

himself in the throne with the King, and talk of our subjects in the colonies. The parliament cannot well and wisely make laws suited to the colonies without being properly and truly informed of their circumstances, ability, temper, &c. This cannot be without representatives from the colonies; yet the parliament of England is fond of exercising this power, and averse to the only means of acquiring the necessary knowledge for exercising it; which is desiring to be omnipotent without being omniscient. There remains among the colonies so much respect, veneration, and affection for Britain, that, if cultivated prudently, with a kind usage, and tenderness for their privileges, they might be easily governed by England still for ages, without force, or any considerable expense. But I do not see there a sufficient quantity of the wisdom that is necessary to produce such conduct, and I lament the want of it."—Letter to Lord James.

But it is most strange, that while England's policy, and the spirit of her legislation, have for some years past clearly indicated to the world, that she expected and seemed disposed to pave the way for a separation between herself and her colonies, her conduct in other respects should be so opposed to her views in this. For while she was foreshadowing in her legislature the independence of her colonies, she was building, at a heavy expense, garrisons in them to support her power for all time to come. Within the ten years last past, garrison quarters, upon a large scale, have been built at Toronto; and large sums have been laid out upon every fort and place of defence in the colonies. Surely this must have been done with some other view than making safe and convenient places for the stars and stripes to wave on in a few years; yet when we come to look back upon England's legislation for the same period, and upon the spirit evoked by the debates in her parliament, it would really seem if she had any rational design in these expenditures at all, that she must have intended them for the express benefit of her once rebellious son Jonathan. England, by these defences, would seem to say to the colonists—"Look there, my lads, and see the emblems of your protection, and British rule in America for ever." By her legislation and free-trade policy, she has unequivocally told them, "that she must buy her bread where she pleases; and they may find a government where they please." With one hand she has taken the colonies by the shoulder, and told them they must behave themselves; with the other she has shaken hands with them, and told them they may kick up their heels as they please, for all she cares.

But there is a question, upon the satisfactory answering of which rests the whole matter of whether the colonies can, or cannot, continue connected with Great Britain.—And that question is, Can they prosper in proportion to their abilities to prosper, by that connexion?

We have already partially answered it, by showing the benefit that would inevitably accrue to the colonies from their being represented in the imperial parliament—by their whole property and worth being, by this means, placed in the market of the world side by side with the property and worth of England herself; and by England's capital partially, if not to all intents and purposes, flowing into the colonies upon the same footing that it flows through England—i. e., upon the principle of advantageous investment. But we shall prove that they can and should prosper, to the fullest extent of their capabilities, in connexion with Britain, in another way.

It is admitted, on all hands, that were their connexion with England broken off, and were the colonies to become, as it is certain they would, several States of the American Union, they would prosper, in proportion to their capabilities, equally with any of the northern States having no greater advantages in soil or resources. It is thought, and we believe with truth, that the public improvements which now lie dormant for want of capital to carry them on, or for want of sufficient knowledge of, or confidence in, the colonies from without, to induce the necessary capital to be advanced for them, would be completed, if the colonies were joined to the States. It is thought, too, and with equal propriety, that Lower Canada, whose population is singularly well fitted to prosper and be benefitted by manufactures, would, were it a State directed in that course most conducive to its prosperity. And it is thought—likewise correctly—that the great resources of Upper Canada, were that too a State, would become greatly more available than they now are: its population would increase: its cities and towns enlarge, and every man having an acre of land, or a lot in a town, in it, would become much better off than he is at present. Thus, if the States remain united as they have been, and prosper as they have done, might be all strictly true. But why is it that the colonies believe this, and that the States are also of the same opinion? It is because the colonies know what the Americans are, and the Americans know what the Colonies are capable of. They understand each other, and they know they could work together for good.

But what means would the Americans employ to develop the undeveloped resources of the colonies, and to secure wealth to themselves, while they brought prosperity to them? They would simply employ their capital in them; and they know that it could, and they would see that it should, be employed so as to secure these results.

But let us now inquire,—Is it impossible to employ the capital of England in these colonies, so as to effect the same thing? If American enterprise and skill could cause wealth to spring up in Lower Canada, and could enrich itself by doing so, is it impossible for English enterprise and skill to do likewise? If American capitalists could, beyond any manner of question, accumulate wealth for themselves, and vastly benefit the Canadas, by constructing railroads through them, or rather by continuing their own, is it out of the power of English capitalists to be enriched by the same process? If the Canadas, as we have said before, the States can infuse prosperity into them, because they see the States understand them,

and know what they are capable of, is it impossible for England to understand them also, and to take advantage of their worth; but then, it will be answered, there is the difficulty of colonial government. Who will invest his capital for a period of fifteen or twenty years, where he may be paid off by a revolution—when, as Moore said of the old colonists,—

"England's debtors might be changed to England's foes?"

But suppose the stability of England's own government were imparted to the colonies, suppose the permanency and interests of England became effectually and for ever identified with them—what then? That there is no reason under Heaven left why they should not prosper, to the fullest extent of their ability to prosper, and that England might not be benefitted by them in proportion.

But even this is but a partial view of the case: for the Americans would actually borrow the money in England that they would invest in the colonies, and yet enrich themselves by doing so. The colonies, in truth—joined to the States—would prosper by diluted benefits, the Americans reaping all the advantages of the dilutions. Connected with Great Britain—did Britain confide in them as she might, and understand them as she should, and were they in a situation to inspire that confidence, and to occasion that understanding—they must inevitably reap, in many respects, double the benefit they would enjoy with the States.

But the States would benefit the colonies all they could. Will England?

The scheme of imperial representation of the North American colonies may be, and doubtless is, open to many objections; and many difficulties would have to be got over before it could be accomplished. The first if not the only great difficulty, is—Would the colonies bear the burden of taxation, and the responsibility of being part and parcel of the British empire, for better or for worse, for all time to come? And could they, if they would?

In considering these questions, it is but fair to view them, not only in regard to the responsibilities the system we propose would entail, but also in regard to the responsibilities they would and must incur by any other system they might adopt. For this may be taken for granted—they must soon become all American, or all English.—They must enjoy English credit and English permanency or they must have some other. A great country, with an industrious, enterprising people, cannot long remain without credit, without prosperity, and without either the use or the hope of capital. The Canadas are now in this situation.

If then, the colonies should become independent, and it were possible for them to continue so, they would have to pay for their own protection. And if they became a republic, they would have to take their stand with the other powers of the world, and bear the expense of doing so. If, on the other hand, they were taken into the American Union, they would have to contribute, in addition to the cost of their own local or state governments, to the support of the general government of the whole Union; they would have, too, to contribute to the forming of a navy for the States, such as England has now got; and they would be obliged to contribute too, for the construction of military defences for America, which England is pretty well supplied with. They would have, in short, to expend upon America a great deal of what England, in three or four centuries, has been expending upon herself as a nation.

It may also be fairly presumed, that, with interests every day becoming more independent of England; with a system of government, which leaves England nothing in America but a name—or, as Lord Elgin says, a "dignified neutrality," and which really means a dignified nothingness—with a system of government such as this, every sensible man must foresee that England will soon get rid of paying largely for the support of her dignified nothingness in America; that she will—as indeed she has already done— inquire what right or occasion she has for protecting colonies from their enemies from without; or, what is much more serious to her, for themselves within, when she has ceased to have a single interest in common with them; and when she must see—if the present system be kept up much longer—that every day must separate her still more widely from them in feeling, and in all the essential principles that bind a people to each other, or a colony to a mother country.

In view, therefore, of all these considerations, taken separately or together, it is but reasonable to suppose that the colonies may soon be called upon to pay for their own protection from their enemies without, or for their quarrels within, if they must indulge in such expensive amusements. And the question then arises—Would their being practically identified with the British empire, participating in all its greatness, and enjoying the prestige of its stability and its credit, entail upon them greater costs or responsibility, than they would have to incur to maintain a puny, helpless independence, or in becoming states of the American Union?

It is out of our power to make the calculation, as it is impossible for us to know upon what terms England would agree to the colonies participating in her government as we propose. It is likewise impossible for us to tell how much might be saved by removing the tea-pots, so pregnant with tempests, in the shape of colonial legislatures; in removing governors to preserve "dignified neutrality;" and courts to keep up the shadow of England's government in America, the substance having grown "beautifully less" of late years. But after much thought and investigation, by both ourselves and others better accustomed to such matters than we are, we have come to the conclusion—that imperial representation might cost the colonies nothing more, if as much, as any other change they would have to make; that England would gain immediately by the change; and that the proceeds of the vast tracts of country lying north and north-west of the Canadas, their fisheries, mineral resources, and their unused and unappropriated wealth in timber and other things, might be converted into a sinking fund

by the united governments of England and her colonies, that, in its effects, might astonish both England and the world. We can but throw out the suggestion; it is for others to consider it.

But if the connexion of the colonies with Great Britain is to be made a mere matter of time and convenience, as to when it shall end, or how, then it is of little use in hoping much, or thinking deeply, upon what may be pregnant with such vast consequences to England's race in America, and even America's own race in it. A time, it would seem, which has taught Britain to know what their institutions are worth, must cost them in America these institutions. A time, which has exhibited during the principle settlement of the Canadas, the fall of the fabric of the political enthusiast and the fortress of the despot in Europe, must cost, it seems, the colonies that government which bore freedom aloft through the wild storm. England has stood upon a rock, and, after pointing out to her colonies the wreck of human institutions, she is about to push them off to share the fate she has taught them so much to dread. If England has the heart to do it, it must be done. Three millions of people will cease to say "God save the Queen!" The sun will set upon her empire. Full many an honest tear will be shed at hearing that it must. Full many a heart will be torn from what it would but too gladly die for. But the days of chivalry are gone; the days of memory are fled. The selfish, mercenary nineteenth century will be marked with the best jewel in Britain's crown.

HAMILTON, CANADA WEST, August, 1849.

TERRIBLE STEAMBOAT EXPLOSION.—TWO HUNDRED LIVES LOST!

A terrible steamboat explosion occurred at New Orleans on the 15th inst. The steamer Louisiana, bound to St. Louis, when about starting from her wharf, burst both her boilers, shattering her to atoms, and also badly injuring the steamers Stoner and Bortona, that were lying alongside. The Louisiana was crowded with passengers, as was also the other two, which had just arrived. Already 50 dead bodies have been recovered. The Levee was strewn with the dead and dying, and hundreds of citizens were around the melancholy scene, rendering all the assistance in their power to those in whom the spark of life remained.

Dates from New Orleans to the 17th state:—The explosion on board the steamer Louisiana is attributed to carelessness, and the captain has been held to bail in \$3000. Many more dead bodies have been found. It is supposed that the number of killed is 200, besides many are dreadfully wounded. The flags of the shipping in port are hung at half mast. A searching investigation will shortly take place.

We regret to announce the almost sudden decease of General, Sir Geo. Anson, G. C. B., Governor of Chelsea Hospital and Colonel of the 4th Dragoon Guards.

MARRIED.

At Brighton, on the 22nd ult., by the Rev. G. Spurr, Mr. William Allbright, to Miss Hannah, eldest daughter of Mr. Oliver Buiyca.

DIED.

At Northampton, on the 4th ult., after a short but painful illness, much beloved and lamented, Mary Anne, wife of Mr. John Gentle, aged 41 years, leaving a large family to mourn their loss.

At his residence, this morning, in the Parish of Woodstock, Joseph Armstrong, Senior, in the 67th year of his age.

Funeral on Thursday, at 1 o'clock.

COMMERCIAL BANK AGENCY.
R. English, Esq., AGENT. J. Grover, Esq., CASHIER.

CENTRAL FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY
OF NEW BRUNSWICK.
AGENT FOR WOODSTOCK.—L. P. Fisher.

CENTRAL BANK AGENCY.
COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.—James Robertson, Charles Perley, Charles Connell and D. L. Dibblee, Esquires.
AGENT.—Charles Connell, Esq.

NEW ADVERTISEMENTS.

SONS OF TEMPERANCE.

BROTHERS of the Melancthon Division S. of T., are hereby requested to take notice that on and after the 15th December inst., the weekly meetings will be held at the Hall of Mr. M. Hamilton, Upper Village.

By vote of the Division,
JOHN BEDELL, R. S.

Dec. 3rd, 1849.

FURS! FURS!! FURS!!!

CASH and the highest prices paid for Furs, by the Subscriber.
J. T. ALLAN.
Woodstock, Nov. 22nd, 1849. Sins.

YORK AND CARLETON MINING COMPANY.

PUBLIC NOTICE is hereby given, that Mr. William Stearns has ceased to be manager of the said Company, and is no longer in the employ of the Company, in any capacity whatever.
JAMES HARRIS, President.
JAMES L. DUNN, Secretary.

Company's Office, St. John,
17th November, 1849.