

MR WHITTINGDALE

PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH HUGH THOMAS

You are to see Hugh Thomas on Monday. He has sent you the attached agenda for the meeting.

Speeches in Canada and on Europe

He has sent some historical material on Canada. I have not yet had time to look at it in detail. He has also sent some interesting and provocative ideas on Europe which you will want to consider. He suggests a major study of Europe by the CPS: are you sure this would really be a worthwhile use of its limited resources?

Europe - must be positive in order to knock down federalist ideas.

United Europe but not European Union.
National provincial cultures v important - must not be lost.

Mexico

He will report on his visit.

Anglo-Hispanic Conference

He is pursuing his idea of a Konigswinter-type conference. My understanding is that the Spaniards are being difficult.

The British Experience

He wants you to copy Mr. Gorbachev by publishing a political testament. Would this not just offer a target? Your speeches stand up well.

Peru

He wants you to see a friend of his who is a 'Thatcherite' candidate in the Presidential elections. I am not sure it is wise to see candidates in elections and the next week or two are very busy.

After - not before - an election

HT: Brave man - may be killed.
The Shining Path.

PM: Would like to see him.
Try to find 1/4 hr for him.

House of Lords

Better not.

Do you want the CPS to work on reform of the Lords?

The Centre

There are a number of administrative matters to be settled.

Finances are doing v well under Pen Habstead
PM to make brief speech
Director - 3 resignations.
Redwood would be v good.
Tim Congdon.
Cannot see why not Tim Bell.
James Goldsmith - v interesting.

Charles Powell

Commonwealth not a terribly appropriate subject to examine
PM: Great coming issue: World agriculture + the GATT.
Leftishness of universities.
Hugh Trevor-Roper, James Goldsmith could do pamphlets.

3 June 1988

Chairmanship: PM - rather you carried on over if you are away a bit.

PM: Need more academics - Robert Blake,
Rivinsky.

people do not understand how passionately Keen one is on arts/literature.

cc: Mr. Whittingdale

105 ANIM

PRIME MINISTER

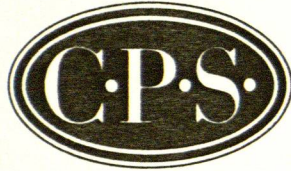
cc Mr. Powell

Mr. Whittingdale ✓

Hugh Thomas has sent me the attached note for your meeting on Monday. As John is not here and Charles has been very tied up today, I am putting this in unmarked but have sent both of them copies.

TESSA

3 June 1988



R 2/6

CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES

8 Wilfred Street, London SW1E 6 PL. Tel: 01-828 1176

2nd June 1988

Mrs Tessa Gaisman
10 Downing St
London
S W 1

Dear Mrs Gaisman

Hugh Thomas has asked me to send you the attached
for the Prime Minister's box on Friday.

Yours sincerely

Jenny Nicholson

Jenny Nicholson



Prime Minister

8 Wilfred Street, London SW1E 6PL 01-828 1176

Notes for discussion with the Prime Minister
June 6, 1988

1. The Prime Minister's speeches
Canada [see Annex A]; Europe [see Annex B].
Both Europe and the Commonwealth do suggest possible major studies which might be undertaken by the Centre. The background is discussed in both Annex A and B.
2. Mexico
Report on my recent visit to Mexico and future plans.
3. Anglo-Hispanic Conference
in the style of Konigswinter.
4. The British Experience
Wherever one travels now, one sees (in all languages) copies of Gorbachev's book PERESTROIKA. If the Prime Minister were to write, or at least sign, such a volume, she would have a similar impact and do far more good (the problems of "statism", corrupt or politicised unions, intellectual downgrading of enterprise, etc., which Britain faced in the 1970s are to be found everywhere in the "third World"). If the Prime Minister thought it a good idea, a discreet and competent assistant to write drafts could be sought.
5. Peru
[See Annex C]
6. House of Lords
It has been suggested that the Centre might work on plans for a future reform of this House, both powers and membership.
7. The Centre
 - (i) Finance;
 - (ii) New Directors (Tim Bell, Tim Congdon, John Redwood, Sir James Goldsmith, Lord Hanson have all been suggested);
 - (iii) Dinner, June 14;
 - (vi) Other subjects to be pursued at the Centre;
 - (v) Chairmanship of the Centre.

Hugh Thomas

Annex A

Canada

The points to emphasise on the historical side appear to be three:

i. the daring, determination, toughness and persistence of the first Europeans. The stories of the early French explorers are engrossing (and could, with advantage, be emphasised): Jacques Cartier in the 1530s, who first sailed up the Saint Lawrence as far as Montreal; Samuel de Champlain, who established Port Royal (now Annapolis, Nova Scotia), and Quebec as colonies in 1604 and 1608, explored the Ottawa River higher than the site of the capital (1613) and reached Lake Huron in 1615; Maisonneuve, who founded Montreal 1642; Radisson and Groseillers, who first reached beyond the Great Lakes to see the prairies of the West in 1659; Frontenac, who founded Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario in 1673; de la Salle, known for his great expeditions in the Mississippi region (1679-1689) which were based on Canada. Nor should one forget the Jesuit and other Orders who worked in "New France" in the XVIIth century.

Still one cannot ignore the English: John Cabot, who reached Canada 1497; Martin Frobisher, the explorer of Labrador (1576), and his vain search of the North-West passage; Henry Hudson, the explorer of the Hudson River and Hudson's Bay (1609, 1611); and the early nineteenth century explorers such as Ross and Parry (1818-1820, 1821-1823, 1827); William Scowery, father and son (1806, 1822); Sir John Franklin (1819, 1825-26, 1845-1848), who filled in the "missing Coastline" of Northern Canada. The search for what had happened to Franklin exercised government and public opinion for ten years, and itself yielded many new discoveries. The toughness of those who, in the nineteenth century, made of Canada a great agricultural nation, often using their own hands, is in many ways as remarkable as the explorers'.

ii. the dramatic British conquest in the Seven Years War. Wolfe's defeat of the French general the Marquis de Montcalm on the Heights of Abraham, Quebec (1759) is, deservedly, one of the best-known events in British imperial history. Voltaire's remark that the British had added a few stretches of snow (arpents de neige), was not sour grapes; it was a (?typical) French intellectual's lack of appreciation of Canada's potential. It is worth recalling that this victory marked the end of seventy years of Anglo-French fighting in North America, in the course of which France had developed a dream of a great North American empire based on Canada but stretching down to the

/-

Gulf of Mexico by her possession of Louisiana and hemming in the British behind the Mississippi.

iii. the remarkable settlement reached in 1839-40, (Union Act in London) confirmed by the British North America Act (1867), which enabled Britain to "maintain her colonies by letting them go" to become dominions and which led eventually to the new Empire and Commonwealth. This is the section of Canadian history which, I suspect, the Prime Minister may wish to emphasise.

The story is approximately as follows. In 1837 there were rebellions in the two colonies of Upper and Lower Canada (approximately Ontario and Quebec). The population then totalled a million, nearly all living along the St. Lawrence. The rebellions were suppressed: most Canadians supported the status quo. The organisers (Mackenzie and Papineau) were not Washingtons and fled to the United States. In the light of those events, the British Government (Lord Melbourne) thought that unless something were done, the Canadian colonies would go the way of the 13 North American colonies which had become the United States (and of the Spanish and Portuguese Empires). The revolutionaries of the 13 colonies had, after all, invaded Canada and taken Montreal (1775) in the hope of making their revolt a continental one. True, Canada's loyalty had been strengthened by the flight of about 40,000 "loyalists" from the US to Ontario and New Brunswick. But their affection for the old ways might not last. What should be done? Lord Durham was therefore sent out as Governor-General (1838).

This statesman was interesting; in many ways he was a typical Whig: that is, he was rich enough to survive the economic consequences of the reforms which he advocated. His two nicknames, "Radical Jack" and "King Jog" sum him up very well; the first is self-explanatory; the second derived from a remark attributed to him that a man could just about "jog on on £40,000 a year" (his money came from coal found on the Lambton estates in Durham).

Durham set about producing a remarkable report, the Durham Report, which laid the basis not only for Canada but for the development of the empire henceforth. (It was partly written by a gifted but spirited journalist, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a man with experience in South Australia whom Durham had taken with him on his staff. But the exact authorship cannot now be determined. It seems certain, however, that the Dictionary of National Biography's claim that Durham wrote none of it is false).

/-

The chief recommendations of the Durham Report were [a] that Upper and Lower Canada should be united; and [b] that the united Canada would elect a parliament on the same basis as that in Britain. The parliament would allow a cabinet to be formed based on the majority party. London would have control over foreign and defence policy but virtually nothing else.

These suggestions do not read as original today. But the idea that an empire could divest itself of power in this way was new. The Report expresses in every line the "keen high intellect" (Churchill's phrase), characteristic of the Victorian era: generous, good prose informed by a wide knowledge of the world and of history. It showed the way towards that combination of the interests of two different peoples (the French and the English in Canada), whose success has been one of the great achievements of modern Canada. I append for the Prime Minister's interest several sections of this Report which have impressed me, even though I would hardly feel they are right to quote in full:

- (i) p.16-18 (the French)
- (ii) p.23-29 (the clash between the two races)
- (iii) p.55-56 (representative government)
- (iv) p.97-99 (Catholic clergy)
- (v) p.204-209 (the establishment of local liberties)
- (vi) p.238 (union of all remaining British provinces in North America)
- (vii) p.242-243 (emigration)

English they are that are brought in contact, and in what proportions they meet.

The institutions of France, during the period of the colonization of Canada, were, perhaps, more than those of any other European nation, calculated to repress the intelligence and freedom of the great mass of the people. These institutions followed the Canadian colonist across the Atlantic. The same central, ill-organized, unimproving, and repressive despotism extended over him. Not merely was he allowed no voice in the government of his Province, or the choice of his rulers, but he was not even permitted to associate with his neighbours for the regulation of those municipal affairs which the central authority neglected under the pretext of managing. He obtained his land on a tenure singularly calculated to promote his immediate comfort, and to check his desire to better his condition; he was placed at once in a life of constant and unvarying labour, of great material comfort, and feudal dependence. The ecclesiastical authority to which he had been accustomed established its institutions around him, and the priest continued to exercise over him his ancient influence. No general provision was made for education; and, as its necessity was not appreciated, the colonist made no attempt to repair the negligence of his government. It need not surprise us, that, under such circumstances, a race of men habituated to the incessant labour of a rude and unskilled agriculture, and habitually fond of social enjoyments, congregated together in rural communities, occupying portions of the wholly unappropriated soil, sufficient to provide each family with material comforts, far beyond their ancient means, or almost their conceptions; that they made little advance beyond the first progress in comfort, which the bounty of the soil absolutely forced upon them; that under the same institutions they remained the same uninstructed, inactive, unprogressive people. Along the alluvial banks of the St. Lawrence, and its tributaries, they have cleared two or three strips of land, cultivated them in the worst method of small farming, and established a series of continuous villages, which give the country of the seignories the appearance of a never-ending street. Be-

sides the cities which were the seats of government, no towns were established; the rude manufactures of the country were, and still are, carried on in the cottage by the family of the habitant; and an insignificant proportion of the population derived their subsistence from the scarcely discernible commerce of the Province. Whatever énergie existed among the population was employed in the fur trade, and the occupations of hunting, which they and their descendants have carried beyond the Rocky Mountains, and still, in great measure, monopolize in the whole valley of the Mississippi. The mass of the community exhibited in the New World the characteristics of the peasantry of Europe. Society was dense; and even the wants and the poverty which the pressure of population occasions in the Old World, became not to be wholly unknown. They clung to ancient prejudices, ancient customs, and ancient laws, not from any strong sense of their beneficial effects, but with the unreasoning tenacity of an uneducated and unprogressive people. Nor were they wanting in the virtues of a simple and industrious life, or in those which common consent attributes to the nation from which they spring. The temptations which, in other states of society, lead to offences against property, and the passions which prompt to violence, were little known among them. They are mild and kindly, frugal, industrious, and honest, very sociable, cheerful and hospitable, and distinguished for a courtesy and real politeness, which pervades every class of society. The conquest has changed them but little. The higher classes, and the inhabitants of the towns, have adopted some English customs and feelings; but the continued negligence of the British Government left the mass of the people without any of the institutions which would have elevated them in freedom and civilization. It has left them without the education and without the institutions of local self-government, that would have assimilated their character and habits, in the easiest and best way, to those of the Empire of which they became a part. They remain an old and stationary society, in a new and progressive world. In all essentials they are still French; but French in every respect dissimilar to those of

France in the present day. They resemble rather the French of the provinces under the old regime.

I cannot pass over this subject without calling particular attention to a peculiarity in the social condition of this people, of which the important bearing on the troubles of Lower Canada has never, in my opinion, been properly estimated. The circumstances of a new and unsettled country, the operation of the French laws of inheritance, and the absence of any means of accumulation, by commerce or manufactures, have produced a remarkable equality of properties and conditions. A few seignorial families possess large, though not often very valuable properties; the class entirely dependent on wages is very small; the bulk of the population is composed of the hard-working yeomanry of the country districts, commonly called *habitans*, and their connections engaged in other occupations. It is impossible to exaggerate the want of education among the *habitans*; no means of instruction have ever been provided for them, and they are almost universally destitute of the qualifications even of reading and writing. It came to my knowledge, that out of a great number of boys and girls assembled at the school-house door of St. Thomas, all but three admitted, on inquiry, that they could not read. Yet the children of this large parish attend school regularly, and actually make use of books. They hold the catechism book in their hand, as if they were reading, while they only repeat its contents, which they know by rote. The common assertion, however, that all classes of the Canadians are equally ignorant, is perfectly erroneous; for I know of no people among whom a larger provision exists for the higher kinds of elementary education, or among whom such education is really extended to a larger proportion of the population. The piety and benevolence of the early possessors of the country founded, in the seminaries that exist in different parts of the Province, institutions, of which the funds and activity have long been directed to the promotion of education. Seminaries and colleges have been, by these bodies, established in the cities, and in other central points. The education given in these establishments greatly resembles the kind given in the English public schools, though it is rather

more varied. It is entirely in the hands of the Catholic clergy. The number of pupils in these establishments is estimated altogether at about a thousand; and they turn out every year, as far as I could ascertain, between two and three hundred young men thus educated. Almost all of these are members of the family of some *habitant*, whom the possession of greater quickness than his brothers has induced the father or the curate of the parish to select and send to the seminary. These young men possessing a degree of information immeasurably superior to that of their families, are naturally averse to what they regard as descending to the humble occupations of their parents. A few become priests; but as the military and naval professions are closed against the colonist, the greater part can only find a position suited to their notions of their own qualifications in the learned professions of advocate, notary, and surgeon. As from this cause these professions are greatly overstocked, we find every village in Lower Canada filled with notaries and surgeons, with little practice to occupy their attention, and living among their own families, or at any rate among exactly the same class. Thus the persons of most education in every village belong to the same families, and the same original station in life, as the illiterate *habitans* whom I have described. They are connected with them by all the associations of early youth, and the ties of blood. The most perfect equality always marks their intercourse, and the superior in education is separated by no barrier of manners, or pride, or distinct interests, from the singularly ignorant peasantry by which he is surrounded. He combines, therefore, the influences of superior knowledge and social equality, and wields a power over the mass, which I do not believe that the educated class of any other portion of the world possess. To this singular state of things I attribute the extraordinary influence of the Canadian demagogues. The most uninstructed population anywhere trusted with political power, is thus placed in the hands of a small body of instructed persons, in whom it reposes the confidence which nothing but such domestic connection, and such community of interest could generate. Over the class of persons

by the competition of the English with the French farmer. The English farmer carried with him the experience and habits of the most improved agriculture in the world. He settled himself in the townships bordering on the seignories, and brought a fresh soil and improved cultivation to compete with the worn-out and slovenly farm of the habitant. He often took the very farm which the Canadian settler had abandoned, and, by superior management, made that a source of profit which had only impoverished his predecessor. The ascendancy which an unjust favouritism had contributed to give to the English race in the government and the legal profession, their own superior energy, skill, and capital, secured to them in every branch of industry. They have developed the resources of the country; they have constructed or improved its means of communication; they have created its internal and foreign commerce. The entire wholesale, and a large portion of the retail trade of the Province, with the most profitable and flourishing farms, are now in the hands of this numerical minority of the population.

In Lower Canada the mere working class which depends on wages, though proportionally large in comparison with that to be found in any other portion of the American continent, is, according to our ideas, very small. Competition between persons of different origin in this class, has not exhibited itself till very recently, and is, even now, almost confined to the cities. The large mass of the labouring population are French in the employ of English capitalists. The more skilled class of artizans are generally English; but in the general run of the more laborious employments, the French Canadians fully hold their ground against English rivalry. The emigration which took place a few years ago, brought in a class which entered into more direct competition with the French in some kinds of employment in the towns; but the individuals affected by this competition were not very many. I do not believe that the animosity which exists between the working classes of the two origins is the necessary result of a collision of interests, or of a jealousy of the superior success of English labour. But national prejudices naturally exercise the greatest influence over the most uneducated;

the difference of language is less easily overcome; the differences of manners and customs less easily appreciated. The labourers, whom the emigration introduced, contained a number of very ignorant, turbulent, and demoralized persons, whose conduct and manners alike revolted the well-ordered and courteous natives of the same class. The working men naturally ranged themselves on the side of the educated and wealthy of their own countrymen. When once engaged in the conflict, their passions were less restrained by education and prudence: and the national hostility now rages most fiercely between those whose interests in reality bring them the least in collision.

The two races thus distinct have been brought into the same community, under circumstances which rendered their contact inevitably productive of collision. The difference of language from the first kept them asunder. It is not anywhere a virtue of the English race to look with complacency on any manners, customs, or laws, which appear strange to them; accustomed to form a high estimate of their own superiority, they take no pains to conceal from others their contempt and intolerance of their usages. They found the French Canadians filled with an equal amount of national pride; a sensitive, but inactive pride, which disposes that people not to resent insult, but rather to keep aloof from those who would keep them under. The French could not but feel the superiority of English enterprise; they could not shut their eyes to their success in every undertaking in which they came into contact, and to the constant superiority which they were acquiring. They looked upon their rivals with alarm, with jealousy, and finally with hatred. The English repaid them with a scorn, which soon also assumed the same form of hatred. The French complained of the arrogance and injustice of the English; the English accused the French of the vices of a weak and conquered people, and charged them with meanness and perfidy. The entire mistrust which the two races have thus learned to conceive of each other's intentions, induces them to put the worst construction on the most innocent conduct; to judge every word, every act, and every intention unfairly; to

attribute the most odious designs, and reject every overture of kindness or fairness, as covering secret designs of treachery and malignity.

Religion formed no bond of intercourse and union. It is, indeed, an admirable feature of Canadian society, that it is entirely devoid of any religious dissensions. Sectarian intolerance is not merely not avowed, but it hardly seems to influence men's feelings. But though the prudence and liberality of both parties has prevented this fruitful source of animosity from embittering their quarrels, the difference of religion has in fact tended to keep them asunder. Their priests have been distinct; they have not met even in the same church.

No common education has served to remove and soften the differences of origin and language. The associations of youth, the sports of childhood, and the studies by which the character of manhood is modified, are distinct and totally different. In Montreal and Quebec there are English schools, and French schools; the children in these are accustomed to fight nation against nation, and the quarrels that arise among boys in the streets usually exhibit a division into English on one side, and French on the other.

As they are taught apart, so are their studies different. The literature with which each is the most conversant, is that of the peculiar language of each; and all the ideas which men derive from books, come to each of them from perfectly different sources. The difference of language in this respect produces effects quite apart from those which it has on the mere intercourse of the two races. Those who have reflected on the powerful influence of language on thought, will perceive in how different a manner people who speak in different languages are apt to think; and those who are familiar with the literature of France, know that the same opinion will be expressed by an English and French writer of the present day, not merely in different words, but in a style so different as to mark utterly different habits of thought. This difference is very striking in Lower Canada; it exists not merely in the books of most influence and repute, which are of course those of the great writers

of France and England, and by which the minds of the respective races are formed, but it is observable in the writings which now issue from the Colonial press. The articles in the newspapers of each race, are written in a style as widely different as those of France and England at present; and the arguments which convince the one, are calculated to appear utterly unintelligible to the other.

The difference of language produces misconceptions yet more fatal even than those which it occasions with respect to opinions; it aggravates the national animosities, by representing all the events of the day in utterly different lights. The political misrepresentation of facts is one of the incidents of a free press in every free country; but in nations in which all speak the same language, those who receive a misrepresentation from one side, have generally some means of learning the truth from the other. In Lower Canada, however, where the French and English papers represent adverse opinions, and where no large portion of the community can read both languages with ease, those who receive the misrepresentation are rarely able to avail themselves of the means of correction. It is difficult to conceive the perversity with which misrepresentations are habitually made, and the gross delusions which find currency among the people: they thus live in a world of misconceptions, in which each party is set against the other not only by diversity of feelings and opinions, but by an actual belief in an utterly different set of facts.

The differences thus early occasioned by education and language, are in nowise softened by the intercourse of after-life; their business and occupations do not bring the two races into friendly contact and co-operation, but only present them to each other in occasional rivalry. A laudable emulation has of late induced the French to enter on the field previously occupied by the English, and to attempt to compete with them in commerce; but it is much to be lamented that this did not commence until the national animosities had arrived almost at the highest pitch, and that the competition has been carried on in such a manner as to widen the pre-existing differences. The establishment

of the "Banque du Peuple" by French capitalists, is an event which may be regarded as a satisfactory indication of an awakening commercial energy among the French, and it is therefore very much to be regretted that the success of the new enterprise was uniformly promoted by direct and illiberal appeals to the national feelings of the race. Some of the French have lately established steam-boats to compete with the monopoly which a combination of English capitalists had for some time enjoyed on the St. Lawrence, and small and somewhat uncomfortable as they were, they were regarded with favour on account of their superiority in the essential qualities of certainty and celerity. But this was not considered sufficient to ensure their success; an appeal was constantly made to the national feelings of the French for an exclusive preference of the "French" line; and I have known a French newspaper announce with satisfaction the fact, that on the previous day the French steamers to Quebec and La Prairie had arrived at Montreal with a great many passengers, and the English with very few. The English, on the other hand, appealed to exactly the same kind of feelings, and used to apply to the French steam-boats the epithets of "Radical," "Rebel," and "Disloyal." The introduction of this kind of national preference into this department of business, produced a particularly mischievous effect, inasmuch as it separated the two races on some of the few occasions on which they had previously been thrown into each other's society. They rarely meet at the inns in the cities; the principal hotels are almost exclusively filled with English and with foreign travellers; and the French are, for the most part, received at each other's houses, or in boarding-houses, in which they meet with few English.

Nor do their amusements bring them more in contact. Social intercourse never existed between the two races in any but the higher classes, and it is now almost destroyed. I heard of but one house in Quebec in which both races met on pretty equal and amicable terms, and this was mentioned as a singular instance of good sense on the part of the gentleman to whom it belongs. At the commencement of

Lord Aylmer's administration, an entertainment was given to his Lordship by Mr. Papineau, the Speaker of the House of Assembly. It was generally understood to be intended as a mark of confidence and good-will towards the Governor, and of a conciliatory disposition. It was given on a very large scale, a very great number of persons were present; and of that number I was informed by a gentleman who was present, that he and one other were the only English, except the Governor and his suite. Indeed the difference of manners in the two races renders a general social intercourse almost impossible.

A singular instance of national incompatibility was brought before my notice, in an attempt which I made to promote an undertaking, in which the French were said to take a great deal of interest. I accepted the office of President of the Agricultural Association of the district of Quebec, and attended the show previous to the distribution of the prizes. I then found that the French farmers would not compete even on this neutral ground with the English; distinct prizes were given, in almost every department, to the two races; and the national ploughing matches were carried on in separate and even distant fields.

While such is their social intercourse, it is not to be expected that the animosities of the two races can frequently be softened by the formation of domestic connections. During the first period of the possession of the Colony by the English, intermarriages of the two races were by no means uncommon. But they are now very rare; and where such unions occur they are generally formed with members of the French families, which I have described as politically, and almost nationally, separated from the bulk of their own race.

I could mention various slight features in the state of society, which show the all-pervading and marked division of the races; but nothing (though it will sound paradoxical) really proves their entire separation so much as the rarity, nay almost total absence, of personal encounters between the two races. Disputes of this kind are almost confined to the ruder order of people, and seldom proceed to acts of vio-

lence. As respects the other classes, social intercourse between the two races is so limited, that the more prominent or excitable antagonists never meet in the same room. It came to my knowledge that a gentleman, who was for some years a most active and determined leader amongst the English population, had never once been under a private roof with French Canadians of his own rank in life, until he met some at table on the invitation of persons attached to my mission, who were in the habit of associating indifferently with French and English. There are therefore no political personal controversies. The ordinary occasions of collision never occur, and men must quarrel so publicly, or so deliberately, that prudence restrains them from commencing, individually, what would probably end in a general and bloody conflict of numbers. Their mutual fears restrain personal disputes and riots, even among the lower orders; the French know and dread the superior physical strength of the English in the cities; and the English in those places refrain from exhibiting their power, from fear of the revenge that might be taken on their countrymen, who are scattered over the rural parishes.

This feeling of mutual forbearance extends so far as to produce an apparent calm with respect to public matters, which is calculated to perplex a stranger who has heard much of the animosities of the Province. No trace of them appears in public meetings; and these take place in every direction, in the most excited periods, and go off without disturbance, and almost without dissent. The fact is, that both parties have come to a tacit understanding, not in any way to interfere with each other on these occasions; each party knowing that it would always be in the power of the other to prevent its meetings. The British party consequently have their meetings; the French theirs; and neither disturb the other. The complimentary addresses which I received on various occasions, marked the same entire separation, even in a matter in which it might be supposed that party feeling would not be felt, or would from mere prudence and propriety be concealed. I had from the same places, French and English addresses, and I never found the two

races uniting, except in a few cases, where I met with the names of two or three isolated members of one origin, who happened to dwell in a community almost entirely composed of the other. The two parties combine for no public object; they cannot harmonize even in associations of charity. The only public occasion on which they ever meet, is in the jury-box; and they meet there only to the utter obstruction of justice.

The hostility which thus pervades society, was some time growing before it became of prominent importance in the politics of the Province. It was inevitable that such social feelings must end in a deadly political strife. The French regarded with jealousy the influence in politics of a daily increasing body of the strangers, whom they so much disliked and dreaded; the wealthy English were offended at finding that their property gave them no influence over their French dependents, who were acting under the guidance of leaders of their own race; and the farmers and traders of the same race were not long before they began to bear with impatience their utter political nullity in the midst of the majority of a population, whose ignorance they contemned, and whose political views and conduct seemed utterly at variance with their own notions of the principles and practice of self-government. The superior political and practical intelligence of the English cannot be, for a moment, disputed. The great mass of the Canadian population, who cannot read or write, and have found in few of the institutions of their country, even the elements of political education, were obviously inferior to the English settlers, of whom a large proportion had received a considerable amount of education, and had been trained in their own country, to take a part in public business of one kind or another. With respect to the more educated classes, the superiority is not so general or apparent; indeed, from all the information that I could collect, I incline to think that the greater amount of refinement, of speculative thought, and of the knowledge that books can give, is, with some brilliant exceptions, to be found among the French. But I have no hesitation in stating, even more decidedly, that the circumstances in which the English have

are there wanting instances in which a mere hostility to the majority of the Assembly elevated the most incompetent persons to posts of honour and trust. However decidedly the Assembly might condemn the policy of the Government, the persons who had advised that policy, retained their offices and their power of giving bad advice. If a law was passed after repeated conflicts, it had to be carried into effect by those who had most strenuously opposed it. The wisdom of adopting the true principle of representative government, and facilitating the management of public affairs, by entrusting it to the persons who have the confidence of the representative body, has never been recognized in the government of the North American Colonies. All the officers of government were independent of the Assembly; and that body, which had nothing to say to their appointment, was left to get on as it best might, with a set of public functionaries, whose paramount feeling may not unfairly be said to have been one of hostility to itself.

A body of holders of office thus constituted, without reference to the people or their representatives, must in fact, from the very nature of colonial government, acquire the entire direction of the affairs of the Province. A Governor arriving in a colony in which he almost invariably has had no previous acquaintance with the state of parties, or the character of individuals, is compelled to throw himself almost entirely upon those whom he finds placed in the position of his official advisers. His first acts must necessarily be performed, and his first appointments made, at their suggestion. And as these first acts and appointments give a character to his policy, he is generally brought thereby into immediate collision with the other parties in the country, and thrown into more complete dependence upon the official party and its friends. Thus, a Governor of Lower Canada has almost always been brought into collision with the Assembly, which his advisers regard as their enemy. In the course of the contest in which he was thus involved, the provocations which he received from the Assembly, and the light in which their conduct was represented by those who alone had any access to him, naturally

imbued him with many of their antipathies; his position compelled him to seek the support of some party against the Assembly; and his feelings and his necessities thus combined to induce him to bestow his patronage and to shape his measures to promote the interests of the party on which he was obliged to lean. Thus, every successive year consolidated and enlarged the strength of the ruling party. Fortified by family connection, and the common interest felt by all who held, and all who desired, subordinate offices, that party was thus erected into a solid and permanent power, controlled by no responsibility, subject to no serious change, exercising over the whole government of the Province an authority utterly independent of the people and its representatives, and possessing the only means of influencing either the Government at home, or the colonial representative of the Crown.

This entire separation of the legislative and executive powers of a State, is the natural error of governments desirous of being free from the check of representative institutions. Since the Revolution of 1688, the stability of the English constitution has been secured by that wise principle of our Government, which has vested the direction of the national policy, and the distribution of patronage, in the leaders of the Parliamentary majority. However partial the Monarch might be to particular ministers, or however he might have personally committed himself to their policy, he has invariably been constrained to abandon both, as soon as the opinion of the people has been irrevocably pronounced against them through the medium of the House of Commons. The practice of carrying on a representative government on a different principle, seems to be the rock on which the continental imitations of the British Constitution have invariably split; and the French Revolution of 1830 was the necessary result of an attempt to uphold a ministry with which no Parliament could be got to act in concert. It is difficult to understand how any English statesmen could have imagined that representative and irresponsible government could be successfully combined. There seems, indeed, to be an idea, that the character of representative institutions

ought to be thus modified in colonies; that it is an incident of colonial dependence, that the officers of government should be nominated by the Crown, without any reference to the wishes of the community, whose interests are entrusted to their keeping. It has never been very clearly explained what are the imperial interests, which require this complete nullification of representative government. But if there be such a necessity, it is quite clear that a representative government in a colony must be a mockery, and a source of confusion. For those who support this system have never yet been able to devise, or to exhibit in the practical working of colonial government, any means for making so complete an abrogation of political influence palatable to the representative body. It is not difficult to apply the case to our own country. Let it be imagined that at a general election the Opposition were to return 500 out of 658 members of the House of Commons, and that the whole policy of the ministry should be condemned, and every Bill introduced by it, rejected by this immense majority. Let it be supposed that the Crown should consider it a point of honour and duty to retain a ministry so condemned and so thwarted; that repeated dissolutions should in no way increase, but should even diminish, the ministerial minority, and that the only result which could be obtained by such a development of the force of the Opposition, were not the slightest change in the policy of the ministry, not the removal of a single minister, but simply the election of a Speaker of the politics of the majority; and, I think, it will not be difficult to imagine the fate of such a system of government. Yet such was the system, such literally was the course of events in Lower Canada, and such in character, though not quite in degree, was the spectacle exhibited in Upper Canada, and, at one time or another, in every one of the North American Colonies. To suppose that such a system would work well there, implies a belief that the French Canadians have enjoyed representative institutions for half a century, without acquiring any of the characteristics of a free people; that Englishmen renounce every political opinion and feeling when they enter a colony, or that the spirit of Anglo-Saxon

freedom is utterly changed and weakened among those who are transplanted across the Atlantic.

It appears, therefore, that the opposition of the Assembly to the Government was the unavoidable result of a system which stunted the popular branch of the legislature of the necessary privileges of a representative body, and produced thereby a long series of attempts on the part of that body to acquire control over the administration of the Province. I say all this without reference to the ultimate aim of the Assembly, which I have before described as being the maintenance of a Canadian nationality against the progressive intrusion of the English race. Having no responsible means to deal with, it entered upon that system of long inquiries by means of its committees, which brought the whole action of the executive immediately under its purview, and transgressed our notions of the proper limits of Parliamentary interference. Having no influence in the choice of any public functionary, no power to procure the removal of such as were obnoxious to it merely on political grounds, and seeing almost every office of the Colony filled by persons in whom it had no confidence, it entered on that vicious course of assailing its prominent opponents individually, and disqualifying them for the public service, by making them the subjects of inquiries and consequent impeachments, not always conducted with even the appearance of a due regard to justice; and when nothing else could attain its end of altering the policy or the composition of the colonial government, it had recourse to that *ultima ratio* of representative power to which the more prudent forbearance of the Crown has never driven the House of Commons in England, and endeavoured to disable the whole machine of Government by a general refusal of the supplies.

It was an unhappy consequence of the system which I have been describing, that it relieved the popular leaders of all the responsibilities of opposition. A member of opposition in this country acts and speaks with the contingency of becoming a minister constantly before his eyes, and he feels, therefore, the necessity of proposing no course, and of asserting no principles, on which he would not be prepared

vince, inasmuch as its inevitable effect would be to aggravate and perpetuate the existing distinctions of origin. But as the laity of every denomination appear to be opposed to these narrow views, I feel confident that the establishment of a strong popular government in this Province would very soon lead to the introduction of a liberal and general system of public education.

I am grieved to be obliged to remark, that the British Government has, since its possession of this Province, done, or even attempted, nothing for the promotion of general education. Indeed, the only matter in which it has appeared in connection with the subject, is one by no means creditable to it. For it has applied the Jesuits' estates, part of the property destined for purposes of education, to supply a species of fund for secret service; and for a number of years it has maintained an obstinate struggle with the Assembly in order to continue this misappropriation.

Under the head of the Hospitals, Prisons, and Charitable Institutions of Lower Canada, I beg to refer to some valuable information collected, by my direction, by Sir John Doratt, during the exercise of his office of Inspector-general of Hospitals and Charitable and Literary institutions, which will be found in a separate part of the Appendix to this Report. I regret that the pressure of more urgent duties did not allow me time to institute into these subjects so searching and comprehensive an inquiry as I should have desired to make in other circumstances. But there are some points brought under my notice by Sir John Doratt, to which I think it important that the attention of Your Majesty's Government should be directed without delay. I advert to the existing want of any public establishment for the reception of insane persons either in Lower or Upper Canada; to the bad state of the prisons in general, and especially the disgraceful condition of the gaol of the city of Quebec; to the defects of the quarantine station at Grosse Isle; to the low and ignorant state of the medical profession throughout the rural districts; and to the necessity of a change in the system of providing for the insane, the invalid poor, and foundlings, by payments of public monies to convents for that

purpose. It is evident that considerable abuses exist in the management of several philanthropic institutions. I have adverted, in another part of my Report, to the subject of pauperism, as connected with emigration; and the evidence there cited is in some respects confirmed by the information communicated by Sir John Doratt.

It is a subject of very just congratulation, that religious differences have hardly operated as an additional cause of dissension in Lower Canada; and that a degree of practical toleration, known in very few communities, has existed in this Colony, from the period of the conquest down to the present time.

The French Canadians are exclusively Catholics, and their church has been left in possession of the endowments which it had at the conquest. The right to tithe is enjoyed by their priests; but as it is limited by law to lands of which the proprietor is a Catholic, the priest loses his tithe the moment that an estate passes, by sale or otherwise, into the hands of a Protestant. This enactment, which is at variance with the true spirit of national endowments for religious purposes, has a natural tendency to render the clergy averse to the settlement of Protestants in the seigniories. But the Catholic priesthood of this Province have, to a very remarkable degree, conciliated the good-will of persons of all creeds; and I know of no parochial clergy in the world whose practice of all the Christian virtues, and zealous discharge of their clerical duties, is more universally admitted, and has been productive of more beneficial consequences. Possessed of incomes sufficient, and even large, according to the notions entertained in the country, and enjoying the advantage of education, they have lived on terms of equality and kindness with the humblest and least instructed inhabitants of the rural districts. Intimately acquainted with the wants and characters of their neighbours, they have been the promoters and dispensers of charity, and the effectual guardians of the morals of the people; and in the general absence of any permanent institutions of civil government, the Catholic church has presented almost the only semblance of stability and organization, and

furnished the only effectual support for civilization and order. The Catholic clergy of Lower Canada are entitled to this expression of my esteem, not only because it is founded on truth, but because a grateful recognition of their eminent services, in resisting the arts of the disaffected, is especially due to them from one who has administered the government of the Province in these troubled times.

The Constitutional Act, while limiting the application of the clergy reserves in the townships to a Protestant clergy, made no provision for the extension of the Catholic clerical institution, in the event of the French population settling beyond the limits of the seigniories. Though I believe that some power exists, and has been in a few cases used, for the creation of new Catholic parishes, I am convinced that this absence of the means of religious instruction has been the main cause of the indisposition of the French population to seek new settlements, as the increase of their numbers pressed upon their resources. It has been rightly observed, that the religious observances of the French Canadians are so intermingled with all their business, and all their amusements, that the priest and the church are with them, more than with any other people, the centres of their little communities. In order to encourage them to spread their population, and seek for comfort and prosperity in new settlements, a wise government would have taken care to aid, in every possible way, the diffusion of their means of religious instruction.

The Protestant population of Lower Canada have been of late somewhat agitated by the question of the clergy reserves. The meaning of the ambiguous phrase "Protestant clergy" has been discussed with great ardour in various quarters; and each disputant has displayed his ingenuity in finding reasons for a definition in accordance with his own inclination, either to the aggrandizement of his own sect, or the establishment of religious equality. Owing to the small numbers of the British population, to the endowment of the Catholic church in most of the peopled and important districts of the Colony, and, above all, to the much more formidable and extensive causes of dissension existing in the Province, the dispute of the various Protestant denominations for the funds

reserved for a "Protestant clergy," has not assumed the importance which it has acquired in Upper Canada. In my account of that Province I shall give a more detailed explanation of the present position of this much-disputed question. I have reason to know, that the apprehension of measures tending to establish the predominance of a particular creed and clergy, has produced an irritation in this Province which has very nearly deprived the Crown of the support of some portions of the British population, in a period of very imminent danger. I must therefore most strongly recommend, that any plan by which the question of clergy reserves shall be set at rest in Upper Canada, should also be extended to the Lower Province. The endowments of the Catholic church, and the services of its numerous and zealous parochial clergy, have been of the greatest benefit to the large body of Catholic emigrants from Ireland, who have relied much on the charitable as well as religious aid which they have received from the priesthood. The priests have an almost unlimited influence over the lower classes of Irish; and this influence is said to have been very vigorously exerted last winter, when it was much needed, to secure the loyalty of a portion of the Irish during the troubles. The general loyalty exhibited by the Irish settlers in the Canadas, during the last winter, and the importance of maintaining it unimpaired in future times of difficulty, render it of the utmost moment that the feelings and interests of the Catholic clergy and population should invariably meet with due consideration from the Government.

Setting on one side the management of the Crown Lands, and the revenue derived therefrom, which will be treated of fully in another part, it is not necessary that I should, on the present occasion, enter into any detailed account of the financial system of Lower Canada, my object being merely to point out the working of the general system of Government, as operating to produce the present condition of the Province. I need not inquire whether its fiscal, monetary, or commercial arrangements have been in accordance with

on to take immediate precautions against dangers so alarming as those of rebellion, foreign invasion, and utter exhaustion and depopulation. When I look on the various and deep-rooted causes of mischief which the past inquiry has pointed out as existing in every institution, in the constitutions, and in the very composition of society throughout a great part of these Provinces, I almost shrink from the apparent presumption of grappling with these gigantic difficulties. Nor shall I attempt to do so in detail. I rely on the efficacy of reform in the constitutional system by which these Colonies are governed, for the removal of every abuse in their administration which defective institutions have engendered. If a system can be devised which shall lay in these countries the foundation of an efficient and popular government, ensure harmony, in place of collision, between the various powers of the State, and bring the influence of a vigorous public opinion to bear on every detail of public affairs, we may rely on sufficient remedies being found for the present vices of the administrative system.

The preceding pages have sufficiently pointed out the nature of those evils, to the extensive operation of which I attribute the various practical grievances, and the present unsatisfactory condition of the North American Colonies. It is not by weakening, but strengthening the influence of the people on its Government; by confining within much narrower bounds than those hitherto allotted to it, and not by extending the interference of the imperial authorities in the details of colonial affairs, that I believe that harmony is to be restored, where dissension has so long prevailed; and a regularity and vigour hitherto unknown, introduced into the administration of these Provinces. It needs no change in the principles of government, no invention of a new constitutional theory, to supply the remedy which would, in my opinion, completely remove the existing political disorders. It needs but to follow out consistently the principles of the British constitution, and introduce into the Government of these great Colonies those wise provisions, by which alone the working of the representative system can in any country be rendered harmonious and efficient. We are not now to

consider the policy of establishing representative government in the North American Colonies. That has been irrevocably done; and the experiment of depriving the people of their present constitutional power, is not to be thought of. To conduct their Government harmoniously, in accordance with its established principles, is now the business of its rulers; and I know not how it is possible to secure that harmony in any other way, than by administering the Government on those principles which have been found perfectly efficacious in Great Britain. I would not impair a single prerogative of the Crown; on the contrary, I believe that the interests of the people of these Colonies require the protection of prerogatives, which have not hitherto been exercised. But the Crown must, on the other hand, submit to the necessary consequences of representative institutions; and if it has to carry on the Government in unison with a representative body, it must consent to carry it on by means of that whom that representative body has confidence.

In England, this principle has been so long considered an indisputable and essential part of our constitution, that it has really hardly ever been found necessary to inquire into the means by which its observance is enforced. When a ministry ceases to command a majority in Parliament on great questions of policy, its doom is immediately sealed; and it would appear to us as strange to attempt, for any time, to carry on a Government by means of ministers perpetually in a minority, as it would be to pass laws with a majority of votes against them. The ancient constitutional remedies, by impeachment and a stoppage of the supplies, have never, since the reign of William III., been brought into operation for the purpose of removing a ministry. They have never been called for, because, in fact, it has been the habit of ministers rather to anticipate the occurrence of an absolutely hostile vote, and to retire, when supported only by a bare and uncertain majority. If Colonial Legislatures have frequently stopped the supplies, if they have harassed public servants by unjust or harsh impeachments, it was because the removal of an unpopular administration could

not be effected in the Colonies by those milder indications of a want of confidence, which have always sufficed to attain the end in the mother country.

The means which have occasionally been proposed in the Colonies themselves appear to me by no means calculated to attain the desired end in the best way. These proposals indicate such a want of reliance on the willingness of the Imperial Government to acquiesce in the adoption of a better system, as, if warranted, would render an harmonious adjustment of the different powers of the State utterly hopeless. An elective executive council would not only be utterly inconsistent with monarchical government, but would really, under the nominal authority of the Crown, deprive the community of one of the great advantages of an hereditary monarchy. Every purpose of popular control might be combined with every advantage of vesting the immediate choice of advisers in the Crown, were the Colonial Governor to be instructed to secure the co-operation of the Assembly in his policy, by entrusting its administration to such men as could command a majority; and if he were given to understand that he need count on no aid from home in any difference with the Assembly, that should not directly involve the relations between the mother country and the Colony. This change might be effected by a single despatch containing such instructions; or if any legal enactment were requisite, it would only be one that would render it necessary that the official acts of the Governor should be countersigned by some public functionary. This would induce responsibility for every act of the Government, and, as a natural consequence, it would necessitate the substitution of a system of administration, by means of competent heads of departments, for the present rude machinery of an executive council. The Governor, if he wished to retain advisers not possessing the confidence of the existing Assembly, might rely on the effect of an appeal to the people, and, if unsuccessful, he might be coerced by a refusal of supplies, or his advisers might be terrified by the prospect of impeachment. But there can be no reason for apprehending that either party would enter on a contest, when each would

find its interest in the maintenance of harmony; and the abuse of the powers which each would constitutionally possess, would cease when the struggle for larger powers became unnecessary. Nor can I conceive that it would be found impossible or difficult to conduct a Colonial Government with precisely that limitation of the respective powers which has been so long and so easily maintained in Great Britain.

I know that it has been urged, that the principles which are productive of harmony and good government in the mother country, are by no means applicable to a colonial dependency. It is said that it is necessary that the administration of a colony should be carried on by persons nominated without any reference to the wishes of its people; that they have to carry into effect the policy, not of that people, but of the authorities at home; and that a colony which should name all its own administrative functionaries, would, in fact, cease to be dependent. I admit that the system which I propose would, in fact, place the internal government of the colony in the hands of the colonists themselves; and that we should thus leave to them the execution of the laws, of which we have long entrusted the making solely to them. Perfectly aware of the value of our colonial possessions, and strongly impressed with the necessity of maintaining our connection with them, I know not in what respect it can be desirable that we should interfere with their internal legislation in matters which do not affect their relations with the mother country. The matters, which so concern us, are very few. The constitution of the form of government,—the regulation of foreign relations, and of trade with the mother country, the other British Colonies, and foreign nations,—and the disposal of the public lands, are the only points on which the mother country requires a control. This control is now sufficiently secured by the authority of the Imperial Legislature; by the protection which the Colony derives from us against foreign enemies; by the beneficial terms which our laws secure to its trade; and by its share of the reciprocal benefits which would be conferred by a wise system of coloniza-

tion. A perfect subordination, on the part of the Colony, on these points, is secured by the advantages which it finds in the continuance of its connection with the Empire. It certainly is not strengthened, but greatly weakened, by a vexatious interference on the part of the Home Government, with the enactment of laws for regulating the internal concerns of the Colony, or in the selection of the persons entrusted with their execution. The colonists may not always know what laws are best for them, or which of their countrymen are the fittest for conducting their affairs; but, at least, they have a greater interest in coming to a right judgment on these points, and will take greater pains to do so than those whose welfare is very remotely and slightly affected by the good or bad legislation of these portions of the Empire. If the colonists make bad laws, and select improper persons to conduct their affairs, they will generally be the only, always the greatest, sufferers; and, like the people of other countries, they must bear the ills which they bring on themselves, until they choose to apply the remedy. But it surely cannot be the duty or the interest of Great Britain to keep a most expensive military possession of these Colonies, in order that a Governor or Secretary of State may be able to confer colonial appointments on one rather than another set of persons in the Colonies. For this is really the only question at issue. The slightest acquaintance with these Colonies proves the fallacy of the common notion, that any considerable amount of patronage in them is distributed among strangers from the mother country. Whatever inconvenience a consequent frequency of changes among the holders of office may produce, is a necessary disadvantage of free government, which will be amply compensated by the perpetual harmony which the system must produce between the people and its rulers. Nor do I fear that the character of the public servants will, in any respect, suffer from a more popular tenure of office. For I can conceive no system so calculated to fill important posts with inefficient persons as the present, in which public opinion is too little consulted in the original appointment, and in which it is almost impossible to remove those who

disappoint the expectations of their usefulness, without inflicting a kind of brand on their capacity or integrity.

I am well aware that many persons, both in the Colonies and at home, view the system which I recommend with considerable alarm, because they distrust the ulterior views of those by whom it was originally proposed, and whom they suspect of urging its adoption, with the intent only of enabling them more easily to subvert monarchical institutions, or assert the independence of the Colony. I believe, however, that the extent to which these ulterior views exist, has been greatly overrated. We must not take every rash expression of disappointment as an indication of a settled aversion to the existing constitution; and my own observation convinces me, that the predominant feeling of all the English population of the North American Colonies is that of devoted attachment to the mother country. I believe that neither the interests nor the feelings of the people are incompatible with a Colonial Government, wisely and popularly administered. The proofs, which many who are much dissatisfied with the existing administration of the Government, have given of their loyalty, are not to be denied or overlooked. The attachment constantly exhibited by the people of these Provinces towards the British Crown and Empire, has all the characteristics of a strong national feeling. They value the institutions of their country, not merely from a sense of the practical advantages which they confer, but from sentiments of national pride; and they uphold them the more, because they are accustomed to view them as marks of nationality, which distinguish them from their Republican neighbours. I do not mean to affirm that this is a feeling which no impolicy on the part of the mother country will be unable to impair; but I do most confidently regard it as one which may, if rightly appreciated, be made the link of an enduring and advantageous connection. The British people of the North American Colonies are a people on whom we may safely rely, and to whom we must not grudge power. For it is not to the individuals who have been loudest in demanding the change, that I propose to concede the responsibility of the Colonial

is defrayed. I have given such a view of the evils of this system, that I cannot be expected to admit that an interference with it would be an objection to my plan. I think, however, that the Provinces would have a right to complain, if these powers of local management, and of distributing funds for local purposes, were taken from Provincial Assemblies only to be placed in the yet more objectionable hands of a general legislature. Every precaution should, in my opinion, be taken to prevent such a power, by any possibility, falling into the hands of the Legislature of the Union. In order to prevent that, I would prefer that the Provincial Assemblies should be retained, with merely municipal powers. But it would be far better, in point both of efficiency and of economy, that this power should be entrusted to the municipal bodies of much smaller districts; and the formation of such bodies would, in my opinion, be an essential part of any durable and complete Union.

With such views, I should without hesitation recommend the immediate adoption of a general legislative union of all the British Provinces in North America, if the regular course of Government were suspended or perilled in the Lower Provinces, and the necessity of the immediate adoption of a plan for their government, without reference to them, a matter of urgency; or if it were possible to delay the adoption of a measure with respect to the Canadas until the project of an union could have been referred to the Legislatures of the Lower Provinces. But the state of the Lower Province, though it justifies the proposal of an union, would not, I think, render it gracious, or even just, on the part of Parliament to carry it into effect without referring it for the ample deliberation and consent of the people of those Colonies. Moreover, the state of the two Canadas is such, that neither the feelings of the parties concerned, nor the interests of the Crown or the Colonies themselves, will admit of a single Session, or even of a large portion of a Session of Parliament being allowed to pass without a definite decision by the Imperial Legislature as to the basis on which it purposes to found the future government of those Colonies.

In existing circumstances, the conclusion to which the foregoing considerations lead me, is, that no time should be lost in proposing to Parliament a Bill for-repealing the 31 Geo. III; restoring the union of the Canadas under one Legislature; and re-constituting them as one Province.

The Bill should contain provisions by which any or all of the other North American Colonies may, on the application of the Legislature, be, with the consent of the two Canadas, or their united Legislature, admitted into the union on such terms as may be agreed on between them.

As the mere amalgamation of the Houses of Assembly of the two Provinces would not be advisable, or give at all a due share of representation to each, a Parliamentary Commission should be appointed, for the purpose of forming the electoral divisions, and determining the number of members to be returned on the principle of giving representation, as near as may be, in proportion to population. I am averse to every plan that has been proposed for giving an equal number of members to the two Provinces, in order to attain the temporary end of out-numbering the French, because I think the same object will be obtained without any violation of the principles of representation, and without any such appearance of injustice in the scheme as would set public opinion, both in England and America, strongly against it; and because, when emigration shall have increased the English population in the Upper Province, the adoption of such a principle would operate to defeat the very purpose it is intended to serve. It appears to me that any such electoral arrangement, founded on the present provincial divisions, would tend to defeat the purposes of union, and perpetuate the idea of disunion.

At the same time, in order to prevent the confusion and danger likely to ensue from attempting to have popular elections in districts recently the seats of open rebellion, it will be advisable to give the Governor a temporary power of suspending by proclamation, stating specifically the grounds of his determination, the writs of electoral districts, in which he may be of opinion that elections could not safely take place.

No money votes should be allowed to originate without the previous consent of the Crown.

In the same Act should be contained a repeal of past provisions with respect to the clergy reserves, and the application of the funds arising from them.

In order to promote emigration on the greatest possible scale, and with the most beneficial results to all concerned, I have elsewhere recommended a system of measures which has been expressly framed with that view, after full inquiry and careful deliberation. Those measures would not subject either the colonies or the mother country to any expense whatever. In conjunction with the measures suggested for disposing of public lands, and remedying the evils occasioned by past mismanagement in that department, they form a plan of colonization to which I attach the highest importance. The objects, at least, with which the plan has been formed, are to provide large funds for emigration, and for creating and improving means of communication throughout the provinces; to guard emigrants of the labouring class against the present risks of the passage; to secure for all of them a comfortable resting place, and employment at good wages immediately on their arrival; to encourage the investment of surplus British capital in these colonies, by rendering it as secure and as profitable as in the United States; to promote the settlement of wild lands and the general improvement of the colonies; to add to the value of every man's property in land; to extend the demand for British manufactured goods, and the means of paying for them, in proportion to the amount of emigration and the general increase of the colonial people; and to augment the colonial revenues in the same degree.

When the details of the measure, with the particular reasons for each of them, are examined, the means proposed will, I trust, be found as simple as the ends are great; nor have they been suggested by any fanciful or merely speculative view of the subject. They are founded on the facts given in evidence by practical men; on authentic information, as to the wants and capabilities of the colonies; on an examination of the circumstances which occasion so high a degree of pros-

perity in the neighbouring States; on the efficient working and remarkable results of improved methods of colonization in other parts of the British Empire; in some measure on the deliberate proposals of a Committee of the House of Commons; and, lastly, on the favourable opinion of every intelligent person in the colonies whom I consulted with respect to them. They involve, no doubt, a considerable change of system, or rather the adoption of a system where there has been none; but this, considering the number and magnitude of past errors, and the wretched economical state of the colonies, seems rather a recommendation, than an objection. I do not flatter myself that so much good can be accomplished without an effort; but in this, as in other suggestions, I have presumed that the Imperial Government and Legislature will appreciate the actual crisis in the affairs of these colonies, and will not shrink from any exertion that may be necessary to preserve them to the Empire.

By the adoption of the various measures here recommended, I venture to hope that the disorders of these Colonies may be arrested, and their future well-being and connection with the British Empire secured. Of the certain result of my suggestions, I cannot, of course, speak with entire confidence, because it seems almost too much to hope that evils of so long growth and such extent, can be removed by the tardy application of even the boldest remedy; and because I know that as much depends upon the consistent vigour and prudence of those who may have to carry it into effect, as on the soundness of the policy suggested. The deep-rooted evils of Lower Canada will require great firmness to remove them. The disorders of Upper Canada, which appear to me to originate entirely in mere defects of its constitutional system, may, I believe, be removed by adopting a more sound and consistent mode of administering the government. We may derive some confidence from the recollection, that very simple remedies yet remain to be resorted to for the first time. And we need not despair of governing a people who really have hitherto very imperfectly known what it is to have a Government.

I have made no mention of emigration, on an extended

Annex B

The Prime Minister's "Europe" Speech

1. I know this is a long time ahead, so I have no qualms at the moment in sending to her for her consideration a statement which I made myself in Spain recently to a (tiny) conference of businessmen (most of whom were asleep since it was delivered after lunch). I would suggest first that she might like to choose as the theme of the speech in Brussels the section sidelined in red. Of course, the statement should be put in less informal language but I think that what is said there could with advantage be said by someone with authority; and I think they represent the Prime Minister's views, though it is some time since I talked to her in detail about these matters.

2. The historial section of this speech might say something to the effect that ever since the Middle Ages we have known that Europe should be united (or re-united). The trouble has been that the previous efforts at "collaboration" would always have resulted in the dominance of a single power: Spain (Philip II), or France (Louis XIV and Napoleon), or Germany (the Kaiser and Hitler). Victories of those rulers might have united Europe, but would have resulted in the destruction of all individuality and necessitated the extinction of all local freedoms. That is why Britain fought against those attempts (that's not the only reason but it's a reasonable thing to say). Now we have a real chance of a European union which will preserve both diversity and liberty.

3. I do have a further recommendation, deriving partly from reading for the first time the Durham Report (see ante). The implications of the present moves in Europe - towards "open frontiers", a common European currency, even a European Central Bank, and the Franco-German defence collaboration - have not, it seems to me, been thought through. The people who have thought continually about Europe seem to be the federalists and they, I suspect, did their original thinking thirty years or more ago. Britain determined to enter the Community and make the best of the institutions which were there, and we are doing well. But is there not a case for a really deep consideration in the style and at the length of the Durham Report (150 pages of text)? The "Europe of Nations" has never been carefully worked out, to my knowledge. We could be at a turning point in our history. Have we thought adequately about it? Can the views lightly touched on in my statement at the Escorial be developed in philosophical depth? I would not suggest that I should write this. But someone should.

/-

If the Government does not want to publish such a thing, the Centre for Policy Studies could, and should; and I could seek a person of substance to write it. Max Beloff, for example, might be a good idea. I have to say that it should be a single person whom we know in advance to be in sympathy with the views I expressed at Escorial.

4. In defence of my own profession, I think that it would be a benefit if studies of the sort I mention were more often entrusted to historians than they usually are; and that we would, as it happens, all benefit if someone were to be asked to write a similar study on the "future development of the Commonwealth". Such a document might save us from many problems. So far as I know, no one has given much thought to considering whether the Commonwealth should be expected to last indefinitely, whether there is a case for (or possibility of) winding it up and, if it is to continue, whether it should be expanded or defined.

Where is "Europe Going"?

Well whenever we raise the question implicit in this matter, specialists in Europe or practising politicians look a little nervous as if we have asked too naive a question. But public opinion would like an answer, particularly since the phrase United States of Europe's is on the agenda and people are talking of a European cultural bank and a European currency. Public opinion's desire for an answer should be satisfied because Britain is not the only European country likely - let us be blunt - to want to think deeply if the United States of Europe were to turn into anything like the federal state which the United States of America has become. Quite apart from anything else the public opinion of Britain has been repeatedly assured that a real surrender of sovereignty was not to happen. Like all difficult questions it seems to me that the answer can only be simple, but there is probably a complex consequence. Europeans as I understand it want to maintain their national differences, their regional eccentricities, their languages even their regional languages but at the same time create a common European identity. The preservation of differences is as important as the insistence on collaboration. The essence of Europe is surely diversity. We all find it perfectly possible to be loyal to several foci of affection: to the family, to the old school or university perhaps, to the pueblo, to the province or region, and to the nation - perhaps also to the civilisation (the West for example). Europe is a new line of affection, with the originality that it is, shall we say, neither national nor supranational but intranational. Useless to argue whether this intra-national focus is at a superior or lower level than that of the state. It depends on the subject under consideration.

Is this unsatisfactorily unambitious? I do not think so. We are not doing what Bismark did in Germany, nor Cavour did in Italy. The conclusion of those great "liberal" achievements should be a warning enough. Nor would we benefit if the world as a whole were to move ultimately towards a world of united continents. That is specifically the nightmare in which we met in Orwell's 1984. Further that would neglect the whole originality of the

. European Community,

European Community, which does offer the possibility of independence alongside international co-operation. Our originality too can easily be a model for other groups of nations which also wish to preserve sovereignty as well as benefitting from economic and cultural union: Central America, the Andes, why not the Arab world one day.

However if we accept the implications of what I have said we should take the need to preserve diversity in unity just as seriously as we have taken the need to achieve harmony. What I am about to say would be certain to seem anti European if it is taken out of context. But, as we travel across Europe of the 1980s, even if we travel across separate countries what disturbs us most is the decline of regional differences in costume, in food, in music etc. As a Spanish poet Jose Moreno Villa once said: "I have discovered in symmetry the root of much iniquity." Octavio Paz in talking of Mexico, said of indigenous Mexico,

the extinction of each marginal society and each ethnic and cultural difference means the extinction of yet another possibility of survival for the entire species. With each society that disappears destroyed or devoured by industrial civilisation, a human possibility also disappears - not only a past and a present but a future. History has thus far been plural"

qu in Convergences (47)

He added:

"the problem [in modern societies] lies in adapting technology to human needs rather than the reverse, as has been the case so far ... traditional societies must be defended if we wish to preserve diversity."

Gabriel Zaid

(in el Progreso Improductivo)

A Commissioner for European diversity is, therefore, as desirable as one for harmony. This after all follows the grain, follows the trend of affairs within our Community.

Annex C

Peru

The Peruvian novelist MARIO VARGAS LLOSA, whom the Prime Minister met in my house in 1983, is standing as President of Peru in 1990 on what his Socialist and Marxist enemies describe as a "Thatcherite programme". He has not disdained the label. He is in London for two weeks before returning to begin the campaign. Would the Prime Minister like to see him? He has NOT asked to meet her but I think she would enjoy such a discussion; he just might win against the Socialist candidate; his English is perfect - he once taught in London; were he to be elected, this country, and the Prime Minister, would have no greater friend anywhere in Latin America.