

REFLECTIONS ON THE  
**MORAL AND CIVIL CONDITION**  
OF THE  
BRITISH PROVINCES IN NORTH AMERICA;  
WITH OBSERVATIONS ON THE  
IMPORTANT ADVANTAGES WHICH MUST ACCRUE TO CANADA  
FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE  
**CANADA EMIGRATION ASSOCIATION.**

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**TO SUBSCRIBERS.**

*It will be perceived by those who have done the author the honour to subscribe to this publication, that the title has been slightly altered since the prospectus was issued. The present title has been adopted in consequence of its expressing more fully the character and objects of the work as it has grown under the pen of the author.*

## PROSPECTUS

OF A PAMPHLET, ENTITLED, ON THE IMPORTANT ADVANTAGES WHICH MUST ACCRUE TO THE PROVINCE OF CANADA, FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE "CANADA EMIGRATION ASSOCIATION."

THE object of the work will be to prove, that this Association will not only be in the highest degree conducive to the interests and prosperity of Canada, but that some such Institution is absolutely necessary to the prolonged existence of the Province as a part of the British Empire. The arguments brought forward for this purpose will, at the same time, tend to engage the affections of the people towards British Laws and British Institutions, by shewing that these Laws and Institutions are more applicable to the circumstances of mankind, and more favourable to the advancement of human virtue and happiness, than those of any other Nation.

The basis of National prosperity is that *active support* of National Institutions, which is grounded in the attachment of the people towards those Institutions, from the actual love of them; but if the people yield merely a *passive submission* to the Government as an engine of power, they will ever be liable to be made the instruments of demagogues and theorists—the consequence of which, instead of National prosperity, will be discontent, disunion and insubordination. Such indifference towards British Institutions has, to a certain extent, existed in these Provinces, in consequence, among other causes, of an unreasonable predilection for the Institutions of a neighbouring Country, as being more conducive to human liberty and happiness. Now, if it can be clearly shewn, that such predilection is unreasonable and ill-founded, it may help to confirm the present inhabitants in their attachment to British Institutions, and to induce them to support a system for the encouragement of emigration from Great Britain: since, leaving the question of which is the better form of Government out of view, it is undeniable that impressions formed in early life, are, with great difficulty, removed—and it cannot be expected that any considerable number of persons, situated as most emigrants are, should be able to enter into a rational and philosophical

enquiry as to the abstract merits of either form of Government : such emigrants must, therefore, abide by the impressions which they have received, and this observation holds good both of those from Great Britain and from the United States—the one class of emigrants retaining their early impressions in favour of the British form of Government, and the other their impressions in favour of the Government of the United States. All, consequently, must see clearly, even from this brief view of the case, how indispensable it is, if this Province be to continue a healthy portion of the British Empire, that its population should be supplied by emigrants from the Mother Country.

It is proposed that the pamphlet should contain about 80 pages, octavo size, and that the price should be *Two Shillings and Six Pence* for each copy.

**ON THE ADVANTAGES**  
ARISING FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT  
OF THE  
**CANADA EMIGRATION ASSOCIATION.**

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The obstacles in the way of emigration have been so serious an impediment to the prosperity of the British provinces in America, that I presume it may be taken for granted all those who have it in their power to assist in the removal of these obstacles will consider it their duty to do so.

The principal circumstance which has prevented the settlement of the Crown Lands has been the distance to which emigrants settling on them must be removed from markets to which they might carry their produce, and from the advantages of society.

The reason that the emigrant purchasing Crown Lands has been thus sent far back into the wilderness in solitude has been, that the land located in the best situations, near to the older settlements and towns, and in the vicinity of roads and navigable streams, has been already taken up, and is much of it in the hands of persons who hold it in considerable quantities, and can afford to keep it in its wild state until they can obtain what they consider to be a suitable price.

These circumstances have occasioned the tide of emigration to be diverted from Canada to the United States, where emigrants have considered that they would settle themselves to greater advantage. The consequence has been that the small capitalists, artisans, and labourers, of Britain, have contributed to improve the country and add to the resources of the neighbouring republic, instead of conferring these advantages on this Province.

There is no well wisher of Canada but has lamented this untoward state of things, however hopeless he may have been of any adequate remedy being provided for what appeared so irremediable an evil. Nothing indeed but the public spirit of the land-owners themselves, grounded in the wise conviction that self-interest and the public interest are, in the end, not only compatible but identical, could have removed so serious an obstacle to the settlement of the country, since whatever may have been the good intentions of the home and provincial governments, they could not have interfered with the rights of property on the part of the land owners. It is therefore extremely gratifying to observe these individuals themselves

taking the lead in a liberal plan to ensure the settlement and improvement of their property ; a plan which cannot be less advantageous to themselves than to the public, the province, and even the empire itself ; for these provinces well managed may be one of the strongest outworks of the empire, and instead of sinking in the ocean of democracy, may form a barrier to its progress. And what is this plan ? It is the establishment of an association to facilitate the settlement and improvement of the before-mentioned property, this association being supported by private subscriptions consisting either of gifts of land or sums of money. It is proposed that those possessors of land who enter into the objects of the association, shall place land at the disposal of the association for settlement, and that they shall make a free grant of fifty acres out of every two hundred of land so placed, merely on condition that the person accepting such grant shall settle on and improve it. The objects of this association, and the mode of carrying them into effect, require only to be known in order to be approved, and I have no doubt to be generally supported ; they carry on the face of them their own recommendation so effectually that there can be little doubt they will lay the spirit of party, and that all parties will vie with each other in a generous rivalry as to which shall most efficiently contribute to forward the accomplishment of these objects. The title of the association is the "Canada Emigration Association," and it is intended to co-operate with the North American Colonization Society, previously formed in Great Britain. I beg leave now to introduce the prospectus of the Association by a perusal of which its views will be most clearly known.

"Toronto, 12th Nov. 1840.

"The Directors of the Canada Emigration Association having this day assembled, pursuant to a Resolution passed at the late General Meeting of the Friends of Emigration, deem it advisable to lay before the public the object of their Union, and the mode in which they propose that it shall be effected.

"Their object is to promote the wealth and population of the Province, by affording increased facilities to the settlement of persons emigrating from the British Isles ; more especially by removing those obstacles which have hitherto so materially impeded the introduction into this Province, and perverted into another channel, those valuable members of society upon whom our agricultural and commercial prosperity so essentially depend—the labouring farmers and artisans, without whom it is in vain to expect that the more wealthy classes of settlers will bring hither their capital. It is confidently hoped that the Society's exertions will effect a great increase of happiness to the persons intended to be primarily benefited, to be followed very soon by a proportionate advance in value of the possessions of those who, with a wise self interest, shall contribute liberally to the cause.

"It is unnecessary now to set forth the importance of colonization when judiciously directed. Its advantages are manifest ; affording

to the Parent State, a corrective to a redundant population, an extension of its commerce and a market for its manufactures : to the man with capital, who finds in a country abounding with it a difficulty in securing a profitable investment, it affords opportunities of a rapid increase without the risks of speculation ; while to the emigrant, destitute of capital—or rather possessing only that best and safest of capitals, industry and health, it has proved to thousands, a blessed change from indigence to independence ; and will so continue to all who do not ensure their disappointment by the unreasonableness of their expectations. Its advantages are equally obvious to the country which by its vast resources and natural treasures, affords a field for the enterprise of the one class, and a reward for the industry of the other.

“The Association is cheered and supported by perceiving how rapidly this conviction has lately extended throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland ; where men, the highest in rank and in wealth, judging accurately from previous results, have benevolently united themselves in Societies to enable their poorer fellow subjects to participate in the benefits of colonization : and it is mainly with a view to co-operate with those patriotic bodies, that the present Association has been formed—convinced as the members are, that, however active individual benevolence may be, its effects may be greatly increased by combination and unity of purpose. If any sanction were wanting to persons entertaining doubts of the practical good and the national importance of the subject, it will be found in the elaborate Report of the House of Commons, and in the several resolutions and earnest addresses of our Provincial Legislature.

“There never was a period in the history of the Province, when the exertions of an Association like the present could promise such happy results. Great public works have been accomplished for the facilitating of social intercourse, and the transport of commodities—works which would be deemed great in any country upon earth—the Welland, the Rideau, and other artificial navigations, connecting our inland seas with each other, and with the ocean ;—macadamized roads are intersecting the province in every direction ;—other extensive works of the same kind, together with railroads, are either in the course of construction or intended to be constructed ;—the statistics of the country and the inexhaustible capabilities of the land are become thoroughly known ; and above all the country is at peace, within and without, and men by common consent, are uniting by a laudable attention to private good, to swell the aggregate of public prosperity.

“The Executive government too is actively at work for the good of those under its protection, especially in the forming of roads and rendering some of the most fertile tracts in the country accessible for settlement. It is making preparations on a grand scale for those who choose to avail themselves of its paternal aid.—But great as is its power, and wise and benevolent as they may be who wield it, there is still a vast amount of good connected with the colonization of this

country which circumstances have rendered it impossible for the local Government to perform. It is precisely that deficiency which it is in the power of the Emigration Association to supply, if they be joined and sustained by the good sense and good feeling of the country : nay even the self-interest of individuals will, if judiciously exercised, contribute to the common good.

“An evil attendant upon the colonization of Canada, in times past, is industriously represented as still existing in its aggravated forms, by those who would deter settlers from selecting this province as their home. It is urged that nearly all the lands within the settled precincts of the province have passed into the hands of private individuals; and that the new emigrant must necessarily go far into the depths of the forest, remote from the peopled settlements; where, whatever may be the excellence of his land, he will be remote from markets, mills, or even roads or the means of procuring labour or supplies, during the first year of his residence.

“These difficulties have existed to a great and disheartening extent, sometimes so as to induce the settler to abandon his possessions. It is true also that a great proportion of the land, especially in the older surveyed Townships, comprehending the choicest locations, in the neighbourhood of roads and navigable waters, now belongs to private individuals—and it is this very fact that enables the Association to be of the most essential service. These tracts are at present unproductive to the owner, and if retained in their wild state, with the view to their owners obtaining higher prices, would interpose such a serious obstacle to the settlement of the country as might well justify the Legislature in imposing a tax upon lands kept unimproved from so selfish and narrow a policy. The Association are happy in knowing,—for many of such proprietors are among its most zealous members,—that such lands generally remain in their profitless fertility, only because the hand of man is wanting to turn them into productive cornfields and animated pastures; and that if their fellow countrymen were here to make use of them, they would be happy in giving to them portions equal to their utmost wants without money and without price;—yes—and every other aid which could tend to their future advantage. And this too without any affectation of generosity on the part of the members of the Association; for they are well aware, that, by the settlement and cultivation of a portion of their lands, the adjoining part will become better worth the purchasing by future emigrants, or by the settler himself when he shall have become prosperous.

“This system of free grants of portions of private properties scattered over the whole Province, and therefore presenting endless choice of locality, in respect to previous settlement of friends, &c., to such persons as have no money to pay, or having small means, might more beneficially to themselves and the country apply them to accelerate the improvement of the land, forms the principal feature in the scheme of the Association, by which they hope to be useful to their countrymen. But it is only one: there are cases, where not only the



poor, but even the comparatively affluent settler, has had to encounter difficulties which might well dishearten him, and even drive him to abandon his enterprise. Many members of this Association have had practical knowledge of the evils which they are now intent upon averting from others; and are desirous of giving their experience without its price. The establishment of their Registry Office for the sale of lands not devoted to the above stated object, and for supplying accurate information, statistical and otherwise, will be found of great use to such as are beyond the necessity of receiving any other kind of assistance; while in locating those who shall be disposed to accept of their land, they will carefully avoid the evil before mentioned, of sending them where they will be isolated and solitary; but under such an arrangement as will ensure to each the comforts of society while he is engaged in the first, and in all cases the most discouraging task he has to encounter,—subduing the forest.

*The practical object* of the Association is to establish in connection with the Societies in Great Britain and Ireland an effectual system, as well of direct colonization, as of aid and assistance to emigrants generally, whether rich or poor—supplying information to the one, and permanent employment or locations in land to the other. To such emigrants with families, as shall come out under the auspices or with the special recommendation of the Societies at home, it is proposed to give fifty acres each, upon condition of actual settlement and clearing a space of ten acres of the front of their locations, erecting a dwelling house, &c., for themselves, and clearing one-half of that portion of the road lying in front of the lot of which their grant forms a part. The use and possession of this land will be secured to them immediately; and after three years actual residence, and the performance of the conditions above specified, a deed in fee simple, without charge, will be given to them.

For the convenience of emigrants generally, an office will be opened in Toronto for the registration of all lands possessed by private individuals, with descriptions of the lots, concessions, townships, districts, &c., classifying the same under the several heads of lands for sale, for lease, or for free settlement under the direction of this Association; with every information connected therewith—their local peculiarities, situation in relation to roads, mills, markets, &c.; the nature of the adjacent settlements—the countries from which the settlers therein came—together with every matter, the previous knowledge of which may tend to save the applicant the labour and time of personal inspection. It is further proposed, that full abstracts of all the above matter should be placed in the hands of the different Societies in Great Britain, in order that even there some reasonably accurate information might be obtained before passing the Atlantic.

Books and subscriptions will be opened in every town and township in the province. A contribution of 20s. annually will constitute a member qualified to vote for Directors; a donation of £12 10s.

or a gift of land equivalent in value, will qualify such contributor to be elected a director.

These books will remain open at the different places and returns from time to time made to the Secretaries—and the subscribers of land will be called upon when necessary to make the proper conveyances to the trustees for the purposes of the Association.

Upon these principles and with a view to such plan, the Association earnestly call upon the inhabitants of this province to contribute in their degree, to the cause of colonization; whether by gifts of land or otherwise; in the full confidence that in proportion to the good which they shall confer upon their country, will be the benefit re-acting upon their individual prosperity.”

Here, then, every person who can subscribe the sum of twenty shillings per annum has it in his power to assist in the removal of those obstacles to emigration, which have proved so serious a drawback to the prosperity of the province.

In order to impress more particularly on the attention of my readers the most important points of the prospectus I shall recapitulate them.

First—It is the object of the association to do a service to the community which it is impossible for the government to perform, and it is for this reason that its originators now appeal to the good sense, good feeling, and self-interest of the country.

Secondly—They propose to make free grants of private property to poor persons, or, such as having small means, may apply them to accelerate the improvement of the land, and this is the most important feature of the plan.

Thirdly—A Registry Office will be established in Toronto by the association for the sale of lands not devoted to the above stated object, and for supplying accurate information, statistical and otherwise. This will be of great use in removing difficulties which the comparatively affluent settler has had to encounter. The filling up of the schedules of which blank forms have been issued, would seem to supply all the information which can possibly be required to enable an emigrant to judge of the advantages and peculiarities of any particular neighbourhood concerning which he may wish to make enquiry, and that without his being put to the expense and trouble of visiting the spot. In this way more accurate knowledge may be obtained by an emigrant concerning the relative advantages of different locations without moving from Toronto, than he could otherwise do by travelling over a great part of the province.

Hence in the language of the prospectus “the *practical object* of the Association is to establish in connection with the societies in Great Britain, and Ireland, an effectual system, as well of direct colonization, as of aid and assistance to emigrants generally, whether rich or poor—supplying information to the one, and permanent employment or locations in land to the other. To such emigrants with families, as shall come out under the auspices or with the special recommendation of the Societies at home, it is proposed to give

fifty acres each, upon condition of actual settlement, and clearing a space of ten acres in the front of their locations, erecting a dwelling-house, &c. for themselves, and clearing one half of that portion of the road lying in front of their lot of which their ground forms a part."

One reason stated why emigrants have preferred the United States to Canada is because the country there settles more regularly. When a township is commenced it is soon filled up since individuals do not hold their lands in large quantities long unoccupied. On this account it is said there are no large tracts of wild land intervening between the settler and the settled neighbourhoods. The reason why speculators do not long hold their lands in this way to the inconvenience of the public and of emigrants in particular, is that they cannot afford it, at least by the provisions of the government it is rendered not their interest to do so. This is on account of the tax which practically exists on wild lands in the possession of individuals. This is not a direct tax, but the expences with which such lands are incumbered operate indirectly as a tax on them. These expences are for the erection of school houses, and the support of schools, and for making roads, and keeping them in repair.

It appears that there have been no such stimulants to the possessors of wild lands in Canada either to provide for their being settled or to dispose of them to those who are disposed to do so, consequently the proprietors could afford to hold their lands in an unimproved state. This has, it appears, been one cause of the existence of those large tracts of unsettled lands situated in the best locations as before stated, and intervening between the Crown Lands and the old settled districts. The tax on wild land in Canada at present I understand is one penny for every five acres, or 100d. for every 500 acres annually, which is little more than nominal.

Late events however it would appear have opened the eyes of landed proprietors to the advantages of adopting a plan for the settlement of their property, and hence the admirable plan of the "Canada Emigration Association" is formed. As however it will be of little use their giving land to poor settlers who have no means of improving them, it is earnestly to be hoped that their appeal to the province for pecuniary support in this laudable undertaking will be liberally responded to, that the means may thus be supplied of supporting families on their lands till they can prepare them for yielding a support.

I understand there is every probability in the ensuing session of the Provincial Legislature that an act will be passed in reference to this subject of a beneficial character, which it is much to be desired may be done.

The settlement of the poorer class of emigrants is only a small part of the advantage which is likely to attend the success of this plan. When it is found that the country is actually filling up, (which, by the bye, it already has done far more than is generally supposed in Britain,) and that to emigrate is not to bury themselves in a wilder-

ness, people in all kinds of business, and capitalists of every grade, will be induced to make Canada their home, particularly as it has been proved by the will and act of the people themselves, in putting down a rebellion without any military aid, that the present residents are determined to continue a part of the British Empire. Thus the proposed plan will secure the residence of those whose principal object is to settle themselves to the greatest advantage, and make their money go the farthest in promoting the good of their families, as well as of those whose circumstances are such as to render them independent of such considerations, and to whom it is a more principal object to possess the advantages of cultivated society. As the latter description of emigrants should have every inducement held out to them which may contribute to render their residence in Canada and the other British Provinces agreeable, it is of consequence that post-offices should be established and well regulated in the townships as they are formed and filled up. The want of attention to this circumstance has been much complained of by such emigrants as are particularly interested about the means of correspondence with their connexions in Great Britain.

There are in Britain thousands of families of respectability and small independence, living without business, who, in order to combine the advantages of society with an economical expenditure, go to Italy, France, and other parts of Europe, who in the altered social condition which would follow the general settlement of the Province would come to Upper Canada. The towns in Canada and the other British Provinces afford very good society, and such as people with only ordinary fastidiousness may be very well pleased with. It is not however to be recommended that persons of wholly inactive habits should settle themselves in the retired parts of the country. Persons who have only small fortunes must in these situations be to some extent their own domestics, since servants soon become sufficiently independent to provide for themselves, and their hire is at all times expensive. Servants besides have in this country an impatience of restraint and an independence in their manner not at all agreeable to a person fresh from Great Britain. There is in fact nothing so much complained of by emigrants who have known the advantages in this respect existing in the old country, as the difficulty of procuring good servants. The great advantages presented to persons of small capital, as four or five hundred per annum, by a residence in the country parts of Canada, is, that it gives occasion to such activity of both body and mind as is productive of beneficial results to each. The country gentlemen in Great Britain, feeling the necessity of activity of body, seek it in field sports,—in shooting and the chase. These he may have in Canada, but the distance between the woods is too small to admit of a fox hunt excepting in a few of the older settlements. There are however no game laws, and as the country is cleared up game becomes scarce, and too little an object of interest to occasion much stimulus to action on the part of country residents. Under the circumstances of such a country settlement as is now under

consideration, attention to the cultivation of a person's own estate becomes a necessary, and, there is no reason why it should not be an agreeable occupation. The alternation of such occupation with that intellectual employment which every educated person will feel an interest in, forms a very rational mode of diversifying the monotony of a country life. The fatigue undergone, under the ordinary farming operations, is far less than that attending a day's shooting or fox hunting in Great Britain, and the science of agriculture presents so many fascinations to a cultivated understanding, that equal zest may also, one would think, be found in agricultural occupations, which occasions labour to be considered as pleasure in the instance of field sports. The bulk of the farmers in the British Provinces, as in the United States, consists of men who, in consequence of having to clear their own land, have been under the necessity of such unremitting labour, as not to have had the opportunity of cultivating their minds. They are nevertheless generally men of strong sense and correct judgement in matters relating to which their attention has been directed, and in respect to education every generation will be improving. Families emigrating from Great Britain who are previously acquainted, and settling in the same neighborhood, or locating near acquaintance who have preceded them, need forego few social advantages, and may lead a more useful and active life than they did in the Mother Country. How the lady part of the family may fancy taking their share in the practical part of the domestic establishment I will not undertake to hazard an opinion, but if their fortunes are small, and they love their families, I think from what I have observed of the enduring virtues in my countrywomen, that they will prefer the feeling of independence, with the consciousness of being thus actively instrumental to the happiness of those who possess their regard, to the feverish anxieties attending a small income in Great Britain.

The distance between the Mother Country and these colonies has been practically so much diminished by the existence of steam navigation, as for the circumstance of a long and weary voyage, which heretofore has been sufficient to prevent many persons of respectability and property from thinking of emigrating, to become scarcely an obstacle in the way of such an enterprise. How much would an influx of emigrants of this description contribute to improve the markets for agricultural produce, as well as the trade of the province, besides contributing to its social elevation.

One circumstance which prevents a more general resort to Upper Canada is the supposition that half the year is a dreary winter, whereas if it were generally known, as it will be in consequence of the filling up of the country and general intercommunication ensuing, that the climate is one of the most beautiful in the world, equal to Italy in clearness, and very far exceeding it in salubrity, and that every horticultural and agricultural production that can be raised in Britain can be grown here, and many more besides, this fact of itself would induce many to make Upper Canada their resort. 1

have met with individuals in the Province, who, in consequence of a predisposition to consumption could not live in Britain without the continual recurrence of symptoms indicating the active development of the disorder, who yet in this Province enjoyed excellent and uninterrupted health. An instance was also mentioned to me of a gentleman who had been a martyr to gout for several years in England, the complaint having assumed an inveteracy which the best plans of treatment had failed materially to alleviate, who on emigrating to Canada lost every vestige of the disorder. Some change of habits may possibly have contributed to this beneficial result, but so complete a change from apparently hopeless disease to perfect health, the most sceptical will allow to have been much contributed to by climate. The only complaint incident to the country is Ague, and that very much disappears as the timber is cleared away so that the sun can penetrate the soil, the disorder as every body knows, being owing to wet land. It is not generally understood in Britain that the severity and length of the winter is so much less in Upper than in Lower Canada, the impression concerning climate having been conveyed a good deal through the medium of those who have passed a temporary residence in the Lower Province in consequence of being officially connected with the government, whereas the western parts of the Upper Province it is here well known will produce tobacco, a plant whose cultivation is confined to very moderate climates. Independently of the assistance afforded by this association to the actual emigrant, the information which in consequence of its connection with the Colonization Society in Britain, it will be the means of spreading there respecting the actual state of this Province will be of very great service. The Colonization Society spreads its branches through every part of Great Britain, as the Emigrant Association has its branches through every part of Canada. The information therefore diffused by means of each other, must be of the most extensive benefit, and cause a greater intimacy to exist between the parent and her offspring than any other means which have existed during the period of their connexion.

Whatever may be the prospective advantages, however, of this institution, they cannot be realized unless the people of the Province combine extensively in carrying them into effect. The power and the necessity of voluntary combinations in order to secure the success of any important public object, not immediately connected with the regular administration of the government, is now generally known and acted on; and in what cause can this power be more profitably exerted than in that of Emigration! The trades and various societies of men combine in order to carry out any views they perceive to be essential to their good; what a momentous change has been effected to the advantage of mankind throughout the world by the temperance combination. Ireland is combining for repeal, (however questionable may be the advantage of this combination;) and let Canada combine for Emigration. Undertakings of that magnitude which it would appear impossible to achieve, and vain to at-

tempt, by those who do not consider the immense force of union and co-operation, are accomplished with an ease which astonishes every one when this irresistible power is fully brought into operation upon them. Every man in business may consider that the amount of any subscription, donation, or gift of land he may make for this laudable purpose will be more than repaid by the increased prosperity and business activity, which the plans of the association when carried into effect, will occasion to take place generally throughout the Province. Thus humanity, self-interest, patriotism, and all the motives which can operate to induce men to unite in forwarding any cause, combine to influence them in favour of this institution.

A most important consideration in favour of this Association to those who value the connection of these Provinces with the Mother country is that its proposed measures secure the filling up of the country with a *British* population, and the formation consequently of a Provincial nationality and feeling originating in a British nationality and feeling. The nature and importance of this nationality I shall beg leave to make some remarks on. National feeling supplies the bulk of mankind with a source of action, as it is evident that being occupied principally in obtaining a bodily support, they cannot have the opportunity of cultivating their rational faculty, and founding their sentiments concerning national, public, and private duties on such cultivation. Consequently children imbibe notions of their parents, and the parents retain strongly their early impressions. Of how much consequence then it is to the peace, order, and good government of these Provinces that the breeding of the people who are to constitute its population should have been British.

I take leave to observe at setting out that I have nothing to say against the respectable portion of our neighbours of the United States. I know many very excellent persons in that country, for whose good opinion I have a great value. There is no doubt also that on the whole they are an enterprising, industrious, and shrewd people; their convictions however on civil subjects are necessarily opposed to ours and consequently people from the United States cannot unite harmoniously with the British population in the provinces in the support of British institutions. An exception can only be made in favour of those Emigrants from the United States who settle in the British Provinces in consequence of a preference from principle of British institutions. The circumstances which occurred three years ago proved this, but the fact might have been anticipated without such practical demonstration. Their convictions on civil subjects are opposed to ours in consequence of originating in the affirmation of opposite civil principles on which civil government and the preservation of civil order, are grounded. Under the admission of opposite principles the reasonings founded on such opposite admissions must lead to opposite conclusions, and the establishment and support of opposite systems of government; and as national feeling is the love each of its own system, two sets of people with their feelings grounded on such opposite principles, reasonings, and convictions, never can unite in national harmony.

An example of my meaning will place this point in a clear light. A fundamental civil principle in which their form of government, their national convictions and feelings are grounded is—*that all the people are capable of judging in matters of state*. On this foundation universal suffrage and elective institutions are grounded.

The British constitution is founded on the denial of this proposition. It asserts that the people are not all capable of judging in matters of state. It requires previous preparation and qualification specially for all the duties of its subjects according to the nature of the duties they are to take upon themselves the discharge of; and in all those who are allowed to exercise any judgment in matters of state even so far as to choose members of one house of the legislature, the qualification which they require is the possession of a certain property. Now although this may not be a sufficient qualification for the exercise of this important power, it is far better than none. Although the possession of property does not secure that the possessor has the requisite information for making a judicious use of the elective franchise, yet it implies a great probability that the possessor has received some education and training qualifying him for the discharge of some use to society, and if public education were efficient this education and training would imply that the individual had that knowledge of the nature and extent of the social obligations hereafter considered, and which is an effectual preparation for the exercise of the elective franchise.

Now if two sets of people who are thus separated in conviction and feeling agree to act in alliance, respecting each others feelings and convictions, each allowing the other the same right of judging which they claim for themselves, they may trade together, and continue relations of amity; but if they insist on being amalgamated, and each feeling that they are right, require that the other shall conform in sentiment to them, they must quarrel. They cannot combine with that conformity and zeal with which a government in order for the country it rules to be prosperous ought to be supported. Although therefore I am a friend to international peace and justice, I am an enemy to the amalgamation of people whose convictions on public matters are grounded in opposite reasonings on the part of those who do reason, and on opposite customs, habits, breeding and authority on the part of those who do not and cannot reason.

But that portion of the members of a community whose convictions on civil subjects are grounded on rational consideration & instruction, are few in comparison with the whole body of the people. Those rationally grounded in the civil principles, whether they be truths or errors, on which national institutions are grounded, are the endowed part of the community. By being rationally grounded in such principles is meant that such persons are capable of reasoning upon, confirming, and making it appear that they are true.

The uninformed portion of the community must take the opinions of the endowed part upon trust, and on the avidity and zeal with which they receive these opinions depend the patriotism, loyalty, or



whatever the character of the national feeling may be, and the zeal with which they support the institutions framed on the principles thus inculcated. To be informed that they are wise and intelligent and that none are their superiors is so delicious a morsel to the innate self-love of men that such a maxim coming recommended from those they respect, there is no doubt of its being greedily swallowed. Now truths are not generally so flattering to the self-love of men, and consequently are not eagerly received, the mind requiring to be disciplined and prepared for their reception; and when errors become confirmed in the mind, wrought into convictions, and incorporated with the feelings according to which the will acts, they render that mind inaccessible to the reception of truth. Hence the very circumstance of certain maxims being readily received and spread amongst men may occasion us to be sceptical respecting the validity of their foundation.

We see then the importance that the civil principles on which the institutions necessary to social order are grounded should be truths and not errors. All national feeling, inasmuch as the bulk of the people in a nation, from the causes already mentioned, are incapable of having their convictions on civil subjects grounded in a cultivated reason, partakes more or less of prejudice. Prejudice may be in conformity with, or it may be opposed to, moral and civil truth; in the former case it is harmless and may be more properly termed ignorance; in the latter case it is full of the most mischievous consequences to society in both a civil and moral view. Prejudice instead of being grounded in reason, originates in authority, custom, habit and breeding up; all therefore must be the subjects of prejudice before they can be the subjects of reason and truth. But those under the influence of prejudice should be governed, and those under the influence of reason and truth should govern. If their situations be reversed prejudice occasions shipwreck to the social system.

Prejudice may, however, exist to a considerable extent under the British form of Government without danger to civil order, since the British constitution is not founded on an acknowledgment of the wisdom of all the people. But as the constitution of the United States is founded on such admission, the presence of such prejudice as they both theoretically and practically deny to exist, is fatal to the reasonableness and probable stability of their institutions.

We find accordingly that the system of government built on the adoption of those fundamental civil principles is inconsistent with the vigorous and effective execution of the laws. The want of confidence in the good intentions and wisdom of the government is such that a physical force sufficient for the preservation of civil order, and to provide against foreign aggression, is not allowed lest it should be turned against the liberties of the nation. In a nation like the United States, the extent of whose territory would render it almost untenable by a foreign enemy, and the paucity of whose population in proportion to extent of territory, occasions the means of subsistence to be at present easily procured, the evils originating in such

causes are not so much felt as they would be under contrary circumstances ; nor is the lax and ineffective execution of the law so immediately productive of a state of anarchy. But the evil tendency of this state of things is sufficiently obvious, and has been experienced both in respect to insubordination in their army, which occurred previous to the battle of Queenston, and in the inability of the civil authorities in their cities to carry into effect laws for the general benefit in respect to moral and civil order, but obnoxious to the interests or feelings of a considerable number of citizens. More is said on this point in considering the subject next following, namely, the importance that the moral principles adopted by a government and people should be truths and not errors.

If it be important that the civil principles on which the institutions necessary to social order be grounded should be truths and not errors, it is yet far more so that the moral principles recognized by governments and people, should be truths and not errors.

But so much confusion has arisen amongst men from not, in their reasonings, having the same meaning conveyed to each other by the use of terms, that no ground can possibly be gained in the elucidation of moral and civil truth without a writer be assured that his readers attach the same meaning to the words used by him as he does himself. Now as with respect to the word truth, there is this latitude of meaning, I must solicit the attention of my reader while explaining what I understand by it. I have already given an example of a fundamental *civil* principle ; and I will now offer an example of a fundamental *moral* principle. By a fundamental principle is meant one which is made the basis of reasoning—it has been reduced as far as the reason of man can penetrate—and as it cannot be proved must be taken for granted. It is because men cannot agree respecting these moral axioms, or fundamental principles, which are truth & which are errors, that there is so wide a difference on moral, civil, and political subjects.

The example I will give of a fundamental moral truth is—*that man is born to eternal life*. This is a truth which cannot be proved by reasoning, we therefore take it for granted on the authority of divine revelation. This divine truth is also so much an axiom of morals that an individual who does not admit it has no *true* morality at all. Of such a person we can have no moral hold—no true dependence for the discharge of a single responsibility against which powerful human motives may be brought to bear. Since there is no true hold on a subject or citizen, for the faithful discharge of his civil duties excepting moral principle, when interest, inclination, passion, and perhaps all these combined assailed him on the contrary side, the civil law depends on the moral law.

One effect of the non-recognition of the fundamental moral truths in a community is that you cannot bind a man even by his oath, if a prospect of great gain, with probable secrecy, militate against its observance ; a moral delinquency which shakes the very foundations of justice and society of course. That the moral and civil obligations

are grounded on the admission of divine truth, cannot more clearly appear. Without the admission of fundamental moral truths, the honesty of men in the transactions of common and other business can no further be depended on, than so far as the danger which they incur from the detection of fraud is greater than the advantage they propose to obtain by its success. However lightly such want of principle, may be regarded in the world, it is certain that if a laxity of morals in this respect be really a distinguishing feature in a community, it is a very certain sign that such a community is entirely unfit for a great extent of civil privileges; for in proportion that voluntary order does not exist in a country, order by coercion must. It is much better therefore that this coercive sort of civil order should be existent to a sufficient extent in a nation, rather than that its imposition should be necessary after a convulsion. Since prejudices as before mentioned must exist in every community, it is of the greatest consequence that these prejudices should be such as are consistent with truth and justice instead of being opposed to them.

Where the prejudices of a nation are of this kind they are comparatively harmless, not being incompatible with moral discipline; and prejudices are generally of such a kind with those who have been brought up in a country where the civil law is faithfully executed as it is in Great Britain. But I would appeal to any unprejudiced person, if such can be found, whether this is likely to be the case in a country where the most rationally informed portion of the community have to appeal to the more numerous and prejudiced portion, as a tribunal to decide as to the proper way in which they have discharged their duties. This is about as reasonable as for a parent to appeal to his children for them to decide whether they approve of the manner in which he has discharged his duty to them. Like the children in a private family, are not the children of the state likely to become spoiled by such irrational indulgence, and rendered incapable of submitting to any discipline whatever, however wholesome. We accordingly find that this impatience of moral and civil restraint does exist in the United States. The insecurity of life and property in some parts of the republic is too well known to require more than alluding to. And, in the best governed states, fraud in matters of business is so tolerated by public opinion and feeling, that he who makes the neatest shave, instead of being scouted from society, is considered the smartest man; instances of which are also too numerous for the fact to be at all questionable.

I have ever despised the conduct of those critical travellers, who have thrown ridicule on the people now alluded to, on account of their differing about unimportant matters of manner, custom, and, what these observers choose to consider, matters of refinement. But this is a very different case from the flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of social order.

If their public morality be unsound, their boasted institutions, set up as a pattern for the world, will prove a failure, and their history will be a beacon to warn mankind from pursuing a similar course,

rather than an example to entice them to follow. A wise people cannot be angry at having the justness of their pretensions searched into, but will rather thank the hand which makes a wholesome, if it be a painful use of the probe.

While the condition of mankind is such as not to admit of greater public consistency, prudent councils will dictate that the democratic principle should be guarded against rather than extended. It has already sufficient scope for trial as a great experiment, and wisely has Canada decided to continue under the wing of an Empire, where the bonds of civil order are sustained by a system of government more adapted to the imperfect condition of mankind.

It is an additional inducement, then, for filling up these Provinces with a British population that the national feeling, and its accompanying prejudice, has been attended with that discipline which disposes people to admit and obey the obligations of moral and civil truth.

I shall now shew, first, that the British constitution is grounded in the acknowledgment of moral and civil truth, and therefore that it is worthy of the attachment of the people living under it : and, secondly, I shall consider the peculiarity in the moral and civil condition of the British provinces in America, and make it appear that this peculiarity is one which admits of a new and improved state of society.

#### I. THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION IS GROUNDED IN THE ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF MORAL & CIVIL TRUTH, OR WISDOM.

After considering the machinery and administration of the constitution, I shall state the evidences that it is grounded as I have asserted.

##### *The Executive Department of the Civil Government.*

The civil Governors are those who have been instructed in the particular duty of managing the public affairs, the nation, by administering the civil law, according to the constitution ; and by altering and amending the laws, or framing new ones, as the case may be.

The business of those who are concerned in administering the civil law according to the constitution constitutes the executive department of the Government. The head of this department is the Sovereign, who governs by means of the officers, in the various departments of the public service, whom he appoints. Sufficient power for this purpose has been invested in the Crown by the constitution. But as the expenses incurred in carrying on the government have to be paid by the people, a large portion of the people have also some hand in this business, and the constitution recognizes the necessity of having their consent to the measures of the administration, as expressed through their representatives in the Legislature.

The influence of the people through the Legislature is recognized then, first, in concurring with the Sovereign and his servants in ex-

ecuting the laws according to the constitution, and in furnishing the means of this being done; Secondly, in altering the laws and framing new ones, and thus rendering the constitution applicable to the varying circumstances of the country: and, thirdly, in watching over the mode in which the servants of the Crown discharge their duty.

This concurrence, approval, and union of the Crown and the people is the working of the constitution:—the framing and amending of the laws is supposed to have been done; & the good conduct of the servants of the Crown to have been secured.

We now look at the constitution as alive, active, and at work, and we recognize loyalty to the Crown as the rallying point of national union. The Crown and the people constitute one body politic, and all executive influence by whatever officers exercised is constitutionally derived from and belongs to the Crown. To this executive influence every subject is indebted for the preservation of every privilege conferred by civil government.

It will be observed that the Executive and Legislative departments of the government are inseparable. It is not for the people through the Houses of the Legislature to frame and alter laws, and for the Sovereign to administer them, but Legislation, and administration of the Law, is a joint business on the part of the three estates of the constitution; the strictly practical part of the executive department of the constitution belonging to the Sovereign alone;—the framing and altering of the laws having been done, and the expenses of their administration having been provided for, by the joint action of the three estates.

The Executive Department of the government is divided into the administrative, and the judicial departments. The judicial department is again divided into, first, the adjudication of causes coming strictly under the denomination of civil, as opposed to criminal causes; and secondly, the deciding of criminal causes.

The administrative portion of the executive duties relates to a variety of matters of the greatest importance to the welfare of the community. To the collection of the revenue of the country, and its distribution in the payment of the officers who do the work of the state in its various departments, in the support of the army, the navy, &c. &c.

#### *Legislative Department of the Civil Government.*

The framing and altering of the laws, and providing for the expenses of administering the Government constitute the Legislative department of the three estates of the constitution. The approval of the Legislature is also a constitutional test of the qualification of the servants of the Crown for discharging their duties. All money bills must originate in the lower house of the Legislature.

The Legislature consists, in a general sense, first, of those servants of the Crown who constitute the heads of departments; secondly, of those members in both houses who approve of their ad-

administration ; and thirdly, of those who oppose that administration.

If the legislative measures which the servants of the Crown propose, or in which they concur, do not meet with the approval of a majority in the two houses, they have to acknowledge to their Sovereign their incompetence to fulfil the trust confided to them. The servants of the Crown are thus under the necessity of submitting their competence for filling the places which they occupy to the investigation of the members of the Legislature ; and if their qualifications will not bear such investigation, both as to capacity and integrity, the Crown requires them to give way to those who can furnish the necessary proofs of such qualification, and in the required and constitutional way.

To secure the competence and honesty of the servants of the Crown, we have then, first, the keen watching of their competitors for power in the Legislature, whose feelings, both of interest and ambition, are strongly engaged in proving the disqualification of the members of the administration for their places ;—secondly, the judgment of the independent members ;—thirdly, the discretions of the Crown ; fourthly, the intelligence of the people through the public press. Thus the people have a double bearing on the Executive and Legislative departments of the government, namely, by their members in the Legislature, and through the press.

It will not be without interest to consider more particularly the provisions made by the constitution for securing that the servants of the Crown discharge their duty, or, in other words, that the constitution and the law are administered by competent and honest persons.

*First.*—The Sovereign merely administers the law according to the Constitution.

This provision prevents the abuse of the extensive powers committed to the Sovereign by the Constitution.

I beg leave to notice a distinction existing between the constitutional head of the British government and that of the United States. The Sovereign of Great Britain is not obliged to appeal to the national feeling of all the people, with its accompanying prejudice as a tribunal to decide on his qualifications for governing. It is on account of the incapacity of the mass of the people to judge of these qualifications, that the constitution has invested the Sovereign with authority over the people, as the head of that constitution. The national feeling of the people is rather derived from regard to the Crown as the head of the constitution, both on the part of those having the rational, and the natural, attachment to the constitution hereafter noticed. The loyalty of the former is grounded in the conviction that a head, or a point of national union, is indispensable to the preservation of order, and the loyalty of the latter is a feeling derived from the influence stated, in considering the character of a natural attachment to the constitution in those persons who have not an opportunity of forming a rational attachment.

*Secondly.*—The part which every servant of the Crown takes in

the administration of the government is precisely stated, and no room is left for the exercise of discretionary power.

*Thirdly.*—A qualification is required for the exercise of the elective franchise, although this qualification, in the present extended state of the elective franchise in Great Britain, is probably insufficient.

The elective franchise is not a natural right, as man, naturally, is only recognized as making a provision for himself and those whom he naturally regards. It is a right conferred by the constitution *alone*, and hence it is a duty as well as a right; it therefore requires instruction and preparation for its exercise. It is a privilege not to be employed for private interest, but for the public and national interest, its constitutional discharge therefore implies a knowledge of the nature and extent of the social obligations hereafter considered.

*Fourthly.*—The competition of the ablest men for offices of public usefulness is secured by such situations having attached to them those rewards and emoluments which people very probably have in view in following any business.

It should be made to the interests of men to serve their country—their duty and interest should go together. If well paid, and well kept, their hearts will be in their work, and they will not be scheming after personal advantage by other means. Their condition should be one of gratified ambition, and yet their activity should be kept alive by the hope of further degrees of advancement. A strict account of the manner in which they discharge their duties should be required, and their honesty and ability being secured, they should receive every support and encouragement from the Sovereign and the people.

*Fifthly.*—There are such privileged classes in the community as furnish men able, as well as willing, to undertake offices of extensive public utility from a sense of honour more than gain.

The privileged class now referred to is that which constitutes a distinct order of men in the nation, namely, the Peerage. From them civil privileges descend. There is beside in every community a certain standard of class and privilege, although the gradations in this standard are numerous. This standard does not consist of property, although property is necessary to it, as a certain possession of property is requisite for that education, and cultivation of taste, by which the privileged classes in society are distinguished—or rather may be distinguished, for these privileges, like other good things, admit of being grievously abused. That however is no argument against their use and advantage. This which constitutes a privilege depends entirely on what an individual has been used to. That which is superior to what in his station of life he has been accustomed to look forward to, or equal to this, is a privilege.

*Sixthly.*—The manner in which public duties are discharged is liable to be called in question in the Legislature, especially by those who are interested in watching the conduct of public officers as their rivals.

On this head I refer to what has been said on the subject of the Legislature.

*Seventhly.*—The mode in which the obligations of public men to the state are discharged is liable to the animadversion of the press.

One excellence of the British constitution is, that in consequence of its excellent provisions for the support of civil order, that discussion on civil subjects originating in constitutional freedom may safely be permitted. The press like all other good things admits of *abuse* as well as *use*; and it is the duty of the well principled and intelligent part of the community to take care, by their vigilance and prudence in contributing to, and supporting the press, that the same vigilance on the part of *well informed, but unprincipled men* be counteracted. The days are come when governments must depend for their support on being based upon principles of truth and justice, and making it known also that they are so based. Every sensible man who has a stake in the country is interested in this matter, and should exert himself either by means of his purse or his pen in counteracting the influence of those persons who, on the one hand, substituting human reason for truth, or, on the other hand, perverting truth by superstition, are disseminating false principles amongst the people, and thus preventing the removal of prejudice, and the establishment of moral and civil truth, the object of which is the happiness of the human race. When the manner in which the duties of public men is open to examination and discussion, there is no necessity for those mean safeguards of their honesty, which exist in governments framed on the basis of denying that confidence and power to public men necessary to the effective execution of the laws.

*Eighthly.*—The unity, vigour, and concert of all the departments of the public service is secured by the Crown having the appointment of public officers.

The crown being above all parties, and free from the animosities and passions of parties, is the only safe depository of this power. The offices in the various departments of the public service are to be considered in the double capacity of honours and rewards for services previously done, and of situations in which their incumbents discharge important uses to the community.

It is of the utmost importance that this function of filling up public situations should be exercised by a power who is invested with a controul over the opposing parties in the state, otherwise party spirit, and combination for the support of party interests and power, would be the ruling motives in such appointments. The violence of parties in their contentions for power, and for securing their opposite interests, would also break out into open hostility, the heated feelings attending these contentions occasioning insult and injury on one part and resentment and recrimination on the other. The injured or insulted party becomes the aggressor, and in the fierceness of the animosity thus excited and kept up the opposing parties would stick at nothing to effect their purposes; the question would be therefore which could obtain the greatest number of partizans by any means



that could be employed. Hence their object would be to excite the popular feeling and prejudice, and turn them to their own advantage. This we find is the case at present with cunning politicians who, availing themselves of the ignorance of the people endeavour to excite them against the administration of the government by raising feelings of dissatisfaction, and then pretending to be humble servants of the people as their instruments, in removing the causes of their discontent. Where the appointment of officers is not vested in a power having such authority over parties, all that candidates for office have to consider is the means of acting on public opinion and popular prejudices, and even raising up prejudices if necessary to their success.

*Ninthly.*—The Power of the Crown to be sufficient for the purpose just considered is sustained by the gradually decreasing degrees of station and power, existing in the Peerage and other orders of the community.

The necessity for distinctions in society and gradations in rank, has been already considered, and where large masses of men are gathered into a small compass, it is indispensable that those entrusted with situations of great responsibility should have a strong interest in the preservation of civil order, otherwise, in the strife for power, and in the recklessness of wounded ambition, or in order to prevent the ascendancy of a rival, leading men might make such use of their influence as to expose the community to perpetual commotion, as we observe is the case where the relations of society are unsettled.

Unless the power of the Crown over all were sustained by a body of men having such an interest, its power would be little more than pageantry, and its honours and bounties would be too little regarded to afford stimulants to useful action.

Having given an outline of the machinery and administration of the British constitution, I shall next consider the evidences that it is grounded in wisdom, or moral truth.

*On the Evidence that the British Constitution is grounded in moral and civil truth, or in wisdom.*

The general evidence of this fact is the co-existence of civil order and constitutional freedom. The particular evidences are comprised in, and make up the general evidence. The particular evidences are the means by which the co-existence of civil order and constitutional freedom are effected. These means are :—

*First.*—The measures taken to secure the competence and honesty of the public servants before treated of.

*Secondly.*—The influence exerted on property by the wisdom existing in, and operative by, the constitution; the right to which property, on the part of individuals, is secured by the civil law. This influence is, that it renders property subservient to *Use*. Property is rendered subservient to use, first, by the protection and encourage-

ment given by the government to commerce, and secondly, by awarding honours and rewards according to the principle of *Use*.

*Thirdly.*—The third evidence, or means by which the co-existence of civil order and constitutional freedom is effected, consists of the measures taken for securing a rational attachment to the constitution on the part of those capable of such an attachment; and a natural attachment on the part of those who are incapable of the former.

The first particular evidence has already been considered.

The two divisions of the second evidence, namely, that wisdom renders property subservient to *Use*, first, by means of commerce, and, secondly, by awarding honours and rewards according to *Use*, I shall treat of separately.

*On the effect of commerce in rendering property subservient to Use.*

Commerce occasions the supply of the commodities which constitute property to be according to demand.

To the prosecution of commerce an acknowledgment of the right of property is indispensable.

The right of property is based on exchange; and exchange is based on the condition of man's Being, as a social creature. This condition is that men should co-operate in contributing towards each other's support and happiness; thus that the productions and matters which constitute property should be made subservient to the general good.

The acknowledgment of the right of property requires that there should be a standard of value—of the relative value of the different commodities which constitute property with reference to each other. The production and supply of these commodities being regulated by the demand, demand is the actual standard of value; and the means by which the production and supply of commodities is rendered according to demand is capital, or money, a certain portion of which represents the demand for, or relative value of, a particular commodity. This therefore is tendered by the person demanding, and is an evidence of his social right to be supplied. It is a sign that he acknowledges, and is acknowledged, by the social compact.

To the recognition of a standard of value, and its representative, money, the effects of which recognition are so important, (important as necessary to the right of property, and to render commerce subservient to the general good, in accordance with the condition of man's being in society,) an organized constitution of society is necessary, under which alone can the agreement of men take place to acknowledge this representative of value. The right of property is then a social, and not an individual right; that is to say, it justly belongs to an individual, only as a member of some constituted, or organized form of society; and it is owing to an individual acknowledgment of, and recognition by, some such constitution or organi-

zation of society, that he derives all his rights and privileges—that of property amongst others. The possession of the representative of value by which property is rendered available to commerce, and to social purposes, is an evidence, as just said, of his social right for the supply of his wants or wishes. Money, then, being the sign that a man is entitled to constitutional rights and privileges, may be said to belong to the constitution of a nation, and accordingly the government of a country regulates the matters relating to the circulation and interest of money, and the Crown has the supervision of its coining.

If it were not for the effect of an acknowledged representative of a standard of value in regulating the demand and supply of the commodities which constitute property, *exchange would be arbitrary*. A man with an abundance of commodities he did not himself want would give them for a gewgaw whose value existed only in his own estimation and fancy, as occurs when barbarous nations trade with civilized people.

The effect of circumstances interfering with the organization of society on the right of property and money, is seen in the effects of war, or famine, when a person would give any amount of money or property for a little provisions; or, like Richard at the battle of Bosworth field, who would have given his "kingdom for a horse." This shows the absolute and most important distinction existing between the real, and the representative, standard of value.

Although these considerations show the wisdom of an acknowledgment of the right of property, yet the true foundation of this acknowledgment is the authority of divine revelation, and the acknowledgment of such authority by the civil constitution of a nation.

I have been thus particular in considering the nature of the right of property, in consequence of its acknowledgment being a fundamental truth, both moral and civil. I now proceed with the subject of commerce.

Commerce diffuses that property which, in a half civilized state of society, it is necessary, for the sake of preserving civil order, to confine to a small number of the persons in a community. Commerce therefore renders a greater number of persons in a country capable of that freedom and happiness to which a certain possession of property is necessary. Commerce, when it is carried on according to principles of justice, is both a cause, and an effect, of an increased degree of civilization in a community. It is carried on according to principles of justice, when it is exercised for its own sake principally, and only secondarily for the love of gain. In itself it is of the highest value to society, since by causing the production and supply of the commodities necessary to human support and happiness to be in proportion to demand, it renders them subservient to that support and happiness. It does this, not in respect to a part only of any community, but in respect to the whole. And by the application of this observation to the intercourse between nations, commerce has regard to the welfare of the whole human race. It is com-

ductive to freedom in the most extended sense, because it tends to secure the good of each person, and body of persons, in the way they most value and demand.

As capital is the property of organized society, so credit shews the confidence of society. Credit implies that the person in possession of it has some claim on society—has been inaugurated into the constitution, and is mutually recognized by it. Such a claim on society is, that an individual has been led into some Use, by the breeding, habit, and instruction, hereafter noticed. Thus credit is towards Use, not towards the individual as a mere *self*. Use is in this way recognized as the social principle—the principle of social union—of the love of neighbour. The regularity of value, then, and the existence and safety of credit, depend on the practical acknowledgment of the principle of Use in a community.

*On awarding Honours and Rewards, according to the principle of Use.*

The bonds of social order in a community, consist of its civil institutions and laws, its morals, its public opinion, its customs and manners, and its religious sentiments. By an examination of these, therefore, it is that we must judge of the degree in which the principles of moral truth are recognized and acted on, in a nation. A nation which has made, or is to make, considerable advances in this respect, must have provision made for the development of mind amongst its people. As this development must be the result of voluntary action on the part of the people, its encouragement is quite a different matter from the preservation of civil order. They however mutually aid each other, as those advantages which exist under civil distinctions, when they are bestowed according to abilities, acquirements, and the capacity of unusual degrees of usefulness, operate as incitements to the members of society to qualify themselves for obtaining such advantages. In a nation where there exist such civil distinctions in society, in conjunction with the advantages of commerce, that general diffusion of wealth ensues which prevents one class of persons from being in servile dependence on another; the enterprize, emulation, and free exercise of opinion, necessary to mental development, existing at the same time. Civil distinctions and a strong government thus become subservient to the security of the rights of the subject instead of to their subversion, and at the same time the freedom which is the result of the subject having something to preserve, sustains the enterprize and emulation before mentioned as encouraged by civil distinctions. Mankind are thus stimulated voluntarily to advance in moral and intellectual improvement. To these circumstances is no doubt owing the high standing as to national power and influence which Great Britain holds amongst the nations of the world, as well as the exertion of that power in favour of the liberties and happiness of mankind. The position which she holds as protectress of rational liberty over the whole world, between the despotism of the old world, and the dem-

ocratic licentiousness of a large portion of the new world, is indeed an enviable one.

The British government by acknowledging the principle of use in its distribution of honours and rewards, co-operates with the voluntary moral principle existing in the nation, in giving the passions and affections of the various ranks of the people, as the love of fame, of power, and of wealth, a direction in support of instead of in opposition to civil order ; thus converting individual ambition to the true use for which it was intended.

The manner in which this principle is acknowledged I shall exemplify by the mode in which the Peerage is conferred, having already said much concerning the filling up of the various departments of the public service with competent and honest men.

In the first place, this body has nothing to do with the election of its own members, thus obviating one of the greatest sources of corruption in public bodies. This power is vested in the Crown, which alone is qualified for its exercise, for the same reason that it alone is qualified for choosing the officers filling the various departments of the public service. The individuals chosen for this honour are generally those who have been first of all promoted by the people themselves to represent their interests in their own branch of the Legislature, and who have also filled other offices of great public utility. Hence this establishment presents a most useful stimulus to the exertion of talent and ability on the part of individuals filling every branch of the public service, by calling beneficially into play those powerful feelings of the human heart already mentioned as constituting ambition.

The business of the Peers thus chosen and invested with a higher degree of civil honour, and greater power of usefulness, than their fellow subjects, is to co-operate with the direct representatives of the people in the government of the nation ; and the utility of such a body of men, with their stake in the country, and their unity of interest, cannot be questioned, in giving vigour to those national movements having so important a bearing on those of the whole world as have those of Great Britain. Unity of interest would render them unsafe holders of power if they were the only ruling body, & an oligarchy has always been the most corrupt of governments ; but having to reciprocate and unite their interests with those of the people at large, with the intervention & supremacy of the Crown, this unity is advantageous.

Not the least important use of the Peers to the State is that out of their body is formed the head of a respectable opposition to the measures of the administration, whose principal motive in questioning the propriety of measures proposed, their own interests require should be the constitutional good of the country.

Besides this use of the Peerage, their service as able patrons and supporters of every institution for the promotion of science, the arts, literature, and in numerous other ways to benefit the social condition of the country, cannot be doubted.

Now looking upon the order of the nobility as constituting the

mountains of civil order in a nation, there is a regular succession of minor degrees, answering to the hills of various elevation. These consist not only of such as are based in law, but in custom and usage, and which are in a great measure voluntarily acknowledged by the members of society, for the sake of regulating precedence, and to keep the presumptuous and self-willed, who refuse to pay that deference to society which an observance of its usages implies, in due order, and thus to contribute to the happiness of society instead of acting as a restraint on this happiness. These minor degrees of elevation in the civil land are so many centres presenting stimuli to exertion and activity on the part of those respectively within the sphere of their influence.

The same principle of awarding posts of honour and extensive utility to those who have shown a capacity for them in the public service is becoming more and more recognized in every public department, excepting in those where elevation in rotation is to a certain extent indispensable. This is the case in the naval and military services, and even here high degrees of merit occasion this mechanical order to be broken through. Influence and interest are much spoken of as bearing on promotion in these services; but when the importance of having their officers bound by every kind of tie to the support of the existing institutions is considered, and that it is the duty of a soldier to act according to the direction of the civil authority and not to reason about it, such expedients are by no means inadmissible in a secondary way.

The mode in which promotion takes place in the judiciary is also eminently qualified to stimulate to action and elicit talent.

The love of distinction, or honour and reward, is the love of power, of fame, and of property, with their various modifications. These are in themselves evil loves, since they imply the love of man for the sake of the external things constituting property, not the love of property for the sake of man.

When the loves of power, of wealth, and of fame, are subservient to the love of man, or *to use*, they are good loves, and are a *necessary means of effecting uses*.

The loves of power, of fame, and of wealth, are in such subservience when distinction and rewards are distributed according to Use in a community; when the pursuit of them is in consonance with honour on the part of individuals; and when commerce is carried on according to Justice. The loves of power, wealth, and fame, are then conquered, or recovered, from the principle of evil, or self love, to the principle of Use. They are then enlisted in the service of Use, and are used in counteracting the influence of the principle which they before helped to constitute.

In treating of good, or use, in its highest sense, we have no reference to the principle of evil, and the reclaiming and conquest of the loves mentioned is supposed to have taken place. Reference is had to one kingdom only. Let a man beware how he lives in a half conquered country. A kingdom divided against itself cannot but

fall. The Israelites were commanded utterly to root out the Canaanites. The destruction of the original inhabitants of Canaan was representative of what spiritually takes place in man's course from ignorance to wisdom; and the importance of natural representations of spiritual things can only be known by a reference to the spiritual sense of the Sacred Writings.

Situations of extensive public utility being at the same time honours and rewards of previous services, and merit, the public good, or the working of the constitution, and the distribution of honours and rewards according to the principle of Use, are seen to be identified.

III. On the means which are taken in order to secure a rational attachment to the constitution on the part of those capable of such an attachment, and to secure a natural attachment on the part of those who are incapable of the former.

First—On the means of securing a rational attachment.

For a person to entertain an attachment to the Constitution because it is grounded in wisdom, he must know what wisdom is. Moral and civil truth constitute wisdom. Wisdom is a principle: Use is an act—wisdom in act. Use therefore is wisdom, but wisdom is not Use. Use is the voluntary discharge of the social obligations. The social obligations arise out of the social relations which are as follow.

II. The social relations are :—

First.—The private relations, which include those subsisting between individuals of the same family, as between father and son, mother and daughter, between brothers, brother and sister, husband and wife, and so on. They also include the relationships produced by the inter-marriages of families, and the relations of friendship subsisting voluntarily between individuals.

Secondly.—The public relations. These may be divided into the less public relations and the more public relations.

The less public relations are those which people enter into in the prosecution of their particular business, or use to society; namely, that of the merchant, the farmer, the lawyer, the physician, the divine, the soldier, the mechanic, &c.

The more public relations involve what are in a particular sense, understood as public duties. Such are those of magistrates, and of all officers concerned in executing the law, and filling the various departments of the public service. They may, or may not, constitute a person's particular calling.

Thirdly. The national relations, in which originate the obligations which every man owes to the state in which he lives, and by the laws of which he is protected; such are the payment of duties and taxes levied for the service of the community; and the exercise of the elective franchise.

*Of the National Relations of Social Order.*

The national relations have already been partly considered in treating of the machinery and administration of the Constitution. The nature of the elective franchise was particularly considered then; and all who are aware of the inestimable advantages conferred on the individual members of society by the constitution, will acknowledge the obligation of supporting its administration by freely paying their share of the expenses incurred by that administration. One of the means stated of ensuring the working of the constitution, was that situations of public usefulness should secure the competition of able men for their possession, by affording those emoluments which people very properly have in view in following any business; and another reason why those in public situations should receive such emoluments is, that they may not be diverted from their public duties by scheming after other means of obtaining personal advantages.

Another reason for the ready discharge of this national obligation is the necessity of sustaining the physical force of the empire, since whatever the benefits of the constitution may be they are secured, by this force, equally from internal commotion and foreign aggression. By the physical force of the country of course is meant the army, navy, and police establishments. Many other reasons for the discharge of this duty will suggest themselves to the mind of the reader which I have not space to enumerate.

*Of the Public Relations of Social Order.*

The more public relations, including the duties of public men, have also been considered in treating of the machinery and administration of the constitution.

The less public relations, those, namely, which are connected with the discharge of a person's particular business, or use to society, I beg to make a few remarks on.

By means of this use, or business, each person provides himself, and his family, with food, clothing, and habitation.

It is the conjunct uses of the members making up a community that constitutes the good of the community. A man, in having submitted to instruction and discipline in learning his use, has given up himself, and his own proper objects naturally belonging to him as an individual, to society; and, in consequence of this, he receives a recompense from society in the discharge of his use, office, or business. All men having so given themselves up to society, and discharging their uses with truth, honesty, and honour, moral order and harmony is the result.

The recompense, or reward of a man's use, is according to its degree in the estimation of society, or else according to the balances in his favour in the exchanges of commerce. According to the degree, and reward of his use, and consequent property, (for proper-



ty is partly consequent on this) is to a great extent the way in which he provides the requisites of food, clothing, and habitation, for himself and his family, as to the quality and value of these requisites ; and hence is to a certain extent, the external quality of the family in the estimation of the world. But the considerations which regulate this external condition of families are partly property, partly rank, partly mental endowments, and partly moral principle. This payment of a man's degree of use is his recognition by the constitution, or rather, by the constitutional wisdom. It is altogether social, and the result of social union, order and organization. The individual having united himself with society for the common good, is recognized as a social, or constitutional being, quite a new being from what he was, as an individual, before installing by breeding, habit, and instruction into the social compact. A man is therefore not only permitted, but required, to live according to the degree of his use, consequently according to the standing, property, &c. which is acquired by that use.

The discharge of a man's particular use, if it have been selected judiciously, and according to his particular talent, genius, and abilities, is also, in itself, a source of satisfaction to him as well as a duty to society. Here the happiness of the individual, and the social good are identified, shewing the wisdom and beneficence of the author of society.

#### *Of the Private Relations of Social Order.*

The private relations are those of consanguinity, friendship, and acquaintance.

In that degree of association which constitutes acquaintance, all that is necessary is, that each party should have the good of the whole in view, and this is to a sufficient extent, secured by fair dealing between those concerned together in business, and the possession of a fair reputation. In this respect we observe the utility of money as a medium of the change of men from regarding an individual, and selfish end alone, to that condition in which they regard a social end ; that is, their own good, and that of society, as one. A sufficient indication of such fair dealing is that a person has that prudence by which he is enabled to make both ends meet, pay for what he has, and sustain a fair character. But as there are, in the state of the world as composed of good, bad, and indifferent characters, many instances in which the most prudent persons may be frustrated in the best devised, and best executed plans of worldly prudence, exceptions are of course to be made to this rule.

As the degrees of intimacy advance, it is requisite that there should be some similarity in the degree of Use. As before observed, it is provided for the good of society that every man should love, and attend to, and make his happiness in his own business principally, as his particular business is his Use to the community. Now a man whose particular business, and consequent habit of thinking, is

about the relations existing between the various interests of the different bodies of men in the community, and the relation of the whole to the empire at large, thus a statesman—and a man whose mind is principally occupied in attending to a business which requires his habit of thinking to be confined to the relation of himself and family to his customers, or of a servant to his master, can have nothing in common, excepting that general good feeling which should exist between all the members of a community, and which is not attended by particular interest regarding each other.

Some similarity in the degree and extent of men's use then is requisite in intimate friendship, not for the sake of form, but for the sake of freedom from form; in order to secure that perfect freedom of choice which men have an opportunity of exercising under those useful inequalities which the preservation of civil order requires. Friendship can only subsist between those who are mutually free, and originates in the appreciation of each other's talents, advantages, intentions, and tastes; although it admits of, and may be benefited by, some dissimilarity of opinion. Some similarity in degree of Use, and of the standing, property and appearance in the world resulting from it, is therefore necessary to that conjunction of esteem and personal regard which constitutes friendship.

It was observed, in speaking of acquaintance, that a fair character, and such outside as indicates a general regard to Use, a proper prudence rendered necessary. But the test of friendship is that it endures under the loss of all external advantages. For a person, having given another that confidence which friendship implies, must have wanted good sense, if it be not a gratification to stand by his friend through every trial, excepting under the conviction that he has made a false estimate of his friend's character; and it will take much to establish such a conviction, after the full confidence of a man of sense has once been given.

The friendships of those whose spheres of usefulness are less extensive, are not productive of less happiness than those of persons occupying the more extensive spheres. The domestic hearth of the cottager is not less dear to him than that of the person possessing greater external advantages, and is attended by remembrance of satisfaction equally vivid. His regular occupation secures a relish to his pleasures which sometimes pall on the satiated feelings of the man who has luxury and leisure at command, if he possess not the wisdom necessary for self government. The happiness of all results from the activity of duty, and that of relaxation and diversion, alternating with repose.

The inviolability of marriage is the basis of the relation of consanguinity. This is another fundamental moral truth grounded on the authority of divine Revelation, the acknowledgment of which is necessary to social order. The acknowledgment of this fundamental truth, and the consequent distribution of mankind into families, bases the existence and preservation in a community of the best principles of wisdom known, on affection, will, and the strong-

est natural impulses of mankind. The love of their offspring induces men so to breed and instruct their families, as to prepare them for securing their interests both temporarily and eternally. Besides that, the sense of personal honour, and the pride of family, also come to the support of moral duty in this respect. This consideration puts me in good humour with the long descriptions of genealogies which formed so much of the conversation of the old school in Great Britain, and which I formerly considered as a sort of gossip, enabling people to pass away idle time without having recourse to scandal. Here again we have an opportunity of observing the compatibility of the distinctions in society with wisdom. We also observe how compatible the exercise of the natural affections is with wisdom, and, indeed, that wisdom is the use of natural affections, and natural things. We see that the author of wisdom, and the author and Maker of the world, and natural feelings and natural things in general, is the same Being—we see this same Being to be the author of common sense, of reason, and of wisdom—that wisdom, reason, and common sense agree with each other, yet that they are entirely distinct, and separate one from the other; so distinct, that reason cannot of itself penetrate the secrets of wisdom originating in divine truth, and the more it endeavours to pry into these secrets, the further it wanders from them into the mazes of false philosophy. What wisdom is, what reason is, and what common sense is, the nature of their connection, and also the nature of their separation—is revealed in the spiritual sense of the Sacred Writings. Notwithstanding these truths are secrets they are no mysteries. Mystery is darkness, but the spiritual sense of the Word is daylight.

I do not know when I have fallen into a more pleasing train of reflection than that which has been suggested by the consideration of this subject. In the relations of consanguinity, the natural affections are made subservient to the recognition and observance of the principles of moral and civil truth. Marriage commences in esteem and friendship, and the friendship which I have described is founded on an acknowledgment of, and reception into, the moral and civil order of the constitution. Under such circumstances the natural affections are exercised according to truth, or wisdom; and truth, or wisdom, is then natural to man. Thus, by that regulation of the affections consequent on the observance of the social obligations, man is brought into an entirely opposite condition to that in which he is by nature. Every man who lives in this renewed spirit of the social compact brings up his family to understand its relations with society, both private and general; and by that union of truth and natural affection, or regulation of the affections, above described, this is rendered a delight as well as a duty.

The parental relation is that of leading into Use; or, what is the same thing, into moral and civil order, being the observance of the social obligations.

*The social relations comprise duties, satisfactions and diversions.*  
With respect to duties and satisfactions, and the difference between

them, it depends on the individual whether duties are discharged as mere duties, or whether they are attended with satisfaction ; or whether duties may not almost have disappeared, and satisfactions have come in their place. The diversions of men are distinct from duties, and from labour, or work, whether of body or mind. Relaxation is necessary to recruit and strengthen both body and mind, particularly the latter. Diversions also promote human harmony, and are only injurious by being made businesses of. The associations of men are frequently in consequence of similarity in diversions. It is a remark of Dr. Fuller that those who do not make use of lawful diversions will in all probability at some time or other, have recourse to unlawful ones.

It is in quest of diversion that the members of society, and particularly the young, run into vice, and in this way is frequently laid the foundation of such evil habits as end in hardened insensibility to moral influences. Diversions admit of use and abuse like every thing else, and consequently of so much the more importance is attention to their direction and management. By providing for the useful diversion of the people a government may exercise an important influence on public morality, and it is very questionable whether the separation of diversion from all association with religion is right or politic. It is advantageous that instruction should be conveyed with diversion, since what is received freely, or in accordance with the will, remains, and what is received reluctantly is effaced. Cunning and self-will takes care that its instruction shall be received with zeal, and it is the part of truth not to be behind hand with cunning in this respect. May it not have been in consequence of the well intended suitors of truth having been rather deceived in the object of their regard, that cunning has been, in the world, able to make so many proselytes in consequence of taking diversion and pleasure to her aid. The latter damsel, having been slighted by the subjects of what was considered truth, seems to have taken revenge by allying herself with cunning.

Variation of occupations frequently constitutes a diversion. On this account I was delighted to read the following advertisement in a Hamilton newspaper :

*“Mechanics’ Institute of Toronto.”*

In consequence of the merchants of Toronto closing their shops at seven o’clock, the directors of the Mechanics’ Institute, with the laudable view of affording the clerks an opportunity of improving themselves, have published a circular addressed to the inhabitants. From which we make the following extract :—

“The Institute propose to throw open their Rooms and Library five nights in the week, from 7 to 10 o’clock, to the Young Men, and such others as may be unemployed of an evening ; where they will find prepared for them every means of innocent and instructive amusement. Classes will be formed for one hour at least each

night, in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, Drawing, &c., and instructive books and periodicals will be amply supplied to fill up the remainder of the evening—the whole being under a code of regulations calculated to maintain the strictest order and propriety in the meeting. The Institute will endeavour to make the rooms as attractive as possible, by keeping them well lighted and warmed, and rendered in every way comfortable; and they will find Masters, where the subject to be studied requires them, as well as paper, and all the utensils that may be necessary in the Classes.’

This is a subject of great importance to the good of Society, and we hope to see some of our influential townsmen take it up, and form the nucleus of a Literary and Scientific Association in the town of Hamilton.”

I have then considered what the acknowledgment of the social obligations is; but since perfection in every thing can only be known by comparison with imperfection, as beauty is known by comparison with what is ugly, so no man can have a true idea of wisdom without knowing something of its opposite. The effect of the acknowledgment of the social obligations is moral harmony, which is human happiness, originating in the exercise of good affections. The denial of the social obligations is the denial of truth, of the principle of Use, and of their author. It is therefore the principle of evil. It was called by Addison, cunning, as opposed to discretion, and, by Swedenborgh, self-love and love of the world, or the evil and false principle.

#### *On the denial of the Social Obligations.*

Evil has no knowledge, or conception of good, excepting its delight to destroy it. The feeling of evil towards good is as that of a wolf towards a sheep; excepting good be armed with truth, and then it would be that of a wolf towards a man—it would sneak away.

The intellectual faculty of an evil man is equally perverted. Wisdom is day light, and he delights in day light as the owl, or other night animals do.

Such a person knows nothing about the social obligations and would laugh at the very idea of the sincere observance of them—at such a moral monster in his estimation. Nor does he believe that others are sincere in their observance of them. The acknowledgment of the social obligation, is heaven—his mind is hell. This is the case with a man whose mind is a form of perverted ambition, much as I have said in praise of a true ambition. These persons have false views as to what constitutes men’s true and permanent interests, although they think themselves the wisest of beings, and look upon the wise as fools.

Men are made what they are by leading from a state of childhood and ignorance, the evil having been led by the evil until they know nothing of good, and the good having been led by the good and wise so that they have overcome evil. But both in good and evil

there are innumerable degrees, from the highest to the lowest states of good, and from the deepest to the least deep states of evil. Between these is ignorance, which proceeds, from its own state, upward or downward, accordingly as it is subjected to example, breeding, habit, and instruction by those in some of the degrees of good and truth, or of self love and cunning. There is, therefore, the beginning, progress, and termination of this leading, both on the part of the good and evil. Man, in the world, is between these two principles, and as every one is, more or less, the subject both of one and the other, the business of every man is to remove evil from himself, by the use of free will in choosing what is good, and so to lead those belonging to him that they may do the same.

Of these principles, then, men are the subjects, and the world is the theatre of their operation, and to their opposition and collision, the mixed state of communities, as to order and disorder, private, public, and national, is owing.

The denial of the social obligations in a national and public point of view is productive of public discord, misgovernment, or resistance to wise government. The denial of the right of property in the transactions of business is the cause of both public and private discord, equally destroying the peace of families and nations. The denial of the private obligations not only is destructive of the peace of families, but of all the advantages to society resulting from the wise establishment of marriage.

In order to know the effect of the denial of the social obligations in their national, public, and private form, a man must have read the history of mankind, both in history and biography, and must have such a knowledge of the world as is obtained by associating with people differing both in rank in the world, and in states of good and evil, thus will he have known and felt the operation of evil and of good, in general, and particular, as it operates in nations and in families. Such a person only is fit to fill situations of extensive public usefulness. To govern a country which is an admixture of the good and the evil, or to take a responsible situation in assisting to do so, a man must know how to defeat the machinations of evil men. Every person may know something of this from his own experience with the world in the bringing up of his own family, and conducting his own business.

Whenever this principle of self love is unrestrained and paramount, whether in families, in public bodies within nations, or in nations themselves, a government by force is indispensable. Those actuated by this principle will not be led. If not conquered they will conquer, according to the degree of power they can exercise. Where this principle operates the will of the stronger is the law to the weaker. Hence it is the principle of slavery, as it is the source of war. If the stronger party be just, his power will be exercised in leading the weaker into order by wise laws and regulations, as far as the weaker is capable of such leading. But the subject now treated of is self will and not justice, and if both parties be morally

unenlightened, to yield privileges to the conquered will only be to encourage new aggressions. On this account it is extremely necessary in nations before making extensive changes in favour of popular privileges, that the people should be first brought into a state in which they can understand and discharge the social duties, or be under the influence of such prejudice only as is compatible with submission to a wise government.

The only way therefore in which those in power can advance the civilization and real intelligence of the people is by giving them the means of an improved moral and civil education, (this of course includes intellectual education, according to a person's station in society,) and inducing them to *make Use of those means*. This latter part of the business, that of earnestness in making use of the means of education, by the people, is perhaps of the greatest moment, as well as the greatest difficulty : and the utmost zeal in this respect, on the part of those in authority, is of little avail, unless seconded by those for whose welfare they thus interest themselves. The efforts of a government thus to spread light amongst the people cannot be too highly appreciated. Such efforts indicate clearly the public integrity of those who make them, since those who wish to govern on principles of selfishness, to aggrandize themselves at the public expense, and to keep the people down, always endeavour to keep them in ignorance. But Governors must sustain their power, and the wiser people are the less coercion in doing so is necessary, as people see the necessity of sustaining their Governors, and supporting the execution of the laws. Suspicion of the good intentions of those in authority, and envy of the apparent advantages which they possess, have, of late years, been carried to too great an extent for the good of mankind. The efforts just mentioned which have latterly been making, by public men, to enlighten and improve mankind, evince strongly their claims on public confidence. These efforts shew that they appeal to the good sense of the people, and not to their prejudices, which dishonest rulers cherish, and turn to their own account. The parade, concerning the concession of popular privileges is, too often, a bait to catch popularity which an honourable man in power will not descend to make use of. Let the people then instead of being catchable by such baits, zealously second the efforts now making to improve their social and physical condition, and afford an useful education to the rising generation.

Before proceeding farther I cannot resist the satisfaction of contrasting the conduct of the people in Upper Canada, with those to whom the censure is applicable which is implied in the observation I have just had occasion to make, that "suspicion of those in authority, and envy of the apparent advantages which they possess" has of late years been carried to a baneful extent. The zeal with which the Governors and the governed, the leaders and the led, united in expelling from the soil, or in bringing to punishment, a nest of *turbulent and unprincipled men*, who, three years ago, stirred up rebellion, and sought to induce revolution, cannot be too highly praised ; es-

pecially as this occurred at a period when no military were in the province. These revolutionists by acting on the prejudices of the ignorant, by magnifying abuses that will exist in every government, and by blackening the characters of men of influence, succeeded in arraying a band of their deluded followers against the institutions of the country. But the promptitude and decision with which their designs were frustrated by the great body of the people themselves reflect the highest credit on their good sense, their stability of character, and their attachment to the constitution under which they live. And this is the more to be remarked as the people were awake to some real abuses which existed in the administration of the government, and intent on having them removed, and it was this circumstance which deceived the revolutionists, and gave them courage to make an attempt to upset the government.

The Home Government, pleased, as well it might be, with the loyalty and patriotism displayed by the inhabitants of the Province, has shown the greatest readiness to listen to their wants and wishes, and has sent out statesmen standing highest in its confidence to settle the institutions of the country in such a way as to secure the civil freedom of the people. And the people of this province have not been behind hand in meeting with a proper spirit the advances of the Home Government; the honour, cordiality, and good will with which the Governors sent out have been received, and the respectful attention which has been paid to their suggestions, show that the people know how to estimate the value of good government.

*On leading into Social Order, or the acknowledgment of the Social Obligations.*

Whether an individual be principled in the acknowledgment, or in the denial of the social obligations, it is, in either case, the consequence of the leading to which he has been subjected. Leading into order was said to constitute the parental office. If the parent be principled in the acknowledgment of the social obligations in any of their degrees, the family are led into social order by means of example, breeding, habit and instruction, by the parent, or by those to whom the parent delegates a portion of his duties, as the minister of religion, and teacher of intellectual education; also, by the influence of nurses and playmates, in infancy and childhood, and of companions in youth, and from youth to manhood, both brothers and sisters, and others.

If the parents, instead of being principled in any of the degrees of social order, are principled in the denial of the social obligations, (that is to say, refusing to submit to moral and civil government,) then the parental office constitutes the misleading into disorder, by means of bad example, bad breeding, bad habits, and false instruction. This is done by the parents, and by those to whom they delegate a portion of their office; thus by those to whose influence they suffer the family to be subjected. The evil principle of self-love, or cunning,



has its ministers, as well as truth, and the ministers of cunning take care that their ministrations shall be instilled with relish and zest. In this respect they have had too much advantage over the ministrations of those who have had the wish to instil truth. As was observed, that which is received into the will, that is, with readiness and zeal, is retained, but otherwise it is effaced. Care should then be taken that such truths should be instilled into the minds of the young as are adapted to their state ; and that what is taught by precept should not be effaced by example. The dependence of the future character on good or bad influences while young, mankind are not sufficiently aware of. The good and kind affections should be brought out by the exhibition of the same towards children, and those of a contrary description carefully avoided. The practice of frightening children, in order to keep them quiet, when previous bad habits, and false indulgence, have been the cause of their turbulence, cannot be too strongly reprobated. Servants who have the care of children ought to have their places depending on the observance, or neglect of this caution. As children advance in years, they may be led into truth, as well as good. Each state of youth has its appropriate management ; but I have already exceeded the sphere allotted to this part of my subject.

The grand essential to social union is confidence and co-operation between those whose business, or use, it is to lead, to instruct, and to govern, and those who are to be led, instructed, and governed. In this respect a community is like a single family.—Every house must have its herd. It is absolutely necessary that the people should be leadable, teachable, and governable, but I will also add that those invested with authority should be capable of leading, teaching, and governing. In a moral sense this confidence between the leaders and the led is secured by the identity of the principle of good. In all subjects in whom it exists, whether in its higher or in its lower degrees, there is an attraction impelling them to each other. Good feeling is every where recognized by its like, and without good there is no truth. Hence the sheep know their shepherd ; and those qualified to lead into truth have that spirit of good—that vital warmth—which is recognized by those in the good of ignorance ; and those are the persons capable of being led into truth, and of having truth and good conjoined. Such persons have an affection for truth and receive it willingly, according to their various capacities for reception, from previous greater or less degrees of advancement, and it is the part of wisdom to distinguish the different capabilities of such persons.

In Great Britain provision is made for moral, civil, and scientific instruction by means of ministers of Religion, teachers of intellectual education, and by means of the press. Ministers and teachers are supported partly by the government, and partly, in a voluntary way, by the people. Abundant means are afforded by the religious establishment countenanced by the government for the reading and explanation of the Bible according to its principles, but nevertheless

about half the people voluntarily support systems which they prefer. This shews that there is much interest felt on the subject at any rate. Abundant publications on science, morals, and every other subject, are constantly pouring forth from the British press. The plan which I have adopted in this publication of basing the civil duties on moral truth, and moral on divine truth, was adopted as long ago as the reign of Queen Anne by Addison. He wrote at a time when the minds of men were distracted by party politics, and religious animosities ; when the protestant succession to the throne of Britain was not so firmly established but that the partizans of James were active and powerful, and the disputes between the puritans and episcopalsians still ran high. His writings were thought to exert a great influence on the people by inducing them to lay aside those political and religious animosities, and attend more to the common affairs of life. His papers comprised in the Spectator and other periodicals of the day were satirical, humorous, and grave ; the Saturday night's paper being generally on a religious subject. His paper on discretion, and shewing the distinctive marks between cunning and discretion, comprises the sum of human duties in the smallest space of any writing, out of holy writ, that I recollect ever to have seen. In discretion the duties of life are based on the truth, *that man is born to eternal life*, while in cunning they have on the contrary some temporary and therefore false end, incompatible with the designs of the Creator of men towards his creatures. The principle which Addison wrote of under the name of discretion, is the same as that which I have considered under the appellation of honour, as that alone according to which the social obligations can be faithfully discharged.

In considering the duties connected with the parental office of leading into Use, that of the master towards his apprentice should not be forgotten, it being a responsibility which is too little considered ; but the faithful, or faithless, discharge of which is pregnant with the most important consequences not only to individuals but to communities. The youth passes in his apprenticeship, clerkship, or whatever it may be, that period of his life during which he is either made or marred.

Civil Governors, and those in superior stations, also so far hold this relation to the community, that it is as much their duty to provide for the leading of the people into the principles of moral and civil order, and thus to understand, love, and obey the institutions of their country grounded on that order, as it is to provide for the coercion, restraint, and punishment of the people when they violate the civil law. Here I take occasion to notice a glaring instance of misgovernment, in this respect, in the prison discipline of Great Britain. The true end of restraint and punishment is the reformation of the offender, although, as making an example to deter others in low degrees of moral standing, it has a salutary influence. On this account the true object of prison discipline is that the person inculpated should be subjected to such moral discipline as will reform him, as far as his moral condition admits of such refor-

mation ; whereas, in the prisons of Great Britain, if an offender against the laws have been seduced by evil influences, and be yet well disposed on the whole, and not only capable of moral training but earnestly desirous of having the opportunity of receiving its advantages—in those dens of infamy, notwithstanding such a capacity of reformation, a youthful offender must come out, from the associations he there meets with, more advanced in the career of vice. The reformation of unhardened offenders against the law affords a most useful exercise for the prerogative of mercy vested in the Crown. While writing on the subject of prison discipline, I must do justice to the United States, where, as far as I have heard, the system is far superior to that of Great Britain. In their penitentiaries a person under confinement is taught some trade or occupation, if he have not previously learned one.

In consequence of the preservation of social order, or of moral, grounded on divine truth, depending so much on the voluntary observance of the social obligations by individual families making up a community, we observe that the Founder of Christianity did not begin by altering forms of government, and changing national institutions, but by originating such principles as would prevent the leading of ignorance into self will, causing it to be led into the love of neighbour instead. The love of neighbour is the principle of moral truth, and whether we call it the principle of moral truth, the acknowledgment of the social obligations, or the principle of *Use*, it is the same thing.

To lead into social order by breeding, habit and instruction, is to lead out of self will, as the two are opposite and incompatible principles ; and two men in the world, who may be locally together, little think how widely and eternally separated they may also be, as to that state, or moral condition, which answers to space amongst spiritual existences.

Before proceeding further, I beg leave to make known a fact most important to the welfare of mankind, particularly to those men of science and general intelligence, who have any difficulty in yielding their credence to the literal sense of the Sacred Writings. There is in these writings an inward, or spiritual sense, totally distinct from, and different to, the sense of the letter. In this inward sense, when places and persons are mentioned in the literal sense, states of wisdom, or truth—otherwise, opposite states of the evil and false principle—are understood in the inward sense. Hence journeyings, in the word, signify progressions from states of ignorance to the various states of wisdom to which men are brought by divine instruction. In this inward sense, Jacob signifies the natural principle ; Isaac, the rational, or spiritual principle ; and Abraham, the will principle of the regenerate man. This is an example of the signification of names in the spiritual sense ; and I will now give one of the same signification of places. Egypt signifies the state in which the natural man is ; and the land of Israel the state in which the spiritual man is ; and the journeying of the children of Israel, from Egypt to the land

of Canaan, signifies the leading of man from a natural to a spiritual state. The destruction of the Canaanites signifies the destruction of all false principles of action, which exist naturally in the minds of men, in order that principles of moral grounded in divine truth, may be substituted in their place. This has been made a great handle of, by infidels, as an argument against the truth of the Bible, as the word of God, a being of infinite mercy. But the argument drawn from the permission of evil, and that men are subjected to accidents, and to the death of the body, is just as strong against the Supreme Ruler of the universe having this attribute. The fact that the present is not a final condition removes even the apparent reasonableness of such an argument. The importance of material representatives of spiritual things, this is not the place to dwell on, and indeed I only mention this subject now in order that those who have the inclination and opportunity, may consult the inestimable writings where the spiritual sense of the Divine Word is unfolded. This is done in those writings of Swedenborgh, entitled the Arcana Celestia, written in Latin about seventy years ago, and which have since been translated into English by a society of gentlemen in London. The Arcana Celestia consists of twelve volumes, in which the spiritual sense of the books of Genesis and Exodus is explained in the most minute, and particular way. Every word in the literal sense being noticed, and the relation of the literal with the spiritual sense stated. The uniformity with which each word, whenever it occurs in the literal sense throughout the Bible, has the same spiritual signification, renders it quite impossible that this should be a work of human ingenuity; or that the spiritual sense should be an adaptation of allegory and metaphor, by a vigorous imagination, to suit the literal sense. The inward sense of the four gospels has been explained in a similar way by the same gifted author; and the book of Revelations, also, the meaning of which in the spiritual sense is simple, clear, and connected, however obscure it is in the sense of the letter. The title of the latter work is the Apocalypse Explained, in six volumes. It is also in a more condensed form under the title of the Apocalypse Revealed, in two volumes.

*Secondly—On the means of securing a natural attachment to the Country and Government on the part of those who are incapable of holding a rational attachment to the Constitution.*

When men have been taught the nature and extent of the social obligations, and led to the discharge of them, they are qualified to exercise a judgment respecting the character of a system of government, and thence to form that rational attachment to it which results from a conviction that it is grounded in wisdom, or in the acknowledgment of the social obligations.

Thus the degree in which a person is capable of judging of this wisdom is in proportion to the wisdom existing in himself. The wisdom of the constitution is also such as is the wisdom of those

making up the constitution. This fact of itself is enough to show the necessity of government, and that government should descend from above to below, and not vice versa.

What means then are to be taken to secure the attachment of those persons to the country and the government, who are incapable of forming a rational attachment to the constitution ?

This will be seen as we proceed. All that a civil government in its merely civil capacity can do, is to secure the preservation of civil order. Whether constitutional freedom be superadded to civil order depends on the wisdom existing in the constitution, and therefore in the persons making up the constitution, who have to administer and support the laws. If there be wisdom sufficient in the nation to adjoin freedom to civil order, then wisdom has more work to do, namely, to teach the use instead of the abuse of freedom. This is altogether a moral and individual work.

To teach the use of freedom is to induce the voluntary discharge of the social obligations. That which is voluntary is of the will, or of affection.

Man is an affection, or rather a sum or body of affections. The use of freedom is, therefore, the exercise and reciprocation of affection. The plan, management, or government of wisdom, is, that it is consistent with, and secures the exercise of the affections of all its subjects—all who submit to its law. This law is that of the source of affection—the Maker of men—the author of society—of social order, and the social obligations.

Moral or social obligations are therefore correlative with affections. The end of obligation is the gratification of affection, or will. Social and individual good are one.

The end of moral obligation is the gratification of affection in accordance with a social end.

Self-love is the perversion of affection from compatibility with a social end ; it cannot see that social and individual good are one ; it is not wise ; it is not in a true, but in a false principle.

The acknowledgment of obligation is the willingness of an individual to exercise his affections in that way, which is consistent with the same exercise of affections on the part of the rest of the members in a community. Thus it is the spirit of justice, which is the same thing as the spirit of truth. It is written "when the Spirit of Truth shall come He will lead you into all truth." The spirit of Truth is the spiritual sense of the Sacred Writings. The coming of the spirit of truth is the second coming of the Lord. This second coming of the Lord is His coming in the Word. This coming in the Word is the revelation of the spiritual sense now mentioned ; so that He, Himself, is the interpreter of His Word. This revelation was effected through the instrumentality of a man, and that man was Swedenborgh. That this second coming has actually taken place, any one who will take the trouble to become acquainted with the spiritual sense of the Word may convince himself of.

It was said that the social relations have their corresponding obli-

gations, but now (presuming men's affections to be reduced to order) it may be said that the social relations have their corresponding affections.

The love of the whole human race, the love of country, the love of each man's individual use, or occupation, the love of his friend, and of his family, are all in beautiful accordance and support each other.

When each man acts on this social principle, acknowledging social and individual good to be one, then national and private good is the result; and in proportion that a community does this, the national feeling is grounded in moral and civil truth, or wisdom, and is divested of hurtful prejudice, the ignorant being governed and led, and the wise leading and governing.

According to the degree in which a man's affections have been elevated into wisdom is the lucid, or obscure way, in which he acknowledges the nature and extent of the social obligations; and his capability of taking a high and extensive, or a low sphere in social order, and in use. The rational man's attachment to the constitution, and his discernance of the social relations, is based in affection, but in an enlightened affection. The natural man's attachment to his country is also based in affection, but affection of a lower kind.

It is by no means requisite that all the members of society should have that rational attachment to the constitution which arises from the conviction that it is grounded in wisdom; and the nature of the occupations of the majority of persons in a community requiring that they should spend most of their time in acquiring a bodily support, renders them incapable of obtaining the information necessary to the formation of such a conviction. The attachment of such persons to their country and government originates in lower but still in good motives.

An ignorant and a perverted character are two very different beings. Ignorant persons who act according to their degree of understanding are very valuable members of society in their places, and, in those places, their happiness is not less than that of persons occupying situations of more extended usefulness, and higher station; but they require to be led. It is not the object of wisdom therefore to give all the persons in a community equal intellectual education, nor equal station.

It is sufficient if persons of the description I am alluding to have their attachment to their country, and its government, secured by feeling the benefits it confers, in conjunction with being brought up in the discharge of their relative duties. The benefits which a constitution wisely administered should confer on all its subjects, with those exceptions which will occur to every male, are the means of that exercise of the social affections by which persons of every degree are bound to the land in which they have been brought up. The affections of such persons, as I have before observed, are not less vivid than those of their superiors, neither are they less valuable in

the eye of their Maker ; and I will venture to say that a government is not wise, in this respect, which does not make such provision for the welfare of the mass of its subjects as will secure that attachment to their country which people never fail to feel, who have been brought up in the most humble way consistent with the supply of their physical wants. This feeling of attachment is easily produced and kept up under proper management ; for we find that people, even under the greatest physical disadvantages, may be proud of their country, and believe that none are so happy as themselves. Such for example is the case in Lapland.

There is an evident tendency of the natural affections to the support of civil order. If the person in a superior situation exercise common good feeling, and use his inferiors well, they are proud of his notice, and will do every thing that can reasonably be required to secure his good will. Hence how easy it is if such characters are good and true, for them to be the means of securing the affections of the body of the people to the constitution and the law. We see that man is not only gregarious but that the principles of order and subordination are sown in his natural constitution.

Both a rational, and a natural, or instinctive attachment to the constitution, then, are grounded on the love of it, from feeling the benefits it confers, by its securing to them the means of exercising the social affections in their various degrees ; the rational conviction that the constitution is the best plan for communicating those benefits to the great body of the people, being an elevation of this love into a higher region of the understanding of wisdom, by means of which it is enabled to take a more extended survey of the social relations, and fitted for situations of more extensive utility in society.

Here I must notice an important duty of the rationally informed members of the community. Such persons have, or ought to have, the appointments of the Magistracy, and other important situations to discharge, which occasion them to exercise influence in their respective neighbourhoods. In consequence of an unconsciousness of the importance of these situations their duties are too often done in a negligent manner. But every such man should consider that he has it in his power to do much in promoting the attachment or aversion towards the institutions of the country, of those over whom he is called on to exert any influence, moral or civil. The power and influence which he may possess should be considered as a delegated trust from the Crown, and as a part of the executive power. On the wisdom, or absence of wisdom, on the part of such individuals as I am alluding to, much depends the welfare of the community. They ought to know the characters good and bad of those around them, and, at their meetings amongst those of their own standing, should consider the state of their neighbourhoods as to order, and take care that the good are well provided for, or rather, have the means of providing for themselves, and that the evil are watched. It is not a wise government which suffers the discontents of the lower classes of the population to arouse it to the conviction that it

has in this respect misunderstood the true principles of government.

If it be not difficult to secure the national attachment of a people to their country grounded in good feeling, how can that degeneracy of national feeling which is well known to exist in Great Britain, to a considerable extent, amongst the working classes, be accounted for? Is it not owing to a want of foresight in the government in suffering the country to be encumbered with a large *pauper* population? [See observations on population.]

Let then all the inhabitants of a nation be well cared and provided for by the government, and by the local governments formed by the well informed and well doing people in each neighbourhood; but do not give political power to those who are incapable of making a just use of it.

A man who is in the possession of the rights of a *full* subject of the British Crown may be justly proud of them. But there ought to be some qualification for the possession of such a privilege. It is one which is conferred by the constitution, and the constitutional rights which a man is qualified to exercise depend on the degree of his elevation into social order by moral and civil instruction; and thence his capability of discharging the *duties* connected with those *rights*. They belong to a man as a social and national, and not as an individual and natural being caring only for those whom he individually and naturally regards. Their just exercise therefore implies that a person has taken the pains, as well as has enjoyed the means, of informing himself respecting the nature of the new condition in which he is placed by his voluntary recognition of the constitution, and the law; since those who do not understand the duties are incapable of exercising the rights and privileges of freedom conferred by the constitution *alone*. The recognition of the constitution is a moral work, since the distribution of mankind into nations, whose government requires the adoption of civil constitutions, is the work of Divine Providence, and the duties thence arising are, therefore, the requirements of the Divine Law.

A person who is incapable of understanding the nature of the new condition in which he is placed by his recognition of the constitution, and of thus understanding the duties, rights, and privileges which it confers, the constitution of course cannot accept as a full subject, and invest with those rights and privileges the abuse of which is fatal to the existence of the constitution itself.

The constitution of the United States admits that all their people are capable of exercising this rational and moral judgment. Happy Nation! Is it any wonder that Byron said—he would that he had been born a citizen of that republic, since it appears they are born into wisdom?

Now in the palpable and clear absence of such judgment, so clear that it must be a violation of common sense and reason to admit its existence, the British constitution requires that such persons should be satisfied to be governed on a principle of obedience. They are not required to trouble themselves about state affairs, which they



can know nothing about, and are exempt from state cares. People are admitted into a participation in the government of the country as they possess the information to do properly what they undertake. Unsophisticated common sense is an excellent guide in common matters, and this teaches that people who have not prepared themselves for the exercise of discrimination in public affairs should attend principally to their own business; nevertheless, as many persons as have the opportunity should prepare themselves for the exercise of this discrimination, as the more there are in a community who are morally and rationally informed, the better it will prosper. But if the public affairs of a nation are to be managed by those who have not been prepared to form any correct opinion about them, instead of continuing in happy ignorance, under the auspices of their more intelligent fellow subjects, who exercise judgment for them, all are likely to sink together into the abyss of anarchy.

I shall now make a few remarks on the pauper population of Great Britain before alluded to.

A large body of paupers is a dead weight on the activity of the producing classes; and the late poor law of England operated as a premium on pauperism. A provision for indigence was considered as a legal claim, and thousands yearly took upon themselves the responsibility of providing for families with no other prospect than such a scanty provision from the public treasure. What a lever was here given to sedition and disaffection by affording materials for these evils to act on. Oppressive laws are required to maintain subordination amongst a set of people who have been called into existence without the prospect of any adequate provision for either their physical or moral wants. People who are both half starving and intensely ignorant become the property, and adopt the principles, of those who will give them bread; or, who may have it in their power to direct the passions of such poor creatures against those whom they are led to consider as the authors of their miseries. This is of course done by demagogues who make the discontents of people a stepping stone to power, and not only by these, but by many well meaning and philanthropic public men who are anxious to devise means for improving the state of this part of the population. Hence endless schemes of improving the policy of the government, so as to favour them, are set on foot; and as, by degrees, they become so numerous as absolutely to endanger the existence of order, new and, as some consider, uncalled for concessions to the popular demands are made. To think of conferring political privileges on men who cannot half supply their families with food, who are in the lowest condition of moral and intellectual ignorance, and about as capable of judging of the public and national branches of the social obligations as the animals whom they are commissioned to manage! It were well, indeed, if they had animals to manage, for I am alluding to those who, the greater part of their time, have no employment to yield them a subsistence. Large bodies of the manufacturing working classes are at times equally unprovided for, and a source of absolute danger

to the civil establishments under circumstances of popular excitement. It is impolitic, and in the end cruel, to make an artificial provision for the maintenance of those in a state of pauperism, at the same time maintaining an increase in the numbers of the poor, whether this maintenance be in the shape of tax, or by making provision for a supply of labour which will be merely temporary in its duration, because, when this latter ceases, the labourers are left in a worse state than before. Taking such a view of the effects of a large pauper population, I cannot help feeling surprise at the clamour which has existed, and which has been encouraged by many individuals of respectability, respecting the impolicy of the new poor law act. That such clamour should exist amongst those whose education does not enable them to take an enlarged view of the social relations is, indeed, natural; but that this should be fostered by men not deficient in enquiry and observation, would appear to show that it is unpatriotically done for the sake of answering party purposes. Certainly, although, as I have observed at the outset of this subject, it is requisite that a government should secure a provision for the physical wants of its population, no provision should be allowed for the increase of a single family who have not a reasonable prospect of supporting their offspring by their own exertions. In short, it is the bounden duty of a government to prevent such increase.

With a large body of constantly increasing paupers no system of government can stand long except it be a despotism, that is quite certain. A system approaching to that of military rule must be adopted in which one portion of the community is endowed with privileges in order to keep the remainder in ignorance and subjection. The proper mode of governing such a population has been adopted in Catholic countries.

From the whole of the preceding observations the following conclusion will be drawn.

The exercise and reciprocation of human affections which constitutes Use, and which is the acknowledgment and voluntary discharge of the social obligations, according to each person's capability of understanding them, whether that acknowledgment be in a lucid and rational, or in an obscure and natural way, constitutes the basis of national feeling—at least in any governable nation.

Use being the free exercise and reciprocation of human affections by means of external things, of which property forms a part, implies the rectification, or renewal of the will, which is to be led into social order, or the observance of the moral and civil law. The renewal of the will is the removal of evil, or of the denial of social order. Use, then, can be only predicated of those persons in a community who have been led, and are leading, into the laws of Divine order, consequently of the Church. All who act from a principle of religion and conscience, indeed, act from a principle of Use; but in those who do not acknowledge the Word it is a distinct quality of Use.

I have now almost finished my review of the British Constitution,

and hope that it has been shown to the satisfaction of my readers, that this constitution is grounded in moral and civil truth, or in wisdom. If this be the case, what was promised in my prospectus has been performed, namely, that the arguments brought forward have tended "to engage the affections of the people towards British laws, and British institutions, by showing that these laws and institutions are more applicable to the circumstances of mankind, and more favourable to the advancement of human virtue and happiness, than those of any other nation."

Having seen that the British constitution is grounded in wisdom, we are prepared to contemplate its unmingled advantages, as, in its working, it throws off its evils as well as manifests the harmonious operation of order.

We observe that the working of the constitution is that concurrence and union of the Crown and the people before mentioned. It has been seen that order is the removal of evil. That universal harmony of the creatures of God in order is irrespective of evil. It is attended by the best provision made for the subjects of perverted free will that is possible. Part of the happiness of order is constituted in obviating the consequences of disorder. Mercy is employed in improving prison discipline, in restoring the prisoners as far as they are capable of restoration. Although the public prosecutor manifests his zeal in urging the condemnation of the violator of the law, and the judge condemns him, yet it is that his pernicious influence may be removed from society, in order to his being cared for in the best way that his condition admits of, (from my previous observations on prison discipline it may, perhaps, be considered that I am rather writing of what ought to be, than what is,) to his being subjected to that instruction which those having the guardianship of his youth had neglected to afford him, and thus rendered a new being, capable of social feelings and delights to which he had previously been a stranger. Jailors are required to be merciful to their inmates, their Use therefore is that of ameliorating the condition of this portion of the violators of order. These institutions, Penitentiaries, and Magdalene societies, illustrate my remarks. I will admit however that a state of society is to be preferred, which will require as few of these as possible.

If we carry this idea of the way in which order is the removal of evil to hospitals, lunatic asylums, and public charities of various descriptions, we find that the Uses of a portion of the members of Society, and the rewards of these uses, are found in removing the consequences of evil. And if we carry this idea still farther, to places of instruction, and to family discipline, we find that society is one great scene in which the means conducive to human happiness are the same which effect the removal of evil.

Why, then, should the philanthropist, instead of lending a hand to help in the work which is so profitably going on, hang down his hands, and lament over the condition of his species. If, what I have been noticing, be the dark shades of order, what will he think of the

growing, the beautiful, the bright colours, of the picture. Would he have a picture consisting of all bright colours without any shade ? We observe that the object of moral and civil government is to increase human happiness, and not to operate as a restraint upon it. The objects of government are that the members of the community may enjoy the exercise of those affections, sympathies, tastes, passions, sensibilities, and capacities of happiness, call them what we will, with which the Maker of men has so abundantly endowed them. These capacities include, not only the affections of the will, but the pleasures resulting from the cultivation of the intellect and understanding,—those arising from the exercise of ingenuity, of curiosity, & other faculties which stimulate men to find gratification in employments connected with science and art, so beneficial to the various purposes of the world. By the use of such faculties as these, man is capable of continual advances in improvement and happiness. Men having discharged the duties of order are free to act from choice in associating with whom they like, and doing as they like.

External order is therefore a gate by which men are led away from the dominions of evil to enter those happy habitations, or that happy condition, where duty has disappeared & delight has supplied her place; where virtue has been metamorphosed into the indulgence of the will; and the same purification of the will by which man is rendered capable of enjoying the delights of goodness and truth, in the present life also renders him capable of happiness in a future state. (How this purification of the will is effected it would, of course, be foreign to the purpose of this work particularly to explain.)

Having said much concerning a rational conviction that the British constitution is grounded in wisdom; and as the term *rational* implies the exercise of reason, I here beg leave to notice the distinction existing between true reason, and that perversion of reason resulting from the operation of man's self derived intelligence. The high prerogative and distinguishing characteristic of man is reason—the quality by which he is distinguished from brutes. Reason is the capability of receiving divine truths, confirming them by reasoning, and by the literal sense of the Word, and applying them to the purposes of *Life*. Animals are capable of an appearance of reason, the capability of adapting means to ends for the purposes of *their* life; and man has the reality of reason, the capability of adapting means to ends for the purpose of *his* life, which is eternal. The cause that men in the world do not perceive the difference more clearly is because man's consciousness, in his present state, is in the natural plane, as that of animals is; but in the future state of man, his consciousness is changed with putting off his material body, and moral realities then are visible. Happy will it then be for those who have taken these matters upon trust, or faith, which their reason could not penetrate.

If ever those who rule the destinies of mankind, by being entrusted with the power of making, changing, and administering the laws of different nations, should come nearer to agreement than they

are at present respecting moral and political truth, it must be by adopting, as a basis to reason from, some principal truth, or truths, which all agree in admitting the validity of—concerning which there is no dispute. In reasoning from such a basis, opposite parties may mutually give up errors which have been previously upheld, and receive new truths which were unknown to either party before, the whole becoming thus more assimilated in opinion. Such are the fundamental truths I have endeavoured to confirm in the mode of reasoning adopted in this work. They are admitted in the whole christian world. The first truth, that man is born to eternal life, has reference to the first, second, and third commandments of the decalogue, that man should not mistake the nature of the Divine Being. The second fundamental truth, namely, the inviolability of the conjugal relation takes in the seventh commandment. The third truth which has formed the basis of reasoning—the right of individuals to their property, takes in the eighth and tenth commandments. It may also be added that the observations on the parental office are grounded on the fifth commandment.

A principal object I have had in view, has been to shew that these fundamental truths and the social obligations grounded on their acknowledgment in act, are not natural to man. That these truths are not natural to man, is, indeed, self evident, for man, if left to himself, would naturally violate each truth I have mentioned. Man naturally does not know the nature of the Supreme Being, and his will is in a contrary principle to that sense of justice which an acknowledgment of that nature implies.

That man, of himself, violates marriage, and the right of property, needs not showing.

With respect to the parental relation it ultimately comes to this,—that as truth, or wisdom, is the Parent of all, the discharge of this relation is to act according to this principle, as God is the Truth, *itself*, and man is only a recipient of truth.

## II. ON THE PECULIARITY IN THE MORAL AND CIVIL CONDITION OF THE BRITISH PROVINCES IN AMERICA.

In considering the peculiarity in the moral and civil condition of the British Provinces, I shall endeavour to show that this peculiarity is one which admits of a new and improved state of society.

During the preservation of civil order, the provisions adopted by the British constitution for which purpose we have seen are so excellent, an opportunity is afforded of leading the people forward to the recognition and observance of the principles of moral and civil truth. But in consequence of the difference between the moral and civil condition of Great Britain, and of the British Provinces of America, the same plan for promoting this moral and civil advancement of the people is not applicable both to the Mother country, and to these Provinces.

The population of Great Britain is too numerous, and the relations of the nation at large are too complicated, for any plan of moral and civil improvement to be equally applicable to Britain and these Provinces. The attention of Britain must be too much confined to the maintenance of her position amongst the powerful nations of the world, and to the preservation of civil order in her own population, for any plan of social improvement to be similar in its application at home and in this Province, where what is principally wanted is population. But as it has been one of the greatest weaknesses of the British government to suffer the country to be thus over filled with a population so unprovided both with the means of physical support, and of moral instruction, as to render their system of civil government more complicated and difficult than it need otherwise be, it should be the great care in filling Canada and the other British Provinces with the population they so much want, that this population be at the same time made acquainted with their duties, their rights, and their interests, for these are all identical. There is no danger in respect to the supply of the physical wants of the people for any time that it can be the duty of the present generation to provide; and as the people emigrating here will be most of them possessors of freehold property, a plan of discipline and instruction must necessarily be very differently carried into effect amongst them, and amongst a people where very few in comparison with the whole possess such property, and a great number neither property, trade, nor certain employment at low wages.

A greater degree of equality in respect to wealth amongst the inhabitants of Great Britain than had before existed, took place in consequence of the extensive introduction of commerce into the nation; and this occurring almost simultaneously with the general reading of the Bible, was attended by a moral elevation of the lower, and indeed of all classes of the people, and the capability of accepting greater degrees of civil liberty. Commerce did not begin to be cultivated to much extent in Great Britain until after the changes which took place by the policy of Henry the seventh, and the changes in religion began in the reign of Henry the eighth. And all these occurrences the invention of printing was necessary in establishing.

When a portion of the dense population of an old community have emigrated to a new continent, where land can be had for a little more than the trouble of its cultivation, of course a still greater degree of equality in respect to wealth takes place amongst them. Servants soon save sufficient to enable them to purchase and cultivate enough land to support them, and the very fact of this being the case causes the price of labour to be high, enabling them the sooner to do this.

A greater degree of civil liberty is of course, therefore, attendant on such a change, but whether this continue permanent or not depends on the degree in which the people understand how to use this increased degree of liberty, instead of *abusing* it.

There are certain distinctions which men will fall into in every state of society owing to different modes of bringing up, education, the nature of their occupations, and different tastes, which will always exist in every community where those possessing certain advantages, which all cannot have, are not by an artificial and forced—nay an immoral—system of equality, reduced to a level with those who do not possess the same means of more extended usefulness. This reduction of all the members of society to a low level forms a state of disorder—an inversion of order—where the self-will, innate in men, will have an advantage over the opposite moral principle essential to social union. True social union is promoted by such useful equalities, and those possessing the advantages of more extended usefulness have no increase in the essentials of happiness over those whose only business is to attend to their private concerns alone. But since the advantage of society requires that every man should love, and attend to, and make his happiness in, his own business principally, as his particular business is his *use* to the community, so it is equally to the advantage of society, as there must be some order established, that those whose situations are attended with the most extensive degrees of usefulness, should be required, for the good of the community, to take precedence in such order. But they do it for the good of the community, or for the sake of *use*, and as those who attend principally to their own business cannot understand the proper mode of discharging those more extensive duties, it is indispensable that they should place confidence in those who have taken the trouble, and gone to the expense, of qualifying themselves for such situations.

We thus see the relation between distinction in society and Use. A person being qualified for the discharge of a use which others do not understand, and they believing in his capacity for this discharge, he possesses their value and confidence, which answers to credit and fame. For the discharge of his use he also receives such recompense as its value in the estimation of society requires. In acquiring Use also expense is incurred, especially those which require mental cultivation. We thus perceive that not only credit and fame, but wealth, is attached to use. The possession of fame and wealth give power; and thus are the loves of power, of fame, and of wealth, connected with Use.

Now the social obligations consist of an order of uses, and the discharge of the social obligations is the use of power, property, and credit. We will therefore examine more particularly into the nature of this order. Of the order of Uses in Society I will imagine four divisions.

In the first degree may be placed the agricultural labourer, such as he is in Great Britain—the small mechanic and tradesman—the hired men in the more extensive trades—the working manufacturer—servants in general of the lower grade.

Second degree. The farmer of the first grade—tradesmen of the second grade well brought up and understanding affairs of business in general—merchant first grade—liberal professions of the first

grade, men of mere routine—those who have acquired independence in such grades of business.

Third degree. Merchant of the second grade—farmer of the second grade, a man of education, and understanding the principles of science connected with agriculture—the tradesmen of similar qualifications being the third grade—liberal professions of the second grade—men of independence acquired by such means.

Fourth degree. The statesman—such is a person not only acquainted with some particular business, but in consequence of superior education, breeding, and of having access to those persons who are most proficient in their particular departments, has information from the best sources on all kinds of affairs. Having also acquaintance with languages, and intercourse with men of various nations in the best grades, he understands the international relations of his country. His parents of course belonged to some of the privileged classes, and brought him up with particular advantages and objects.

Now, in the lower grades above mentioned, the social relations will be understood in an obscure and natural way, the individuals principled in those grades of good and truth will require leading morally and governing civilly, more than exercising a leading and governing influence; although they will also have to exercise both a leading and governing influence so far as regards their own families, and those immediately depending on them.

In the next grade, the social relations and obligations are understood in a more lucid and rational way, and the individual so principled is capable of taking a more extended sphere in the discharge of the social obligations. And if the person, in this sphere, be principled in the denial of use he will do more mischief, as, in the opposite case, he will do more good.

In the higher grades, the persons filling them have a lucid and rational understanding of the social relations and are capable of filling situations of the most extended usefulness of either grade. In either of these grades, however, there are persons who have been brought up in them who are mere routinists, and act from usage and custom, without character of their own. Hence although it is necessary to have these grades recognized, the self-made man is the most valuable, as he must have been a man of unusual energy and activity. In the highest grade, as the person may, if principled in the acknowledgment of Use, do most good, so, if principled in the denial of Use, he will do the greatest harm, both in a direct way, and by example.

These degrees, in the order of Use, have more particular reference to the understanding of man—the degree in which he is capable of understanding the social obligations as to their nature and extent; and, in whichever of these degrees he may be principled as to understanding, there are other degrees having more reference to the will affections, and are determined by the motive from which the social obligations are discharged. On these latter degrees the moral condition of individuals more particularly depends. The will-affections, and the understanding are, however, inseparable; as no per-



son can discharge the social obligations until he understands what those obligations are.

First. The social obligations may be discharged in order to avoid the penalties of the civil law, and thus when it forms the, *highest principle* of action, from a low and civil motive.

Secondly. They may be discharged from a sense of decency—from the hope of reward, or the fear of shame, as *the highest motive*.

Thirdly. They may be done because it is right to do them. This is to do them, principally, from a sense of conscience, and of religion.

Fourthly. They may be discharged because a person loves to do them, and this is the highest motive of all ; it is love to the author of the social relations, and *thence* to men.

Sometimes the social obligations are discharged more from the feeling, and sometimes more from the sense of right, which constitutes *motive*. And by the same individual some relations will be discharged from feeling or affection, and some from duty. The public and national obligations are, perhaps, generally discharged from a sense of duty, but, in times of public excitement, the most powerful passions originate in these relations. Habitual action from duty is the entrance to the consistent observance of the social relations, although duty should encroach on as few affections as possible. A man has arrived at an enviable condition when he can say that what he likes is best.

The relation existing between the mother and infant is one of feeling almost solely. But in what a variety of ways, and with what force, are the faculties of the understanding taxed, when a state of insecurity attends the object of maternal affection. Here we see how the thinking depends on the affective faculty ; that they are, however, perfectly distinct the occurrence of consideration, whether a person shall act according to feeling, or not, evinces. The importance of having this feeling regulated by understanding is also seen in the lamentable effects of ill judged fondness on the future character of the offspring, by the encouragement it gives to self-will. The will and the understanding should be united in as many acts as possible, although sometimes one may dictate, and sometimes the other.

The intellectual faculties of the understanding may be scientifically, or morally exercised.

In their scientific exercise, which constitutes many of the occupations of men, there is a positive intellectual gratification merely in the exercise of the scientific faculty itself in relation to its object, independently of any purpose to which the occupation may be in subservience. This is the case with painting, architecture, with the various mechanical, and other arts. When these pursuits are followed with a view of contributing to the good affections before mentioned their gratification is doubled.

I will here exemplify the discharge of the social relations from the motive of united will and understanding.

Suppose a father and son to be superintending, and assisting in the

construction of their own habitation. In the course of this work the exercise of a variety of the mechanical arts, as those of the carpenter, the smith, &c. &c. are necessary, and the ingenuity thus required gives play to the intellectual faculties, and is a source of great satisfaction, both as it respects these works themselves, and the objects in view, connected with the affections, with which the work is undertaken, and prosecuted.

To vary the illustration, I will take another example. Suppose a father to be instructing his son in the profession of medicine. Here the student, while discharging offices of Use to the parent, is also drawing deeply of the delight supplied from the fountains of science, as well as looking forward to the time when he shall be in the honourable discharge of those duties which his parent is rendering to mankind. His botanical studies carry him to search into the qualities of plants which every region in the globe contribute to furnish. And in acquiring a knowledge of the substances thus brought under his notice, if he be at all of an inquiring disposition, the varieties in the character of the regions furnishing these objects of his consideration also become subjects of his attention. The variations in the physical character of man as it is presented in different parts of the earth he also has to consider, and this is much connected with men's moral habits. Not only the vegetable, but the mineral world has to give up its productions to be examined by him. In considering the operations of the seasons on the human constitution, he has to investigate the great operations of nature, and finds that

—“The winds and rolling waves,  
The sun's unwearied course,  
The elements and seasons all declare  
For what the Omnipotent hath ordained ;  
The powers of man.”

The delightful science of chemistry is indispensable to him, and this opens to him the arcana of nature, unfolding the natural relations of causes and effects. Then the structure and offices of the human body, so wonderfully fabricated, and its similarity to, and dissimilarity from, the animal kingdom, becomes his particular study. Not only the study of the body, but the study of the mind, as exercising a principal influence on the bodily functions, becomes his duty and delight. Then add the interesting and confidential relations in which he is placed with his fellow beings, in the practice of his profession, so much connected both with their joys and afflictions, in mitigating the one, and participating the other, and we must be struck with the numerous ways in which the activity of Use, or the observance of the social relations, abounds with gratification, both to the affections of the will, and to the powers of intellect—to ingenuity, curiosity, and to every faculty on which “the great, the wonderful, the fair,” whether in nature, or in morals, can operate.

These are examples of the easy and delightful discharge of the social relations, under the united action of the will and the understanding constituting goodness and truth. This is

the case in the two last, or highest, divisions of the motives from which the social relations may be observed. As before said, it is only when done from these motives that the discharge of the social obligations constitutes the doing of uses, for the uses which persons do from the two first motives, are Uses only *outwardly*, and not *inwardly*, being from an evil principle, this of course being spoken of those who are come to years of discretion.

When the moral obligations are discharged *primarily* from the lower motives of fear of the civil law; a sense of decency, and regard to opinion; or from a *primary* love of power, and consequent dependence on those through whom power, and its attendants honour and wealth, are to be obtained, (as observed at page 18,) there is, not only, no hold on a man for the common discharge of his duties, but he cannot be bound even by his oath. Under such circumstances of moral feeling the trial by jury becomes a broken reed, instead of one of the pillars of liberty in a nation. The value of the trial by jury depends, then, on the degree in which moral obligations are discharged from religious principle in a community.

The denial of the social obligations (before mentioned,) may be in consequence of *acting primarily* from the love of fame, or from the love of property, or from the love of power.

If the love of gain, or property, be the *ruling* motive of action, the person will cheat. And if the love of wordly credit or fame, be a *ruling* motive, the person will be a hypocrite, doing every thing fair before peoples faces, but cheating if he can secretly, and taking undue advantage of others. Or, it may shew itself in another form of the fear of the loss of reputation, when a person is in a state of mean dependence on the opinion of others, and will be good or bad as his company may be, or those he has happened to be taught to look up to.

I will illustrate these remarks by returning to the case of the father and son, building their habitation, before cited in exemplification of the operation of good affections. If these persons be principled in the denial of the social obligations; acting *principally* from the love of gain, or wordly credit, or from the two mixed together, then in their dealings with those in the different trades, or uses, whom they may have occasion to employ, or to exercise commerce with, they will endeavour to take advantage and cheat. In this instance, instead of observing the harmonious operation of the social affections, in the order of Use, we see that the private branch of the social relations is prostituted to a base *ruling principle*. Such persons when they come to be tried, will be found not to discharge either private or other relations from a good principle, and will consequently be defeated in the possession of that happiness which the exercise of the affections in the order of Use alone can give.

A man should consider himself and those belonging to him, first (first, as to time, and alike with others as to end, or purpose) and therefore keep exact accounts, taking care that he is not im-

posed on ; but, if he deny others their own, he does not consider his own advantage ; because he is *actuated* by affections that defeat their own end in the long run. If we take the other instance of the father and son, the latter of whom is a student in the medical profession—if we suppose *them* to be influenced *principally* by a mean love of gain, or of worldly credit—if the exalted affections and intellectual faculties, which we have presumed to belong to them, can be so perverted as to be made subservient to such motives—then, instead of being objects of veneration, they become the very pests of society ; for the mischief they may do is in proportion to the importance of the use they discharge if uncorrupted ; and to the impossibility that the community can defend themselves against their hypocrisy, and base prostitution of principle.

The loves of fame, or honour, and property, as ruling motives, have their corresponding fears, which, under the apprehension of the loss of the objects these loves are placed on, torment those actuated by them. All affections have their positive and negative state; conjoined good & truth, or the inward observance of the social obligations, secures ultimately their positive exercise, which is their gratification—and *that on the part of all the members of the community so acting.*

If the love of power be the ruling principle of action, the individual who is the subject of it violates the social relations from the simple indulgence of self-will. He will submit self to no order but that of its proper will. He *will not* submit to the restraints of right in discharging any use to society, if he have had self controul enough to acquire a knowledge of such an use. Self-will observes no relations either private or public, and, as far as it can, violates not only right, but decency, and the civil law. This person is a tyrant, whether in his family, or in public, as far as he dare. There can be no reciprocation of affection with him, but the relation must be that of tyrant and slave. Two such persons obliged to live together will make a sufficiently severe punishment.

The loves of power, fame, and wealth, are all varieties of the same principle, since power effects its purposes by means of fame and wealth.

These affections are evil when they are exercised *primarily* for the sake of self ; and good when they are exercised *primarily* for the sake of Use. Their exercise in subservience to self constitutes the abuse of freedom ; as their exercise in subservience to Use constitutes the use of freedom.

The denial of the social relations originating in these evil affections, may, of course, be complicated with a predominance of the merely animal propensities ; or with an infra-bestial habit of corporeal indulgence.

Since mankind are hereditarily recipient of evil affections we observe the necessity of those distinctions in society which the order of Use implies. What is the consequence if this order be not observed ?

I would not have it supposed, from my observations on population, that the danger of civil commotion arises solely from the discontents of the people on account of physical suffering. The evil passions of men who have been spoilt by habitual insubordination, and capricious rule over others, (whether in families, and in small societies, or in large societies,) & the collision of these passions with each other, or with the decisions of those who respect, and have united with the determination to maintain order, are a more frequent cause of civil disturbance. Every person of observation must have noticed the desire for influence amongst the principal members of a neighbourhood, and how this desire occasions disagreement, when some difference of opinion, or feeling, takes place on some, perhaps, unimportant subject. This disagreement leads to personal enmity, each party appealing to his friends, and sometimes irreconcilable variance is the result. In certain states of society settlement by physical force or mortal combat, is considered indispensable on such an occasion, but at present, in the best circles it is considered that individuals should not suffer their private quarrels to disturb public order; and that it is best for the parties concerned to pen up their courage for a more suitable occasion of its exhibition.

The adoption of measures for the preservation of civil order, is grounded in the necessity of counteracting the power of the selfish principle in the world, and those who make light of this principle know not the nature of man, nor of evil. Every one at all acquainted with history is aware of the fierce contests which have taken place for power, property, and influence, under the collision of men actuated by opposite principles, and under the collision of the subjects of the selfish principle themselves, at some period, or other, in every nation. The effect resulting from such collision is seen in the quarrels produced between nations, between rival factions in the same nation, and even in families. Some form of civil order has, hence, been established in the most barbarous societies. Every nation has been distinguished by one differing in some respects from others, and some have been more, and others less effectual in securing the object intended. We have already seen that the system of Great Britain has both been effectual in preserving external order, and conducive to the moral and intellectual advancement of the nation.

Civil order is of two kinds, that which is observed voluntarily, and that which is maintained by the civil power. Voluntary civil order is that which is observed by individuals who all agree concerning the principle on which it shall be maintained, knowing that its observance is necessary to the common object they have in view. Such is the order observed by bodies of men who unite for any particular object whether it be a banking, or any other, company. This order is elective, the officers for executing the purposes of the body for which order is established being chosen by vote. This kind of order exists in private societies, and bodies of men within a nation, and whether they continue as a body, or not, is of little moment to the peace of the country, the external civil order of the nation still go-

ing on, and preventing any ill consequences whether the private society break up in disagreement, or not.

National order requires to be sustained by the civil power, first, on account of the aggressions of rival nations; and secondly, on account of internal divisions arising from the different interests and passions incident to men in bodies. Civil order in nations has to be sustained by power on the latter ground, because, in case of disagreement, from mutual feeling of injustice, insult, or injury, the passions of men are aroused, and if not prevented, they will in the attempt to counteract each others influence, and to gratify revenge, be in perpetual mortal hostility. On this account each nation has an establishment for the support of civil order by the exercise of power, and, in case of national insult or injury, the nation takes up the affair, when, if force be appealed to, it is exercised by a body of men organized for the express purpose. Hence the necessity for a nation to have a military, judicial, and police establishment, and the latter are also to be sustained by the former, if necessary.

The very name of freedom implies that it may be abused, and as the abuse of freedom is the result of the passions operating between the members of society, which if unopposed terminate in violence to property, or person, the existence of freedom also implies the establishment of a civil power.

Power is of two kinds, physical & moral. Civil power operates by external force. Moral power acts on volition. The operation of moral power is upon the understanding and upon the will. It operates on the understanding by enabling it to see what is right and true, and it operates on the will by inducing it to feel, and love what is good. Here I have a remark to make concerning freedom.

Freedom of will is independence of coercive power, or violence, from the wills of others. It is freedom in the exercise of that degree of power, property, and credit, which belongs to a man in social order. It would appear at first sight that the extent of individual freedom in a community depended on the actual equalization of power, property, and credit. But, when this is the case, all are so employed in obtaining the means of bodily support, that cultivation of mind, in which originate the most important uses, is undervalued and neglected, ignorance of course not knowing its value.

On the other hand, where distinctions in society depend on rank alone, uses are undervalued, the privilege, reward, and dignity of Use is separated from it, and despotism exists. Thus cultivation of mind is necessary both to understand what is good and right, and to govern properly; as well as to that scientific advancement on which the discoveries of such indispensable advantage to mankind originate.

We see that the use of freedom is freedom according to reason, which is the understanding of a person's relations with society, and then taking his place in the observance of those relations.

We find that although freedom is independence of coercive power, or of violence, from the wills of others, which is independence of self love, yet, that freedom according to reason is self coercion.

A man does violence to, and destroys his own, or self will, and then receives a new, or social will. "He that would save his life shall lose it, and he that would lose his life for my sake, the same shall find it." For my sake in this passage, means for the Truth's sake.

Freedom, therefore, instead of being independence of each others wills, is dependence on each other for the exercise of the social affections. Self love being removed, social union, or the exercise of the social affections, exists according to the order of Divine Providence.

I now continue the remarks on moral power.

It operates as light to the understanding, enabling it to see moral objects, and as heat to the will-affections, and we know the genial influence of heat on the animal and vegetable kingdoms in spring & summer. The sun is the source of heat and light, and the moral sun is the divine Wisdom of the Word. Its heat the divine love; and its light the Divine Wisdom. Moral power is the spirit, or principle of the social affections. That which is good and true to a man is according to the truths he has previously received. Those truths which a person cannot appreciate are no truths to him. Moral power can only be exercised in freedom. It thus leads voluntarily, forming each person's taste, and leading according to it. The quality of a man's freedom is according to that which he loves, and the degrees in social freedom are innumerable.

We have seen that freedom must be exercised according to reason, or, to the understanding of a man's relations with society; and it is equally true that reason (the rational faculties) must be exercised according to freedom. In a certain passage in the psalms, David says, "I will play upon an instrument of ten strings." In the internal sense this instrument of ten strings is the ten commandments—the fundamental truths of order. And, in reflecting on the way in which reason and freedom harmonize with each other, are we not listening to the melody of order.

In a community where constitutional freedom and civil order are combined, every man, the obligations of business and public duty being discharged, is free—he retires to his private and chosen circle of acquaintance, and is there amongst his equals. This is true equality, being one of choice, according to feelings, habits, and education, not that forced and artificial equality in which all are reduced to a low level. Thus a man's standing in freedom is according to the advances he has made in human restoration—in which he has been elevated from the degeneracy which is the natural lot of fallen humanity, whether that degeneracy consist of ignorance, or of evil. By means of such advancement on the part of men is the condition of those below them improved. They become the media through which the blessings of Divine bounty are dispensed to others.

In a country where the law is grounded on moral truth, and where the majority of the people voluntarily support the law, every man doing so is free—free both from the caprice of a single tyrant who is above the law, and, what is of equal moment, from the caprice of the multitude which is above the law. The monarch being

subject to the law is, by such obedience, reduced to a level with the meanness of his subjects. The distinctions of men according to their usefulness is to the advantage of every one in the nation; they are of far higher value than merely for the preservation of civil order, although, in this respect, they are of great and indispensable value. By such distinctions the pleasures of mankind are multiplied and exalted. There is not a purer source of satisfaction than the love of distinction for the sake of doing benefit to one's country, but, as there are even higher motives than this, I will say for the sake of use. It is only by means of such distinction that great good can be done, since, in a country where honours and rewards are bestowed according to use, usefulness must be distinguished. These distinctions contribute also to the elevation and freedom of the human character, as evidently appears from what has been said just above on the equality originating in choice. The law thus effectually levels all distinctions as far as regards essentials to the freedom and happiness of its supporters; it is therefore to be looked upon as that which supports every individual in the possession and enjoyment of all his advantages, and which countenances him in the acquisition of new ones. The law is thus for the sake of man, not man for the sake of the law. And by the observance of the law, man is restored to that state of peace—nay of active enjoyment, which consists of the reciprocation of services from good affections, without danger of annoyance from the power of selfishness—which it is the object of moral and civil law to remove. By the law, in the sense employed above, I would include the great external bond and form of social order in a country, consisting of its civil law, its public opinion, customs, manners, and morals. I have shown, then, how freedom is exercised according to reason, & how reason is exercised according to freedom, and we see the identity of freedom, reason, and wisdom, and that these are all comprised in USE.

Since all that the constitution can do is to secure civil order and constitutional freedom—and as the preservation of these admits of great latitude for the existence and operation of opposite principles of morals, in the use and the abuse of freedom, much will remain for moral instruction to do.

The object of civil government is to preserve freedom. The object of moral government and instruction is to use freedom. Now as the preservation of freedom depends on its use, the preservation of freedom depends on the degree of truth existing in the morals acknowledged in a community. Thus every thing depends, ultimately, on moral government and instruction in leading the wills of men in freedom; and as moral government and instruction is grounded in Divine Truth, every thing depends on a correct understanding of the Word existing in the Church.

I have thought it better to discuss the general principles by which the formation of a new state of society, on the part of the population filling up a new country, should be regulated, rather than to suggest any particular rules for that purpose. When principles of



truth are understood they can easily be applied by those persons possessing influence in the country; and it is not only to those possessing influence in the civil government that I would address these observations, but do also solemnly and respectfully urge the Clergy of all denominations, to make themselves acquainted with the spiritual sense of the Sacred Writings, having no doubt that they will, in consequence of doing so, be able to discharge their important office with increased satisfaction to themselves.

With some observations on the peculiar condition of the British Provinces, I shall conclude this publication.

All that a government, however wise can do is to preserve civil order and constitutional freedom, indeed all they can strictly do is to preserve civil order, the rest depends on the character of the people, and according to that character, as to good motive and intelligence, are the means which a government is called on to adopt for the preservation of civil order. If a nation be unenlightened a strong government is indispensable, and if they be enlightened no government can long be despotic. The preservation of constitutional freedom, therefore, implies the existence both of an intelligent people and a wise government—a people principled in the internal acknowledgment of the social relations. To effect this Use of freedom, which is the result of a wise system of moral instruction acting on civil freedom, is a moral and individual work. The abuse of freedom, or the internal denial of the social obligations, is that over which the government has no control; but as the existence of constitutional freedom depends on its Use a wise government will make the establishment of a system of moral instruction, founded on the best principles known, a primary object of their care. Sectarian prejudices at present will prevent the establishment of a national system of effectual moral instruction, all therefore that can be done, in a national way, is to institute a plan to inculcate the discharge of the civil duties, in conjunction with general moral instruction, proper portions of the Word being read, with such interpretations only as all admit the validity of. Intellectual advancement and acumen, unless it be attended with a corresponding elevation of the will principle, will only be, in a state, like a brilliant meteor to appear for an instant and explode. The civil law must be executed, and moral duties must be done, but the consciences of men cannot be forced by external power.

The operation of moral influence, or power, in a community is that it renders a greater number of persons the subjects of good, and fewer the subjects of evil, occasioning their good also to be of a higher character. It thus renders less exertion of civil power necessary, and diminishes the moral distance between the societies which make up a community.

A nation is composed of innumerable societies, as the world to every man consists principally of his own circle of acquaintance. Each of these societies has its own form of moral government, consisting of its public opinion, education, habits, manners, taste and

views of *decorum*, according to which it admits of the exercise of human affections and faculties of intellect. In some of these societies the human feelings are kept up in the prison houses of etiquette and ceremony constraining the abuse of order. In others the passions are let loose without regulation, or order, when the emptiness of those gratifications on which man naturally sets his heart is proved by the satiety and ennui of those who can do in every thing as they please. Here we see the disadvantage of not encouraging, in people of affluence and rank, the affections constituting ambition; although this observation is more applicable to the state of society in the old communities of Europe than to these Provinces. Nevertheless principles of truth are the same every where, and change of circumstances merely requires variation in the manner of their application. Man is an affection, and if good affections according to the order of truth be not fostered, bad affections will exist. It is only by the exercise of the affections that man is man; and a rational ambition constitutes a part of the true exercise of human affections. Under the neglect or proper regulation of character, in this respect, it often happens that the principal affections are sacrificed to the abuse of one or two of the lowest. In other societies again life is a continual struggle with external difficulties, and notwithstanding poverty, want of education, and the absence of every means of improvement, yet the want of opportunities for entering into vicious excesses, occasions the lot of persons in such situations, even if it be attended with a low degree of virtue, to be far better than that of many of their superiors. In other societies, again, education, good breeding, good habits, and extensive influence, occasion that rational exercise of all the faculties, both of will and intellect, which constitutes true wisdom. These societies are, of course, morally far distant from each other, and it is to the advantage of each individual that he should cultivate the social relations with those whom he is likely to be near when time and space have ceased to be barriers to the association of those in a state of moral assimilation.

On account of these different societies in every nation, it requires for an individual to have mixed extensively in various societies before he can form an estimate of the social condition of such a nation, as to its peculiarities in the respects mentioned.

In a practical point of view, the fact of the existence of these various societies, each with its own standard of opinion, requires that each individual should join one, and such an one as will allow of the full exercise of all the faculties which his situation in society, his education, and his corresponding capacity for usefulness occasion him morally to belong to. This placing of the members of a community is the result of a moral compact between the particular society and the individual.

As the habits, tastes, and opinions of different societies differ so exceedingly, not only in point of moral principle and intelligence, but in worldly circumstances, which occasions smaller societies to exist within nations, so that a person has endless variety of choice,

it is right that every one should connect himself with that society whose ways are most agreeable to him from the manner in which he has been brought up. From this great variety of choice it happens that a man, in pleasing himself, also best pleases the society he connects himself with, and best discharges his duty to the community in which he lives. What an admirable provision is this again by the ever kind Maker of men, through which the means of securing individual, also secures the general happiness. It may seem strange to endeavour philosophically to shew that each person should associate most with those of a similar standing, and consequent similarity of feelings and habits with himself, as it will appear to many so plain an axiom of common sense. Theoretical notions of men's equality with each other have, however, been carried to so irrational an extent, that this position is not only questioned, but the most sedulous attempts have been made, by the influence of public opinion on legislation, to preserve a forced equality amongst mankind both unnatural and immoral.

As then the various distinctions in society are conducive to liberty, to the facility of choice in associates, and to the emulation which contributes so much to human moral and intellectual improvement, that attention to what are considered trifles in matters of dress, manner, ornament and fashion, which has by many persons been supposed to indicate want of sense, by no means does so; but, on the contrary, is not more conducive to individual and social comfort, than it is consistent with good sense, particularly in a nation with the infinite variety in the social relations that characterizes Great Britain. As these matters depend on circumstances it requires good sense to regulate them, and to insist on the same observances in this respect under a condition of society to which they are inapplicable would be absurd. These observations will, however, give a clue as to what a newly forming state of society should not despise, and may tend to counteract prevailing errors of an opposite kind.

By the operation of moral power, as just mentioned, the distance between the minor societies in a community is diminished, there being less elevation on the right side, and less depth on the wrong side of general opinion. Public opinion is thus rendered more uniform, and more grounded in wisdom than in prejudice. Society is, in this way, reduced more to a plane—the vallies are exalted and the hills made low.

The favourable, or unfavourable state of a community for moral advancement, or an improved state of individual volition, depends much on circumstances; and I have already stated why the circumstances of the communities in the old world are less favourable to such an object than are the circumstances of these Provinces. The fact that people either have freehold property, or are well paid for their labour, implies that they may have that attachment to the country which I have described as originating in the social affections; and as the possessors of freehold property become, after a short time, easy in their circumstances, in comparison with a person who has

to labour the whole of every day for his bodily support, it also follows that they may have sufficient leisure time for acquiring the information necessary to a rational attachment to the constitution; and breeding up their families in that admixture of bodily and mental activity most conducive to the development of useful talent, for the acquisition of mental advantages, and for prosecuting successfully their worldly interests.

When a majority of the people in a community are thus capable of being the recipients of truth they will preserve their freedom. Truth induces, on the part of such a majority of the people, the active support of civil order, or voluntary obedience to the civil law which every free man in the community helps to make and to execute.

Where the people themselves thus are sufficiently enlightened concerning their national rights and duties, to unite in order to prevent the infraction of the civil law, of course those strong measures are not necessary, to be taken by the government to secure its execution, as where the majority of the people remain in ignorance, and only nominally within the pale of the constitution, each man looking first to his own interest, and considering, practically, the state for the sake of himself, instead of making the interest of the state and his own interest one. I do not say making the interest of the state first, and his own interest second, for that is not necessary. The interest of the state, and of the individuals making up the state, are entirely and indivisibly one. Indeed every one should regard himself, and those belonging to him first, as I have before observed, but if he deny others, or the state, their rights, he does not regard his own in the long run;—if he deny the state its rights, of course he denies ours its rights, since the individuals of a community make up the community. As was stated nearly at the beginning of this pamphlet, the civil law depends on the moral law. Now supposing obedience to the civil law to be thus based on the observance of moral principle, and every free person in the community, thus to unite in order to prevent the infraction of the civil law, (as a great majority might easily do in the Provinces) those strong measures would never become necessary to secure its execution, as when the bulk of the people are in ignorance, which is so much the case in the old world, and to obviate which, in future, it is more than questionable whether those strong measures have been adopted in a great part of the new world, although this is a matter which must be proved by experience. If the republican experiment should turn out a failure, it would be a delightful thing to have a secure place of resort for the great portion of the people, in a community where the laws were sufficiently wise, and well executed to afford them protection. The effect of aording an undue extent of civil privileges to a community which is in an unfit state for their reception, is now exemplified in the condition of the South American States.

But I was presuming the consequences of obedience to the civil law, grounded on moral principle, on the part of a truly intelligent people,

Those exceeding inequalities of station and wealth which must exist, sooner or later, under a contrary state of things would then be unnecessary. The inequalities of men would be more strictly dependent on usefulness, and the differences in views and habits thence originating. Those extreme opposites either in virtue and vice, depravity and refinement, or in opulence and poverty need not exist. Men would be drawn nearer together in the social compact, and even those useful inequalities which always exist would not separate men so entirely from all sympathy with each other, as under the extremes just noticed. All would partake more of the benefits resulting from alternate useful employment and relaxation, and they might partake of that most eminently useful alternation of employment of the body and employment of the mind, which is so mutually invigorating and advantageous to each; and when men become assimilated by mental cultivation then inequalities become still farther diminished. Under such improved circumstances of mankind we should have neither the ennuï, fastidiousness, caprice, sensitiveness, nor haughtiness, on the part of the opulent, nor the vices of meanness, subservience, servile adulation, and pandering to the self love of others, which are the counterparts of the former; and if there should not be the profusion, the splendour, magnificence, and polish of the older nations of Europe, neither would there be the opposite condition, on the part of the other end of the community, of entire engrossment in sordid care; the solicitude and anxiety about the provision for mere bodily wants; the entire loss of self respect, and nevertheless utter selfishness, attendant on extreme poverty; with all the recklessness, hardened destitution of moral principle and feeling, which exists on the part of those who make systematic endeavours to violate that rigour of the law, rendered imperiously necessary by such a state of things. Neither would there be those anxieties originating in the vicissitudes of fortune which such extreme inequalities in the condition of men occasion. It must however be remembered that such a state of communities as exists in Europe gives occasion for the manifestation of extraordinary degrees of virtue, and the resistance of extraordinary temptations, which there are no opportunities of calling into existence in the more even tenour of society existing in these Provinces. In comparing the advantages and disadvantages of different states of society, therefore, we have reason to admire the wisdom and beneficence of Divine Providence, in giving each its good qualities, more than to award exclusive praise, or exclusive condemnation, to any one country.

On the whole, then, have not these Provinces an opportunity of forming a state of society superior to any that exists in the world? But whether these opportunities be realized or not, depends on the inhabitants of the Provinces themselves.

Nothing but an enlightened sense of their true interests can induce men voluntarily to support the civil law, and moral obligation, when properly understood, is the same with true interest. In a community where civil order is not supported on this ground, the existence

of a strong system for the support of the civil law by coercion, is, or will be, indispensable. Now we have seen that the circumstances of Europe are extremely unfavorable for the formation of such a state of society at present, it would therefore seem to be a dispensation of Divine Providence that the formation of a new and improved condition of social order, originating in a lucid and rational acknowledgment of the social obligations, should be destined for a new country, where the obstacles existing in Europe may be obviated. Let not the "will be" above expressed then, be applicable to any of these Provinces.

There are abundant reasons why the people of the British Provinces have an advantage over those of the United States in forming this improved state of society. In the first place the United States separated from England in ill blood, and had their eyes so intently fixed on the abuses of government as to lose a due estimate of its indispensable and transcendent advantages. Their system of government is consequently based on suspicion, and want of confidence in the ability and integrity of their rulers, so as to subject them to the constant supervision of popular opinion based on natural intelligence. A system of measures for the public good, and based in truth, is therefore liable to be constantly thwarted, if an opposition can possibly act on the popular and national feeling so as for it to be roused against the administration of the government, and the national prejudices a sagacious opposition well knows how to appeal to.

The strife and contest for power is not subjected to the controlling influence of a head, for the chief officer himself is the subject of popular opinion. The necessity of acting on popular opinion is *all* that the parties in rivalry for posts of power, in the nation, have to regard; every consideration, therefore, which may be above national feeling and prejudice has to yield to the power of these latter exerted at an election; and in what numerous ways may this feeling and prejudice be inflamed, or alarmed, so as to be at issue with the dictates of truth, influencing the comparatively few rationally informed, and endowed members of the community.

It was asked a few pages back what would be thought of a body with its head lowermost?

[As the paragraph from which these words are quoted was not inserted, it is placed here. It was intended to have been placed at page 22.]

The sovereign is the head of the constitution. But a head is of no more use without a body, than a body without a head. The constitution consists of a body. It may rather be said that the sovereign and the legislature together form the constitutional head, the sovereign answering to the will principle with its power and determination towards *act*, and the legislature, as to its proper faculty, constituting the intellectual and judging faculty. What then forms the constitutional body and limbs? The head wills according to judgment. The body and limbs carry out the determinations of the head. It was said that the sovereign appointed the officers who were to admin-

ister the government; and every officer concerned, in the most remote way, in executing the decisions of the government, thus assisting to carry out the decisions of the constitutional head, down to a constable, or a revenue officer, forms a part of the constitutional body. Not only every one engaged in a public office, but every person who supports an officer in the discharge of his duty, or contributes to the revenue which supports such officers, constitutes a portion of the constitutional body. Every man who discharges any use to society also forms a part of the constitutional body. Every one who justly exercises the elective franchise, or adds his quatum to the public press, contributes to the wisdom which forms the constitutional judgment. Thus a nation whose various parts act in concert is emphatically an unity—one body. What shall we say then of a body with its head lowermost?

In this question reference was made to that moral condition, whether in an individual or a nation, in which lower principles were first instead of the highest principles being so. The person in such a case is not a form of order, but of order inverted, hence of disorder. It is the exact resemblance of a man in whom the lower principles such as the love of fame, power or wealth, form the ruling principles, of his character, instead of the principle of truth being master and chief. The result of this is disorder whether in families, in bodies of men within a nation, or in nations themselves. Masters must be in their places and servants must be in theirs. The same is the case with the principles of human action.

Reasons have already been given why the preservation of order in such a state of things, with so weak an Executive, is only compatible with a degree of truth, and a sense of justice, on the part of the bulk of a people, which we have no reason to suppose exists on the earth. As might have been expected, ever since the establishment of this form of government, the democracy have been gaining more and more power into their hands, and ultimately quarrels about property, as occasioning a privileged class, may be predicted. While however the members of a community are scattered over a large extent of surface the seeds of discord are latent, and a very indifferent system of civil government may be sufficient to preserve civil order. The populace understand that system of government better than their rationally informed men. It is not agreeable to their rational feelings that those distinctions, so incompatible with their views of the equality of mankind, should exist: and as these feelings become sharpened by the widening of these distinctions in a dense population, nations, unless some counteracting influence exists in their laws, are very apt to act on their feelings, when force has to be met by force, and alas! in such a struggle what is the probable lot of the force of wisdom. Ought not a government founded on the principle that all the men of the nation are capable of judging in matters of state, to begin by abolishing the rights of property? There is one good effect, however, resulting from their form of government in the United States, which is that, as the maintenance of order de-

pend solely on the wisdom of the people, the virtuous and rationally informed men in the legislature, and occupying other stations of extensive influence, are under the absolute necessity of exerting themselves to induce the people to become informed and improved.

But the nature, and the prevalence of an unprincipled ambition and self interest amongst men, may be judged of in some measure, from what has been said in this work, and in the strife for power, by men actuated by the fierce license of this principle, what chance is there for the mild influence of wisdom, acting by moral power on free will, to be heard?

The prejudices of the people of the United States against the British government are certainly natural enough. Previously to that war by which their prejudices were confirmed, the colonists had without doubt, been subjected to mal-administration on the part of some of their Governors, but to quarrel with institutions and laws because some of the inferior officers administering them have perverted their powers, is just as reasonable as for a man who has been thrown from his carriage by an intoxicated, or careless driver, to throw aside his carriage and horses determining not to be again subjected to a similar accident. France which assisted the colonies to throw off the dominion of Britain fell an immediate sacrifice to the example; and the immense pauper population of Britain, hearing of the degree of popular freedom existing in the United States, and forgetful of the total want of parallel in the condition of the two nations, are panting for a change which they fancy will be attended with relief from their present condition of physical suffering.

The British Provinces, having the example of Britain and of the United States before them, both in what to imitate and what to avoid, may, if it be not their own fault, adopt a wise system of internal, and thence of external social improvement. In this respect they will be backed and encouraged by Great Britain, and be assisted both by her moral influence and approval, as well as physical protection. The neighboring republic forget that they owe every thing morally to Britain, not only in consequence of being from the same stock, but by taking continual advantage of the profuse supply of literature, science, and art, which is pouring from the intellectual resources of Britain, while she herself is so meagre in original productions. As I have before observed, the condition of Britain gives occasion to the display of greater degrees of social perfection, as well as of imperfection, than is the case in countries where the relations of society are less complicated. Canada may, if she choose, imitate the one and avoid the other, as the Province grows to maturity; thus, in the work of improvement, the moral influence of Britain will not be less important than her physical protection; and, without the latter, it would be impossible for Canada to possess any advantages over the United States. That the views of Britain towards these colonies are both politic and liberal, an evidence is afforded in the late proposition, coming from the home government, at the suggestion of the present Governor General, that in local matters of a fiscal nature the United



Province of Canada shall not only have representative and responsible, but direct government; each district managing its own affairs in this way by means of municipalities. Such a provision as this is recommended, however, by the home government to be established by the approaching Provincial legislature. This is an advantage which our republican neighbors do not possess, for even if a particular neighbourhood wants a cross road making, it must be ordered by the state legislature; and such necessity sometimes occasions the most corrupt prostitution of the elective franchise, by which men are swayed by local interests, instead of by the public good, in the exercise of that important trust.

The condition of a colony and that of a nation, in respect to civil government, differ in many respects. The officer administering the government has to consider the relations of the dependency he presides over, with the nation of which it forms a part. In return for the advantage of protection by, and connection with that nation, the colony must submit to such government as is necessary for it to make a part of the empire at large. The colony may, nevertheless, urge its own views on the consideration of the Imperial government, and take a very active part in all matters relating to its welfare; but must yield, for its own sake, as well as the general welfare, to the decision of the principal power.

The members of the Upper House of the legislature in the provinces are men who, from their independence in a worldly point of view, have not been under the necessity of consuming their time in making a provision for their physical wants; they have, therefore, had sufficient leisure to acquire a knowledge of the duties required in that more extensive sphere of usefulness which they occupy. They have indeed been chosen on account of their advantages over their fellow subjects of the colony, in this respect.

As the House of Representatives has to exercise these functions in the provincial government which the House of Commons does in the imperial government, as far as consistent with the dependency of a colony, the same observations which have been made on the election of members to the House of Commons apply to the sending of members to the House of Representatives.

As the degree of influence with which a people can be entrusted in legislative proceedings depends on the degree in which they are rationally informed concerning the nature and extent of the social obligations, and consequently concerning the bearing of private, public, national, and international good on each other, it is a proof of the good opinion which the imperial government entertains of the people in these Provinces, that the Crown, in the choice of officers constituting the heads of departments, in the provincial government, has, through the colonial minister, signified its intention of selecting those persons who have acted "in accordance with the well understood wishes of the people as expressed through a majority of their representatives." This means, I presume, that the Imperial Government considers the people of Canada as capable of understanding what is best for the

province, as a colony. if the men exercising power are such as to be capable of showing clearly that this is the case with respect to the acts of the government. If the men who fill important public offices are not capable of doing this, it appears that they will have to yield their places to those who can do so ; at the same time, the Imperial Government does not, in principle, give up the power of exercising an imperial judgment.

As before observed, it has not been my intention, in this work, to go into particulars respecting civil government, but, on the contrary to confine myself to general principles ; conceiving that correct induction, respecting the relation existing between moral and civil influences, is more required in the present state of mankind, than the discussion of political and civil details.

## APPENDIX

### TO PART FIRST—ON THE ADVANTAGES ACCRUING FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE "CANADA EMIGRATION ASSOCIATION."

I observe that Doctor Rolph, in a speech made at a meeting of the Colonization Society in London, discountenances the idea of indiscriminate emigration, and speaks of the ill consequences which must arise from landing a large number of indigent persons on the shores of these Provinces who are not in possession of the means of conveyance to the places where labour may be procured, or of sustaining themselves on grants of land during the first few months of their settlement; shewing, at the same time, that every facility will be afforded to emigrants on their landing, in pointing out situations where employment is to be obtained, and in every other respect that can reasonably be demanded. Thus the objections of those persons to the plans of the association, & to the proceedings of Dr. Rolph, are met, who consider that they will have the effect of inducing a superabundant influx of emigrants before any adequate provision is made for their reception. And those persons in Great Britain who send out paupers from their estates, or from their parishes, will be made aware that it is necessary to do something more than merely to pay the expence of their voyage. There has generally, indeed, been a small overplus provided for emigrants, who have been sent out in this way, but owing to the want of knowing the best manner of disposing of themselves, on their landing, their little stock of money has been exhausted, before they could obtain any means of procuring a livelihood, when they have been left in no better state than if they had been landed in a penny-less condition. This is an evil, however, which will now be obviated.

To enable a family to subsist while making such improvement as will enable them to live by the produce of their farms will, I am informed, require a sum of from three to five hundred dollars at least, on an average. Mr. Hawke, the emigrant agent, at Toronto, stated the amount required for this purpose to be higher than I have mentioned, and his opportunities for coming to a correct judgment on this subject entitle his opinion to much weight.

If, therefore, it should be determined to settle any number of families on land by means of funds provided by the Association, by the

Colonization Society, or even by any land-holder, parish, or private society in Great Britain, it becomes of consequence to know if land can be prepared for location at less expense than is required to support the family of the settler while a sufficient portion of the land is under preparation for yielding them a subsistence. As the old country emigrants are, until they have had some experience in the woods, extremely unskilful woodsmen, and will require twice as long a time, at least, to do the same work in clearing, &c. that an experienced woodsman could accomplish : would it not be a great saving of expence, if a small portion of the land were to be cleared, by woodsmen hired for the purpose, previous to the grantee entering on his land ? He would then enter on his grant, say in September, and the following September will have a crop of grain, to supply his family with food the succeeding year ; thus he will have to be supported but one year instead of two.

Besides the objection to the plan of the association on the ground that it will occasion an indeterminate and superabundant emigration, it is also stated, by those who do not view the plans of the Association with favour, that its exertions must be inadequate to attain the objects aimed at, and that any extensive plan of immigration, to be successful, must be under the supervision and management of the government. As I have before stated, the object of the Association is, to effect that which it is out of the power of the government to perform, as the government cannot interfere with the right of property on the part of individuals any further than directly, or indirectly, to levy a tax on uncultivated lands. The government gives every support in its power to the plan of the Association, and therefore, so far as the views of the government are concerned, this may be called a government plan. The government, also, has it in view, to provide employment for emigrants on public works. It also affords free grants of land to emigrants in the same way that the association does. But this operation of the government does not meet the difficulty proposed to be obviated by the Association, which is that the lands at the disposal of the government, are objected to by settlers on account of the distance to which they are removed from the advantages of settled neighbourhoods by the extent of uncultivated land, in the hands of private persons, intervening between such neighbourhoods and any government land which they can obtain. Those who look for the government to act so exclusively in forwarding this object, do not consider the limited means at the disposal of the government, and how numerous and extensive are the calls on the resources at its command. The very persons who thus think so little of adding to the burthens of the government expences, would not probably be the last to cry out at an increase of taxation, rendered necessary by the circumstance that the government should assume other than the ordinary calls upon it for expending its funds. The government is an engine to direct the activity of the community, not to stand in the way of that activity. Some persons seem to consider that the public treasury is like a fountain springing out of the earth, always running

and never exhausted. They forget that this fountain has no other source than the pockets of the people, and at the same time that they think so little of drawing from it, most unreasonably evade, as far as in them lies, contributing their share to its supply, by cheating the revenue whenever they have the opportunity.

The plans of the association are grounded on a knowledge of the real wants of the Province. Its members know, that what are required here are stout arms and stout hearts—men who come in order to find a home, not to speculate, amass money, and go away. The country does not afford facilities for successful speculation of such a kind, but a good home it can afford to the hardy sons of Britain, who, from having needed, know the value of such a home; and from knowing its value will defend it, and their property, if need be, with their lives. Men are wanted here who have been bred to industry, and can tame the forest, exchanging the plowshare for the musket, if necessary, at the call of their government; for they should also be such as from valuing their homes, and their privileges, will also value the government which secures to them and protects them, in the exercise of those privileges. They should also be men capable of such wise good feeling amongst themselves, as to have no anxiety about a provision being made for those they leave behind them in case of falling in defence of the soil which they can call their own, knowing that the care of their compatriots will render this unnecessary; and a cordial feeling between the government and the people is kept up by its being well known that the government leaves nothing on its part undone under such circumstances. These Provinces also want men to fill them up, who not only are able to provide for themselves, and acquire that property which is so readily obtained here, & also ready to defend their property against external aggression, but who are also sagacious enough to defend themselves against the equally pernicious influence of internal broils, and that bad spirit and disturbance of society which is the result of perpetual litigation, and quarrels about property. In consequence of the great number of the possessors of small properties, this spirit of litigation is a crying evil both in these Provinces and in the United States, and it is one which saps the foundation of peace in a community, and goes hand in hand with political discontent and jarring. It is of great consequence that those who would form a compact state of society should be able to see far enough before them to know the necessity of, as far as possible, settling their disputes by friendly arbitration, and of settling them as they arise, so that social discord may be averted. It is also of the last consequence that those who settle here should obtain a suitable education for their children, but it is education of a particular kind. I observed that stout hearts were wanted here; but the best part of a stout heart is that it is fresh enough to feel the influence of good affections, and from that influence will fight for what it values. And the education which is principally required here is the training up in the exercise of good affections, and imparting a vigorous understanding, individually and

collectively, to the members of the community, by means of which such community may take the measures requisite for affording the opportunity of, as well as preserving the disposition to, the exercise of such affections. So to form and give energy to the understanding is, here, of more consequence than to fill the external apartments of the mind with scientific acquirements, valuable as these are when duly estimated, and a due estimation is to make them secondary instead of primary.

The education required for such a community is simple—but although simple it has a high aim—that of securing the exercise of those affections, by means of the cultivation of that understanding, on the part of the body of a community, which they all derive from their Maker. Although therefore the education required for the inhabitants of these Provinces is simple, the character which it should assume is yet clear—clear as truth. The plain and useful education which I would recommend as suited to the present and approaching condition of these Provinces, is one which will prepare the way for an ornamental education to a succeeding age, that ornamental education being grounded on the immutable basis of wisdom. I am far, very far, from being an enemy to ornament and refinement, but I would make the useful the foundation, and the ornamental the superstructure. If their situations be reversed, the ornamental is worse than useless, but when each is in its place, the ornamental is necessary to the finishing of what is useful. Each condition of life, and stage of society has, indeed, its ornaments, as the very wilderness is strewed with flowers.

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NOTE.—In the Monthly Review devoted to the Civil Government of the Canadas, for the present month of March, an admirable plan is suggested for at once improving the Agricultural condition of the Province, and effecting the settlements of Emigrants destitute of capital on free grants of land. This plan is that such emigrants, instead of being employed on public works, should be distributed amongst such farmers as have need of labourers. There are few farmers, occupying farms of a common size, but who could employ an additional labourer with advantage to themselves, provided they could find the money to pay him. This is the great difficulty, and this difficulty it is proposed to obviate in the following way. The object of the emigrant labourer is not to receive money, but to obtain a living, and the means of settling on his lot. It is an object of slight moment to a farmer to keep an extra labourer in board, and even in such home made clothing as a labourer requires—and the balance of his wages might, by an agreement between the labourer and his employer, be paid in stock, implements of husbandry, provisions, and seed grain, at the end of a certain period, say two years, when the labourer has to enter upon his grant of land.

Although what can be effected in this way might not be sufficient to provide for an excessive and indiscriminate influx of poor emigrants, yet, by the objects of the Association being generally known amongst the farmers, and information being given to the Association by those who can employ labourers, a great number of emigrants may be provided for. And farmers may thus be forwarding the objects of the Association, while, instead of paying money to do this, they may be improving their farms, and putting money into their own pockets—thus doing good to themselves, as well as to the emigrants, and partaking of those advantages which it is the object of the Association to confer on the Province in general.

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#### ERRATA.

Page 23	line 17	for probably, read properly.
31	23	crase figure II.
41	20	for sphere, read bounds.
55	11	for equality, read inequality.
1		for would, read could.
22	18	for discretions, read discretion
19	3	for common, read commerce.
20	30	for the nation, read of the nation.
23	7	from the bottom, for this, read that.
71	12	do do, for rational, read natural.

The observations on Honour, alluded to at p. 42, have been left out, with some other matter, prepared for publication, the introduction of which would have increased the pamphlet to an unsuitable bulk.