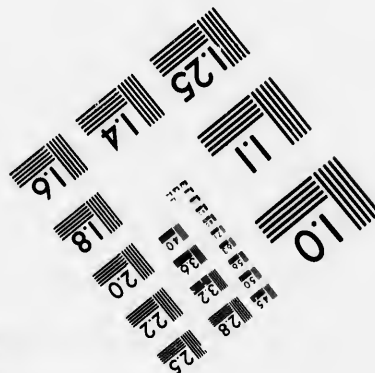
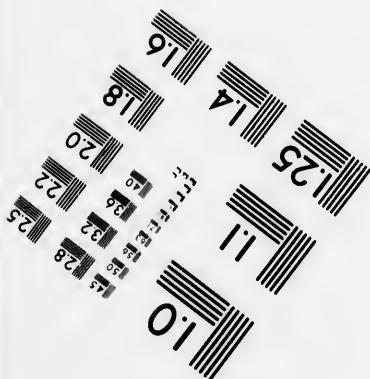
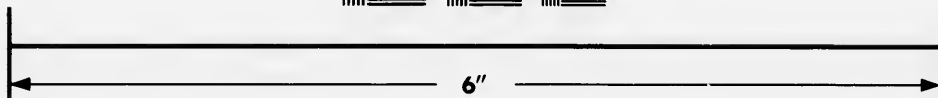
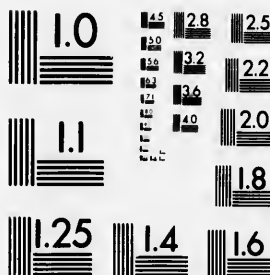


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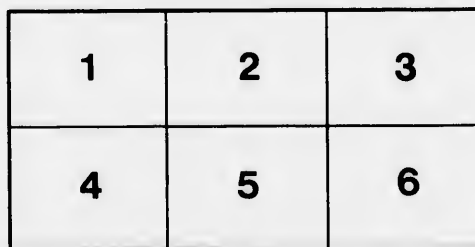
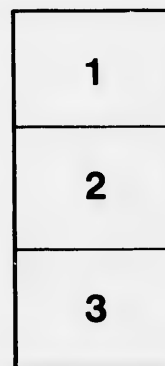
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32X



THE  
NORTHERN KINGDOM.

BY A COLONIST.

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*Cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.*

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DAWSON BROTHERS,  
23 GREAT ST. JAMES STREET,  
Montreal.

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## THE NORTHERN KINGDOM.

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To all nations and peoples, as to individuals, there comes a time—a crowning period of crisis—of trial, when the landmarks which long have guided them must be left behind, and the broad sea of the unknown must be entered. Who that has reached middle age does not remember some supreme crisis of his youth, when his life-course took definite shape for ever.

Such a crisis has now arrived in the history of our country. We have gone along lately, hoping almost against hope that the country to which many of us owe our birth might still be the country of our allegiance—that the flag under which our fathers have fought might wave over our graves. But the world moves on. Men and nations change. The policy which once ruled England's councils has given place to another. To decrease its responsibilities is now the policy of the nation which never before drew back its limits; and timid counsels now bear sway in unwonted places. It is not for us to complain. It



is our duty to set seriously to work, and calmly to consider the possibilities and dangers of our position ; for we must never forget that the best blood of Europe flows in our veins, and that it is not for the children of the three Kingdoms or of France to cower when placed in a new position.

There are many thoughts which arise in the mind of a devoted colonist, when contemplating the policy of the England of 1864. That the so-called school of Political Economists should rule in the House of Commons is not strange ; but that the House of Lords should give forth such a note of terror, as on the occasion of the late New Zealand debate, passes all experience.

Truly the position of the England of the future, shorn of her Colonies, will be a proud one.

“ And while the world rolls round, I said,  
Reign thou a quiet king.”

Shut up in her own small islands, all outward cares cast off, she will toil, and spin, and sell. Lest there should be any cause of quarrel with her neighbours, she will give up all she ever fought for. The foolish days of Pitt, Burke, and Wellington will have passed. The embarrassing gifts of Clive, Wolfe, and Amherst, will be got rid of. What then will there be to wound the too delicate susceptibilities of her neighbours ? and what nation would be so cruel as to disturb her anxiously peaceful existence ?

Very much such thoughts as these must have moved that King of France when he signed away

“those few square miles of snow,” which his successors would gladly get back. That cession has stained the annals of France; she abandoned her children, but it was after a long and gallant struggle. It remains for England to abandon her colonies in apprehension of a struggle which may never arise. That this is the real state of the case is clear from the panic which has seized on England. Witness the leading articles in the chief newspapers, the debates in the Lords and Commons, the subsequent concentration of troops, and the ambiguous utterances of the Queen’s Ministers. No new men took part in these debates, but it was old statesmen who conjured up visions of British regiments swallowed up on our frontier. No one in the whole parliament seems to have thought that two days would suffice to concentrate these troops should the need arise. But the order goes out, the regiments are put in safe places, and this while not a speck of war is on the horizon: a little unsteadiness of a regiment before a Maori fort, and England trembles for her troops in Canada. What noble confidence in her troops! and in the ability of the men who command them: but England is subject of late to fits of panic.

Certainly it would be natural to expect that the people of Canada would be the panic-stricken people, seeing it is their homes and firesides which are in debate; seeing it is their cities which will be burnt, and their fields which will be ravaged.

What did the English people suffer in the only wars with our so much dreaded neighbours? In each of these wars the United States government offered us peace to give up our allegiance; but Colonists fought side by side with British Regiments, and their courage was not clouded by the proximity. Many of them remembered that they had left all their property to live in their old allegiance, and were as glad to die as to live under the flag they loved. Their towns were burnt, their farms ruined, but the colonists never wavered.

Who among us spoke of our embarrassing relations with England when the Trent cloud looked so black? In the meantime we had grown richer, and our stake was very heavy. Did *we* beg that peace should be preserved? Or did *we* tremble for fear of ruin and disgrace? Did *our* legislature quake like the great English House of Parliament at the Maori victory?

No! It is well known that all England was full of admiration at our position. The arms and even the flags of the Colonial Corps of 1790 and 1812 had been taken from us by the Imperial Government, *lest* a warlike spirit should arise in our colony. We had been told for many a year "go quietly on—we will undertake your protection,—protection is the duty of the Mother Country." But there was martial spirit enough in us to stake everything we had on the issue of the contest. Many of our people are proud of

their Colonial birth; their ancestors emigrated long ago, and they have no relations even in the Mother country: many of us are children of United Empire loyalists: many of us have never seen England. But we are all proud of the glorious memories we have in common with England: proud of the flag of 1812-15. Had such nervous statesmen as now rule always guided that flag, perhaps we should not have so much to be proud of.

But, say some of these Manchester statesmen, we do not propose to give up all; we will keep such portions of the Colonies as may be required for Imperial purposes. Quebec, Halifax, and other ports will be needed as stations for our fleets. Surely such men forget that they are dealing with a people in no one whit inferior to themselves. Surely they take us for Spaniards, or Greeks, or Chinese, that they suppose we would submit to what would be a foreign occupation of one inch of our territory. Our ancestors helped to gain these cities, or to found them, and their children will not allow any foreign power to hold their Gibraltar, their Corfu, or their Shanghae. England would then invite our invasion; her troops safe behind the walls of Quebec, quite satisfied if the rest of the country were over-run.

It is a favourite theme now with political economists to enlarge on the advantages of the separation of the old Colonies from the Mother country—that providential event which gave such an

impetus to freedom, and to the consumption of Manchester goods. They can even rejoice that it has happened.

How do these people know what a future for the Anglo-Saxon race the madness of a few men may have blighted? How do they know that a powerful Empire would not have arisen, which would have secured to England the foremost place in the world for ever? What race or nation would have attacked such an Empire? Of whom would England now stand in dread, if her peers were Lords not only of England, Scotland, or Ireland, but peers of the whole British Empire,—peers of half the world? The cause of liberty is now imperilled by this great schism of the Anglo-Saxon race. Jealous of each other, each great fragment stands aloof, while a new unholy Alliance tramps out the embers of liberty in Europe. England fears to interfere—fears that nation which her own madness formed—that nation which her own children emigrate to strengthen, while they weaken the land which gave them birth.

But what does England gain by the Colonies? Can we not ask, what does this Colony gain? Is there any advantage we have in English markets to compensate for the risk we run of being mixed up in English quarrels? The quarrel of 1779 was not ours, nor that of 1812. The Trent difficulty was a thing in which we had no concern. Still *Cui Bono?* is the motto of the England of to-day. We must separate from the country endeared to

us by so many recollections, and give up that flag our ancestors did so much to live under. Would that the great mind lived that knew how to unite instead of disintegrating this empire! Would that the statesmen of to-day would ponder the words of Cicero :

\* “ Videte ne, ut illis pulcherrimum fuit tantam vobis imperii gloriam tradere, sic vobis turpissimum sit, id quod accepistis, tueri et conservare non posse.”

Where in history do we find a parallel? We must go back to the waning days of Roman glory, when Aurelian, to appease the Goths, for fear of quarrel, abandoned all Dacia which the valour of Trajan had won; or when later the Roman legions left Britain amidst the tears and lamentations of the natives. Let us not, like these, weakly abandon ourselves to grief or apathy; but, girding up our loins, say proudly, we too are a nation, descended of no mean stock, and, under God, we will care for our own future.

The important question now meets us, “ Can we stand alone? Can we maintain our independence supposing it asserted?”

The nearly universal opinion would seem to be that we could not. Our country is closed in winter. The frontier is so long, and exposed for such a distance without any great natural boundary.

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\* Look ye to it—lest, as it was most noble in your ancestors to hand down to you so great and so glorious an empire, it be in like proportion most base in you, if that which you have received from them you are unable to guard and preserve.

Our population is so small compared with that of our powerful neighbour, and therefore we must be absorbed if cast adrift from the mother country.

But these reasons are scarcely valid; all nations cannot be equally great. There are other powers in Europe besides France, Austria, and Russia. The history of Prussia has some lessons for us. In the year 1740 the young Prince Frederick ascended the throne of Prussia. It comprised 48,000 square miles, with a population of two and a half millions, less than the present population of Canada alone. His Northern frontier was ice-bound in winter; no sea-ports were then open. His only ally was England, and she but half-hearted. On the East, West and South he was bounded by powerful empires, the population of any one of which vastly exceeded that of his own kingdom. The country was long and narrow. It was level, and fit in all parts for the movement of troops. No country could be more exposed to invasion. Yet that Prince boldly plunged into a war of his own making. He forced a quarrel with all his neighbours. He contended single-handed with Austria, France, and Russia at once, and left to his successors a country of 74,000 square miles, with five and a half millions of population. Holland did not fear to enter into a long struggle with the great empire of Spain, then wielding the wealth of the Indies. Her ships are now on every sea. Java and Sumatra are hers. Yet her population now is under three and a half millions, a fraction less

than the population of the B. N. A. Colonies. She has a flat country, with no natural boundaries. Does she therefore dismantle her fleet, and cling to France. Piedmont, in 1848, commenced single-handed a struggle with Austria. Her king was then king of four millions; he is now king of twenty-two millions. Even poor little Greece, with one million, has a revolution, gets a new king, and talks about her rights and aspirations. The populations of the second class powers of Europe are :

Belgium, .....	4½ millions.	
Denmark Proper, 1½ million,		
or with the Duchies, ....	2½	“
Bavaria,.....	4½	“
Greece,.....	1	“
Papal States,.....	3	“
Netherlands,.....	3½	“
Portugal, .....	3½	“
Sweden, .....	3½	“
Norway, .....	1½	“
Switzerland, .....	2½	“

As to population, the British Provinces, with three and a half millions, would rank among the second rate European Powers.

Now if the large nations are so ready to absorb the smaller ones, how has there always happened to be small kingdoms in Europe? Mutual jealousy of the great powers may be the reason. But are we sure that such jealousy would not operate in our case? Setting England aside (if in case of an



unprovoked attack on us she would allow herself to be set aside), France has now a great stake on this continent, her honour is bound up with Mexico. Next to England, our natural tie is to France. The Confederate States have an immediate interest in our welfare; and the future states of North America now looming in the misty future will have something to say in the councils of this continent. Moreover our separation from the Mother country would remove international soreness and traditional jealousy. The United States would feel that their Northern frontier was secure.

After all, is not this fear of the United States a bug-bear to frighten children with? Why should they wish to add another incongruous element, another cause for further disunion? Let us remember where our friends have been in past years. The Southern democrats have always been the filibusters and the advocates of a war with England. The New England States have always been our best friends. Both sections are now heartily tired of bloodshed. They know what war costs, and each has taught the other the lesson not to be forgotten in the present generation.

France and England then being concerned in the future of our country, would it be too much to suppose that our independence would be more than recognized, would even be jointly guaranteed?

Yet, however desirable, that may pass, but the one central essential point, which should be the

watchword of every colonist, from Sarnia to Halifax is—close union, otherwise, French and English, laws, institutions, manners, customs, all must go. Let us not fall into the error which has ruined our neighbours. Let there be no theory even of power granted by a fractional to a central government, but let the central government designate specially all power it does not reserve.

Federation! Have we not seen enough of federations with their cumbrous machinery of government, well enough in fair weather, but breaking up with the least strain—with treble taxation—with staffs of state functionaries, and of supreme functionaries, and with harassing disputes of various jurisdictions? Shall we not draw wisdom from the errors of others? Must we steer our bark on that rock on which the neighbouring magnificent Union has split? They were great men who devised that Constitution, but the error was radical. The seeds of disunion were sown at the moment of its origin.

Never was there such an opportunity as now for the birth of a nation. The main problems of government have been solved for us. The problem of a Federal union has been worked out—a failure. The problem of a Legislative union has been worked out—a success.

There is no advantage a Federal union can have which a Legislative union may not have. Our French brethren are anxious for their laws, their language, their religion. The laws of Scotland yet remain; the religion of Scotland is undisturbed;

the language if it had been different, who can doubt that it would have been preserved. All these could be guaranteed to our French brethren in a Legislative union, not to be altered but by consent of a majority of the members from the French section, in a new house called together on that issue. What other advantage could a federation have but to raise an army of clerks and petty place-men? When in the British Parliament any question comes up specially affecting Scotland, the constant usage is to defer to the Scotch members. That which is there a matter of custom, might here be a matter of constitution.

But, while every care should be taken to guard the treaty rights of our French brethren, as little as possible of our Constitution should be written. The Constitution of England rests on very few written papers, and thus revolution is incessant but unnoticed. The Constitution changes with the age. Movement is the health of nations. A written Constitution, providing for all contingencies, marks revolution, checks progress, and keeps a nation in the swaddling clothes of its birth.

Having discussed the problems of separation and consequent union, we come now to the mode of government.

It will surely hardly be necessary, writing to descendants of Saxons and Normans, whether French or English be their language, to show the advantage of one supreme magistrate over two, three, or three hundred. History has no lessons for us if

we do not at once see, with our republican neighbours, that every political body must have one executive head. The only question is, whether that magistrate shall be permanent or changeable.

It is thought by many that to change the supreme magistrate every few years is the most effectual safeguard of the liberties of a nation. Strong in that conviction our neighbours have given to their president greater powers than are claimed by any but the most despotic kings. Now it is always dangerous to put much power in one hand, even for so short a time as four years. It has a great tendency in the hands of an able and unscrupulous man to become permanent. The successful general is apt to become the president, and the popular president is apt to be re-elected until he becomes permanent with a much larger measure of power than the legitimate sovereign of a limited monarchy. Moreover the periodical excitement—the restless ambition of the few—the pandering to popular prejudice and passion is exceedingly corrupting to a nation. Since the presidency of Adams, the best man has never been elected president of the United States; and if we take the man who now fills that position as a specimen of what the best educated people in the world can do in choosing a chief magistrate, we are not impressed favourably with the result.

But when as in England or in Belgium the chief magistrate is permanent, and his ministers are responsible to the people; when these min-

isters must always have a majority of the people's representatives; there is no fear of power settling in one hand. Power is not entrusted to any one man for four years or four months, but is taken away whenever we lose confidence in the recipient. Add to this, the excellent check of the Belgian constitution, that no bill becomes law until signed by one responsible member of the government as well as by the king, and every precaution against concentration of power is taken.

Where then shall we find our chief magistrate? Shall we take one of our leading statesmen and make the office hereditary in his family? It would be contrary to human nature to feel the requisite attachment to such a ruler. Ought he to be French or English, from the East or the West, from Nova Scotia or Canada? There is only one family from which we could all unite to beg a ruler. A family endeared to us by our most sacred feelings, having the blood of a long line of kings, and round which cluster the glories of our history—it is only in the family of our Queen that we can look for a magistrate—a king—who, having, by the grace of God that birth which no ambition can give to any of us, would be loved and cherished by us all, as we love and ever shall love his noble mother.

We come now to the Upper House of Parliament. That there should be two will be granted by all. The only point to enquire is—how in a country like ours a body can be constructed to put a check on too hasty legislation. Very many of the wisest

men among us vehemently doubt the propriety of the late change, making our Upper House elective, and when the old councillors die out the mischief will show. Many think we have been too hasty, but if so the time for correction approaches. If for every two or even three elected councillors, the government had the power of appointing one permanently, a much needed conservative element would be introduced. Men skilled in public business would always be at the service of the state, and their experience would not be lost.

In this country we have no titled aristocracy, and want none. We have no laws of entail or of primogeniture which can alone make a titled aristocracy respectable. Without such laws a Duke of Chambly might in time be found blacking boots for his living; but if we were to make this Upper House of ours strictly honorary, entirely without emolument, we would secure for it only the wealthier and leisurely classes. The position would be one of much greater honour, and there would be no rush of needy politicians for such a post.

It is absurd to say we have not enough of the right sort of men to compose such a House. We have them in plenty but the present political honours would not tempt them from their quiet courses. In order further to elevate the dignity of this House, the property qualification for an elector should be higher than the franchise for the Lower House.

As for the Legislative Assembly—the main stay of the freedom of the people—might it not well be made more thoroughly representative by extending the franchise and including that large class of salaried and professional men, who, not owning property or directly paying rent, are now excluded from a voice in public affairs? Every citizen of full age, having a yearly income of four hundred dollars, is fully entitled to a vote in the more popular House. Taxation in this country being indirect, he pays taxes on what he eats, drinks, and wears, and he must possess an ordinary education to earn that amount. His prospects depend on the stability of government and the right management of public affairs, and his vote would be as independently given as the average of the votes now taken at the hustings.

Let us then look no longer backward on the Mother country, but forward to the future, putting our trust in the God of nations. And may the time speedily come when with national, humble prayer to Him we may receive our king, and lay the foundation of a limited monarchy in the New World. This is a time of disintegration with our neighbours. The elements of the great republic are fast approaching dissolution. No matter how small the nucleus so it be firm; particles will crystallize upon it. Have we not also a message—a mission? It is a stable, limited Monarchy—the hope of the Anglo-Norman race.

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