

in common with its population, and being continually surrounded and advised by a body of self-interested counsellors whom no popular vote of disapprobation can ever change.

There is not now, neither has there ever been any real constitutional check upon the untutored disposition of men in the possession of power, to promote their own partial views and interests at the expense of the interests of the great body of the people.

Causes of the Present Discontents.

The infancy of the country, the poverty of the first settlers, the command over the waste lands (the disposal of which is regulated by no law,) and the civil and military expenditures derived from the taxes levied upon the people of these kingdoms, has left all the power in the hands of the executive government, and rendered the apparent constitutional check derived from the custom of electing a branch of the legislature altogether nugatory, or perhaps *rather mischievous than otherwise*, it serving as a cloak to legislative acts for promoting, in many if not in most cases, individual and partial interests at the sacrifice of the public good, and that too with an apparent sanction from the people through their representatives.

Hence, immense tracts of waste lands, vested in the crown for the benefit of actual settlers, were granted to individuals who kept them from actual settlers in the expectation of realizing fortunes out of them.

Hence the very great neglect of the roads; hence the general retardment of the prosperity of the Province.

Hence the interspersing of crown and clergy reserved lands among the lots to be granted for actual settlement.

Hence the sale of those lands to the Canada Company, founded upon the principle that a revenue was to be derived from the labours of the first settlers in a wilderness, for the advantage of persons resident in England; and in order to afford incomes to public functionaries, pensioners, and favourites, over the amount and continuance of which the people or the representatives they might select could exercise no control.

Hence high salaries over numerous offices, pensions and perquisites for many persons living on the industry of the colony without affording any adequate return for the advancement of the public prosperity.

Hence the extensive, insecure and dangerous Banking Monopoly in the hands of the government and its officers. Hence the alarming increase of the Provincial Debt. Hence the secrecy with which a large portion of the revenues are expended, while information concerning the management and appropriations is yearly refused to successive Assemblies in His Majesty's name.

Hence the unequal and very imperfect state of the representation of the qualified electors in the House of Assembly; in which, as at present constituted, a majority of the whole members are elected by places containing less than one-third of the whole population and assessed property in the Province.

Hence also, the very expensive and at the same time inefficient system for the administration of justice, its great delays, and the want of confidence which the people have so often expressed in its dispensation.

Hence too the attempts to maintain and support these monopolies, separate interests and undue individual advantages, by preferences from government to particular religious denominations, preferences in provision for the support of the clergy, preferences in the direction of education and schools, preferences in appointment to offices of trust, honor and profit, and preferences to those localities, classes, and individuals who will give their support to this exclusive system.

The undue advantages thus possessed by persons in authority, open a door to the practice of bribery and corruption in every department of the state; encourage in the people a servile spirit of dependance on persons in office, and have left their representatives not even the nominal control over a revenue, complicated and very unsatisfactory accounts of the receipts and expenditure of some part of which are partially submitted to their inspection and published as a mere matter of form.

Judges—Juries—
Sheriffs.

For forty years—ever since the establishment of the colony—our judges, sheriffs, and magistrates have been kept in abject dependance on the will of the officer administering the government; and whilst in this state of complete subservience have been called upon to pass, between the richest men in the country and the poorest and most unpopular; between the government and the man opposed to its measures; between the conflicting enactments of British and Colonial Legislatures; between the pleasure of their patrons and the spirit of the laws. In apportioning the retiring allowances of these judges and other public officers, recourse is had, not to the people's Representatives, but to the instructions sent out from the Treasury or Colonial Office. New and expensive and useless offices are created, and the incumbents paid under the like authority.

Our Grand and Petty Juries are selected or chosen at the discretion of sheriffs thus dependant on the government—hence we are liable to be subjected in most cases to a mock trial by jury, and are continually dependant on the caprice of a body of the most violent partizans of the executive under the form of a grand inquest.

Administration of
Justice.

The expenses of obtaining a decision in the law courts are enormous—at least seven-fold greater than in the adjoining republics—the people have no confidence in the administration of justice—they ought to have none.

There is no tribunal established for the trial of cases of impeachment; when complaint is made to this country it is of no avail; it is rather a means of promoting the delinquents to still higher honors.

Outrages by Government Officers.

Justices of the Peace and other officers of the government are frequently proved guilty of the most criminal outrages against the peace of the community—instead of meeting with disapprobation in the highest quarters, they are encouraged in their disgraceful career, advanced and promoted to places of greater power and trust, and the petitions of the Landowners for their removal slighted and contemned.

Powers of the
Magistracy.

The local Magistracy, in the formation of whom the country has not the slightest influence, have assumed the sole control of a large and growing revenue, annually raised by the imposition of taxes on dwelling houses, shops, lands, cattle, horses, gristmills, carriages, &c. Much of this money is squandered in the most profligate manner, and there are no means of redress. Within the last three years, the fee simple of nearly 700,000 acres of excellent land, chiefly in old settlements, the property of individuals, has been sold by the Sheriffs for taxes in arrear, at an average of about five-pence sterling per acre, and the proceeds paid over to these parties to expend without their being subject to any efficient accountability for their proceedings.

Revenues and
Character of the
Official Priest-
hood.

About a fourth or a fifth part of the whole of the lands in the Province are in the hands of the religious teachers of a small minority of the population, who are paid by His Majesty's Government for propagating among the Colonists a great variety of doctrines the most opposed to each other possible, and a part of whose business it appears to be to interfere in the political discussions of the Province, and sow dissension among its inhabitants. These favored Priesthoods receive large incomes besides from the Colonial revenues and from taxes raised from the people of the United Kingdom, in opposition to the wishes of the local Houses of Assembly.

War Claims.

The sufferers by the late war with the United States, whose claims have been acknowledged, have petitioned for redress long and in vain—they are not recompensed. Part of the lands their opportune valor saved were sold to the Canada Company for the purpose of raising a fund for their benefit—but His Majesty's Government apply the proceeds to the purposes of patronage, pensions, sinecures, incomes to bishops and other priests of a variety of churches—the sufferers are forgotten.

Powers of the
Legislative
Assemblies.

The Legislative Assemblies of the Colony possess little or no power to redress the wrongs of the people they profess to represent. Sometimes they are almost exclusively composed of popular members, and at other times a majority is obtained to sanction many bad measures of the government and increase the injurious enactments on the statute book. In 1829, and 1830, their almost unanimous representations to His Majesty's Government pointing out the abuses of the administration of affairs in the Colony, appeared to be productive of but one effect, that of benefiting those whose misrule they exposed.