EMIGRATION TO THE CANADAS.*

THE interesting subject of emigration is one that has lately attracted much of the public attention, involving, as it does, many points of importance in our domestic and colonial policy.

By its judicious and well-directed action, it draws forth the dormant resources of our gigantic colonial empire; teaches us to trust to our own energies, means, and capabilities, rather than to foreign powers; causes us to investigate the eligibility of our own possessions for trade, commerce, and settlement; furnishes fresh fields for our home-manufactures; adds to our maritime strength, and proves alike beneficial to the merchant, the manufacturer, the artisan, and the industrious labourer, whose energies are frequently exhausted in profitless toil at home, but who in wider regions proves a source of strength to the colony where he settles, and of benefit to the country he left.

The writer being more immediately connected with the British North American provinces, and particularly that portion of them, the Canadas,

* The Colonial Society has a conversazione every alternate Wednesday at its house, 15, St. James's Square. Papers on different subjects are read, and a discussion follows. The first evening an introductory lecture was given by Mr. Montgomery Martin, on Colonies generally; the second evening was devoted to the reading of the annexed interesting paper, by Dr. Thomas Rolph, of Upper Canada. We hope to be able, from time to time, to lay various useful papers read at the Society's meetings before the public.—[ED. COL. MAG.]

to which the thrilling events of the last few years has induced the public to turn with more than ordinary curiosity and interest, is desirous of adverting more prominently to those provinces in connexion with emigration.

When the United States declared their independence, Great Britain occupied the place on the American continent which France had done, whilst the American provinces were under British dominion.

After the immortal Wolfe had planted the British standard on the heights of Abraham, the whole of the country westward of Lake Champlain was in the undisputed possession of England; but as a boundary line between the British possessions and the United States was to be defined, a commission was appointed; British interests were intrusted to the friends of America, the old French line was departed from, and a vast extent of territory was lost to Great Britain.

Although sufficiently mortifying when the mistake was discovered, and the right surrendered, it has perhaps proved fortunate at last; for it seems scarcely possible, that with the conflicting interests which are now agitating some of these states (forming a part of the surrendered territory), threatening hostile consequences, and provoking the most fierce and angry discussions, Great Britain could have held a peaceful sway over them; and the circumstance of Lower Canada having belonged to a foreign power, and peopled by a foreign race, prevented the loss of the whole American continent to Great Britain.

The geographical position of Canada may be thus defined:—

It is bounded on the east by the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Labrador; on the north by the territories of Hudson's Bay; on the west by the Pacific; on the south by Indian countries, parts of the United States, and New Brunswick.

In addition to this large and valuable region, Great Britain also possesses on the continent of America, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, Newfoundland, &c. &c.

Before stating the advantages to be derived to unsettled countries from judicious emigration, it will be necessary to diverge a little from the subject, by adverting to the character which a country receives from the description of emigrants who first people it.

We may take as an example the interesting and fertile island of Barbados, long distinguished for the loyalty, patriotism, chivalry, intelligence, and hospitality of its inhabitants. Where can any colony be found more warmly attached to the parent state, even under the most provoking discouragements?—Where is to be met with a space of country more densely peopled, or more beautifully cultivated?—And

to what may this superiority be fairly ascribed? What, but to the lofty and ennobling principles which animated its first settlers? who, in 1650, left England, rather than abandon the cause of the monarch, and settled 20,000 of them in Barbados; and whose affectionate attachment to Great Britain has descended through several generations to this day.

Amidst the daily scenes of increasing demoralization, arising from the brutalizing influence of unbridled democracy, what makes Virginia stand pre-eminent amidst the surrounding darkness by which she is environed?—The lofty character of its early settlers, who leaving England at the commencement of the civil war, to the amount of 20,000 persons, were so passionately devoted to the interests of their royal master, and who united to preserve their loyalty untarnished and inviolate, that even after monarchy was abolished, after one king had been beheaded, and another driven into exile, acknowledged and revered the authority of the crown in Virginia.

When Canada was ceded to the British crown, the whole of its immense territory was comprised under the title of the province of Quebec; and when the American provinces revolted, and their independence was acknowledged, we occupied that portion of the American continent we had just wrested from France. About two hundred years since, the French commenced their settlements in Lower Canada, confining themselves principally to the shores of the St. Lawrence. In 1774, those Americans who had unsuccessfully supported the royal cause during the struggle of the American colonies to separate from Great Britain, left kindred, friends, property, and home, to seek in the newly-acquired colonies a resting-place, where they could abide under an authority they revered, perpetuate a connexion in which they gloried, and live under a constitution which they considered as adapted to their condition as the towering and majestic oak to the British soil.

Many of these brave loyalists settled in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, where the crown provided them with an asylum in these new possessions. And what, we may again ask, is the character of the present population of these rising and important provinces? Let their enterprise, chivalry, patriotism, hospitality, fidelity, valour, and determination proclaim. Let the promptitude and generosity with which they furnished men, and voted money, to quell revolt and repel invasion and aggression, in their sister-provinces, proclaim to their admiring fellow-subjects in Great Britain, and throughout the world.

The earliest settlers in Upper Canada were of the same class;

devoted to their sovereign, British connexion, British laws, habits, and institutions, they left the revolted provinces to settle in the new possessions of the British crown. They came to that portion of Canada, since called Upper, and placed themselves on the frontier in the Niagara District, and the remotest western section of the province. Between this, and the French settlers on the banks of the St. Lawrence, were hundreds of miles of inaccessible wilderness—untrodden forests—known only to the trappers and Indian hunters of that day; scarcely ever travelled, then only during the summer months, through lakes and rivers, which they often had to cross by swimming. This inconvenience was partially obviated by the division of the provinces in 1791, which led to the establishment of an entire French population in Lower Canada, and British in Upper Canada.

The Upper Province then contained about 10,000 inhabitants, of the description and character above stated. The first governor of the Upper Province, knowing how indispensably requisite it was to draw forth the resources of this mighty and prolific region, invited over settlers from the United States; and many who had borne arms against the British power in the country from whence they came, did not hesitate to settle in Upper Canada on free grants of land.

Thus it will be perceived, that in the early history of the two provinces, its settlers were of two races — that of Lower Canada, exclusively French; that of Upper Canada, first, United-Empire loyalists, and second, American citizens; and it will now be seen how much both the character of a people, and the history of a country, are affected by the feelings, views, habits, and manners of emigrants.

The insurrection that has twice broken out in the Lower Province, and been twice happily suppressed, is too strongly marked with a distinctive character to admit of doubt as to its origin; and if at all justifiable, (which it *never* was,) would have been as much so *at any given period* within the last eighty years, as it is now, or would be eighty years henceforward.

The violent appeals that had been made to the national prejudices and feelings of the French Canadians, found but too ready an echo in their bosoms; and their long-smothered hostility to the British name and race at length fairly burst the trammels of concealment, *never again to be confined.*

Their error consisted in arrogating to themselves a right which they did not possess, founded on the abstract question of their distinctive race and origin, and in believing that numerical superiority was of itself more than an equivalent for the want of moral strength.

Fortunately the United-Empire loyalists, and their descendants in Upper Canada, retained strongly their fond and early predilections for Great Britain and her authority, and readily united with their fellow-subjects, from every part of the United Kingdom, to prevent the infliction of a republican government, desired only by a few desperate adventurers; and those who had come from the United States at Governor Simcoe's invitation, and their progeny, whom they had reared in the same feeling of bitter hostility to Great Britain which they so deeply cherished themselves.

In the Upper Province, where no distinctive nationalities exist, the outbreak (for insurrection would be a misnomer) of December, 1837, was purely of a political character, originating in, and being confined to, a small revolutionary faction, which had persuaded itself into the belief that it represented the majority of the population. The summary suppression, by the great mass of the community, of this insane attempt to subvert the institutions of the country, was a sufficient evidence of their desire that those institutions should not be impaired; and the fact is sufficiently notorious, that at that moment it rested entirely with *themselves* to decide what form of government they would choose; nor would they have needed any extraneous aid to enable them to carry into effect any measures they might have adopted for rendering themselves independent of the parent-state. These are now matters of history, and require no further comment.

That this powerful feeling, which exists between the British Canadian and the British settler, is alike cherished by both, and materially affects both the social and political condition of the colony, may be amply proved, but it would occupy too much time, and to the exclusion of other matter. One circumstance may be mentioned. It is usual to celebrate, throughout British North America, the respective patron saints' days — St. David's, St. Patrick's, St. George's, and St. Andrew's.

On the last feast of St. Andrew's, a Scotch settler of great talent, in proposing Upper Canada as a toast, thus as truly as eloquently spoke, fully bearing out the principles just now advanced:—

"Canada is young; it has much to be proud of, notwithstanding its youth; it is the birth-place of John Beverly Robinson, James Buchannan Macauley, and Archibald McLean, men whose high character, integrity, and acquirements, would throw a lustre on the character of any country. The intrepid conduct of the immortal Brock, and the brave men who gloriously fell with him on the heights of Queenston, defending the country against the southern invaders, will bear everlasting testimony to its early prowess. Windsor and Prescott will record its increasing vigour, and truly manly British character. The western frontiers of

the province will be pointed out to generations unborn as hallowed ground—the scenes of its trials and sufferings—of its patience and forbearance; as the seat where folly and crime, but not its own, spread sorrow, desolation, and death; where the basest and most abandoned of our race—those corrupted and inhuman wretches that hover around the haunts of infamy and dissipation, in the neighbouring country—have imperiously, in the name of sacred liberty, trodden under foot every feeling and law, human and divine, and put themselves, as it were, in array against God and man; and put human nature to open shame, by the enormity of their crimes. There, in the solemn 'noon of night,' the heavens have been illuminated with the flames that devoured the dwellings and hard-earned substance of the inoffending Canadians, while the execrable incendiary revelled amid the exulting shouts of the demoniac orgies on the opposite shore. Let every man in the room understand me, that I do not allude to these events as relating to party, but as grave portions of Canadian history—as a warning voice from heaven, addressed to the land at large, proclaiming aloud that it is full time for the troubled waters of strife and discord to subside; for the *Ark* of good sense to find some *Ararat* to rest upon, that the Canadian dove might be sent forth with the olive-branch of peace and reconciliation. No peace or reconciliation can be permanent that is not founded upon an invincible determination to form the character of the country after, and continue its eternal connexion with the illustrious Empire whose soil is holy — upon which the African and Indian stands free and regenerated — upon the boundless dominions of which, the sun never sets."

Turning from this branch of the subject to the consideration of the reciprocal advantages flowing both to the mother-country and the colonies by a judicious transfer of her superabundant population to them, we find that in 1791 the population of Upper Canada was but 10,000; it now, in less than fifty years, amounts to nearly 500,000! As the climate, soil, agricultural productions, and labour are nearly alike in Upper Canada and the United Kingdom, it may not prove uninteresting to institute a comparison between the early settlement of the two.

"The year 1086, the Saxon chronicler remarks, 'was a very heavy season, and a swinkful and sorrowful year in England in murrain of cattle; and corn and fruits were at a stand, and so much untowardness in the weather as a man may not easily think.' The following year 'was a very heavy and pestilential year in this land;' and the cause is attributed 'to the badness of the weather.' Then came, says the writer, 'so great a famine over all England, that many men died a miserable death through hunger.' The year 1089 'was a very late year in corn, and in every kind of fruits, so that many men reaped their corn about Martinmas, and yet later.' In 1095 the weather was 'very unseasonable,' in consequence of which, throughout all this land were all the fruits of the earth reduced to a moderate crop.' The year 1096 'was a very heavy-timed year through all England, both through the manifold tributes, and also through the very heavy-timed hunger, that sorely oppressed this earth.' The succeeding year was 'in all things a very heavy-timed year, and beyond measure laborious from badness of weather, both when

men attempted to till the land, and afterwards to gather the fruit of their tilth.' Again, 1098 'was a very troublesome year, through manifold impositions; and from the abundant rains that ceased not all the year, nearly all the tilth in the marsh-lands perished.' Five years afterwards [A.D. 1103] was 'a very calamitous year.' There was a murrain among the cattle, and a deficiency of the crops of every kind; but the latter misfortune seems to have been occasioned by a violent storm of wind on St. Lawrence's day, which 'did so much harm to all fruits, as no man remembered that ever any did before.' In 1105 the product of the soil was also injured by the weather. In 1110 the weather was again unfavourable, 'by which the fruits of the earth were very much marred, and the produce of the trees over all this land entirely perished.' In 1111 'was the winter very long, and the season heavy and severe; and through that were the fruits of the earth sorely marred, and there was the greatest murrain of cattle that any man could remember.' The next year was fortunately 'a very good year,' and very fruitful in wood and field.' It was, however, accompanied by a severe mortality amongst men. In 1116 occurred a 'very heavy-timed winter, long and strong, for cattle and for all things.' The chronicler adds, that 'this was a very vexatious and destructive year with respect to the fruits of the earth, through the immoderate rains that fell soon after the beginning of August, harassing and perplexing men till Candlemas day.' It was also noted for a deficiency of the woods in mast, to such an extent, 'that there was never known such in this land or in Wales.' The next year was a 'very blighted year in corn, through the rains, that scarcely ceased for nearly all the year.' In 1124 'the seasons were very unfavourable in England for corn and all fruits.' A famine ensued in the following year. In 1131 'was so great a murrain of cattle as never was before in the memory of man over all England—that was in neat cattle and swine; so that in a town where there were ten ploughs going, or twelve, there was not one left; and the man that had two or three hundred swine had not one left. Afterwards perished the hen-fowls; then shortened the flesh-meat and the cheese.'"—*Pictorial History of England.*

The present purpose in bringing before you the concise chronology of the remarkable events of a period of forty-six years of England's beginnings, is to point out the adversities with which our English ancestors had to contend when first struggling into life, in a wooded country, something of the wilderness cast, assimilating to that of Upper Canada, in the time of its first settlers, fifty years ago. Men of sense and reflection will draw a moral from every historical fact presented to their view, else might the pages of history as well be to them a sealed book. For what is the use of the mere knowledge of facts, if those facts teach nothing? would they not be as well unknown. It is certainly good philosophy to estimate our share of benefits by comparing it with that of others below, rather than with that of those richer than ourselves; and if, by this rule, the present condition of Upper Canada is compared with that of our English ancestors eight centuries ago, it must be manifest how striking the advantages in favour of the former. Our ancestors then, like their grumbling progeny since, had to subdue

a wilderness, but in the first forty-six years of their struggles how many famines, plagues, and pestilences were suffered, both by men and beasts, as chronology will show; leaving out of view the foreign invasions and domestic feuds from which the country also suffered.

To direct attention to the more agreeable picture: from the first sound of the axe, fifty years ago, in Upper Canada, not one unremunerated stroke has been dealt to our dense forests, which have regularly undergone a course of subjugation, till now we have upwards of two millions of acres of cleared lands as fertile as any under the sun, and never failing to recompense the cultivator combining knowledge and judgment with his labours. From the valuable statistics furnished in Mr. Fothergill's excellent almanack, it will be seen that the province of Upper Canada now owns more horses than were to be found in England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who ordered a census to be taken, in the prospect of invasion by the Spanish Armada, when the number mustered was less than what Upper Canada could now furnish. In the short space of fifty years one of the most magnificent canals on the globe has been completed—the Rideau.

The Welland canal, connecting lakes Erie and Ontario, has been constructed; permitting, last year, nearly a thousand schooners to pass through it. Roads have been constructed in every direction; harbours formed on our lakes; many of our internal waters rendered navigable; steamers crowding our lakes; numerous lighthouses built for the security of our commerce, and encouragement to our shipping; many macadamized roads made; and vast quantities of British manufactures imported into our province, in exchange for our commodities and products.

During the thirteen years, between 1823 and 1836, not only did the population increase 200,000, but the value of landed property became so greatly enhanced, as to have risen during that time from 150 to 500 per cent.

Nova Scotia, proper, is just ninety years old, and contains 170,000 inhabitants. New Brunswick, colonized in 1783, fifty-six years, contains 140,000—together 310,000. The whole of the old rebel colonies, at ninety years of age, only contained 262,000 inhabitants. Upper Canada, also settled in 1783, contains 500,000 inhabitants, and is only fifty-six years old; and the bragging State of New York, one hundred and fifty years after its settlement, only containing 120,000 inhabitants. British America has nearly as large a population, and more commerce and navigation, and consumes more British manufactures, than the old rebel colonies at one hundred and fifty years of

age, when France and Spain and Holland gained them their independence.

We may now proceed to show the value of the settlement of the colonies by British settlers, to all parties in Great Britain. Without looking to the vast consequences of them as naval and military stations, augmenting and supporting our influence in every quarter of the globe; it must be quite evident to every one who bestows one moment's consideration on the subject, that to her colonies Great Britain is indebted for her commercial ascendancy and naval power, and that, deprived of these possessions, she would never have been able to maintain her independence during the long wars in which she was engaged; that without them it is impossible to sustain those difficulties under which she at present labours, and that she would be powerless to encounter or resist any new combination which may be raised against her; every motive of patriotism, prudence, philanthropy, and national prosperity, should urge the consideration of emigration on the attention of the nation, so that our ill-requited, industrious, and deserving population, may be assisted in the settlement of these outlets to our population, who, by their skill, and enterprise, and perseverance in a fresh field for their exertions, stimulate and sustain industry at home, by increasing the consumption of our manufactures and produce, and opening up sure and new channels for carrying on, under every circumstance of difficulty and privation, a steadily increasing and vastly profitable colonial trade.

In a commercial point of view, the subject of emigration is all-important. It must be evident, that so long as British emigrants and their descendants, retain the manners, habits, and modes of living of their native country, they will consume far more of British manufactures, than any other class of people whatsoever, independently of the example and encouragement which they afford to others, to adopt the superior social state of Great Britain, so that by adopting their tastes, and following their modes of living, they may become also more profitable consumers; thus, whilst Prussia consumes at the rate of 3½d per head of our manufactures, the inhabitants of the British West Indies consume at the rate of £3. 12s. per head! and other colonies even more. British emigration has so completely established this fact in Canada, that the city of Toronto and its neighbourhood, consume more British manufactures than Prussia with its fourteen million inhabitants.

The Americans justly ascribe their vast improvements to that influx of British emigration, which, by the unwise policy of our own govern-

ment, was directed to that country, rather than to our colonial possessions. Thus an American wrote,

"A fleet of twenty sail were in bay this morning, (May 7th, 1839,) bound for the far west, under a full press of canvass. It was a charming sight to see so many fine vessels leaving our harbour, all at one time, each leaving a valuable cargo."—*Buffalo Paper.*

BUFFALO.—"Some idea of the extent of the prosperous state of trade of the lakes, and the business of this city, may be inferred from the fact, that on the 22d of April, 1839, there were then in port, nearly all ready for the business of the season, seventeen steam-boats, most of them of the largest class. One of the largest Buffalo boats is called the Great Western, having a burden of 800 tons. All this lake country is the most astonishing theatre of social development, the world has ever seen, or ever will see, for I know not where such scenes can be acted over again. The shores of these waters are a world of themselves; you bear in mind that their extent is 5,000 miles, or more than our whole Atlantic coast, including the Gulf of Mexico.

"Now let us glance at a few points along this line. This table, founded on good authority, will explain their history in brief—a strange one it is, certainly worthy of notice, and of record too, though only a 'chalk sketch of the flying shadows on the wall.' Towns, 17—population, 1830, 15,193—in 1838, 66,800. These are now veteran settlements; there are some thirty towns which began existence since 1830 on Lake Ohio, which would, if included, show a greater increase."—*Michigan City Gazette.*

Now, when it is considered that our Canadian territories are just on the opposite shore to Buffalo, and that we could, by only opening a ship-canal from the river St. Lawrence, the navigation of which belongs to Great Britain, to these huge lakes, converting them into a fresh-water Baltic, all to be accomplished by British emigration, we should then secure not only the supply of this fast-growing and improving population to England, but even the carriage of the goods to British shipping.

If England be wise, she should set about at once the peopling and settlement of her various colonies, by her crowded and suffering population. Can it be credited, that within a distance of thirty-six hours from this place, there exists as noble a body of men in one of the islands of the west of Scotland in so destitute and appalling a state of misery, as to have entered into a voluntary obligation to restrict themselves to one meal of food in each twenty-four hours! a description of people that experience has proved to be of the most useful, patient, and enduring, of all who have left the British dominions? The writer has seen their progress in settling the wilds of America, their patience in surmounting difficulties, and their gratitude for their success.

" Brighter through op'ning boughs the sunbeams gleam—
Whose axe sounds heavy in the sylvan wild?
Dear is that habit in a foreign clime,
Thy well-known tartan, Caledonia's child!
By hard drawn rents and pinching want compell'd,
He left the heath-crown'd hill and verdant glen,
The straw-roof'd cot—the bothy summer's bield,
To seek a home beyond th' Atlantic main,
Deep in these circling woods;—nor sought that home in vain.

" The axe, the flame, assail'd the trembling glade—
The cottage rose on disencumber'd ground,
'Mid lands new ravish'd from the forest's shade,
The winding fence mark'd out its simple bound;
Deep bosom'd in th' embowering wood's embrace,
His store increasing mark'd the flight of time;
And fondly there he rear'd his youthful race,
From childhood's blush to manhood's blooming prime,
And reap'd the fertile field, and bless'd the generous clime."

If the colonies be worth retaining, it is surely worth the cost; and, worth the cost, the outlay on their settlement and culture by emigration could scarcely be thrown away. It is but sound policy on the part of the owner of an estate to improve the condition of his tenants; and if under every difficulty and discouragement they have remained faithful to him, and preserved to him his inheritance, what may he not expect from them under more favourable circumstances, or how better can he attain his object and promote their welfare, than by identifying their interests with his own?

Our vast colonies, with their exhaustless resources, require but the aid of emigration and capital at once to soothe many of the distracting feelings which now agitate and perplex the various interests at home. The manufacturer, the agriculturist, the landowners, the merchants, and the peasantry, would all feel the benefit which must result from a settlement of the colonies by British emigrants. Our possessions in Asia, Africa, and America—the fertile islands of the Southern Ocean, all alike require the fostering, nurturing influence of British emigration. Instead of magnificent harbours being empty and neglected, they would be filled with our ships—abundant streams and noble rivers wasting their idle waters, would be made blessings as they flow—mines known to exist, and yet their treasures left locked up from human uses, or, worked feebly and incompetently, would pour their precious treasures into our lap—and vast tracts of invaluable land, now lying unimproved

and desolate, would give food to thousands in exchange for British manufactures.

In British North America we inherit there a patrimony prolific in blessings, and of a singular capacity to multiply them to the hand of industry; we should then patiently, perseveringly, and with unfaltering steps, pursue the course dictated both by duty and interest, and with a moral certainty of obtaining the reward which sweetens toil.

The British constitution appears admirably adapted to the genius, character, and safety of the colonies. There is no restriction of freedom, such as might deaden enterprise, nor is there that insecurity and terror that must be always engendered by unrestrained licentiousness.

It is equally removed from the agrarian spirit provoked by democracy, and that hopeless stagnation that, in countries crouching under a despotic rule, deadens every intellectual faculty, and stunts the growth of soul: the public mind, wherever the institutions of Britain's limited monarchy prevail, preserves a wholesome undecaying vigour. The advantages to be derived from emigration may be thus enumerated:—

The actual settlement of the land.

The increased circulation of money.

The additional impetus to trade.

The extension of commerce, and encouragement of navigation.

The augmentation of property in cities, towns, and villages.

The opportunities afforded for carrying on public improvements.

The spirit of legitimate enterprise it excites.

The happiness it diffuses throughout the community.

The benefit it extends to all connected with the navigation, trade, and commerce of our lakes and rivers.

The enlargement of our exports and imports.

The improvement in husbandry, and all the arts connected with it.

These are some of the solid advantages which would be secured to Canada by British emigrants, and which requires but an energetic effort on her part to secure to a great extent for years to come.

If the British government are seriously resolved in aiding the colonization of the province, their exertions will necessarily have the effect of conferring on it the faculty of bettering its condition in a moral, social, and commercial point of view, by enabling the colonists to carry into effect the most extensive and beneficent plans of education, intercommunication, and internal improvements of all kinds; thereby elevating the standard of the public morals and intelligence; increasing the guarantees, and insuring the durability of British constitutional liberty; multiplying the avenues and facilities of intercourse; strength-

ening the bonds of union by the additional ties of inclination and interest; quickening trade; stimulating enterprize; invigorating the exertions by advancing the profits of labour; and enriching the entire surface of the country by its being made the great natural highway for the commerce of the West. It is ardently to be hoped that the scope of our measures and the spirit of our policy will be directed to make Canada what she may be, what she ought to be, and what, with union and wisdom among her friends, she ultimately must be—the abode of advancing industry, of social peace, and of temperate freedom.