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THE  
RECIPROCITY TREATY  
WITH ENGLAND.

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Its Character, and our Duty in  
regard to it.

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THE reciprocity treaty, as it is called, with England, which is to terminate in March next, unless renewed, has the following provisions.

*Art. 1.* Gives to the inhabitants of the United States, in addition to what is granted in the convention of 1818, the liberty, in common with British subjects, of "taking fish of every kind except shell fish, on the sea coasts and shores, and in the bays, harbors and creeks of Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edwards Island, and of the several islands thereunto adjacent," unrestricted as to distance from the shore, with permission to land upon the shores, and also upon the Magdalen islands, for the purpose of curing their fish and drying nets, provided, there is no interference with private rights. The liberty thus given is confined to the sea fishery. The salmon and shad fisheries and all fisheries in rivers and their mouths are "reserved exclusively for British fishermen."

*Art. 2.* Gives to British subjects similar privileges to the above on the eastern sea coasts and shores of the United States north of the 36th parallel of north latitude, and with similar restrictions and reservations.

*Art. 3.* Contains a list of articles the growth and produce of the British colonies or of the United States "admitted into each country respectively free of duty," as follows:

Grain, flour and bread stuffs of all kinds.	Products of fish and of all other creatures living in the water.
Animals of all kinds.	Poultry, eggs.
Fresh, smoked and salted meats.	Hides, furs, skins or tails undressed.
Cotton, Wool, Seeds or vegetables.	Stone or marble in its crude or unwrought state.
Undried fruits, dried fruits.	
Fish of all kinds.	

Slate.	Pelts, wool.
Butter, cheese, tallow.	Fish oil.
Lard, horns, manures.	Rice, broom corn and bark.
Ores of metals of all kinds.	Gypsum ground or unground.
Coal.	Hewn or wrought or unwrought burr or grindstones.
Pitch, tar, turpentine, ashes,	Dye stuffs.
Timber and lumber of all kinds, round, hewed, sawed, unmanufactured in whole or in part.	Flax, hemp and tow unmanufactured.
Fire wood.	Unmanufactured tobacco.
Plants, shrubs and trees.	Rags.

*Art. 4.* Gives the inhabitants of the United States the right to navigate the river St. Lawrence and the canals in Canada, used as the means of communicating between the great lakes and the Atlantic ocean, with their vessels, as fully and freely as the subjects of her Britannic Majesty, and subject to the same tolls exacted of the latter, reserving the right to suspend this privilege on due notice to the United States. If, however, this reserved right is exercised, the United States have the right to suspend the operation of Art. 3, "so far as the province of Canada is affected thereby, or for so long as the suspension of the free navigation of the St. Lawrence or the canals may continue." This article also gives to British subjects the right to navigate Lake Michigan "so long as the privilege of navigating the river St. Lawrence by American citizens" is continued, and the government of the United States engages to urge upon the state governments to secure to British subjects the use of the several state canals on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the United States. It also provides that "no export or other duty shall be levied on lumber of any kind cut on that portion of the State of Maine watered by the river St. John and its tributaries, and floated down that river to the sea, when the same is shipped to the United States from the province of New Brunswick."

*Art. 5.* Provides for carrying the treaty into effect, and for its termination by either party, the stipulations for this purpose not to affect the reservation in Art. 4, with regard to the right of temporarily suspending the operation of Arts. 3 and 4.

*Art. 6.* Provides that the foregoing articles shall apply to

the island of Newfoundland, whenever that colony, the imperial parliament, and the United States, shall each enact to that effect.

*Art. 7.* Provides for the ratification of the treaty.

A treaty which is designed to be reciprocal in its character, should in its operation, confer equal benefits upon the contracting parties, and such a treaty to be just and entitled to be accepted and made the law of the land, should not sacrifice any one interest to secure a benefit to some other interest. The present treaty is objectionable upon this ground, and to that degree as will be seen as not to entitle it to the name of a reciprocal treaty, but should have had some other more appropriate designation, viz. : a treaty for the benefit of certain interest regardless of its effect upon other important interests, and regardless also of the true principles of reciprocity, in its effect upon the general interests of the contracting parties.

It will appear upon investigation that the privileges conceded in Articles 1 and 2 to citizens of the United States are of very little practical importance.

The most valuable of the shore fisheries, viz. : the taking of salmon and shad, are excluded, so that the privileges actually granted are resolved mainly into the right to land and dry nets and cure fish on the Provincial coasts in places where there is no interference with private rights. This might be a privilege of some importance to us, were there any or many such places, but all the eligible points for this purpose are taken up, and, so far as the British coast is concerned, are in the possession of British fishermen, who are not disposed to resign possession, except at a cost which the business will not justify. The treaty makes it their interest to exclude, by claims of prior occupation, our fishermen from their coasts, as it opens to them our markets (markets which supply subsistence to a population of thirty millions) for the sale of their fish, free of duty.

The statistics of our own fisheries in so called British waters under this portion of the treaty, for the last ten years, while it has been in operation, do not show any special or important advantage resulting to us, none, certainly to justify

the renewal of the treaty in its present form, while it does show that we have lost largely by it in revenue to the amount of a million of dollars annually, which has gone into the pockets of British fishermen who have given us no equivalent in return, but on the contrary, has served to build up and strengthen the fishing interest in the provinces and to weaken it in the states.

Upon this question of the fisheries it is proper to understand that our treaties with England have not given us in any one instance our full and just rights. England by her own doctrine promulgated to nullify the claims of the Pope, has really no exclusive rights beyond what she holds by actual possession, or what has been voluntarily conceded to her. The fisheries on the North American Coast were a source of profit to the maritime nations of Europe anterior to any attempt at settlement of the country. So far as they are property, they are joint property, and were so at first considered of all maritime nations, and the adjoining coast so far as needful, for drying and curing fish, was also considered joint property. The right to fish carried with it the right to the use of the adjoining coast for the purpose, that is to say, the right to a fair proportion of that coast, and these rights would still obtain but for compulsory surrenders at different times to the demands of England. Through fear of England's power, and because of the unscrupulous claims of that government, we have yielded in every treaty with her our just rights. It is proper in any future negotiations to understand fully the past, and it may not be improper to enquire how far compulsory concessions made in time of weakness are binding upon us. Mr. Adams in 1814 said that he would continue the war with England forever rather than give up the sea fisheries.

These fisheries are not only a source of profit to the country by adding to its wealth while they do not impoverish or weaken, but they are nurseries for seamen, and in this view, and in view of the demand humanity is making upon us, that we should become the great maritime power of the world, we must hold inflexibly all that justly belongs to us in connection with them. England claimed under the treaty of 1818, to

exclude us from fishing on her provincial coast inside of direct lines drawn three miles out from headland to headland instead of three miles from the line of the coast. If the reciprocity treaty was a concession of her right to make this demand, and it will probably be so construed, it was most unfortunate.

The next article, Art. 3, is of a different character from the one we have been just considering. It embraces what is termed the free list, or list of articles which are admitted into each country respectively, free of duty. This list comprises some thirty or more articles, articles which it will be seen have a movement mainly in one direction, viz., from the provinces to the states. At least five-sixths are articles having this character in which there is no reciprocation in kind, and these five-sixths are, as stated, articles exported from the Provinces into the states where they come into competition with the productions of our own people. Take, for example, the first on the list, viz., "grain, flour and bread stuffs of all kinds." During the ten years operation of the treaty, the Canadas have sent, as stated, to our markets not less than five millions of bushels of wheat annually, more than has been sent from the states to the Canadas. During this time, also, thousands of bushels of wheat have been sent from the states to the Canadas to be manufactured into flour, and in this form has come back to our markets, thus preventing the erection of mills within our own borders to do the same work. It is said, as we are aware, that the Canadas have given us white wheat and taken the red or spring wheat of the west, which is inferior, in exchange, but this can only have been done to a very limited extent.

Wheat from the Canadas yields a greater profit in our markets on the seaboard and in New England, than wheat from our Western states, because of the less cost of transportation and less cost of labor in its production, and if admitted free of duty comes into a ruinous competition with that large portion of our own producers who are burdened with the charge of a longer road to market. The west when it acquiesced in the present treaty supposed it had secured something like an equivalent for this great loss in the free navigation of



the St. Lawrence, a provision which will be more particularly noticed in another place.

There are other articles in the same category with wheat, such as butter, cheese, lard, smoked and salted meats, animals of all kinds, hides, coal, wool, pelts, building stone, and lumber, &c. All of these come into direct and injurious competition with our own products of the same kind.

These we would not altogether exclude, but they are all of them of such a character as to justify the imposition of a duty of at least twenty or twenty-five per cent., and they will still be sent to our markets, and come into sufficiently formidable competition with our own products of the same kind. Those of our own people who labor under the disadvantage of remoteness from market, and the payment of a higher price for labor, have also heavy taxes to pay out of such profits as they are able to make, and it is right and proper that duties should be levied upon similar articles imported of such amount, at least, as will not exclude them from our markets. A duty of twenty to twenty-five per cent may be levied and collected on nearly every article enumerated in the free list, articles which, as stated, move only one way, from the provinces into the states, and they would still continue to enter into a fair competition with our own products of the same kind in our own markets.

The article of free stone for building is one which will bear full thirty or thirty-five per cent duty, and it is one in which there is no reciprocation, not a single load having been sent from the states into the provinces, while during the last ten years of free trade in that article, large quantities have been sent from New Brunswick to our markets. Previous to the formation of the reciprocity treaty large sums had been invested in free stone quarries in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York. In these quarries alone on the bank of the Connecticut, over eight hundred thousand dollars were actually invested. The naked and barren rocks of the shores of the Bay of Fundy and its islands are composed in good part of free stone easily quarried and being accessible by large vessels, the stone is conveyed at less cost in conse-

quence to our markets on the seaboard, and these come into competition with the stone from our own quarries. The consequence is a loss of capital and profit to our own people, loss of internal revenue to our government, loss of vessels as a nursery for seamen, and loss of such duty as might have been imposed and collected, and still have had the material from New Brunswick in sufficient quantity for a healthy competition with our own quarries.

The items above enumerated should all be stricken from the free list in the event of the renewal of the treaty, and any others in which the trade is extensive, and only such should be retained as are perishable, and will not bear transportation a long distance, and which can not be brought under Custom House supervision. These will include all such articles as fresh meats, garden vegetables, undried fruits, eggs, animal manures, fire wood, plants and others of a similar character. The list even when thus restricted will more benefit the provinces than the states. Indeed it is not possible to form a free list of any considerable number of articles in which this will not be the case.

The free list as it now stands, and has stood for the last ten years, comprises almost everything that is grown or produced from the soil or the waters of the British provinces, and as they have literally no other markets but such as we can give them, most of their surplus productions have found their way in some form into the states, and there is no mode of arriving accurately at their amount.

There are no custom house or other returns that can be relied upon to exhibit even approximately their amount.

The Canadas in particular have no great maritime or foreign trade to absorb their surplus productions. It has not been the policy of the Home government to encourage manufactures in the provinces, and the latter have therefore no home market for their surplus agricultural products. The population of the Canadas are mainly cultivators of the soil. The reciprocity treaty gave them an excellent and ready market near their own doors within our own borders, and they have been growing rich during its operation, and in view

of this it is well to enquire and ascertain what we have received in return for this great benefit and privilege enjoyed by them.

The 4th article of the Reciprocity treaty, as we have seen gives to us the right to navigate the St. Lawrence and the Canals in Canada leading from the great lakes to the sea, on the same terms with British subjects—a privilege which the British government reserved the right, at any time, to suspend. The same article also provides for a free transit through New Brunswick of lumber from Maine by the waters of the St. Johns river to United States ports.

To comprehend the value of the navigation of the St. Lawrence chain of waters as granted by the treaty, we must understand that there is a descent from Lake Huron or Lake Michigan to the level of the sea of five hundred and seventy seven feet, of which ten feet nearly is between Lake Huron and Lake Erie, 331 feet between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, and 236 feet between Lake Ontario and the sea. The channel between Lake Huron and Lake Erie has been deepened to give ten or eleven feet water and the current in the St. Clair and Detroit rivers is not strong enough to be an impediment to navigation.

Between Lakes Erie and Ontario, in Canada, is the Welland Canal, having locks 150 by 26½ feet, with 9 to 10 feet depth of water. Between Lake Ontario and Montreal are short canals, eight in number, to pass the rapids of the St. Lawrence, having locks 200 by 45 and 50 feet, with 9 feet depth of water. These canals amount in distance to 41 miles in the aggregate.

The idea entertained when the reciprocity treaty was formed that the channel of the St. Lawrence could be made available for sea-going vessels, receiving and discharging freight upon the upper lakes to and from Liverpool and other transatlantic ports, has not been realized, and for one very good reason, to say nothing of others, the locks and artificial channels formed have not been adequate for such a navigation. A depth of water of 9 feet limits the draft of vessels to 8 feet, and such a vessel can not navigate the Atlantic,

carrying produce to Europe, with profit. Had the canals and locks been adapted to a depth of 12 feet, or a draft of 11 feet, which is a large draft for the St. Clair Flats and the entrances to the several lake harbors, the vessels would still be small, and of a form not suited to the safe and profitable navigation of the ocean, and when it is considered that the St. Lawrence, from Montreal to the gulf, is frozen up one half of the year, and that during the other half the navigation is uncertain and dangerous, because of the rock-bound character of the coast and the strong tide currents, and the prevalence of fogs which stretch from Quebec to beyond the Newfoundland banks, shrouding for days together the entire heavens, we can understand why there has not been any use of the St. Lawrence chain of waters by sea-going vessels from our own ports, and we can understand too, that if Montreal was accessible from the upper lakes by the larger class of vessels, those drawing 11 feet water, neither that city nor Quebec could be a market of any great importance for western produce.

The British government in conceding the free navigation of the St. Lawrence, gave us nothing which has been or can be of any great practical value to us;—not of as much value even as the right given to British vessels in Art. 4, to navigate Lake Michigan, and not of as much value as the use of the Sault St. Marie Canal, which we understand has been granted to them, although not provided for in the treaty. Yet it was for the supposed great privilege of navigating the St. Lawrence that the liberal concessions were made to the Canadas in the free list, concessions which have mainly contributed, by giving a profitable market to Canadian productions, to swell their population in the short period of ten or eleven years from two to over three millions.

That we are not mistaken in asserting that the free list was the consideration for the free navigation of the St. Lawrence, we refer to the treaty itself, Art. 4, in that clause which provides that if the British government shall exercise its reserved right of suspending the free navigation of the St. Lawrence, the United States shall have the right to suspend the opera-

tion of Art. 3, (the article which contains the free list,) "so far as the Province of Canada is affected thereby." This is proof conclusive, and the fact now stares us in the face, that for all the great benefits enjoyed by the Canadas under the treaty, benefits which have operated injuriously to our own citizens, the States have received no equivalent. Fortunate indeed is it, that the treaty was not made permanently binding, and that we can now correct the mistakes of the past.

From the preceding it very clearly appears that we can not agree to a renewal of the treaty upon its present terms, certainly not until the St. Lawrence canals have been enlarged and a suitable connection made with Lake Champlain, so as to pass the larger vessels of 11 feet draught from Lake Ontario into the latter lake, and not even then unless it can be shown that such a navigation will confer a practical benefit upon our people living upon the upper lakes. That it will not confer any important benefit so far as presenting us with a better market at Montreal and Québec than New York and New England can give us, is as clearly evident now as it will be when the improvement is made.

It is as evident now as it will be then that the great maritime cities which control and will continue to control, through all time, the American trade of the North Atlantic, are not situated in the track of the St. Lawrence. This fact should not be lost sight of, because it is one having more influence in directing the course of trade than any other.

The only way in which the west can be materially benefited by Canadian improvements is by the enlargement of the St. Lawrence canals and the extension of those improvements to Lake Champlain by the shortest route, so as to be able to pass vessels from the upper lakes on to that lake and, ultimately, to the Hudson. The level of Lake Champlain carried to the St. Lawrence meets it near the foot of the Beauharnais canal, a little above (31 feet) the level of Lake St. Louis. A canal may be built, leaving the Beauharnais canal,  $37\frac{1}{2}$  feet above this point, not exceeding thirty-six to thirty-seven miles in length, with no ascending locks, which being fed from the St. Lawrence, will pass vessels from the latter river into

Lake Champlain and the reverse. This being done and a connection of four miles made with Lake St. Louis at Caugnawaga, a navigable route will be opened to New York and New England which will be of the greatest value to the latter and to the country bordering the upper lakes. It will be a route directly available from the valley of the Ottawa, and render the improvement of the navigation of that river and its connection ultimately with Lake Huron, an object of importance.

When we are asked therefore, by our Canadian neighbors to renew the reciprocity treaty, the answer we should make is obvious. We must say to them, enlarge your St. Lawrence locks and canals to a twelve or thirteen feet depth of water, open the Ottawa route from the St. Lawrence, and build the canal from Beauharnais and Lake St. Louis to Lake Champlain of the same dimensions, and give us a right to navigate on the same terms with yourselves, and we shall then feel that we have something like an equivalent for the privileges you desire to obtain, but, until you do this, we must decline all reciprocal treaties, we must decline entering into any special arrangement for facilitating trade between yourselves and us.

In making this reply and demand we shall not be doing what is unneighborly or unjust. The improvement proposed if made will richly repay the Canadas for its cost. We will not ask them to enlarge the Welland canal for we intend to have a suitable channel between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario within the limits of New York, notwithstanding the opposition from the latter State; but we ought to and must insist before moving again in the matter of a reciprocity treaty that the Canadas make the improvements pointed out on the Ottawa and St. Lawrence rivers and between the latter and Lake Champlain.

It may be said that in the reciprocity treaty as it now stands, there is a privilege conceded to us by the British government which has not been properly considered or noticed, the privilege of transit for lumber upon the waters of the St. John's river in New Brunswick. That river, because of its falls and great descent is only useful for floating down-stream unrafted lumber, a mode of transportation attended with

great waste and loss. All timber thus floated, must, almost from necessity, be manufactured in New Brunswick, and that Province derives this great benefit.

The privilege of floating logs down the St. John's river and its tributaries can not be considered as having been productive of any benefit to Maine, but on the contrary, has probably been an injury. It has stripped her forests of timber for which she has had no adequate return.

Had not this outlet been presented, a railway would, beyond question, ere this, have been carried from Bangor to the Aroostook, and thence to Madawaska, which would have been of the greatest importance in developing the rich agricultural and mineral resources of that portion of the State. It would have been of the greatest importance also in a military view, and the lumber would have been manufactured where it grows, drawing into that portion of the State a large population, and the great waste and loss of the present mode of transit would have been avoided.

This question of our commercial relations with the Canadas is one of the gravest character and importance. The action of the convention lately assembled at Detroit should have no weight any further than it is found to favor the views we have presented above. It was there manifest that the great desire of the Canadas and of the Provinces is to have the treaty renewed in its present form, and a similar desire was also manifested by an interest with us, an interest which comprises not the producers or the consumers but the middle men in trade, who look only to present benefits to their class, regardless of the great and general interests of the whole country.

Upon the question of reciprocity it is not difficult to see that so far as it contemplates free trade it is placing the Provinces upon the same footing as obtains between the several States of the Union. One of the leading objects and purposes of the Union was to secure this great blessing of free trade to the members which compose it, and it can only be properly conferred upon and enjoyed by the Provinces when they shall ask to be admitted, and shall be received as members of our

political family. To give them in their present relation to us the advantages even in a partial degree of free trade, is to do what we have been doing for the last ten years, to strengthen them when they do not contribute to bear our burdens, and to render them, in the event of a war with England more formidable as adversaries.

This question of our relations with the British Provinces, should be viewed mainly in a business or a commercial light. They have no claim upon our sympathies.

Had they in the outset of our late troubles, knowing as they must, that the rebellion was without provocation and instigated for the worst of purposes, come out manfully in our defence, not with arms, but with the press and the voices of their leading men, and said to England, you are deceived, you are doing that which must result fatally to your interests and our own, you are not only treating with disrespect and insult a great people in whose veins runs your own blood, but you are countenancing a great outrage against humanity. If the Provinces had done this and endeavored to stay the hand of England which was covertly endeavoring to work our ruin. If they had done this, and had not sheltered within their borders those who were aiming deadly blows at our national life; we should sustain towards them a different feeling—a feeling which might lead us to deal with them, more kindly and liberally than we are now called upon to do.

The course which it is our duty to pursue is the one which will promote in the highest degree our own interests consistent with strict justice; we must treat them as they truly are as a foreign people, having no interest in common with us farther than to derive the greatest possible benefit in whatever intercourse they may have with us, and ready at the instigation of England, which has always been unscrupulous in her dealings with us, to do her bidding. And in what we do let us not lose sight of the fact that while it is in our power to confer great favors upon the British Provinces, it is not in theirs to give us in return anything of like or equal value.—It is the misfortune of the Canadas, particularly, that they have no seaport, that is to say, they have no maritime city which



serves any important purpose as such. All that most productive portion of British America lying between Montreal and the Rocky Mountains is without a suitable seaport or market for its surplus products. The produce of all this vast region, a region which has resources far beyond what is generally conceived, naturally and strongly tends to our own maritime cities, and must find this outlet or the country must suffer. How this is to be brought about it is not for us to say. It is a problem which the Canadas themselves must solve without our assistance.

We are not called upon to engage in a war with England for any good the Canadas can confer by coming into our Union. When they can do so in the right spirit without involving us in a war, we shall be glad to receive them, but until that time arrives and for so long as they are dependent colonies of England they must be treated as we would treat them if they were a thousand or three thousand miles distant from us. We must consider them as a foreign people, entitled to no favors, and to no privileges unless there is a full and fair reciprocation or an equivalent given in some way. They have no claim upon our sympathy or our generosity. They can, in fact, only be brought into right and proper commercial relations with us when their political interests are made identical with our own, and it is a duty we owe to ourselves, and will in the end be a kindness to them, not to grant to them privileges, as was done in the present treaty, which will delay or prolong the period when they must come into a right relation to us, a relation in accordance with the laws which govern in the natural world, and which cannot be ignored in any commercial, political or social arrangement designed to be useful and permanent.

The Canadas, as we have seen, if entirely severed from us, must suffer greatly, but they have it in their power to do that which will greatly benefit both them and us.

Nature has so ordered that a very important navigable communication between the great grain producing regions of the Northwest and New York city and New England lies in part through the Canadas. This is true as to the trade flow-

ing to the shores of Lake Huron, Michigan and Superior, true as to Lake Erie so long as we have no canal leading from it into Lake Ontario and partially so as to Lake Ontario. A proper improvement of the navigation from Lake Huron, via the Ottawa river and of the Welland and the St. Lawrence canals as far down as and including most of the Beauharnais locks, and the construction of a suitable canal from the latter to Champlain, connecting at Caughnawaga with the St. Lawrence, will enable them to offer facilities for the transmission of produce from the great lakes to the seaboard, which, although it may be surpassed by the route through lake Ontario and the Erie Canal, will be of great importance to us.

An investigation of this subject shows that all that portion of Northern New York, and New England, that can conveniently be reached from the shores of Lake Champlain, will obtain the products of the West by this route at full one-fourth less cost of transportation than is now paid by the indirect channels through which these products are now obtained.

This being true, it will be seen that great advantages will accrue to the trade of the upper lakes from the opening of the Ottawa Route and its connection, and that of the St. Lawrence with lake Champlain.

But to realize all that is needful from this connection, Montreal must give up all expectation of being placed nearer to it than the description we have given of it will permit.

She must give up the struggle to bring the main route to her own doors, thus adding 90 to 180 feet to the lockage or 180 to 300 feet nearly in a round trip, but in so doing she will only be removed from it a distance of 10 to 14 miles with 46 to 114 feet of elevation to be overcome in that distance. The saving of the amount of lockage stated upon the St. Lawrence and Ottawa routes is all important in view of the amount of tonnage which will pass over those routes, and Montreal must consent to give them this advantage, and be content with so much of the trade to and from a foreign market as will find its way to and from the sea by the lower St. Lawrence.

In making these improvements, the channels and the locks should be adapted to the larger vessels navigating the lakes. These will require a depth of water of 12 or 13 feet and locks 250 by 50 feet, and the canal and locks on the St. Lawrence should be enlarged to these dimensions.

If the Canadas are unable to make the improvements described they must ask for help from the mother country.

If this is denied, then their true and only course is to strive to dissolve all political connexion with Great Britain, and having effected this, capital from the states will flow in to their assistance, the improvements needed will be speedily accomplished, and they will enter upon a career of prosperity, certain and uninterrupted, such as they can never enjoy in their present unnatural position as colonies, dependent upon, and subject to, the will of a people, living three thousand miles distant from them, a people having no interest in maintaining a political connection with them, but such an one as will be commercially profitable in time of peace, and furnish them with men and money in time of war, regardless as to whether the war is one in which the Canadas have any interest or not.

We have in the briefest space possible endeavored to present the subject of our relations with the British Provinces on this continent in their true light, that our people may understand clearly what is proper to do or not to do in respect to any change in those relations. Our own opinion is that a masterly inactivity is our duty for the present, leaving to the Canadas the solution of the question of their future relations to us, and when they shall have done what their and our interests require in respect to the improvements named, join with them cordially in all measures which shall redound to the good of both parties. In the mean while we should carefully revise our general tariff and not hesitate, in view of the burden imposed upon us by the war, to put such duty upon importations from Canada and the other provinces now admitted free, as will give us the largest revenue. Such a duty cannot amount to prohibition but will leave a margin of profit to the Canadas less, considerably, it is true, than they

have received during the ten or eleven years' operation of the reciprocity treaty.

In what we have said we have not spoken of the existing arrangement by which the Canadian sea going trade is allowed to pass through our territory on paying a small transit duty sufficient to cover custom house expenses. Since this arrangement was entered into, the Canadian Grand trunk railway has been opened from Montreal to Portland, and has become, we understand, largely a medium for the trade in question, diverting it from those lines of communication which are owned in the States. In the formation of any new treaty this arrangement should be revised and amended and an addition made to the duty.

In what we have said also, we have not raised the question of the right of Great Britain to exclude our vessels from the waters of the St. Lawrence lying within the limits of the Canadas. That this right did not exist prior to the formation of the present treaty so far as regards the St. Lawrence proper, we have no doubt, but whether it did or not there is no useful navigation of that river without the assistance of those artificial channels which have been constructed by the British government in British territory for passing the several rapids of that river. To these we have of course no natural right. Neither have we considered the practicability of so forming a new treaty that the Provinces, as suggested by some, should bind themselves with the assent of England to remain neutral in the event of a war between that country and the United States. Such a neutrality cannot be relied upon in time of war, and if faithfully observed would prevent our doing an injury to our enemy in a most vulnerable point, so that while such a treaty would benefit the Provinces it would take from us the power most available of speedily bringing the enemy to terms. The Provinces so long as they maintain their present relation to the Mother Country are a guarantee of respectful treatment at her hands, and we need be in no haste to have that relation changed.

FEBRUARY 7th, 1866.

JUSTICE.

*E. F. J.*