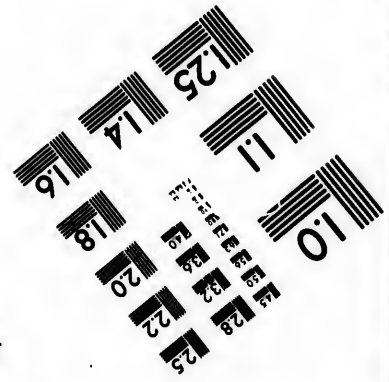
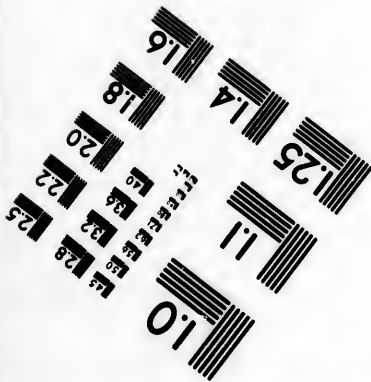
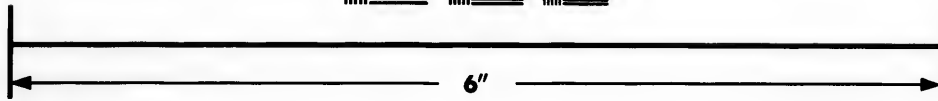
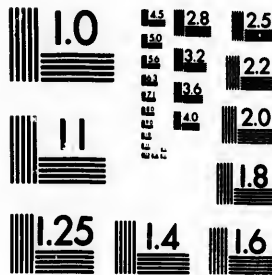


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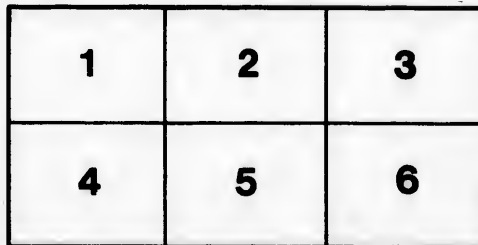
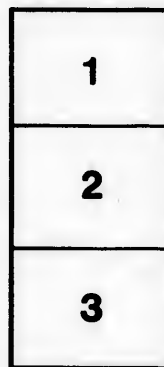
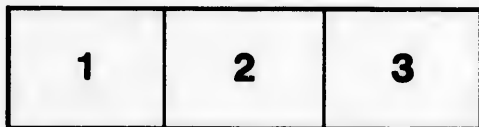
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The Reviewer

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REMARKS

ON THE

HISTORICAL MIS-STATEMENTS AND FALLACIES

OF

MR. GOLDWIN SMITH,

(LATE REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY AT OXFORD UNIVERSITY.)

IN HIS

Lecture "On the Foundation of the American Colonies," and his Letters
"On the Emancipation of the Colonies."

BY A CANADIAN. *CP 100.3*

E. Ryerson,

TORONTO:

PRINTED AT THE LEADER STEAM PRESS ESTABLISHMENT, 63 KING STREET EAST.

1866.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

The following pages (reprinted from the *Toronto Leader*;) were written in October, 1865, but remained unpublished until October, 1866. They were not intended to discuss the whole Colonial question, but to remark upon the political and social aspects of it, in correcting historical mis-statements made by Mr. Goldwin Smith in his University Lecture and newspaper letters on the American Colonies. The facts available to refute the theory and statements of Mr. Smith, in respect to the commercial, military and financial aspects of the question, may be inferred from the reference contained in a note on page 15. Since the remarks of this little *brochure* were written, Mr. Goldwin Smith has ceased to be Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford; and it is to be hoped that no future Professor of History in any British University, while emulating Mr. Goldwin Smith's arrogance, will imitate his example in his morbid enmity against the higher classes and cherished Institutions of his country, in his revolutionary ardour for the dismemberment of the Empire, in his pandering to the lowest anti-British spirit of American democracy, in his misinterpretation of historical facts, and in his sacrificing to passion and party the higher claims of patriotism, reason and truth.

Toronto, October, 1866.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LEADER.

Sir,—The following paper, in two parts, was written three years ago for the English press, in order to expose the superficial and mischievous statements and doctrines of Mr. Goldwin Smith and the English anti-colonial school in regard to the American colonies. But the intention with which it was written was not carried out. On looking over the paper I find it as applicable to our times as it was to those of three years since; and I therefore enclose it for insertion in your columns. The events of the last three years in Canada have practically established and brilliantly illustrated all that I said in 1863 in regard to the attachment of the Canadian people to their institutions and national connection, and their readiness and determination to employ their utmost energy and resources, in connection with British aid, to defend their country and independence against any and every invasion from the United States.

Yours respectfully,

A CANADIAN.

Toronto, October, 1866.

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A Canadian's Reply to Mr. Goldwin Smith on the Colonies.

FIRST PART.

Mr. Goldwin Smith, regius professor of modern history in the University of Oxford, has written to the newspapers four letters on what he calls "the emancipation of the colonies;" that is the retracting of the policy by which Great Britain has become the greatest national power of the globe; the reduction of an empire over hundreds of millions to a kingdom including thirty millions; the shrivelling of an empire on which the sun never sets to a minor island of Europe.*

Mr. Goldwin Smith's attacks on England and the Colonies.

As a native of Canada—to which Mr. Goldwin Smith's hostility is chiefly directed—I beg to enter my protest against the doctrine he advances, and the statements he adduces in its support. His four letters are but the one in substance—expanded by assertions, diversified by illustrations, and effervescing with attacks on the English establishment, English statesmanship, the English press, colonial lethargy, avarice and meanness. On recovering from the momentary hallucination of Mr. Goldwin Smith's eloquent reveries and revelries, what do we find but that his history is romance, his philosophy partizanship, his patriotism treason against all that makes British institutions the heritage of the freest and most progressive countries of the age; and British civilization with its christianity the most potent regenerator of mankind. Had there been no Greek colonies, Grecian civilization had been little known or felt beyond its birth-place; and had the states of North America not been once a British colony, they would not now have been the theme of Mr. Goldwin Smith's eulogies.

Mr. Smith's Usual Facts in support of his pernicious Theories.

Whenever Mr. Goldwin Smith touches on America, whether in respect to Canada or the older British colonies, now the United States, he seems to lose sight of the real, and revels in the ideal; and in the true spirit of a thorough *doctrinaire*, he selects and applies his facts to support his theory, irrespective of their actual connection and true import. In his University lecture "ON THE FOUNDATION OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES," Mr. Goldwin Smith lays a foundation of his own fancy instead of the foundation of fact; and ignores some facts and reverses others to create material for attack against English churchism and tyranny, and for panegyric on New England Puritanism and liberty. An example or two must suffice.

Mr. Goldwin Smith says:—"The American colonies arose from discontent, not with exhausted pastures, but with institutions that were waxing old, and a faith that was ceasing to be divine." English institutions are still as young in vigor and fruitful in benefits as they were before the plantation of English colonies in America; nor has the faith of the Church of England yet "ceased to be divine," though more than two centuries have passed away since the exodus celebrated by the Oxford regius professor; and a much larger number of the first American colonists professed, on leaving their "dear mother country," to be of the faith of the Church of England than of those who regarded it as "ceasing to be divine."

Mr. Goldwin Smith describes the founders of the American republic as "a Puritan congregation on the conflues of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, whose teacher's name was Robinson, and who, harassed beyond endurance, resolved to leave all they had and fly to Holland, there to worship God in peace." He vividly sketches their adventures in Holland and on their voyage to America in the *Mayflower*—remarking that "before these pilgrims landed, they by a solemn instrument founded the Puritan Republic." Mr. Goldwin Smith quotes this instrument at length, and calls the list of its signers a "roll of plebeian names, to which the roll of

*These letters, with others, Mr. Smith has collected and reprinted in a book under the title of *The Empire*.

Battle Abbey is a poor record of nobility." "In this political covenant of the pilgrim fathers (says the Oxford Professor) lies the declaration of American Independence. From the American Declaration of American Independence was borrowed the French Declaration of the Rights of Man."

All this is very fine as a creation of Mr. Goldwin Smith's fertile imagination, but is worthless and untrue as an historical statement. Any attentive student of American history, and especially of the life of Thomas Jefferson—the author of the Declaration of American Independence—knows that the sentiments of that Declaration were not borrowed from the "political covenant of the pilgrim fathers," but from the French infidel philosophers, of whose works Mr. Jefferson was a diligent student, and a devoted admirer.

Mr. Smith's Historical Confusion as to the founders of the American Republic.

Mr. Goldwin Smith seems also to be blissfully ignorant of the fact that the Puritan pilgrims founded two distinct governments in Massachusetts; that the government of the pilgrims of whom he speaks, and which was founded at Plymouth (about 37 miles from Boston) in 1620, lasted only seventy years, and never ruled over more than a few miles of territory, or included within its jurisdiction more than ten thousand souls; that the model Puritan republic, with which Mr. Goldwin Smith is so profoundly enchanted, was not founded by the Independent congregation of 101 that came over to America in the Mayflower in 1620, but by emigrations which were commenced by the New England company in 1628, and which in a few years increased to upwards of 40,000 souls. These colonists constituted the government of Massachusetts Bay—the nucleus of the powerful government of Massachusetts, of which Boston became the capital as early as 1630, but wholly a different government in its origin and character from that of the congregation of Independents at Plymouth, which was, during a period of sixty years, not only distinct from that of Massachusetts Bay, but, though feeble, often a refuge for the persecuted from that government, which ultimately absorbed it by royal charter in 1690.

The Founders of the Republic not English Independents.

It is also a fact, of which Mr. Goldwin Smith seems unaware, that the founders of this model Puritan republic were not only not Independents in England, but professed, even after their embarkation, to be members of the Church of England, and as such addressed from on board their ship *Arbella*, at Yarmouth, a farewell epistle to their "Reverend Fathers and Brethren" of the Church of England. This epistle is entitled "the humble request of their Majesty's loyal subjects, the Governor and company, lately gone to New England; and to the rest of their brethren of the Church of England." Mr. Goldwin Smith's statements are remarkable in the light of the following words from this epistle: "And however your charity may have some occasion of discouragement through the misreport of our intention, and through the disaffection, or indiscretion, of some of us, or rather amongst us; for we are not of those who dream of perfection in this world; yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals and body of our company, as those who esteem it our honour to call the *Church of England*, from whence we rise, *our dear mother*, and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and tears in our eyes; ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom, and suckled from her breasts: we leave it not therefore as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there, but blessing God for the parentage as members of the same body, shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her, and while we have breath sincerely desire and endeavor the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdom of Christ Jesus."

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When Independency was first established in New England.

These emigrants first settled at Salem, then at Charleston, then at Boston. The origin of their church organization, and of independency in New England is thus stated in a recent chronological school history of the United States. "Every member of the Salem church had individually been a member of some English church; but what is remarkable, when they assembled at a little spring, which yet flows to supply the Salem town pump, they all gathered round it, and taking hold of hands, formally resolved that they were "plain unvarnished men," and 'members of no visible church on earth,' they then resolved that, being gathered in Jesus' name and believing themselves to be redeemed by his blood, they were of the invisible church of Christ, and therefore competent to form a visible body, representative of it. They then proceeded to choose their teacher, Mr. Higginson, and their pastor, Mr. Skelton, both of whom had been educated for the ministry, [and were clergymen of the Church of England] and the brethren laid their hands on their heads, as an original ordaining power. At this stage of the proceedings, Governor Bradford arrived, having come across the bay to offer the right hand of fellowship on behalf of the Plymouth church. They paused to hear his message and replied, that if he offered it as an act of fraternal love, they accepted gladly; but if he or his church thought to found any authority upon it, to interpose ever in their church concerns, they must decline it. Governor Bradford made the necessary disclaimer, and the ceremonies were closed with mutual satisfaction. Thus was Independency initiated in New England."

Mr. Smith's partial statement in regard to these Independents.

Mr. Goldwin Smith is as partial in his statement of the persecutions of this New England church, as he is incorrect in his account of its origin and the founders of the New England republic. He says:—"The history of the Puritan church in New England is one of enduring glory and of transient shame; of transient shame, because there was a moment of intolerance and persecution; of enduring glory, because intolerance and persecution instantly gave way to perfect liberty of conscience and free allegiance to the truth. The founders of New England were Independents." "It was natural that the Puritan settlement should at first be a church rather than a state. To have given a share in its land or its political franchise to those who were not of its communion, would have been to make the receiver neither rich nor powerful, and the giver as he might well think, poor and weak indeed."

Mr. Smith's historical errors corrected, Baneroff quoted.

These passages partake largely of the fiction which characterizes all the statements of Mr. Goldwin Smith in regard to America or the British colonies. It has been shown that the Puritan republic was not founded by Independents, as he asserts; and in regard to the pilgrims of the Mayflower, the only company that left England as Independents, and as such founded their government and transplanted their church in New England—there was no such proscription as to property or the franchise as his words imply, and therefore no need of the strange apology which he makes. That proscription was made by men who left the mother country as "adventurers," and, as I have shown above, as professed members of the Church of England; but the very hand of Gov. Winthrop that signed at Yarmouth that "request" to his "Reverend Fathers and brethren of the Church of England," signed, the following year at Boston, a law that proscribed members of the Church of England, as well as Presbyterians, Baptists and Quakers, from the political rights of British subjects in Massachusetts:—not from holding lands; for that they could do, and share in all the burdens of the new state; but they could neither hold office, nor "share in the political franchise."

In the other material statements of the above extracts, Mr. Goldwin Smith is equally at fault as to both his facts and his apology. He says,—“there was a moment of intolerance and persecution” which “instantly gave way to perfect liberty of conscience and free allegiance to the truth.” What Mr. Goldwin Smith terms “a moment of

intolerance and persecution" was a period of relentless proscription and persecution for *sixty years*; and so far from its "instantly giving way to perfect liberty of conscience and free allegiance to truth," it was only *restrained* by an order of the King, Charles II., in 1601, after thirty years of bloody sway, and finally extinguished by the cancelling of the first New England charter and the creation of a new charter by William and Mary in 1690, when by royal charter, and not by the Puritans, as Mr. G. Smith represents "perfect liberty of conscience" with equal political franchise for Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Baptists, as well as for Independents, was established in the Puritan Republic of New England. Two of the directors of the New England company by the name of Browne—one a lawyer and the other a private gentleman—who determined to retain the service of the Prayer Book for their families and servants—were banished

"They were banished (says Bancroft) because they were Churchmen. Thus was Episcopacy first professed in Massachusetts, and thus was it exiled. The blessings of the promised land were to be kept for Puritan dissenters." (History of the United States, Am. Ed. 8 vo, vol. 1. p. 350.)

Mr. Smith's further errors corrected, Burke quoted.

Instead of their indulging a moment of intolerance and persecution which instantly gave way to "perfect liberty of conscience and free allegiance to the truth," "intolerance and persecution," and the suppression of all freedom in religious faith and worship, became the leading features of their legislation and government until arrested by that very royal authority which Mr. Goldwin Smith so much misrepresents and depreciates in his eulogies on New England Puritanism. The great Edmund Burke in his *Account of the European Settlements in America*, after describing the form of government established in New England, remarks that "From such a form as this great religious freedom might, one would have imagined, be well expected. But the truth is, they had no idea at all of such freedom. The very doctrine of any sort of toleration was so odious to the greater part, that one of the first persecutions set up here was against a small party which arose amongst themselves, who were hardy enough to maintain that the civil magistrate had no lawful power to use compulsory measures in affairs of religion. After harassing these people by all the vexatious ways imaginable, they obliged them to fly out of their jurisdiction." "If men, merely for the moderation of their sentiments, were exposed to such severe treatment, it was not to be expected that others should escape unpunished. The very first colony had hardly set its foot in America, when discovering that some amongst them were false brethren, and ventured to make use of the Common Prayer, they found means to make the country so uneasy to them, that they were glad to fly back to England. As soon as they began to think of making laws, I find no less than five about matters of religion; all contrived, and not only contrived, but executed in some respects with a rigour that *the persecution which drove the Puritans out of England, might be considered lenity and indulgence in the comparison.* For, in the first of these laws, they deprive every one who does not communicate with their established church, of the right to his freedom, or a vote in the election of their magistrates. In the second, they sentence to banishment any who should oppose the fourth commandment, or deny the validity of infant baptism, or the authority of the magistrates. In the third, they condemn Quakers to banishment, and make it capital for them to return; and not stopping at the offenders, they lay heavy fines upon all who should bring them into the province, or even harbor them for an hour. In the fourth, they provide banishment and death in case of return for Jesuits and popish priests of every denomination. In the fifth, they decree death to any who shall worship images. After they had provided such a complete code of persecution, they were not long without opportunities of reading bloody lectures upon it." "In short this people, who in England could not bear to be chastised with rods, had no sooner got free from their fetters than they scourged their fellow refugees with scorpions; though the absurdity as well as injustice of such proceeding in them might stare them in the face!" (Vol. II. second London edition, 1758. pp. 148-152;)

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Mr. Smith's falsification of New England historical facts.

It is thus that Mr. Goldwin Smith imbibing his inspiration from American Fourth of July orations and partial histories, instead of faithfully investigating and drawing from original sources, falsifies the facts and character of early New England history terms that "a moment of intolerance and persecution" which was a characteristic legislation and government for sixty years, and until arrested by a higher power; he pronounces "enduring glory" upon the Puritan church of New England because the "moment" of "intolerance and persecution instantly gave way to perfect liberty of conscience and free allegiance to the truth," when the sword of persecution after thirty years havoc was only checked for a little, not sheathed, by Kingly authority, in 1661—checked again by the suspension of the charter by *quo warranto* in 1688, and finally destroyed by the cancelling of the first and the issuing of a second charter by William and Mary in 1690, by whom and not by Mr. Goldwin Smith's Puritans, perfect liberty of conscience and equal political rights for all classes of Protestants were first established in Massachusetts. Mr. Goldwin Smith sees nothing in the religious faith of old England but "a faith that was ceasing to be divine," while in the faith of New England he sees only "a free allegiance to the truth;" in the rigorous government of Old England he beholds oppression only of monarchical and aristocratic "institutions that were waxing old" while in the far more oppressive government of New England he perceives only the necessities of a new church state, the granting of the political franchise in which to any but one creed would impoverish the giver without enriching the receiver; in the variable but cruel persecutions of Old England he discovers but the fruits of the faith embraced, and the institutions established; in the more systematic and cruel persecutions of New England he discovers only the infirmities of the times and the exigencies of the place!

Mr. Goldwin Smith's whole discourse *On the foundation of the American colonies*, is pervaded by the partiality and fiction which distinguish the passages I have selected for illustration, containing the poetry and romance of history, irrespective of its facts and realities, indicating the theoretical partizan rather than the philosophical historian, the brilliant rhetorician of cherished dogmas, instead of the impartial interpreter of facts as becomes the office of a professor of history. It is the same spirit of partiality and partizanship which characterizes his four letters on what he is pleased to designate the "Emancipation of the Colonies." His theory is substantially that England would become politically great, as she becomes geographically small; that colonies are a source of weakness and a burthen to the mother country, and the connection an incubus upon the colonies themselves; a means of patronage for party politicians, rather than an instrument of national greatness and British civilization. In support of his theory Mr. Goldwin Smith hazards false assumptions as truthful axioms; utters truthless statements as undisputed facts; and exhibits as marvellous ignorance of the institutions and character of colonial society, as of assurance and recklessness in dealing with them. That I purpose to show in the second part of this paper.

Toronto, October, 1863.

A CANADIAN.

SECOND PART.

Mr. Goldwin Smith's perversion of recent facts.

Mr. Goldwin Smith asks—"Ought not the narrow escape we had of war in defence of Canada to lead the nation to think seriously, not only of the reduction of colonial expenditure, but of colonial emancipation?" And he further remarks—"If there had been war with the United States, the Trent would have been the occasion, but Canada would have been the cause?"

On this assumption, Mr. Goldwin Smith proceeds to prove his theory of Canadian "emancipation." Is it true that Canada was the "cause" of the once imminent danger of war on account of the Trent? What had Canada to do with it? Did Can

nda prompt the seizure by Captain Wilkes of Messrs. Mason and Slidell on board the British steamer Trent? Why, Canada was the first (long before the news reached England) to raise its voice of indignant and unanimous protest against the insult to the British flag. Did Canadian waters afford the facilities for the outrage on the sanctity of British protection? No; the outrage was committed nearly as far from the shores of Canada as from the coast of England. Had Canada been American instead of being British territory, will Mr. Goldwin Smith himself venture to say that England would have the less demanded redress, or that the United States would the more readily have granted it? Nay, would not the United States have been more imperious, and the probabilities of war greatly increased? With strange inconsistency Mr. Goldwin Smith admits "the manifest unwillingness of the Canadians to be annexed, was a greater tower of strength on the late occasion than our arms or theirs." Yet in the presence of this fact, stated on the 27th of January, Mr. Goldwin Smith states, in another letter dated the 27th of August, "while she remains a province, Canada is, in fact, insensibly blending with the United States!" To such self-contradictions does his theory press him, and on such groundless assumptions does he build it.

Mistatements in regard to the Military Defence of Canada.

Throughout his four letters, he dwells with amazing repetition and variety of expression upon the vast expense of the military defence of Canada. So eloquently oppressed is he with this burthen that he exclaims: "The weight of Canada alone, if we persist in undertaking her defence, is enough to drag us down from our high place among European nations. There is an army in that colony now of 18,000 men," &c.

Why did not the Oxford professor state how long these 18,000 soldiers had been in Canada, and for what purpose? Why did he not say that these 18,000 had been sent to all the provinces of British North America, and not to Canada alone? During a period of more than twenty years, the average number of soldiers in all Canada was less than a regiment; and the eighteen thousand sent to British North America (and not to Canada alone) last year, were not sent to defend Canada or the other British provinces on account of any act of theirs, but to maintain the dignity and inviolableness of the national flag of England—an object in which Canada universally and heartily sympathized, and in the defence of which she was prepared to shed her best blood. Mr. Goldwin Smith himself has admitted that the unanimity and ardor of that sympathy "was a greater tower of strength" than the 18,000 English soldiers added to the militia forces of Canada and the other British North American Colonies. If Canada was to be the arena, as in 1812, on which the battle of England's national rights was to be fought, because Canada was more vulnerable to American attack, so much the less fortunate for the Canadians; but they were prepared now, as they had been fifty years before, to brave the calamities of war, and mingle their blood with that of their English comrades in defence of the sacredness of the British flag as guaranteeing an inviolable asylum to the political exiles of all nations. If Canada presents a broad frontier for American invasion, it also creates an American frontier equally broad and equally exposed for British invasion. If when Upper Canada contained a population of only 70,000 souls in 1812, American invasion was repelled by the Canadians, aided by a few hundred British soldiers, is it likely that when Upper Canada (apart from the large increase of population in Lower Canada) embraces a population of nearly 1,400,000, and the States are exhausted by civil war, the defence of Canada "will drag England down from her high place among European nations?" Has the defence of Canada dragged England down during the last fifty years? Is Canada more likely to do so during the next fifty years? Did not Canadian sympathy and contributions add to the dignity and power of England during the Crimean war? Did not the same sympathy, bursting forth by all the channels through which the national heart pulsates, give a "tower of strength" to Imperial demands for redress in the Trent outrage?

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Mr. Goldwin Smith's unjust Slanders on Canada.

But Mr. Goldwin Smith says (and in this he is followed by not a few others, as I'll inform as himself in regard to Canadian feelings and institutions) that Canada has declined to make any provision and is wholly relying on Great Britain for its own defence. The latter of these statements is contrary to fact, and the former does not justify the inference drawn from it. Canada never wholly relied upon the mother country for its defence. It did not do so when it repelled an invading enemy in 1812-13; it did not do so when it suppressed a local rebellion without the aid of a single British soldier (in Upper Canada) in 1837; it did not do so at the prospect of national hostilities arising out of the Trent outrage, when in the course of a few weeks it became one great camp of military volunteering and drill, which continues to this day. These facts should have taught Mr. Goldwin Smith and other assailants of Canada, to forbear statements as unjust as they are unfounded.

Then, does the refusal * of the Canadian legislature to adopt a particular measure for military organization justify the inference that Canada refuses to aid in her own defence? That measure was submitted to the vote of the Canadian legislature with scarcely one word of discussion on the part of its authors. Should an English minister submit a measure to parliament for the military organization of England, exceeding for expensiveness and comprehensive complexity anything which had ever been suggested, and should he ask the vote of parliament without saying a word in explanation or support of his measure, and should parliament decline to adopt it under such circumstances, would England be thereby liable to the imputation of refusing to defend herself against foreign invasion? Would not such an unprecedented proceeding on the part of the Premier be regarded as evincing indifference to his own measure, or submitting it *pro forma* in such a manner that its rejection might afford him a plausible pretext to retire from office? Such a procedure might be regarded as a very ingenious and politic party movement on the part of the Premier, but not even Mr. Goldwin Smith would construe such a vote of the House of Commons, on an unprecedented and an unadvocated measure of an outgoing administration, into national hostility or indifference to defend the shores and institutions of England against foreign invasion. Yet on such a "baseless fabric of a vision" does he charge Canadians with indifference and refusal to do anything in their own defence;—an inference and an imputation which any one acquainted with Canadian society and politics knows to be groundless and absurd.

But, suppose that Canada were to decide that an expensive local military establishment in time of peace was not the best for its interests or its safety, would such a policy argue indifference to its defence in time of war? To standing armies in time of peace the United States have been uniformly opposed—their standing army for the defence of their extensive coasts and territories not having exceeded 9,000 soldiers. Yet who would argue from such a fact that they were indifferent to their own defence against either foreign or domestic foes? It is a question whether the policy of Idomeneus in Telemachus, under the instructions of the sage Mentor, is not as applicable to a new country like Canada, as it was to the fabled Salentum—whether all the population and resources of the country would not be more profitably employed in developing and fostering educational, agricultural, mechanical and commercial industry, than to have a considerable portion of them diverted in time of peace to the art and preparations of war—whether the uprising of a whole community on an emergency of foreign aggression, as in the case of the Trent, and the preparations and exercises, the spontaneous concentration of national strength and resources, to which such an emergency prompts, may not be of more service to national safety, in connection with a small force of regular soldiers, than the constant diversion of a valuable portion of the revenues and population of the country from the paths of civilization to the creation

* The Canadian Legislature at its last Session, 1866, *unanimously* voted upwards of \$1,500,000 for Military purposes.

and support of a standing army. At all events, we have the testimony of Mr. Goldwin Smith himself, that this moral uprising of the Canadians "was a greater tower of strength on the occasion (of the Trent) than our arms or theirs."

But whatever may be said as to the wisdom of Canada's creating a standing army in time of peace for its own defence in the contingency of war, the absence of it in time to come, any more than in time past, cannot be truly construed as indifference or unwillingness on the part of Canadians to employ their utmost strength and resources for their own defence in the event of war. Already the English volunteer movement has been initiated in Canada under the sanction of the legislature and government; and a more systematic and general organization for defence is in the course of preparation, and whatever interested or uninformed alarmists may say, the Canadians know that there is no need of "hot haste" in deciding upon a new and grave question of political and social economy, as well as of military organization of this kind; that there is no more danger of invasion from the United States now than in years past; that our American neighbors are under heavier and more imperative obligations than ever to keep the peace with foreign countries.

Mr. Goldwin Smith adopting the Hume and Roebuck theory of "baneful domination."

I now proceed to notice the two principal and most important positions of Mr. Goldwin Smith in regard to Canada; that it is not a country for the establishment of monarchical government, and that it should be "emancipated" by the mother country.

Mr. Goldwin Smith's theory, that monarchical government cannot be established in any part of America, has no claim to originality except in the drapery of style. Mr. Roebuck advocated the same doctrine thirty years ago, and was replied to by the writer of these remarks (over the signature of "A Canadian") in a series of letters published in *The Times* newspaper in 1836. Mr. Roebuck has lived to retract his sentiments. Mr. Goldwin Smith may live to do the same. At present his expressed views can hardly be reconciled with a sincere attachment to the institutions of his own country. In his lecture "On the Foundation of the American Colonies," he says, "To the United States of America we owe our best assurance that the oldest, the most famous, the most cherished of human institutions, are not the life, nor would their fall be the death of social man; that all which comes of Charlemagne, and all which comes of Constantine, might go to the tombs of Charlemagne and Constantine, and yet social duty and affection, religion and happiness, free obedience to good government, free reverence for just laws, continue as before. They who have achieved this, have little need to talk of Bunker's Hill." In the last of his four letters, he says, "In England, monarchy has a root and it has a use. It binds the unenfranchised, indigent and ignorant masses of the people by a tie of personal loyalty to the constitution. In the New World monarchy has no root; and it has no use where the masses of the people are enfranchised and bound to the constitution by property and intelligence."

Mr. Smith Republican theory of Monarchy.

The plain import of these passages is, that monarchy and the established religion might cease to exist in England without any injury to social duty, religion, happiness, free obedience to good government and free reverence for just laws; that monarchy has no use except where the masses of the people are ignorant and unenfranchised! This is extraordinary teaching for a regius professor of history in the loyal University of Oxford. According to this teaching, the monarchy is of little value even in England, and its utility and existence depend upon the masses of the people being ignorant and unfranchised! Such teaching by a regius professor of history at Oxford is calculated to degrade monarchy in the estimation of colonists, if not in that of the people of England, and prompt them to renounce it. He says, "Our constitutional monarchy is feudal, like our aristocracy and our church. It is the apex of the system of which they are the base; and it would seem that to attempt to set up in a new land the apex of the system without the base, would not be the part of the wise."

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This republican theory of Mr. Goldwin Smith refuted.

To the theory involved in these words, I oppose two facts. First, the war of the American revolution itself, except with a few and towards the close of it, was not a war against monarchy, but for the rights of British subjects recognized by the monarchy, and to which attachment was expressed. Secondly, the British colonists in North America have lived under the monarchical system of government nearly a century since the American revolution, and with a growing attachment to its principles. In Canada it is notorious that the attachment of the people to the monarchical system of government and British connection is far stronger now than it was twenty years ago; and the people during that period have increased more than a hundred per cent. in population, wealth, and intelligence. The "apex" of monarchy among them has never had a "base" of a "feudal aristocracy" or a "feudal church," but it has a broader "base" and a deeper "root" in the cordial affections, not of the "unenfranchised ignorant and indigent masses," but of an enfranchised, a free, an intelligent people, who have learned more than ever to regard constitutional monarchy not as the apex of a system of which a feudal aristocracy and a feudal church are the base; they have learned to regard it as the key stone of the arch of equal law and liberty, as the representative of a principle of government and law, which is above party; which, like the sun in the firmament, is no less impartial than universal in its benefits; distinguished from a free republic on the one side and an arbitrary despotism on the other—as the personification of impartial authority and supreme law, not the head of a party—as the impartial guardian of public rights and freedom, and not the absolute disposer of peoples' religion, liberties, properties and lives. Such a monarchy—a free constitutional monarchy—has a very different "base" and "root" in the confidence, reverence and affection of all classes and parties from that of a feudal aristocracy and a feudal church—has various values and uses other than that of "binding the unenfranchised, indigent and ignorant masses of the people to the constitution"—has a very different strength from that which is contingent upon the disfranchisement, poverty and ignorance of the masses.

Mr. Smith's want of a definition of Constitutional Monarchy in a Colony.

Mr. Goldwin Smith professes to be quite at a loss to define, and warmly demands a definition of "constitutional monarchy, without an aristocracy or an established church drawn up in a practical and intelligible form." Perhaps he would be equally at a loss, if required, to define the constitution of the British monarchy itself, "drawn up in a practical and intelligible form." Perhaps he would find equal difficulty in defining the constitution of man himself, "drawn up in a practical and intelligible form." I will not offer him a definition of constitutional monarchy in the British colonies; but I present to him the fact itself, and can truly aver that there are hundreds of thousands of enfranchised and intelligent people, who know nothing practically of an aristocracy or an established church,—as I believe there are hundreds of thousands in England who care little or nothing for either, yet have property and intelligence, with the franchise,—who respect and love a constitutional monarchy, and will risk both their property and their lives in its defence. Mr. Goldwin Smith ought to know the difference between the accidents of a constitutional monarchy and the principle of it; he ought not to confound the one with the other; he ought to know that the base of a constitutional monarchy, embracing the equal rights of a whole people, without distinction of religion or class, is much broader and firmer than that which is composed of an aristocracy and an established church; that a system which has its "root" in the convictions as well as affections of a free and entire people, is deeper and stronger than that which is rooted in an exclusive aristocracy, a feudal church, and the ignorance of the masses of the people. Assuming then, what I do not believe, that Mr. Goldwin Smith's statement of the "base," and "root," and "use" of the constitutional monarchy in England is the fair and true one, it has no application to Canada, whose people support a constitutional monarchy upon very different grounds from those which he sets forth; who thoroughly believe that a system of government whose

supreme power, while limited by constitutional safe-guards, is sacred from the aspirations of individual or party ambition, is a centre of unity where all parties can meet on common ground, is the representative minister of justice and benignity for all classes, parties and interests,—that such a system of government is much better calculated to secure individual right, freedom of thought and discussion, sound legislation the impartial administration of law, the advancement of society, and political economy itself, than a system of government whose supreme power is the periodically elected head or creature of a party, and where party affects not merely the incumbency in office of some twelve or twenty political heads of departments, as in England and Canada, but directs the removal from, and appointment to, every office in the state, from the highest to the lowest, in every branch of the public service—executive, judicial and educational—and renders all the operations of legislation and government one vast and alternating system of speculation and jobbery—where independence of thought, freedom of the press, impartial administration of justice, does not approach that which is enjoyed either in England or Canada. Whatever defects or even vices may be incident to their administration of public affairs, Canadians are satisfied that their monarchical constitution of government, their judiciary, municipal and educational systems, afford better provision for security of life, liberty and property, for public happiness and high civilization, than the republican government and institutions of their American neighbors; and that is the real ground, as Mr. Goldwin Smith admits, of their manifest unwillingness to be annexed to the United States.

Mr. Goldwin Smith's misuse of the term "emancipation."

I have only further to remark upon Mr. Goldwin Smith's oft repeated demand for what he calls the "emancipation" of Canada. This term which he sports through all his letters, involves an untruth as well as a fallacy. It implies that Canadians are in a state of enslavement, and that their separation from England is essential to their civil freedom and manhood. The former part of this assumption is utterly groundless, and therefore the latter part is wholly fallacious. Indeed his assumption which forms the "base" of most of his reasoning for Canadian independence, is contradicted by his complaints against the liberty which Canadians already possess and exercise. To be sure in this he is inconsistent with himself, as I have shown him to be in other parts of his publications; for, while in one place he says: "We are keeping the colonies in a perpetual state of political infancy, and preventing the gristle of their frames from being matured into hardened bone," he complains in another place, that "we keep up the shadow of a rule over colonies which we are so far from ruling, that we cannot forbid their contumaciously levying protective duties on our own goods!"

The reader cannot fail to be struck with the difference between the position and rights of Canada in 1862 and those of the American colonies in 1772, when the British parliament claimed the right to tax the goods imported into the latter without their consent, while Canada cannot be forbidden—according to Mr. Goldwin Smith himself—from taxing English imported goods. Yet he says at the same time that Canada is in a "perpetual state of political infancy," and must be "emancipated," in order to "mature the gristle of its frame into hardened bone!"

Mr. Smith's statements of "Political infancy" disproved by facts.

But apart from Mr. Smith's self-contradictions, in what does the "political infancy" of Canada consist? It is true Canada does not elect its Governor, who represents the Sovereign. But neither does England elect her Sovereign. In this respect, therefore, Canada is on a par with England; for in no respect does the representative possess and exercise more power in Canada, but in several respects less, than does the Sovereign in England; and the one, equally with the other, is surrounded by, and acts through, responsible advisers.

Then, as to the attributes and functions of legislation and government, where is the "political infancy" of Canada? England does not pretend to legislate for Canada, and exercises not the patronage of appointment to a single office in Canada, save that of the

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representative of the Sovereign and his private secretary; and their salaries as well as all other expenses of government, are paid by the Canadians. Canada not only legislates, and forms and modifies at its pleasure, but administers the laws and every branch of the public service by officers of its own appointment and responsible to itself only, and raises revenue by imposing duties on goods imported from other provinces and countries—a power which has never been exercised or possessed by the neighboring state of New York, much less the power of creating and supporting a standing army, or even a regiment of regular soldiers.

Thus are Mr. Goldwin Smith's assumptions and statements in regard to Canada without the shadow of foundation, and his argument is therefore a fallacy from beginning to end. Indeed all he writes about England's *governing* in the colonies and preventing the development of their institutions and self-reliance, applies to a former age and a long-since abandoned system of colonial rule. He does not appear to be aware that Canada has already been "emancipated" from all the swaddling bands of political infancy, and that she rules herself more independently of Downing street, than any one of the neighboring states does of Washington.

Mr. Goldwin Smith on the disadvantage of distance from England.

But there are several other grounds on which he advocates the separation of Canada from the mother country. One is the great distance of Canada from England, and of course the difficulty and expense of defending her. He ought not to forget that from improvements in navigation and travel the distance has been reduced more than fifty per cent,* and facilities of intercourse and transportation have increased in equal proportion, and Canada is practically as near to England now as was Ireland at the time of the Irish union.† Ireland is at this day a greater weakness and danger to England than Canada, if there be weakness and danger in the question; and the chief arguments urged by Mr. Goldwin Smith for the "emancipation" of Canada, apply with greater force to the dissolution of the union between England and Ireland. Canada has never required the presence of a British soldier for the maintenance of social order, or for the administration of the law in any respect whatever; nor has she ever applied to England, even during the past year, [1863] for a soldier to be sent for her defence; nor has she for a moment cherished the idea among any party of her public men, that in the event of foreign aggression, her defence does not mainly depend upon herself; nor do I believe that her existence as a British colony has added a soldier to the standing army of Great Britain; or that were Canada blotted from the map of nations to-morrow, the military budget of Great Britain would be a shilling less. Countries in Europe that have no colonies have a far larger standing army than Great Britain in proportion to her population, and especially in proportion to her wealth and commerce. It is the armies of Europe—especially of France—that determine the standing military force of Great Britain, and not the proximity of the United States to Canada, or the existence of Canada as a part of the British empire.

Mr. Smith the advocate of the Manchester School.

With his usual inconsistency Mr. Goldwin Smith objects as unjust that Great Britain should be taxed at all for the defence of the colonies, yet says,—“In emancipating those among them which are adult and fit to be nations, we might guarantee their independence against unprovoked aggression for a certain term of years.” It is a question whether such a “guarantee” for the independence of countries in America as large as Europe would not be likely to involve more difficulty and expenditure to England than the continuance of the present relations between Great Britain and these provinces. With like inconsistency he says, “The Canadians shrink from the

*Canada is not so far from London nor so difficult of access as California and the other Pacific States are from Washington; and yet who would advocate the dissolution of the American Union on that account?

†Not to mention the successful laying of the Atlantic Cable, which brings Canada and even the far off Pacific Colonies of British Columbia and Vancouver Island within a few hours distance from England.

dangers and the burdens of independent existence," yet that "were they separate from England there would be no danger of invasion from the United States." The strong, and I think rational, conviction in Canada is that Canadian separation from England would increase tenfold the danger of invasion from the United States, as in the case of the American invasion and annexation of Texas.

The Rebellion Losses Bill misrepresented by Mr. Smith.

At one time Mr. Goldwin Smith represents the Canadians as averse to separation from England, he holds them up at another as encouraging rebellion. He says: "Some time ago we put down a rebellion in Canada with the aid of the loyal party. Then we assented to an act of the Canadian parliament indemnifying the rebels for the losses which the loyal party had inflicted on them in the course of the war by our command. Men on whose heads a price had been set were forced into the councils of the crown." Now, it is wholly untrue that any such act was ever passed by the Canadian parliament; it was expressly denied by Lord Elgin, who, as the representative of the Sovereign, assented to the act in question; it was an express instruction to the commissioners who investigated the losses caused by that rebellion, that no person implicated in it should receive any compensation for losses inflicted upon him during the rebellion; the commissioners acted and reported accordingly; and petitions were subsequently addressed to the Canadian parliament, (but not entertained by it), by some of the parties concerned, complaining that no compensation had been allowed them for heavy losses which they had sustained from the public authorities during the rebellion. After the suppression of the rebellion, a general amnesty was proclaimed; the system of Canadian government was changed; responsible government, or, in other words, Canadian independence in all local affairs, was conceded and established; local dissatisfaction and disaffection disappeared; some men who had rebelled, not as they alleged against the Queen, but against domestic misrule, and who subsequently showed themselves much more loyal than Mr. Goldwin Smith himself appears to be, were elected to parliament and rose in the estimation of their party and of the country according to their merits and loyalty under the new system of government, just as some of England's greatest statesmen have, from like odium, risen to the highest places of public trust and power.

I may remark, *en passant*, that "we" of whom the Oxford professor speaks, as having put down the rebellion in Canada in 1837, were, at least in Upper Canada, the Canadians themselves, without the aid or presence of a single British soldier.

Mr. Smith's further Advocacy of the Manchester Colonial Theory.

Another reason assigned by Mr. Goldwin Smith for dissolving the connection between England and Canada, is the alleged uselessness of the connection. He says, "If they are to do nothing for us, and we are to do nothing for them, where is the use of continuing the connection?" The prescribed objects and limits of this paper do not permit me to discuss this question at large. Making the connection between England and Canada a mere question of arithmetic—of mutual doing and gain—is quite natural for a Lancashire manufacturer, but is rather odd for an Oxford professor. As Canada supports its own government and institutions, even to the payment of the salaries of the Governor-General and his private secretary, she can be no burden to England except for military aid against foreign aggression. Of the nature and extent of such aid, England is the sole judge. Certainly not a regiment is added to the standing army of England, or a ship to her navy, on account of Canadian connection; and if England does not desire that any of her regiments should be stationed in Canada, or her ships float in Canadian waters, instead of elsewhere, she has the sole right to decide, and may leave Canada twenty years to come as she has twenty years past, without a regiment in Canadian garrisons, or a war vessel on the Canadian lakes. But cannot the Oxford regius professor of history imagine some other grounds, and some other advantages in the connection of countries, the alliance of nations as of individuals, besides the Manchester one of pounds, shillings and pence? Is a system of government no

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thing in forming the character and habits of a people, and is not that system moulded, developed, and influenced in a thousand invisible and nameless ways by external relations and intercourse? Are British ideas, British sympathies, and British civilization nothing? And does not every intelligent Englishman—except Mr. Goldwin Smith—know how much even the nominal connection with England has had to do with the diffusion of these in Canada, and how different they are from those in the United States? Is not society itself something, and must not its standard and tone in a young country be very greatly influenced by the presiding presence of a true representative of royalty with his associations and friends of the best English society? Is there not something in the thinkings, feelings, associations, and sympathies of an entire people who know that they are not slaves, not even colonists in the old and popular sense of the term, but are freemen and an *integral* part of a nation whose liberty, science, wealth and power, are pre-eminent among the greatest nations of the world? These considerations may be but a cypher in the figures of Mr. Goldwin Smith's utilitarianism, but they scarcely admit of computation in the national life, character, enjoyments, aspirations and destinies of a whole people. He may sneer at colonial inferiority, and utter eloquent platitudes about maturing the gristle of colonial infancy into the hardened bone of national republicanism; but the fact is undeniable, that there are no statesmen, jurists, orators, soldiers, scholars or divines, to be found now in the United States comparable to the race of men who received their education and training as British colonial subjects before the American revolution, when free government and free institutions were far below those which are enjoyed by Canada and other British provinces. Whenever the period may arrive for the final development of an independent Canadian nationality, there will be natural and ample indications of it, like the ripening of fruit in Autumn, very different from the un-natural and revolutionary policy advocated by Mr. Goldwin Smith. One of those indications cannot merely be the need of "a guarantee of independence from unprovoked aggression for a certain term of years."

Mr. Smith's fallacious Theory in regard to Colonial Trade.

Again, another reason for Canadian separation from England is the remarkable one that "if Canada were a separate nation we might negotiate a free trade with her. This reason he urges in the face of the fact, that the United States—a separate nation beside Canada, has always refused to negotiate a free trade with England, and imposes a duty on British goods twice as high as that for which Mr. Goldwin Smith reproaches the Canadian legislature. His argument stands thus: The congress of the United States—a separate nation bordering on Canada—levies a duty for protection and revenue of forty per cent, on all goods imported from England. The legislature of Canada—a locally independent province of Great Britain—has levied for purposes of revenue twenty per cent on goods imported from England, as well as from the United States. Make Canada a separate nation, and a free trade may then be negotiated between her and England! The soundness of Mr. Goldwin Smith's logic is certainly quite on a par with the correctness of his statements.*

* Mr. Goldwin Smith has asserted and repeated, with many rhetorical figures, and a few figures of arithmetic, that the export trade from England to foreign countries are much greater than the exports to the British Colonies. He gives the aggregate amount of the value of exports to foreign countries and to the British colonies, and then eloquently declaims on the depressing influence of colonial connection upon the trade with these colonies, and the immense expansion of that trade which would result from their "emancipation." An able writer in the *Toronto Leader* of the 26th May, 1865, has elaborately analyzed Mr. Smith's trade statements, remarking that Mr. Smith omits all reference to the *population* of the different countries of whose trade he speaks, as well as of their comparative age and wealth. This writer, in a large array of commercial statistics collected from official sources, shows that the exports from England to foreign countries "were at the rate of three shillings per head of the population against within a fraction of £3 per head taken by the population of the colonies." The same writer shows that the value of exports from England to various old and civilized countries of Europe (omitting Russia and Turkey "as being uncivilized") "was under *five shillings* per head of the population." Coming to America, the same writer gives the value of exports from England to the United States and the British American colonies, "for the five

Mr. Smith an advocate of the Munroe Doctrine.

Finally, he argues for Canadian separation upon the ground that England has no business with the western hemisphere of the globe! He says, "America has her own destinies, which we may partly mar, but cannot guide. Our duty is to the European community of nations to which we belong." And again, suppose the American crossed us in our hemisphere as we cross them in theirs. Their possessions might be held by a lawless title, but they would be held with some peril."

Thus has he not only adopted Mr. Roebuck's cast off doctrine against the existence of monarchical government in America, but the old Monroe doctrine, that no European power should possess territories in America, or in the least interfere with it—that to do so is to "cross the Americans in *their* hemisphere"; the doctrine of the most ultra anti-British party in the United States—a doctrine repelled by every European country and statesman—a doctrine the most unreasonable and absurd, that because thirteen American colonies successfully rebelled against Great Britain, therefore the whole western "hemisphere" is theirs, and the duty of Great Britain is thenceforth limited to the European community of nations!" According to the theory of the regius professor of history at Oxford, Great Britain has no business with Asia, Australia, or America; the European community of nations is to be the sole field for her statesmanship, her arms and her "duty." Yet the author of this nut-shell, not to say superannuated theory of national duty and destiny, and whose studies of Canadian and American history, except from newspapers, appear not to have advanced beyond the age of Pitt and the American revolution—condescendingly speaks of Lord Palmerston—the veteran, and preeminently the representative of English ideas of national duty, progress and civilization, as "though youthful in bodily vigor, is old in ideas and unconscious of the great moral and material changes which have taken place in Europe since he first entered public life!"

I have now done with Mr. Goldwin Smith for the present. He has no claim to delicate treatment at my hand, for the manner in which he has assailed my native country. I hope while I have attempted to discharge a filial duty to Canada, I have done no disservice to our loved and glorious mother-country.

A. CANADIAN

Toronto, Oct., 1863.

years from 1857 to 1861, both inclusive," showing "that the average consumption of British imports by the inhabitants of the United States during the above five years was about 11s. 3d. per head; or about *one-sixth* of the amount taken by the *Colonists*, one half the proportion taken by much abused British America, at the period of its greatest depression, and one-third of the amount usually taken by it." "The Trade Returns proves (says the writer) that each of the inhabitants of the colonies consumes two thousand per cent. more of British goods than is consumed by each foreigner generally; twelve hundred per cent. more than is consumed by each inhabitant of civilized Europe, and six hundred per cent. more than is consumed by each American." The writer referred to shows the unfairness and fallacy of Mr. Goldwin Smith's figures in various aspects, and very naturally concludes—"He cannot compliment Mr. Smith on his talents as a statistician." I am equally sure that few readers will compliment him on his accuracy as a historian.

I may add that the same pains-taking statistical writer in successive papers in the *Toronto Reader*, June, 1865, has as lucidly and conclusively answered Mr. Goldwin Smith's figures and appeals on the *Military and Financial* aspects of the colonial question, as he has exposed the fallacy and worthlessness of Mr. Smith statistics on the trade and commerce of England with the Colonies.

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