patriots will serve the country for the *love* of their country, and "for the sole honour of serving it," as one of our demagogues expressed it in the House the other day.

If then, as every one understands, no concession will stay the fury of the destructives, if it be impossible to dispel the storm, and if it be necessary sooner or later to weather it, why not do so at once, while the immense majority of the population of the country are still in their senses and have not yet felt the destructive influence of these preachers of a new doctrine. Do not the people understand that they ought to mistrust a patriotism so disinterested in appearance, and that false shew of economy practised by our neighbors, which reduces the salary of a Governor below that of a merchant's clerk, and which is intended to make the people believe that they pay nothing, and yet enables the public functionary, by means of his *secrets of office*, to realize a splendid fortune after he has held his place for three years. Canada is to be pitied if this system of government should obtain; experience will teach her when it becomes too late, that the seeds of corruption and public ruin have been sown in her bosom.

When we have before us this plain statement of the revenue and expenditure of the Province, when we see that economy has really been practised, and will be gradually continued, (with due circumspection, however) by a prudent administration, what are we to think of and what should we care for the pretensions of a few brawling fools who contend that the public expenditure may be reduced one half? Have we not sufficient proof before our eyes that they know nothing at all of the matter, and have no idea whatever of administration or government; or can we not perceive that they are so anxious to get up an agitation, that they shamelessly deceive the people, by pretending to commiserate their misfortunes in order the better to impose upon their credulity? They are aware that a question of finance is the most delicate and most advantageous one as a subject of agitation; hence it is that they have adopted the word *economy* as their rallying cry. This was Ledru Rollin's war-cry before he was allowed in the name of the French people (whose happiness was of course thereby ensured) to handle the national funds.

It will be the cry of all demagogues who may come after him, until, by the aid of barricades, they ride in their carriages as upstart aristocrats, and despise the demagogues who are obliged to walk, and who will cry out in their turn that the people pay too dearly for the said carriages.

We shall not say: reduce by one-half the number and salaries of the public officials, nor is that what the agitators of every sort require; but we say: dismiss the whole *personnel* of the Administration, from the Governor-General to the lowest menial, and let the angels of heaven take the helm of the Government into their hands. (Perhaps it would be better to leave it in the hands of the hungry Clear-Grits or of their younger companions in Socialism who might steer at night by their "brilliant pillar of light and go ahead at a pace which should keep time to the beating of their great hearts.") What saving will then have been effected? not *one-eighteenth* of the whole public expenditure.

People of Canada, those who promise you that the public expenditure may be reduced by one-half, or even by one-third or by one-fourth, are fools or knaves, and just as dangerous one as the other; the former would thrust you into the pit through ignorance while the latter would entrap you into i

like the fox in the fable, in order to make use of your shoulders to get out of it.

After the events of February, a great cry was got up in France against the civil list and the government. To pacify the people a reduction was attempted. The budget consisted of nearly eighteen hundred millions of francs; the moderate salaries of a great number of efficient officers, fathers of families, were reduced, and the enormous budget was diminished by *four* millions of francs. What a mockery!

The only reduction which can be effected for the present, will be in the salaries of the ministers, of those men who labour the most, have the greatest responsibility, and whose situations are the most precarious: the saving effected on their salaries will amount to £1,000 or £1,700. To this may be added the reduction which is to take place in the salaries of the Judges; but this, of course, can only be *in prospectu*.

After having shown in the clearest manner possible, and in such detail as to tire out the reader, the folly of the retrenchment arguments, after having thoroughly exposed the absurd propositions of those who, as they say, wish to reduce by one-half the salaries of the parasites, (*ventrus*) (for such is the term applied by them to everyone holding any office whatsoever) pretending thereby to effect a saving of one-half the public expenditure for the advantage of the people whose fancy they tickle with their tiresome and stupid notions of economy; we shall now examine the arguments advanced by those who are opposed to the system itself, which in their opinion is rotten at heart, and must be immediately replaced by a sounder and more sensible one.

We have already stated that those who complain of the existing state of things, and cry out for mere change, propose nothing positive, nothing definite nor tangible, far less practicable instead of the system they find so odious; unless we consider as practicable Mr. Merritt's production contained in the report of the Finance Committee. But we need not study this project very deeply, in order to become convinced that it is defective in itself, unconnected in its details and has no practical end if the object of the ex-minister be to lighten the burthens which press upon the people. The means he proposes were they at all practicable, would only alter the mode of levying the taxes without diminishing the expenditure. On the other hand, the author, who confines himself exclusively within financial abstractions which practice invariably modifies as it does all other abstractions, seems not to have given the slightest consideration in his plan, to the manners and customs, wants and wishes of the people of the country, in whose behalf and in whose name however, he has brought all his financial and other acquirements into play. Nor has he taken into consideration their institutions and the ties which bind them to England, matters which he does not seem to think of any importance.

Mr. Merritt's plan, in our opinion may be summed up in these few words: "Whether your manners and customs and your institutions and the peculiar circumstances in which you are placed, be or be not incompatible with the change, follow the example of the State of New York in everything: try and resemble her as if you were her other self, because she is the most perfect State of the very best Federal Republic; and aspire to nothing better, for you will have then attained the perfection and *ultima ratio* of human institutions."

But if in this famous scheme we can trace no unity of principle, no connexion between its parts, and nothing practical in an economical sense, we can at least see at the first glance that its tendency is at variance with the notions of the immense majority of the people. The abolition of all duties of Customs is recommended on the pretext of removing impediments to trade, a measure which, according to Mr. Merritt, is to draw the whole commerce of North America through our canals and to increase the Revenue from them to such a vast extent, as that in the year 1860, they shall not only pay off the principal and interest of our debt, but defray also the whole Provincial Expenditure. We are not however told, how in the mean time, and while we are waiting for this golden age, we are to meet every half year, the interest payable in London on our debt. This is a very grave omission in the gigantic schemes of the ex-Commissioner of Public Works, and one which would have very serious consequences for the country.

According to Mr. Merritt's scheme, the expenses of the administration of Justice are to be defrayed by the municipalities, who are also to furnish the aid hitherto granted to Charitable and Educational Institutions; a plan which would, of course, work admirably, more especially in those

localities where people burn school-houses, because they are asked to pay a moderate contribution which is to procure for their children the bread of knowledge, but the payment of which they resist almost by open violence. The annual aid granted for elementary education and the encouragement of agriculture, is to be provided for out of the Jesuits' estates, and the waste lands of the Crown, which produce scarcely enough to pay for surveying them! In short, Canada is to enjoy the blessings of direct taxation instead of Customs' duties; and this is not to be done for the purpose of obtaining the supposed advantages, or even the vain glory of independence, but the immense majority of the people, whether they choose or do not choose to wear foreign stuffs or indulge in foreign luxuries, are to have direct taxes imposed on them, and upon their farms and lands, for the sake of removing every check to the spirit of trading, and in order that the traders (who are pleased to call themselves the country) may with more impunity, indulge their ambitious taste for dashing risks and flaming speculations. In Mr. Merritt's eyes, the masses of the people are but of extremely secondary moment compared with the trading class: he has but one idol,—material interests; the moral, or even the physical, necessities of humanity, the wants of the heart or the soul touch him not; worshiping the god of trade alone, he would sacrifice, upon the altar of his deity, almost every real interest of society, and if he had his way society would one day call him to a strict account for the distress and ruin he would have worked.

But there is no occasion to expose further this economical scheme which made so much noise while hatching, and which now it is hatched, can find no one to protect its frail and silly existence, against the attacks of reason, economical science and administrative experience; the Destructives of every name and sort have repudiated it, and refused to adopt it as their platform, doubtless because their sole object is to destroy, and not to reconstruct, but to sit down in the cruel pride of victory among the ruins they have made. Their motto is, "Never mind our country so we have our own way," now their way is the way of destruction, and they entertain a horror of rebuilding or reconstructing. Yet Mr. Merritt's scheme would, after all, have answered their purpose. For though its economical pretensions are a mere illusion, though it could take nothing from the public burthens but would, as soon as adopted, have made them heavier and more irksome; it would not the less have had the merit of destroying utterly the public credit and security, and of driving into resistance the people of this Province, who are far from being ready for such a change.

Statement (A) *of Expenditure in Lower Canada before the Union, in* 1840.

	£	s.	D.
Governor, Lieut. Governor, or person administering the Government	5000	0	0
Office, Chief Secretary	400	12	0½
Office, Civil Secretary	5744	9	10½
Office, Provincial Secretary and Registrar's Department	1478	9	4
Receiver General's Department	1222	4	5
Office, Inspectors and Auditors of Public Accounts	905	11	1
Executive Council	2235	11	1
Office, Board of Works	1832	9	2
Administration of Justice	38617	5	0
French Translator	55	11	1
Special Council	3765	16	6
Office, Surveyor General	1624	19	8½
Office, Crown Lands	1333	6	8
Emigrant Agent	1209	13	7
Grand Voyers	488	17	9
Inspector of Chimneys	27	15	6
Militia and Militia Pensions	2339	0	6½
Education	5626	17	9
Supporting and Improving the Navigation of the River St. Lawrence (Trinity Houses)	5818	6	3½
Encouragement of Agriculture	504	4	5
Destruction of Wolves	105	0	0
Pensions and Allowances	3825	2	2½
Printing, Stationery &c., for Government	3398	11	0½
Distribution of the Laws	150	0	0
Court Houses and Gaols	3878	17	6
Erection of Custom Houses	111	2	6
Repairs, Rent and care of Public Buildings, Assessments and other charges attending the same	4031	19	10
Quarantine, Health Officer, Board of Health, Vaccine Inoculation, Hospital and other charitable institutions	8509	8	2
Literary and Historical Societies, Museums and other public institutions	200	0	0
Residents on Anticosti, and Depots of Provisions	100	0	0
Carried forward	£ 34541	3	1½

	£	s.	d.
Brought over	£34541	3	1¼
Management of Jesuits' Estates	635	2	3½
Emigrant Societies	87	8	0
Police	35430	4	4¼
Board of Militia Land Claims	881	16	7
Miscellaneous	1736	10	0
	£143312	4	4¼

Statement (B) *of Expenditure in Upper Canada, before the Union, out of the General Revenue for* 1840.

	£	s.	d.
Lieutenant Governor	2222	4	5
Executive Council and Office	1590	6	9½
Civil (or Private) Secretary	208	0	0
Government Office	2516	1	2¼
Receiver General's Office	3341	13	0
Inspector General's "	1229	8	7
Surveyor General's "	1648	18	6¼
Provincial Secretary's and Registrar's Office	1954	7	3
Contingencies of Public Offices	1141	17	1
Government Printing and Printing the Laws	1303	6	2½
Repairs of Government House	252	17	10½
Vice Chancellor and Judges	7633	9	4¼
Crown Officers	1800	0	0
Queen's Counsel	693	5	0
Clerk of the Crown	182	4	11¼
Clerk of Assize	260	0	6
Usher and Keeper of Court of King's Bench	40	0	0
Miscellaneous Expenses connected with administration of Justice	28	0	0
Penitentiary	6300	0	0
Legislature	8421	14	1½
Pensions	4306	9	7¼
Education	10841	19	3½
Interest	57724	0	5¼
Light Houses	2350	12	8
Militia	1398	15	7
Militia Court Martials	239	0	9
Agricultural Societies	1683	8	4
Charitable Grants (to Hospitals, &c)	400	0	0
Repayments	18	5	0
	£121,730	6	6½

Statement of Expenditure for Upper Canada, before the Union, out of the Casual and Territorial Revenue for 1840.

	£	s.	d.
Lieutenant Governor	3232	6	3½
Executive Council and Office	168	6	8
Speaker of Legislative Council	600	0	0
Receiver General	333	6	8
Inspector General and Office	384	17	9½
Surveyor General and Office	384	18	0¾
Commissioner of Crown Lands & Surveyor General of Woods	3298	13	11¼
Surveys and Explorations	1148	3	2
Secretary and Registrar and Office	1436	10	7¼
Public Buildings (Erection and Insurance)	40	0	0
Allowments to Clergymen and religious Teachers, and Grants for building Churches and Chapels.	9846	11	7½
Schools and Colleges	2630	1	0¼
Pensions	2615	4	7½
Public Improvements	1958	1	9
Emigration Expenses	4323	4	5
Location of Commuted Pensioners	2196	7	8½
Indians	6727	5	9¼
Fees on Public Instruments and Land Patents	57	17	10½
Travelling Expenses and Transmission of Despatches	829	0	4½
Commission of Enquiry on Public Departments	884	0	6¼
Sums refunded or improperly credited and charges transferred from other funds	17	3	4
Contingencies and miscellaneous	255	8	6½
	£43,347	10	10¼

THE ST. LAWRENCE ROUTE.

For a long time a struggle has been carried on between the St. Lawrence route and the several other routes which intersect this magnificent river at various points, leading to different parts in the United States, and principally to Boston, New York, and New Orleans. We cannot exactly tell to which side victory will finally incline in this commercial contest; what we do know is this, that if we have but the will, and if England but prove faithful to us, the triumph will be ours, for nature and the deep fresh waters of the majestic St. Lawrence are with us.

But whence comes it that the St. Lawrence has been hitherto depreciated? It is owing to the many reasons into which we are about to examine in the course of the present article. Suffice it to say in the meantime that the most beautiful river in the world has been calumniated by superficial observers who, nevertheless, have done it immense injury to the advantage of the stranger, because they were vested with an official and scientific character. Thus it was that Mr. Stevenson wrote as follows to the British Government in 1838:—

"The navigation of the Gulf of St. Law-
"rence, through which the river flows into
"the Atlantic, is full of risk. To the dangers
"occasioned by the masses of ice which are
"constantly found floating on its broad waters
"throughout nearly half the year, must be
"added the thick, impenetrable fogs of its
"rocky shores and dreary islands that offer
"neither hope nor shelter to the ship-wreck-
"ed mariner."

After this solemn judgment, pronounced in the face of the world, under the imperial authority, against the St. Lawrence, can it be a matter of surprise to see it judged unfavorably by the very men who have an interest in depreciating it. Thus, the editor of *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, after quoting Mr. Stevenson, remarks:—

"New York happily occupies a middle
"position between the insalubrious heat of
"the Mississippi and the excessive cold of
"the St. Lawrence, and excels them both by
"the excellence and extent of its market.
"Will the commerce of the lakes turn away
"from this favored port and from the safe
"route of the Erie Canal and the Hudson, to
"expose itself to the hazardous navigation of
"the Gulf of St. Lawrence?"

And if he adds, after putting this question for the purpose of answering it in the negative,—"*That* is even possible to a certain extent," is it not because the St. Lawrence possesses advantages with which it is necessary to contend whether they will or not? It is these advantages that we now proceed to analyse.

If we take Chicago as a point of departure, situated as it is at the extreme end of Lake Michigan, we will have the following results:—

From Chicago to New York..... 1600 miles.
From Chicago to Quebec..... 1600 "

But Quebec is by 360 miles nearer to Great Britain than New York.

We have therefore for New York... 1960 miles.
Quebec..... 1600 "

In favour of Quebec..... 360

Vessels going to New York, will have to pass through 668 feet of lockage, 81 locks and 364 miles of canal.

Those that descend to Quebec will only have to pass through 533¼ feet of lockage, 49 locks and 28 miles of canal (70 in ascending.)

A steamboat of six hundred tons can make the voyage from Chicago to Quebec in ten days, six from Chicago to Port Maitland, and four from Port Maitland to Quebec. The passage from the same place (Chicago,) to New York is made in sixteen days, of which ten are from Buffalo to New York.

This gives a difference of six days in favor of Quebec.

But, observes Mr. Tache, in his report of the Department of Public Works for 1848:—
"Although the advantages of the St. Law-
"rence appear incontestible, the Commis-

"sioners are of opinion they have represented them in the most unfavorable light, "because they have, in comparing the time "which vessels take to pass through these "respective routes, allowed six days of "navigation from Chicago to the foot of Lake "Erie, while the passage is virtually the "same for American vessels and ours. There"fore, in order the better to understand the "importance of the Canadian route, it is "necessary to take another point of depart"ure; it is from Port Maitland on the one "side, and from Buffalo on the other, that we "must, in justice to our route, fix the points "of departure, because it is at these two "points alone that the natural difficulties "commence which have to be vanquished "on either side. A cargo of three hundred "tons, arriving at Buffalo, will have to be "re-shipped in five small barges which will "take twelve days, generally speaking, to "arrive at New York, while a similar cargo, "perfectly entire and without being disturbed in the slightest, will pass through the "Welland Canal and arrive in four days, at "Quebec, that is, in one-third the time "which the cargo, divided into parcels, will "occupy in reaching New York; and, sup"posing that the boat, having arrived at "Quebec, tranships its cargo on board a "vessel ready to sail for Europe, this vessel "with a fair wind would have reached the "Banks of Newfoundland before the cargo "that passed through the Erie Canal had "been discharged at New York."

The vessels which navigate the Erie Canal, are on an average of about sixty tons, whilst our canals admit vessels of upwards of five hundred tons, or eight and one-third times larger than the former. So that a vessel of five hundred tons, arriving at Buffalo, would have to divide her cargo amongst eight barges, which, arriving at Albany, must either deposit their contents in vessels made for the navigation of the Hudson or proceed slowly to N. York. The same vessel will run through the Welland Canal in twelve hours, and arrive without obstacle at Quebec. The cargo will undergo only one transhipment from Chicago to Liverpool, and thus will much time and money be spared.

A barrel of flour costs from Buffalo to Albany:—

Freight	31	cents.
Canal Tolls	46	"
Total	77	"

From Maitland to Quebec:—

Freight	20	cents.
Canal Tolls	15	"
Total	35	"

RETURN FREIGHT.

A cwt. of merchandise costs from Albany to Buffalo:—

Freight	15	cents.
Canal Tolls	24	"
Total	39	"

or $7.80 per ton.

A cwt. from Quebec to Maitland, costs:—

Freight	5	cents.
Canal Tolls	10	"
Total	15	"

or $3 per ton.

So we have $4,80 in favour of the St. Lawrence, without counting the storage at Albany and Buffalo, and the freight from New York to Albany. Yes, and the cool deep waters of St. Lawrence, no matter what Mr. DeWitt Clinton may say to the contrary, preserve grain and flour much better than the warm, muddy water of the Erie Canal.

The Mississippi and its tributaries, which water a valley of 785,200,000 superficial acres, capable of containing a population of 50,000,000 of souls, according to Mr. Keefer's calculations, present dangers and inconveniences which the genius of man will never be able to overcome. The river itself, narrow and not very deep, runs with a uniform rapidity of three miles an hour. When its waters are swelled by periodical floods, they drag with them in their course large trunks of trees which reach the bottom at almost every point and adhere there by their heaviest ends; the other extremities inclined towards the current and invisible to the eye of the navigator, present themselves like so many fixed lances to the vessel ascending the stream and pierce it immediately. These trunks of trees, to which the old Canadian *voyageurs* gave the picturesque name of *chicots*, destroy in this manner about a hundred vessels a year, or a fifth of all the vessels that navigate the Mississippi; an annual loss of more than a million of dollars. The premium of insurance averages from twelve to fifteen per cent, and the greater part of the steam boats, the only vessels that navigate or that can navigate effectually the Mississippi, cost more than they yield. The capital which represents these vessels,

according to Mr. Keefer, is exhausted every fouth year. The cost of transport of a barrel of flour from Cincinnatti to New-Orleans is two shillings and six pence.

The climate is likewise another obstacle to the future success of the Mississippi route; tobacco, wheat, flour, pork, lard butter, cheese, &c., become damaged by the action of a warm temperature; and, in this respect, the route is much inferior even to the Erie Canal.

So far, then, the St. Lawrence possesses immense advantages over all other routes possible; but whence comes it that with these advantages so little of the produce of the West has hitherto passed through our incomparable canals? This is the question which we now proceed to solve.

The reason why the Western traders keep aloof from the St. Lawrence can only be found in the relative prices of transatlantic freight from New York and from Quebec; and this difference in the prices from New York and from Quebec must be such as to compensate the disadvantage attending the Erie Canal route. But why is the freight so high at Quebec and Montreal? Because the premium of insurance is unreasonably high, and there is no return freight. And the insurance is high because the dangers of the Gulf have been exaggerated, and we have no return freight because the advantages of this grand navigable high-way over all others, to lead to the centre of North America, and of those vast territories into which the old world pours in successive waves the superabundance of its population, are not sufficiently known in Europe.

When there was a question a good while since of building the Erie Canal, the celebrated DeWitt Clinton pronounced in favour of the direct route from Buffalo to New-York against that of Oswego and the River Seneca: "Because," said he, "if the commerce of the west once descends into Lake Ontario, we shall lose it forever." He understood thoroughly the advantages of the St. Lawrence route over all others.

Quebec alone is able to export as much flour and wheat as all the ports of the United States together. This opinion might appear at first sight to be exaggerated; to be convinced that it is not, it is sufficient to cast a glance over the immense extent of the valley of the St. Lawrence which ascends, deep and navigable, even to the very heart of the fertile and boundless plains of the west, and to the no less fertile and boundless valley of the Missisippi.

The extent and importance of this commerce is universally acknowledged; taking, therefore, into consideration the existence of our magnificent canals, which have cost millions of money, one might reasonably ask why this very trade which, before the building of the Erie Canal, followed its natural route, takes its course towards New-York, and even drags in its train a considerable portion of the products of Upper Canada. This neglect must not be attributed to the price of interior freight, for, as we have shown, the freight from Lake Erie to Quebec is by one-half less than what it costs to New-York or any other part of the United States. We repeat the question, then, why does the transport of a barrel of flour from Montreal to Liverpool by the way of New-York, cost less than by the St. Lawrence? The answer is this, because the freight of a barrel of flour from Montreal to Liverpool by the St. Lawrence is 3s. 9d., while from New-York to Liverpool 'tis only 1s. 3d.

This difference, as we have already observed, is owing to the want of a return freight. Out of 1151 vessels which arrived at the port of Quebec in 1850, as many as 798 were in ballast. It is worthy of examination why this absence of a return freight to Quebec exists, while Great Britain furnishes her large contingent to that of New-York.

A thorough knowledge of the St. Lawrence will easily convince the most sceptic that the dangers attending the navigation of the St. Lawrence have been enormously exaggerated and that nothing can justify the exorbitant rates of insurance.

The following table, for which we are indebted to Mr. Lindsay, Secretary of the Trinity House of Quebec, indicates the number of vessels that arrived at the Port of Quebec in a period of ten years; the collective tonnage of these vessels; the number of shipwrecks that occurred in the River St. Lawrence from 1841 to 1849 inclusively; the number for each of these years and for each month of navigation in each year taken separately; the average of vessels lost each year, and each month of navigation in each year.

Table regarding the vessels engaged in the Trade of Quebec, indicating the number

of voyages in the years 1840 *to* 1849 *respectively, and the number of ship-wrecks in each month.*

Years.	Vessels.	Tonnage	Outward voy. are.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	Septem.	October.	Novem.	Decemb.	Total number of vessels lost.	Per centage of vessels lost.
1840	1314	449085	2	5	4	3	:	:	5	3	2	2	19	1.446
1841	1263	438849	:	3	2	3	:	:	2	:	2	2	19	1.504
1842	878	298674	:	4	:	:	:	2	:	8	:	3	12	2.164
1843	1219	450192	1	3	:	:	:	:	1	6	2	6	12	.960
1844	1239	453894	2	3	:	2	:	:	:	2	:	:	12	1.130
1845	1499	581540	1	7	4	:	2	:	1	2	6	13	46	3.068
1846	1467	572373	4	3	5	4	1	2	8	10	:	2	47	3.204
1847	1215	488817	:	3	3	3	2	:	2	6	:	:	20	1.646
1848	1194	457430	:	4	3	3	:	1	6	:	2	:	16	1.340
1849	1213	481227	1	6	3	5	1	3	8	4	:	:	26	2.109
10	12561	4673630	11	41	24	15	1	1	23	36	6	18	238	1.831
Total.														
Mean.	1256⅛	467630	1.1	4.1	2.4	1.5	.1	.1	2.3	3.6	.6	1.8	23.8	

Shipwrecks during the months of

It will be seen from this table that the greatest number of ship-wrecks occurred in the month of November, the last and most rigorous of the navigation season. And in truth what kind of vessels, what captains, what crews have we had these late years? Frequently, it must be acknowledged, ship-wreck was a speculation; the captain was either ignorant or a drunkard; the crew equally profligate or incapable. Good vessels had no difficulty in finding a cargo, while the bad ones remained unchartered 'till the season of tempests, of snow storms, of thick fogs; and they perished on our coasts as they would have perished elsewhere under similiar circumstances. At present there is a visible change for the better; the vessels are better built, the captains are better chosen and more respectable; hence it is that shipwrecks have decreased in proportion. During the year 1850, Quebec had to deplore only two ship-wrecks, and occurring as they did during the summer season, they must be attributed to a want of precaution rather than to any natural defects in the navigation of the river.

At present, let us compare this general table with the following, which indicates the number of vessels belonging to Pollock Gilmour and Co. that frequented the Port of Quebec during a period of eleven years, from 1839 to 1849 inclusively; their collective tonnage for each of these eleven years and for the whole together; also the number of ship-wrecks during that period.

TABLE *indicating the number of vessels engaged in the Trade of Quebec, each year, from* 1839 *to* 1849 *inclusively, belonging to Messrs. Pollock, Gilmour & Co., of Glasgow.*

Years.	No. of vessels	Tonnage.	Remarks.
1839	27	18614	
1840	29	20312	
1841	28	19892	
1842	20	13422	The *Carlton*
1843	43	31342	lost on Mani-
1844	49	36234	cuagan shoal.
1845	51	39147	The *Pekin* lost
1846	51	36980	at Riviere au
1847	45	33477	Renard (Fox
1848	59	44007	River.)
1849	56	47170	
Total 11	458	340597	

This wealthy company never insures its vessels, for the amount of premium which it would have to pay each year would exceed by far its annual loss. Its vessels are of the first class, and, as it is deeply interested in losing as few of them as possible, as much care is taken in selecting their crews as in their construction. Above all, the company takes care that the vessels should have passed through the Gulf before the season of storms and dangers. Hence it is that in a period of eleven years, out of 458 vessels which frequented the Port of Quebec, it has to reckon but two ship-wrecks, to wit: the *Carlton* on Manicuagan shoal, and the *Pekin* at Riviere au Renard (Fox-river.)

If you cast a glance over Captain Bayfield's admirable sea-charts, you will discover good harbours on the Straits of Belle-Isle; good anchorage and good soundings along the south shore of the St. Lawrence, where the water becomes gradually and uniformly shallow up to the beach. So that with good anchors and the sounding-lead, the first and last resource of the prudent mariner, the river navigation presents no real dangers. A ves-

vel is frequently lost because the sounding-lead was left lying idly on the deck, or because the captain, in his hurry to arrive at Port, compelled the pilot to weigh anchor and set sail, in the middle of a dark night or a dense fog. If the pilot could be freed from the captain's influence, as regards his living, the proportion of ship-wrecks would be considerably less than they have hitherto been, and in a short time the St. Lawrence would regain its reputation for security.

Does not the tide, which flows into the river for a distance of ninety miles above Quebec, ascending and descending at an average speed of four knots an hour, give to this magnificent Route invaluable advantages by making up for the inconstancy of the ever-varying wind?

Many persons would be surprised at learning that the St. Lawrence route is the most direct and shortest from the West to Europe, for hitherto they have been in the habit of judging of the relative position of the countries of America according to Mercator's projection of maps; but by glancing at a globe and by tracing the map lately published by authority of the Legislature of the State of Maine in order to indicate the position of the rail road which this State purposes to build from Portland to the Gut of Canso, running through New-Brunswick and Nova-Scotia, the only map we know of which does justice to the geographical position of the St. Lawrence,—one will be readily convinced of this truth, hitherto unknown in a commercial point of view. Paris is further North than Quebec, which is situated in latitude 46° 49' 12", a latitude many degrees south of Great Britain. In going from America to Europe, it is evident that the shortest route must be that whose two extreme points are under the same latitude. Hence it is that Quebec is by many hundred miles nearer to Europe than New-York.

England has just learned that the traverse of the Atlantic, by means of steam, would be shortened by one-half, by passing through the straits of Belle-Isle, or by Cape-Breton, where there is an abundance of coal; that the quantity of coal would be lessened one-half, and consequently the freight would be increased by one-half. Why, then, with all these advantages, has this direct route between Great Britain and the centre of of America been so long left to itself, so long neglected; and why do those who export goods from Europe to America choose almost exclusively the New York route? This preference must be looked for in other than natural causes, for nature is with us, and let us add that she favoured us in quite a special manner during at least the last season of navigation.

It is now some years since a number of Packet boats of a superior quality were built in the ship-yards of New-York, to sail between New-York and Liverpool at fixed and regulated periods. These vessels having been encouraged by the trading public were eminently successful. Afterwards, Mr. Cunard succeeded in inducing the British Government to give a considerable premium to encourage the establishment of a line of Steamers to sail between Liverpool, Boston and New-York, touching at Halifax. These were equally successful. But the American merchants and builders endeavoured in vain, at different times to establish a similar line. Finally, after many unsuccessful attempts, the government of the United States was induced to grant a similar premium, and Collins' line of steamers came into existence, which succeeded in competing successfully with Cunard's line, though the latter was permitted by the imperial government to sail directly between Liverpool and New-York. Here, then, are two magnificent lines of steamers arriving on a fixed day every week at the two favoured ports of Europe & America, independent of the various lines of Packets that are as regular as sailing vessels could possibly be, besides a considerable number of superb merchantmen averaging from 1000 to 1800 tons.

It will be said that the steamers transport neither flour nor rail-road iron, but have always for cargo passengers and valuable goods, the exact object for which packets were intended, and consequently these latter are necessarily used as merchant vessels. They bring emigrants and heavy goods to America, which enable them to carry flour to Liverpool at a quarter or a third the price that it can be carried from Quebec or Montreal.

It is thus that the governments of Great Britain and of the United States have agreed, by a system of premiums, to grant advantages to New York to the prejudice of Quebec. But we must go farther in order to trace the intimate results of the system of exclusive encouragement.

The emigrants and merchandize destined for the States of the West, are conveyed there

in American vessels and *vice versa*, whilst if these emigrants and this merchandize had been deposited at Quebec, they would have been carried into the interior by English and Canadian vessels, and these vessels would thus have a return freight of which they are at present deprived. This return freight would enable our vessels to transport flour to Liverpool at 1s. 3d., or nearly as cheap as from New-York, and thus to monopolize for the greater part the export trade. This trade would bring in a revenue on the products exported, in the shape of Canal Tolls; each large vessel passing through our Canals with a cargo of 15,000 minots of wheat having to pay £100. This impost (which, however, would be more than compensated by the low price of freight in the interior, on the St. Lawrence) would fall on the foreign producer and consumer, and not on the inhabitants of Canada; and the customs' duties could be proportionally diminished.

But, it will be asked: what is to be done in order to draw through the St. Lawrence the import and export trade? Is it the interest of the Imperial Government to aid us; or ought we to have recourse to differential duties? Seeing that our Canals are at present nearly completed, and that we are on the point of being able, at the cost of a trifling outlay, to afford a passage from the vast Lakes to the ocean, to vessels carrying from 4,000 to 5,000 barrels of flour, why cannot freight be taken on cheaper conditions, by this same route, from Toronto or Oswego even to New-York, than by using the narrow Erie Canal or rail-roads for the same purposes? Once that we shall have opened this export trade from the vast producing countries of the West to Europe, in how short a time would DeWitt Clinton's prophetic fears be realized!

Lower Canada is almost indifferent about the granting of reciprocity, and it will interest Upper Canada only so long as the cost of transporting its produce to the European markets, by which the American markets are regulated, shall be higher at the maratime ports of Canada than at N. York; and this difference exists because the import and export trade has taken its way through the States; and this trade has taken its way through the States because Great Britain and the United States have given it an impulse in that direction by means of pecuniary encouragement! At present, however, England, after having powerfully contributed by her gold to the interior and exterior commerce of the States, is wounded in her most delicate susceptibilities, in her most vital interests; is menaced in her power and even in her American possessions, by that very people so favoured by her to the detriment of her own subjects, by their proudly claiming domination over all British America, relying in so doing on these very favors and incomparable advantages that England has so liberally bestowed upon them in the prosecution of their commerce through the St. Lawrence.

The *New York Tribune* has taken on itself to express the thoughts of the American people and Congress on this subject:—

"It is only," he observes, "in giving to the Canadian people the strongest assurance, through Mr Hincks, that measures had been taken to compel the United States to grant reciprocity, that the Canadian Ministry succeeded in arresting the annexation movement last winter." He wishes to starve us into annexation.

In the face of such egotism, in the presence of provocations and hostile intentions so audaciously expressed by a friendly people, what should England do? What ought we to do ourselves with the incomparable advantages which our geographical position and our majestic river afford us? The Americans themselves are the first who have shown us how much nearer to Europe we are than they. If the Imperial Government appears disposed to abandon Liverpool, an immense commercial mart, which the New-World has called into existence, in order to choose a comparatively deserted port in Ireland because it happens to be nearer than the other to America, what is there to prevent it from abandoning New York and direct its course in a straight line towards the St. Lawrence, which is the most direct and shortest route to the centre of the vast producing and consuming countries of the West. To obtain this result, at least to hasten it, two things are essential, to wit: the encouragement of a line of steamers to sail from Great Britain to the St. Lawrence, and, for the winter, the rail-road from Quebec to Halifax, which would gradually and indifinitely be prolonged towards the West.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Before the Union of the Provinces, the Legislature of Lower Canada voted annually considerable sums for the encouragement of elementary schools, to the support of which the people contributed but voluntarily. Since the Union, parliament has devoted to this object an annual grant of 200,000 dollars, at present equally divided between Upper and Lower Canada, and has made provision for imposing a direct tax on the inhabitants for the benefit of public instruction. That a locality may have a right to participate in this grant, it is necessary that a sum equal to that annually granted by government, be levied by a direct tax on the people of that locality.

Among the numerous public functionaries who form the Provincial Cabinet, it is to be regretted that one specially charged with the department of public instruction is not to be found. It is an important hiatus and one that considerably impedes the progress of public instruction. Let us hope, however, that Canada will shortly enjoy the services of a minister of public instruction and of agriculture.

Upper and Lower Canada have each a differently organized system of public instruction. In Upper Canada this system is involved with that of municipal authority; in Lower Canada, it is altogether apart from it. In each section of the Province, there is a principal functionary called a Superintendent of education, acting separately, and independently of one another, in consequence of the difference in the organization of public instruction in each section.

The following are the principal features of the law which governs public instruction in Lower Canada.

1st. The establishment of elementary schools in each locality under the control of commissioners elected by the inhabitants of such locality. The powers and duties of these commissioners are: to take charge and possession of all effects belonging to the schools of their locality. They can acquire moveable and immoveable property to a limited extent. They engage the teachers, regulate the course of studies, decide all disputes relating to the public schools, and cause a sum equal to that granted to their locality by government to be raised by a tax on the inhabitants. Besides elementary schools, they can establish a model-school, and fix the amount which each house-holder shall contribute for every child of age to attend the schools over and above the tax on his immoveable property. Finally, they are charged to sue for such sums as may be necessary for the support of the schools, and to divide their locality into districts.

2nd. Honorary visitors established by law to visit the schools.—This arrangement is a dead letter.

3rd. Nomination of a superintendent for Lower Canada with a yearly salary of $2,000, besides the expenses of the office. It is the duty of this officer to divide between each locality, according to its population, the sum granted by government, to examine the accounts sent in by the commissioners, and to make an annual report to the Legislature.

4th. In each of the cities of Quebec and Montreal, a Board composed of fourteen persons is charged with examining the qualifications of teachers. Unfortunately, this important provision is rendered a complete nullity, because the teachers are not as yet obliged to undergo an examination.

In Upper Canada, the organization of public instruction is in every respect superior to that of Lower Canada. Its principal provisions are these:—1st. Election of Commissioners to regulate the administration of the Schools: 2nd. forced qualification of teachers: 3rd. nomination of a superintendent of public instruction: 4th. the establishment of model schools by the municipal council of each county which is authorised to levy a tax for that purpose as well as for the support of elementary schools and the formation of county libraries, and to divide the township into scholastic districts; also, to appoint county and township superintendents: 5th. separate schools for Catholics and Protestants: 6th. the establishment of a Board of public instruction in each county, charged with the

examination of teachers and the granting of certificates of qualification, the choosing of books to be used in the schools, and the superintendence of forming school libraries: 7th. obligation of county and township superintendents to visit each school at least once in three months, to decide disputes arising out of the management of the schools; an appeal from such decisions to the general superintendent for Upper Canada, whose salary is fixed at $2,000 a-year, exclusive of office expenses. The duties of this functionary, besides those which are common to him with the Superintendent for Lower Canada, are: to appoint a deputy and special visitor, to oversee the Normal School, to submit to the approbation of the municipal councils the books and manuscripts which may be addressed to him, to divide the money voted by the Legislature for the establishment of libraries, to appoint competent persons to preside over the Teachers' county associations: 8th. the establishment of a general Board of public instruction. This Board is charged with the establishment and control of a Normal School: 9th. $6,000 taken annually from the funds voted by the Legislature for the support of the Normal School and the salaries of its professors; $1,000 drawn from the same source and granted each year as aid to the teachers who attend this school: 10th. the Governor in Council is authorized to take annually from the Upper Canada portion of the school grant, a sum of $12,000 for the purchase and support of school libraries.

TABLE *indicating the Progress of Public Instruction in Canada.*

LOWER CANADA.

Total No. of elementary schools in 1849.	2,416
" " model " " ..	75
" " Colleges and Catholic Institutions for the higher branches of education.....	18
Grand total of educational establishments*.....	2,509
Total No. of children from 5 to 16 years attending elementary schools..	123,180
" " of Students in the Institutions for the higher branches of education about.....	3,500
Amount allowed to elementary schools..... £ 14,500	0 0
Amount granted by Government for school-houses*..... £ 30,511	0 6
Amount paid by the inhabitants for ditto..... £ 53,210	15 2
Total No. of school-houses for which aid has been given by government.....	915

* The number of private schools in Lower Canada, not being accurately known, is omitted in this calculation; consequently, the number of children attending them is not included in the 123,180 mentioned in the Table.

In nearly all the parishes, libraries have been founded, through the solicitude, zeal, and offerings of the Clergy and the inhabitants.

UPPER CANADA.

Total No. of elementary schools in 1849.	2,871
" " model " " ..	1
" " normal " " ..	1
" " private " " ..	157
" " Colleges " " ..	7
" " Academies and grammar schools.....	39
Grand total of educational establishments.....	3,077
Children attending elementary schools..	138,465
" " private do...	2,648
" " model do...	400
" " academies and grammar ditto.....	1,120
" " Colleges and Universities.....	772
Grand total of students and scholars....	144,406
Adult population.....	725,879
Population between the age of 5 and 16.	355,478
Total number of male teachers of elementary schools.	2,505
" " female.....	707
Number of School Libraries	505
" of Volumes in these libraries..	11,624
" of School-houses.....	1,972
Roman Cathelic Teachers	235
Total annual salary of Teachers..... £ 107,713	

Method of instruction: individual, simultaneous and monitorial.

* This amount is composed of the various sums allowed from time to time since 1841, to aid in the building of school-houses, which sums were taken from the annual grant to Lower Canada for the encouragement of elementary education.

CATHOLICITY IN CANADA.

Should history make mention hereafter of Canada, it will testify that it owes its existence to secular priests and to the Jesuits, as France does to her Bishops, and England to her monks.

Thus, the first century that followed the advent of Europeans in New France, shews us, on the one side, the Jesuits scouring the country in all directions, penetrating its most distant parts, exploring its natural resources, establishing fraternal relations between the aborigines and the European stranger, and planting the standard of civilization from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the mouths of the Mississippi. On the other side, it presents to our view the secular clergy conducting into the heart of the forest resolute bands of hardy pioneers, directing their labours, sustaining their hopes, presiding at the foundation of the humble village, rearing on the banks of the river the steeple of its chapel, and organizing little by little the Canadian parish. Acting by turns the part of judge, doctor, legislator and school-master, the missionary priest was the soul of the new establishments that grew up on both shores of the St. Lawrence. Cast in the midst of the desert, forced to struggle with nature in its wildest state, continually exposed to the incursions of the Iroquois, these infant communities had need of the authority and devotedness of the Catholic Priest to sustain themselves. His words full of hope were a barrier to despair, and his peaceful exhortations prevented anarchy and confusion from gliding into the midst of the heterogeneous elements of which these little societies were sometimes composed; whilst his learning and experience enabled him to give useful advice with regard to works to be executed, and the regulations which the common advantage required.

The just influence thus acquired among his parishioners was employed in the service of morality and religion. This formed the chief object of his mission; and all his energies and resources were devoted to it. Thus, through the watchfulness of the Canadian priest, the national character in its developement remained deeply stamped with morality and its attachment to Catholicity

Louis XIV. had cherished the idea of seeing New France become a powerful empire, in the midst of Northern America; he was anxious to oppose it as a counter-weight to the English power in the new world; even in his dreams, the protection and increase of the colony occupied his mind. Under the reign of his successor, the negligence of governors, the speculations of *employes*, followed by a disastrous defeat, shattered the favourite plans of the Great King; Canada fell into the hands of the English. Thereupon the learned and higher classes of society emigrated for the greater part; the lawyers, principal merchants, ship-owners, and the officers of the old government returned to Europe. The clergy remained on their country's soil, with 70,000 French Canadians, belonging nearly altogether to the working and agricultural classes.

Thus abandoned by their protectors and civil leaders, at the moment when they passed into the hands of a hostile power, this small population was threatened with being crushed beneath the weight of foreign emigration. The Canadians wished to preserve their religion, their language, their customs and their laws. The secular clergy came to their aid; they proved themselves what they had been since the first settlement was made in the country, the guides, the advisers, the protectors of their co-patriots; they directed them in their struggles for the maintenance of their rights; they enlightened them on their duties as citizens; they contended for their liberty of conscience; they watched over the preservation of their language and their religion; they encouraged according to their means the establishment of elementary schools among the people. The Jesuits, who had hitherto been occupied in teaching the higher branches of education, were swept away by the storm; the

Seminary of Quebec undertook to preserve amongst us the precious light of science; and of this task it has worthily acquitted itself even to this day, with the most perfect disinterestedness. At present it is aided in the good work by numerous colleges, nearly all of which were founded by Ecclesiastics.

During the ninety years that have rolled by since the conquest of the country down to the present time, Canada has made rapid progress in the way of ameliorations; considerable cities have sprung up; commerce has extended itself; forests have been transformed into verdant plains and fruitful gardens; the population has risen to the number of 1,600,000 souls. During the year just ended 200,000 children have attended the numerous schools throughout the Province. With regard to its material progress, we are happy to be able to prove by the following statistical details, that the interests of the Catholic religion have not been neglected.

The diocese of Quebec, established in 1674, by Pope Clement X., embraced all that part of America which lies North of Mexico and the Gulf of that name. Confined to the British possessions of North America, after the establishment of the Republic of the United States, without ceasing to be one of the largest dioceses in the world, eighteen new ones have been cut off from it since the beginning of the present century.

Eight of these ecclesiastical divisions are in Oregon. Six belong to the ecclesiastical Province of Quebec, erected in 1844; they are the dioceses of Montreal, Kingston, Bytown, Toronto, the North-West and New-Foundland. The bishops of Fredericton, Halifax, Arichat, and Charlottetown, are called on to take part in the conventions of the bishops of the province of Quebec, until such time as a similar organization is established among themselves.

In the following remarks we will confine ourselves to an *expose* of the state of Catholicity in those dioceses which form the ecclesiastical province of Quebec:—

DIOCESE OF QUEBEC.

The *Diocese of Quebec* embraces the Districts of Quebec, Three-Rivers, Gaspe, and a portion of St. Francis; the Catholic population amounts to about 300,000 souls. It is governed by the Metropolitan Archbishop of the ecclesiastical province. The present Incumbent is Monseigneur P. F. Turgeon, consecrated bishop of Sidyme the 11th June, 1834, and become Archbishop of Quebec by the death of Monseigneur Joseph Signay, which occurred on the 3rd October, 1850.

The diocese of Quebec has a clergy composed of 220 priests, charged with the care of 120 parishes, about twenty missions, and the supervision of the studies in three large establishments of education.

The Greek and Latin languages, Belles-lettres, and Moral and Natural Philosophy, are taught in the Seminaries of Quebec, Nicolet and St. Anne. These institutions contain upwards of 50 professors, 43 students in theology, and 700 lay students, boarders and externs.

The Christian Brothers keep flourishing schools, in which the children receive a gratuitous education. They instruct:

At Quebec.	850	children.
At Three-Rivers. . .	280	"
At Kamouraska . . .	200	"
At. St. Thomas . . .	180	"

The Sisters of the congregration of Notre Dame have charge of seven houses of education for young girls; in their beautiful and useful establishment in St. Roch's Suburb, they count already 725 scholars.

Three other institutions, to wit: the Ursulines of Quebec, those of Three Rivers, and the Nuns of the General Hospital, like th Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame, give a distinguished education to young ladies. These three establishments are attended by 610 scholars.

Three Hospitals are under the control of cloistered nuns: the hospital of Three-Rivers under the care of Ursuline ladies, is devoted to the sick of the town and adjacent country; the General Hospital of Quebec serves as an Asylum for 67 old persons of both sexes; the Hotel Dieu, also of Quebec, receives annually about 650 sick persons, who are tended and supported gratuitously during their illness.

A branch of the Grey Nuns of Montreal, has been lately established in the St. John's suburb, by Monseigneur P. F. Turgeon. These good and pious ladies have become Sisters of Charity, and undertake every description of good works. They visit the sick at their residence, and teach 250 children; and notwithstanding their poverty and the smallness of their lodgings, they support 36 orphans whom they endeavour to inspire with a taste for industry and the love

of order and virtue. If the efforts of the benevolent founders of this establishment are seconded by the citizens of Quebec, a vast building already in progress of construction, will be finished next summer, and will enable these excellent nuns to become still more useful to the poorer class of society.

Within the last year Quebec has witnessed the erection of an institution destined to restore to virtue those unfortunate females who, by their wicked and depraved lives, have fallen into contempt and degradation. Some charitable ladies have formed themselves into a community, without, however, making any vows. They have courageously undertaken this repugnant task, and they have already succeeded in rescuing from prostitution 18 poor creatures, whom they shelter, whom they support and endeavour to restore to honour and religion.

Many other societies, due to the religious sentiment of Canadians, have been latterly organized in the diocese of Quebec, having at the same time for their object, material and moral ameliorations.

The most useful and most important of these institutions is, without contradiction, the Temperance Society, which has produced such immense benefits among our fellow countrymen. All true patriots contemplated with regret during many years, the frighful progress of intemperance among the Canadians; they deplored the disastrous effects which this vice had caused, and the consequences still more lamentable with which it threatened us in times to come. A portion of the population were making rapid strides towards demoralization, dishonour and ruin; and it needed a vigorous effort to arrest this current of evil. Some zealous priests, influenced by the spirit of true patriotism, attempted it, and with this view they organized an association whose members pledge themselves to abstain from the use of intoxicating liquors. God shed abundant blessings on their labours; the temperance society has grown strong, it spreads far and wide in every direction, and it numbers at present more than 100,000 members in the diocese of Quebec.

The Society of the Propagation of the Faith, established in 1837, is already composed of 16,000 members. It has particularly for object to supply new establishments with spiritual aid, and to evangelize the aborgines of the country. By means of the resources which it furnishes, missions are undertaken every year to the savages of Abitibbi and of Mosse, a distance of 900 miles from Quebec; to the Round-Heads at the source of the St. Maurice, 600 miles from Quebec; to the Montagnais and the Naskapis, who inhabit the country to the North of the lower part of the St. Lawrence. These tribes, though speaking different dialects, belong to the great Algonquin nation, who occupied at the discovery of Canada the North-West portion of North America.

Within a few years, three colonization societies have been formed under the auspices of the Catholic Clergy. Two of these societies have commenced their operations on the borders of Lake St. John. The labors of the one are directed by the Rev. Mr. Boucher, curate of St. Ambroise; and of the other by the Rev. Mr. Hebert, curate of St. Paschal. A large extent of territory, will be ready in a short time to receive a part of the superabundant population of L'Islet, Kamouraska, and Saguenay. The third society under the superintendence of the Very Rev. Mr. Mailloux, has commenced to make a clearance in the Townships lying to the south of the St. Lawrence.

The Society of St. Vincent de Paul, founded in 1846, is employed in visiting and succouring the sick, and in procuring work for those fathers of families who are of themselves unable to find any.

DIOCESE OF MONTREAL.

The diocese of Montreal was founded on the 13th of May, 1836. It is governed by Mgr. Ignace Bourget, who was consecrated under the title of bishop of Telmesse, the 25th July, 1837; and who became bishop of Montreal, the 23rd August, 1840. Mgr. J. C. Prince, his coadjutor, was consecrated bishop under the title of Martyropolis, the 25th July, 1845.

This diocese contains about 350,000 Catholics; 125 parishes canonically erected, and 12 missions. The Clergy is composed of 270 priests, including the members of different religious communities The number of students in theology amounts to about 60.

A chapter has been established in the Cathedral. It is composed of four Canons of honour, four titulary Canons, eight honorary Canons and three chaplains.

The colleges of Montreal, St. Hyacinthe, Assomption, St. Therese, Chambly and the Jesuit College, give a classical education to 900 students.

The villages of Terrebonne, Joliette and St. Lawrence possess High-Schools that enjoy an excellent reputation. All the above mentioned institutions are under the direction of members of the Catholic Clergy.

In their houses at Montreal, St. Clement, Sorel and the Lake of Two-Mountains, the Christian Brothers have generally about 2,200 scholars.

The Congregation of Notre Dame, founded about the year 1650 for the instruction of young girls, has 13 houses of education, independent of their principal establishment in the City of Montreal, and the number of scholars for the current year averages 4,500.

The Ladies of the Sacred Heart have two houses and 300 scholars.

The Sisters of the Sacred names of Jesus and Mary have four houses and about 300 scholars.

The Sisters of Our Lady of Seven Sorrows have two establishments opened and 160 scholars.

The Hotel-Dieu has every year under its care and protection about 1,800 sick people.

The Grey Nuns afford habitual shelter under their hospitable roof to from 125 to 150 infirm old men and women; from 90 to 100 foundlings; from 75 to 80 orphans, and pay for the board and lodgings of from 60 to 80 children.

The Refuge of Mercy, the widows' home, under the direction of nuns, is open for different classes of the distressed, both spiritually and temporally.

The town of St. Hyacinthe has also a Hotel-Dieu, founded in 1840.

The Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul, the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, and the Temperance Society, have existed for many years in the district of Montreal. The Temperance Society reckons more than 200,000 members.

CANADA WEST.

Canada West contains about 150,000 Catholics, scattered throughout the dioceses of Kingston, Toronto, and Bytown.

The diocese of Kingston, established the 17th January, 1826, has for bishop Mgr. Remi Gaulin, consecrated the 20th October, 1833, under the title of Tabraca, and become titular in 1840. Mgr. Patrick Phelan is his coadjutor, and was consecrated bishop of Carrhœ the 20th August, 1843.

The clergy of this diocese number 32 priests, and it contains the following institutions:

The College of Regiopolis situated in the most elevated part of the City of Kingston; it was opened to receive students in 1846 and can accommodate 150 boarders.

The Hotel-Dieu, founded in 1845 for the indigent sick and for orphans.

The Congregation of Notre Dame; an establishment conducted by four Nuns who keep a boarding-school, in which young ladies receive a solid and comprehensive education, and a school for externs in which girls of the humbler classes are taught. The total number of scholars is about 250.

The establishment of the Grey Nuns at St. Andrew's, Glengarry, under the direction of three of the Sisterhood, who have an excellent school there.

The Diocese of Toronto, founded the 17th December, 1844, is governed by Mgr. A. F. M. de Charbonnel, who was consecrated by His Holiness Pope Pius IX in 1850.

Forty priests have charge of the missions of this diocese.

The Convent of Notre Dame de Loretto established at Toronto for the education of young ladies, is directed by Nuns of that order.

The Diocese of Bytown, founded the 25th July, 1847, has for Bishop Mgr. J. C. E. Guignes, consecrated the 30th July, 1848. The Clergy is composed of 20 priests.

The RR. PP. Oblats established at Bytown in 1843, are charged with visiting the missions of the lumbering-posts on the Ottawa and its tributaries. They have also the direction of a College at Bytown, which was opened the 26th September, 1848. The number of students is 80.

Another religious house has been founded at Bytown. It is a Grey Nunnery, and there are at present twenty-five Nuns in it. Seven of these good ladies have charge of the schools, and instruct about 150 children. The others are occupied in taking care of the hospital and in visiting the sick at their domiciles.

The diocese of the North-West, formerly known under the name of the Vicarship-Apostolic of the Red River, was founded the 4th June, 1847, and annexed to the ecclesiastical province of Quebec. It contains all the territory comprised between Canada, the Rocky Mountains, the 49° degree of North latitude and the North Pole. It is under the spiritual direction of Mgr. J. N. Provencher, consecrated the 12th May, 1822, under the title of Juliopolis. His clergy is

composed of seven priests.

The Grey Nuns have an establishment at St. Boniface on the Red River since 1844; they are occupied in giving instruction to young girls.

The diocese of Newfoundland, annexed to the ecclesiastical province of Quebec in 1847, comprises besides the island of Newfoundland, that of Anticosti and the Labrador territory. Mgr. J. T. Mulloch, titular bishop since the 14th July, 1850, has 24 priests in the service of the diocese.

There are two convents in the City of St. John. The Sisters of the Presentation give instruction to the female children of the poor; the Sisters of Charity are occupied in visiting the sick.

To sum up, exclusive of the dioceses of Newfoundland and the North-West, we will find that Catholic Canada contains: 1 archbishop; 6 bishops; 572 priests; more than 100 students in theology; 800,000 members of the Catholic Church; 1,800 young men who receive a collegiate education in eleven institutions kept by ecclesiastics; 3 religious orders engaged in the elementary education of boys; 50 female communities charged with the instruction of children of their own sex, with the care of the sick and of orphans; 400,000 members of the Temperance Society, &c.

This is the position in which the penal laws, with which we are menaced in England, will find Catholicity in Canada.

THE PROVINCIAL PENITENTIARY.

"The table which we publish below is interesting in a moral and pecuniary point of view. The parties who throw Upper Canada into commotion in their efforts to attain power, bring frequently on the *tapis* a salary of £100 (the relic of a by-gone state of things) given to an old inspector of chimnies in Lower Canada, which, according to their statements, is an enormous charge entailed on Upper Canada. The Penitentiary item, it would appear to us, may serve as a counter-balance to this extravagant sum. As to the balance of crime, although it should bear testimony to a *superior degree of civilization*, since the *Examiner* has stated that "Upper Canada is the brain of the country," we do not covet it—we gladly and fully concede it to our fellow-unionists, even at the risk of being considered *less intelligent* and *less progressive than they*.

The number of convicts sent to the Penitentiary, military and civilians, since the 1st of October, 1840, to the 1st of October, 1849, is 2345, of which 1168 were soldiers, and 1177 civilians. Of this number only 110, or the 21st part, were of French origin. But

the French population is to the British population as 6 is to 10; we mean throughout both the Canadas If the morality of both populations was equal, the number of convicts of French origin would be to those of British origin as 12 is to 20; but it is not even in the proportion of 1 to 21.

But, perhaps, it will be observed, that the military should not be considered as forming part of the population of Canada, because they are here to-day and away to-morrow in some other portion of the Empire. Although this kind of reasoning appears defective to us, since it does not affect in the slightest our calculation, which has reference only to the morality of the two origins who inhabit in common the same country, we have no objection to deduct from the number of convicts the 1168 soldiers who were sent to the Penitentiary since the 1st of October, 1840. The grand total of non-military being 1177, and the number of convicts of French origin being only 110, it follows that the latter do not form over a tenth part of the whole. If the morality of both origins was the same, the number of convicts of French descent would be to those of British descent as 6 is to 10, whereas it is only as 1 is to 104.

So far we have taken as our point of departure the collective population of both Provinces, placing on one side the whole population of British origin, and on the other the whole population of French origin; but, let us now compare them as they are found in Lower Canada alone.

The total number of convicts from Lower Canada, who have been sent to the Penitentiary since 1840, is 283, of which 170 are of British origin and 110 of French origin; but the population of British origin is to the other as 1 is to 3, at the very most. If the morality of both origins was the same, the number of convicts of French origin would be 525; whereas it is not over a fifth part of that. Therefore, the French Canadians are *five times more moral* than their compatriots of the other origin, inhabiting, like them, Lower Canada.

If the question of morality was the only one at stake, we might stop at this, for we have fully accomplished an act of justice towards a race which is sought to be annihilated, but whose virtues protect it in the sight of God. It is the work of that Catholicity which the sects would wish to destroy—it is the work of Catholicity, with its salutary teachings and unsleeping vigilance, searching into the folds of the human heart to nourish it with the balm which soothes moral sufferings and restrains brutal passions. If, we repeat again, the only question were that of comparing the morality of the two races, our task would be at an end; but there is by the side of this question of morality a question of money, which is the only one of any importance in the estimation of our pure *dear-grits*, and which, consequently, we cannot but appreciate.

The number of Upper Canada convicts is 894, while those of Lower Canada amount to only 283, although the population of Lower Canada, at least up to the present year, exceeded that of Upper Canada. The support of the Penitentiary since 1840, has cost £96,257 7s. 9d. In comparing the number of convicts belonging respectively to each section of the United Province, we find that Upper Canada has cost for the support of its portion the sum of £73,112 0s. 0d., while Lower Canada has only required for the same purpose £23,145 0s. 0d. That is to say, Upper Canada has cost in ten years £49,967 more than Lower Canada for the support of its convicts, or, at the rate of £5,000 a year. It will be seen that this sum is a sufficient equivalent for the salary of the ex-inspector of chimnies, to whom we alluded in the beginning of this article, and whose salary shall occupy a place in the annual budget until the death of the pensioner.

We have to remark, in concluding, to avoid all misunderstanding, that the military convicts are supported at the expense of the military chest, and consequently are not included in the foregoing calculation.

TABLE *of the No. of convicts admitted, liberated, and remaining detained in the Prov. Peniten'y, from Oct.* 1, 1840, *to Oct.* 1, 1849, *&c.*

YEARS.		ADMITTED.					LIBERATED.					REMAINING IMPRISONED.				
		Military.	Military in U.C.	Military in L.C.	Civilians	Upper Canada.	Lower Canada.	L.c., British origin.	French origin, L.C	Total.	Military.	Civilians	Upper Canada.	Lower Canada.	L.c, British origin	French or'gn L.C	Total.	Military.	Civilians	Upper Canada.	Lower Canada.	L.c, British origin	French or'gn L.C	Total.
During the year ending 1st October,	1841..	0	0	0	59	59	0	0	0	59	0	62	62	0	0	0	62	0	153	153	0	0	0	153
	1842..	20	17	3	74	60	14	7	7	94	3	78	62	0	0	0	71	17	150	150	0	0	0	167
	1843..	129	114	15	135	105	30	19	11	264	116	56	56	0	0	0	172	32	224	179	45	27	18	256
	1844..	116	66	50	149	118	31	17	14	265	81	56	53	2	1	0	137	67	317	245	72	39	33	384
	1845..	146	140	6	157	105	52	34	18	303	153	56	38	13	10	8	209	61	417	312	105	63	42	478
	1846..	133	133	0	136	89	47	27	20	269	158	109	80	29	18	11	267	36	443	318	125	84	41	479
	1847..	145	145	0	109	70	39	23	16	254	147	129	91	28	20	8	266	34	433	300	133	80	53	467
	1848..	261	260	0	113	73	40	27	13	373	247	129	90	39	30	9	376	48	453	319	134	81	53	501
	1849..	219	219	0	92	62	30	19	11	311	221	131	89	42	22	20	355	43	368	215	123	82	41	411
Total..		1168	1094	74	1024	741	283	173	110	2192	1129	796	637	159	102	57	1915	348	3123	2051	752	464	288	3441
In Pen. at Union					153	153																		
					1177	894																		

RECAPITULATION.

ADMITTED.

Military	1168	
Civilians	1177	
Upper Canada	894	
Lower Canada	283	
Do of British origin		173
Do of French origin		110

LIBERATED.

Military	1129	
Civilians	796	
Upper Canada	637	
Lower Canada	159	
Do of British origin		102
Do of French origin		57

REMAINING IMPRISONED.

Military	43	
Civilians	368	
Upper Canada	245	
Lower Canada	123	
Do of British origin		82
Do of French origin		41
Died during the above period	13	

EXPENSE.

Paid out of Consolidated fund,	1841		£10,143	18	6
Do	do	do	1842	3,150	0 0
Do	do	do	1843	3,950	0 0
Do	do	do	1844	10,901	8 0
Do	do	do	1845	12,700	0 0
Do	do	do	1846	13,850	0 2
Do	do	do	1847	12,762	1 8
Do	do	do	1848	15,000	0 0
Do	do	do	1849	13,800	0 0
Total Expense.....			£96,257	7	8

If Upper and Lower Canada had contributed in proportion to their respective number of Convicts, the result would be as follows, to wit:—

Upper Canada	£73,112	0	0
Lower Canada....	23,146	9	0
	£96,257	7	8