

military, who appeared on the ground after a short interval, to restore order and to extinguish the flames. During the two following days a good deal of excitement prevailed in the streets, and some further acts of incendiarism were perpetrated. Since then the military force has been increased, and the leaders of the disaffected party have shown a disposition to restrain their followers and to direct their energies towards the more constitutional object of petitioning the Queen for my recall, and the dissolution of the obnoxious bill. The proceedings of the House of Assembly will also tend to awe the turbulent. I trust, therefore, that the peace of the city will not be again disturbed. The newspapers which I enclose contain full and I believe pretty accurate accounts, of all that has occurred since Wednesday last.

11. The military are blamed for not having made adequate provision against these disorders; but they by no means expected that the hostility to the Rebellion would be so manifestly displayed in the streets, and that the outrages which have been perpetrated during the last few days, is certain. Perhaps sufficient attention was not paid by them to the menace of the opposition press. It must be admitted, however, that the situation was one of considerable difficulty. The civil force of Montreal—a city containing about 50,000 inhabitants, of different races, with secret societies and other agencies of mischief in constant activity—consists of two policemen under the authority of the government, and 70 appointed by the corporation. To oppose, therefore, effectual resistance to any considerable mob, recourse must be had in all cases either to military or to a force of civilians unaffiliated with the police. Grave objections, however, presented themselves in the present instance to the adoption of either of these courses, until the disposition to tumult on the part of the populace unappreciatedly manifested itself in overt acts. More especially was it of importance to avoid any measure which might have had a tendency to produce a collision between parties on a question on which their feelings were so strongly excited. The course pursued in the case of the riot, therefore, was not unwise, and, except in the case of some of the ministers themselves, no destruction of private property.

12. The proceedings in the Assembly have been important, and the copy of an address which has been voted by a majority of 36 to 16, expressive of abhorrence at the outrages which have taken place in the city of Montreal, of loyalty to the Queen, and approval of the present administration of the government, with my late, as well as my present advisers. Some of the opposition approve of the course which I have taken with respect to the Rebellion Losses Bill, as appearing from the speeches of Mr. Galt, and Mr. Galt, of which reports are given in the newspapers which I enclose. Mr. Wilson is an influential member of the Upper Canadian conservative party; and Mr. Galt's views are the more important, because he has been returned to Parliament, only a few days ago, by a Lower Canadian constituency, which comprises a large British population. Generally, however, as the amendments they have moved to the address show, they desire to avoid committing themselves on this point. The votes against the address may be thus classed: Sir A. McNab and his party; my late ministry and their party; and Mr. Papez's. The first acts with perfect consistency in voting as he has done on this occasion, for he has always contended that government, conducted on British principles, is unsuited to Canada.

The course of the second class is less intelligible; for, until the day on which they resigned their offices into my hands, they uniformly expressed approval of the principles on which my conduct as Governor General was guided; and these, as your lordship well knows, have undergone no change with the change of administration. Mr. Papez's vote I trust, to be lost on persons who had been induced to believe that the persecution of which I am the object is really attributable to my having shown undue lenity to those who were by him into rebellion.

13. I have now furnished your lordship with as clear a statement of those important occurrences as I can give, and I can conclude by assuring you that the city is perfectly tranquil, and that there is no present likelihood of a renewal of disturbances. A few days will show what echo the proceedings of the violent party awaken in Upper Canada, and to what extent they will be followed by reaction. Meanwhile, it is my firm conviction, that if this dictation be submitted, to the government of this province by constitutional means will be impossible; and that the struggle between our liberties, backed by force, and majority resting on legality and established forms, which has so long proved the bane of Canada, driving capital from the province and producing a state of chronic discontent, will be perpetuated. At the same time, I think that if I am unable to recover that position of dignified neutrality between contending parties, which it has been my unremitting study to maintain, and from which I would appear to have been for the moment driven—not as I firmly believe, through any fault of my own, but by the unreasonable violence of faction—it may be a question with your lordship whether it would not be for the interest of Her Majesty's service that I should be removed from my high office, to make way for one who should not indeed hold views at variance with mine, with respect to the duties of a constitutional governor, but who should have the advantage of being personally unobnoxious to any section Her Majesty's subjects within the province. I have, &c.

ELGIN and KINCARDINE.
The Right Hon. Earl Grey, &c.

PROVINCE OF CANADA.

From the Supplement of the Canada Gazette.

DESPATCH.

DOWNING STREET,

15th May, 1849.

My Lord,

I have received and laid before the Queen Your Lordship's Despatch of the 30th April, giving an account of the scenes by which the City of Montreal has been disgraced, and in the course of which the Building occupied by the Provincial Parliament was destroyed by Fire.

2. I am commanded by Her Majesty to inform Your Lordship, that while She has received with very great concern the intelligence of these deplorable events, they have not impaired the confidence which Her Majesty has hitherto felt in your

ability and judgment, and that She continues to regard your administration of the affairs of the Province as meriting Her entire approbation.

Upon the act of the Provincial Parliament, which has afforded a pretext for the outrages which have been committed, it is the duty of Her Majesty's Servants to reserve their judgment until we shall be in possession of the full information which you lead me to expect as to its character and objects; but whatever may be the view which may be taken of the merits of that measure, there can be but one opinion as to the guilt of those who in resistance to a law constitutionally passed by the Provincial Legislature, have had recourse to violence of an unbecoming character, or to the very serious responsibility incurred by all who have even by the impudence of their language assisted in producing the excitement which has led to such lamentable results. Her Majesty's Servants are most anxious to see Your Lordship as to the consequences which must follow from submitting to the kind of dictation by which it has been attempted on this occasion to overrule the decision of the legally constituted authorities of the Province, and which your Despatch concludes, but which I should most earnestly deprecate the charge it contemplates in the Government of Canada. Your Lordship's relinquishment of that office, which under any circumstances would be a most serious loss to Her Majesty's service, and to the Province, could not fail in the present state of affairs to be most injurious to the public welfare, from the encouragement which it would give to those who have been concerned in the violent and illegal proceedings, and to the impression which it would create in the minds of the people, that the Government of Canada, in the present state of affairs, is not disposed to enforce the law, and to compel those who may be guilty of such a crime, to answer to the Legislature or to the Executive Government of the Province, to confine their opposition within legal and constitutional limits.

3. I appreciate the motives which have induced Your Lordship to offer the suggestion which your Despatch concludes, but I should most earnestly deprecate the charge it contemplates in the Government of Canada. Your Lordship's relinquishment of that office, which under any circumstances would be a most serious loss to Her Majesty's service, and to the Province, could not fail in the present state of affairs to be most injurious to the public welfare, from the encouragement which it would give to those who have been concerned in the violent and illegal proceedings, and to the impression which it would create in the minds of the people, that the Government of Canada, in the present state of affairs, is not disposed to enforce the law, and to compel those who may be guilty of such a crime, to answer to the Legislature or to the Executive Government of the Province, to confine their opposition within legal and constitutional limits.

4. Relying, therefore, upon your devotion to the interests of Canada, I feel assured that you will not be induced by the unfortunate occurrences which have taken place, to retire from the high office which the Queen has been pleased to entrust to you, and which from the value she puts upon your past services, it is Her Majesty's anxious wish that you should retain.

I have, &c.

(Signed), GREY.

The Right Honorable
The Earl of Elgin,
&c., &c., &c.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

WHY SAVETH THE LEAGUE?

THE LONDON TIMES ON CANADA AFFAIRS.

From the London Times of May 17.

Lord Elgin's despatch with its important enclosures, has been presented to Parliament, and will be found in another part of our columns. In our opinion it leaves nothing to be wanted. The conduct of a public man under trying circumstances will always be open to discussion; but the present question, in its raw state as imported from the colony, is a personal one, and England has really nothing to do with it. Considering the vast number of very troublesome questions pressing for decision in the legislature, the tribunals, the church, and every other arena of discussion, we think we shall do the public some service if we can strike off from the list one superfluous controversy. We will do so at once. The British Parliament has not the least call to put its foot into the Canadian quarrel, or to choose to enter into the particulars of Lord Elgin's administration, or to censure the conduct of the Montreal authorities, or of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, or any other colonial officer; it will probably find the subject at least as amusing as the Rajah of Sattara's claims. But such a discussion will be wholly gratuitous and we are convinced, utterly unprofitable. Every political question connected with the Montreal rioters has already been definitively settled. Canada is one united province, and we are not now going to divide it. We have granted it a free constitution, as much on the model of our own as the circumstances of a colony will allow. That Constitution we are not going to recall. We gave it a Representative Legislature and Responsible Government. There is no English statesman who would venture to move the revocation of these liberties. Canada is now walking in the light of its own constitution; and acting therein with freedom, deliberation and order. Even if we did not entirely approve of its policy, we should be still undoing the good we have done, and we should be compelled to do, and scarcely did in time, if we were suddenly to interfere by some act of imperial absolutism.

Has Canada moreover, abused the liberties we have lately granted her, or has she exceeded their just and proper range? Most certainly not. As Lord Elgin asserts in his despatch, the present House of Assembly has every possible claim to be respected as the free and genuine voice of the people. It is the result of a free election which took place about 18 months ago, under the auspices of the political party now in opposition, and after a dissolution which they had advised for the purpose of strengthening their position as government. As it happened, the result was in the last degree unfavourable to them; for while the representation of Lower Canada was little affected by the change, in the Upper Province several constituencies, and among them some of the most populous, turned out very representatives, and took their seats in their place. No objection, therefore, can be taken to the peculiar character of the present House. The Tories appealed to the people, and, in a fair, should emphatically draw your attention to the subject, which the more I consider it the

more important do I regard it, and I am sure that you will excuse the candour and frankness with which I am about to express an opinion adverse to that which you seem to entertain, when you call to mind how fully I concur with you, I believe in all other respects in relation to Responsible Government.

The Royal instructions, it is true, require that all bills, having for their object the authorizing the drawing of money (which, however, I do not admit to be) should be reserved, as well as all Bills of an extraordinary or unusual nature; but it must be borne in mind that these instructions are the old circulars which, with perhaps trifling alterations, have ever been sent to the Colonies, and long before Responsible Government, was ever thought of, and therefore, in my judgment, should be construed and acted upon with reference to the state of things and course of Government then existing in the colonies to which they were intended to apply, and when the Governor, as an absolute monarch or as the representative of the absolute authority of the Parent State, exercised his powers, and in respect of local advice, in any degree responsible for his acts.

Since, however, these instructions were framed, Responsible Government has been demanded by the Colony, and acquired in the Parent State, as a system to which we are justly entitled, as British subjects, inhabiting a country of vast extent and importance, and which system of constitutional government imparts that all local affairs, not involving imperial interests, are to be decided through a Provincial Cabinet, consisting of local departments, responsible to the representatives of the people in Parliament.

This responsibility obviously requires the presence, in Parliament, of the leading persons constituting the Cabinet, who, from hour to hour and day to day, watch over the proceedings in Parliament, and are supposed to concur in what they do not expressly oppose; and as the Government is administered in the name of the Sovereign, represented in the Colony by the Governor, no bill which has received the sanction of both Houses, and consequently of the administration present there, concurring either openly or tacitly, by their assent, can be taken to be reserved under our present constitution, because the Governor cannot, consistently with the responsibility of his Cabinet to Parliament, refuse his assent to a bill which has received the sanction of both Houses, and which has allowed to pass through the Legislature without objection; and, if strenuously objected to by them, ought not, by their advice, to be reserved, since they ought to resign if a bill of an objectionable character is to be reserved, and it is the Governor, on their advice, who is to carry out their decision, otherwise it would be placing their decision, in the Cabinet, above the decision of Parliament, by whose permission they are enabled to tender their advice to the Crown.

This course, moreover, is quite unnecessary since, by the constitutional act, the right to disallow any act of our Parliament within two years, is reserved to the Crown to be exercised, of course, on the responsibility of the Imperial Ministry; and this, in my opinion, the only legitimate constitutional, yet effective, control which, under our system, the Crown has retained over the otherwise absolute authority of our own Legislature.

This is the distinct, broad and constitutional ground upon which I desire to place the question, not admitting a solitary instance in which the Governor can, consistently with the responsibility of Ministers to Parliament, reserve any bill whatever, which, if admitted, would allow the Ministry, in a quiet way, to get rid of any measure which might be unpopular to them, by a *de facto* *de jure* process, when they could not retard its progress through Parliament, and might not wish to give it that decided sanction which, if withheld, might require their going out of office.

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If a bill is reserved by the action our own Government, a doubt is evidently cast by ourselves, upon the expediency of our own acts, whereas, if it receives the Royal assent here, it will go before the Home Government as a thing done, and with the sanction, which will afford the strongest evidence which the country can give of its highest approval, and it will always be felt more difficult, by the Government at Home to take action upon such a matter and revoke by Imperial authority, what we have deliberately done than to remain passive, and thereby elude the responsibility of expressing any decision at all.

In former times the Reserving Bills was a fond expedient of Governors acting on their own authority for getting rid of measures distasteful to themselves, of which they did not desire to incur the odium of positive rejection. Shall a proceeding, so open to animadversion, be continued under Responsible Government? I hope not. Moreover, under our system of Responsible

Government, the Ministry must know what will be done with respect to the Royal assent while a bill is in progress, and if it was avowed that it would be reserved, the provisions might be so varied as to preclude the necessity, if they perceived the necessity of reservation; whereas, formerly, no one could tell what the Governor might do, and consequently no such caution could be used.

I think that when the Ministry intend to recommend the reservation of a bill, such intention should be declared during its progress, that either House may have an opportunity of expressing their disapprobation of the course intended to be taken by the Government in that respect.

I do not apologize for this intruding my opinions upon you, because I know the due interest you take in the sound working of Responsible Government, and altho' I may not have the good fortune to bring you to my way of thinking, yet to give the current way of political thought its proper direction with respect to Responsible Government, and the unadulterated integrity of its most extended signification.

Believe me,
My Dear Sir,
Yours,
Very faithfully,

H. J. BOULTON.

To the Hon. Robt. Baldwin,
H. M. Atty. Gen., U. Canada.

THE LONDON TIMES.—THE TORONTO

ARTICLE AND THE DEBATE.—We cannot well express the pride and grateful feelings with which we lay before our readers to-day, the calm, strong, impartial despatch of His Excellency, Lord Elgin, to the Colonial Secretary, on the late outrages in Montreal. For once, both the Imperial Government and the people of Canada have a right to be proud of our Governor General. A desire to give to our readers as full a statement as possible of the effect produced in England by our Canadian affairs, induces us to curtail any remarks of our own. A few things to which we wish especially to draw attention, are intimated. We cannot omit to notice one thing, however; his lordship shows that the late parliament was dissolved by the advice of his late ministry; they do not doubt, reckoning that the support they should receive from the four denominations amongst whom the University property was to be divided, would secure their return to power—the result of the election in Canada, the influence of ministers over their people, in political matters, is feeble indeed. We know there was an effort made to influence the laity, but its utter failure to prevent a similar attempt for a long time to come. The despatch, which the idea of French domination completely in the head; there is scarcely any difference in the comparative number of Tories and Reformers from Lower Canada in the late and present parliaments—the change took place in Upper Canada, where persons of British origin; these, and not the French, have decided the fate of Canadian Toryism.—Provincialist.

CATECHISM FOR THE TORIES.

1. We have thought that good might be done if the attention of the people could be drawn off from the language of invective and concentrated on the real matters at issue between the Tories and Constitutional Reformers, and for this purpose we propose the following queries to the opponents of the Governor and the Administration, and we pledge ourselves that if the answers are given in a candid and honest way, we shall give them a place in our journal.

2. What is your opinion of the intention of the Rebellion Losses Bill to indemnify the rebels? Is it your professed object to indemnify the rebels, and the resolutions of the late ministry with regard to the paying of the Rebellion Losses?

3. What is meant by Constitutional Government? and has Canada a constitution? 4. On the supposition that Canada has a constitution, in what respect has the Governor acted unconstitutionally?

5. And in what respect have the administrative acts unconstitutionally? 6. What is the real design in burning the Parliament House, and the national library?

7. What was the real design in insulting the Representative of the Queen? 8. How do you mean to insure the peace of the Province? and how do you mean to insure the safety of the people who are insulted and whose property is destroyed and whose offices are burnt, are wrong in political principles?

9. The argument on this point must be peculiarly clear and plain, in order to enlighten the querist, who has never met with anything in the course of his reading or thinking that could enable him to understand how violence proves truth, and being insulted and brutally treated, is proof of being in error.

10. What is meant by loyalty when separated from, and opposed to, constitutional government? 11. What is the proof that the Province is under French domination, or that it is intended to be so?

12. What is it that constitutes a majority in either Upper or Lower Canada is opposed to that Government.—London Free Press.

STILL THEY COME!—Address to the Governor General as coming in daily.—The Hon. District sends 2678 signatures the Prince Edward District, 2105.—The County of Essex, 2000, &c. &c. We publish some of his Excellency's Replies to-day. More will follow in succeeding numbers.—Pilot.

The powerful article from the London Times will tell with withering effect upon the lawless party in Canada—it tells the truth in honest John Bull fashion. The debate is also highly interesting and creditable to both parties in the House of Commons, at least.—Provincialist.

HIGHLY IMPORTANT FROM HUNGARY.—A letter to Mr. Rothschild, dated Frankfurt, May 17th, says that the Hungarians have totally defeated the Russians and forced them to fall back upon Cracow.—The Revolution will thus be transferred to Poland. After a proclamation Kosenk says, that a battle took place in the defiles Rothenthurm, and that 80,000 Russians surrounded. The Austrians are fortifying Vienna.

HURON SIGNAL.

FRIDAY, JUNE 20, 1849.

TRUE COURAGE.

"We admit that His Excellency has reason—much reason, to complain of the treatment he has received at the hands of a mob in this city; but surely this is not an sufficient cause why he should shut himself up in Monklands and leave all his duties to be discharged by others. This is not the conduct of a true-hearted British Governor. We have had men in this Colony who sooner than abdicate their authority in this way, would have walked into Montreal and their capital—over bleeding corpses. In Lord Elgin's case we do not believe that he has the least danger. He might have come into Montreal any day safely and unattended, and no one would have touched him."

The foregoing outrageous and barbarous sentiments are from the leading article of the Transcript of the 6th inst. We regret the necessity of recording our candid conviction that the Transcript has done more evil in the province during the last six weeks than the Gazette, the Colonist and the Patriot all three put together; simply because it is conducted with more ability, and consequently exerts an influence on a much higher class of minds than can possibly be affected by the others. This paragraph, which we have quoted, might have been tolerated in the days of Lord Carleton, although the doctrines involved in it belong to a far more remote period of barbarism—but as the London Times of the 17th ult., when referring to a passage in the Montreal Gazette, says "it betrays a temper so savage and brutal, that every genuine Englishman will at once put the party which could sanction such sentiments wholly out of the pale of his sympathies," had the passage which we have quoted appeared in the Gazette, we would not have said that it was in the proper place, and consoled ourselves with the reflection that it could do little harm. But as it appears in the Transcript, we think otherwise, and must therefore offer a few remarks upon it.

The intention of the article from which the above quotation is taken, is to present Lord Elgin as a coward, and we do not, for a moment, suppose that the Editor of the Transcript is himself a proselyte to the opinion which he seems so sedulously inclined to thrust upon his readers. The reckless temerity and brutal ferocity of the gladiator, and lion-fighter, have long since ceased to be regarded as true courage, except by the unrefined and the blackguard, and we would shudder to include the Editor of the Transcript in this class. It must be obvious that no amount of courage, either physical or moral, can render a man proof against the danger of the pistol bullet of the cowardly assassin, and hence, even supposing that Lord Elgin was afraid of being wounded or maltreated by a ruffian mob, still his fear would be very far from cowardice. It is admitted that his Excellency "has reason—much reason" to complain of the treatment he has received at the hands of the Montreal mob, and we are subsequently told that "he might have come into Montreal any day safe and unattended, and no one would have touched him." We are disposed to doubt the accuracy of this latter assumption very much, and at any rate, his Lordship had no grounds for believing it. The "treatment" which he had received consisted in the savage howlings of ferocious animality—the mud and missile peltings of common blackguardism, and the smashing of his carriage with large stones, sufficient, and we believe intended to destroy life! That mob—the perpetrators of these dastardly outrages were the party or the tools of the party for whom the Transcript writes; and we do not hesitate to assert that the wretches who could be guilty of such flagrant atrocities—although perhaps cowards where bravery would be required—were, nevertheless, courageous enough to act the assassin. And we are very sorry that we cannot give the Transcript credit for having written one line expressive of sincere regret for this disgraceful violence; nor one line having a tendency to convey reproof or tame down the brutal passions of the fierce mob! On the contrary, we think that the whole writings of the Transcript and his fellow Editors in the same cause, from the time of the violence down to the present moment, have been eminently calculated to apologize for, and inflame and strengthen the ferocity of the mob disposition. Such must be the opinion of every rational man who has marked the conduct of the Tory press of Montreal; and we certainly think that there would be more cowardice than courage in the conduct of Lord Elgin, or any other man, under even circumstances would run with a reckless defiance and fool-hardiness, into a mob of human fiends who had for weeks previous been exasperated, and trained, and cast-hardened for deeds of Assassination, and arson, by a depraved and hireling Press. Lord Elgin may feel happy under a consciousness of the rectitude of his own principles and conduct. He may feel proud of the chivalry and heroism of a long line of renowned ancestry; or, he may feel all the bravery and nobleness of soul which characterized the greatest of his great ancestors, but not any one all of these feelings could have the least influence in rendering him invulnerable to the daggers or missiles of a mob of *furios*, more than they have had in protecting him from the scurrility and ruffianism of the Tory Press. And had he willfully, and unnecessarily dared the insults, and ferocity of the hired incendiaries of Montreal Toryism, on the occasion alluded to, his courage would not have ranked so high as the courage of even the common Daedalus, and that we can only recognize as the bravery of the madman!

The Transcript tells us that there have been men in this Colony, who in Lord Elgin's circumstances "would have walked into Montreal over bleeding corpses." We believe Sir F. Lascelles, or some other man, under even circumstances would run with a reckless defiance and fool-hardiness, into a mob of human fiends who had for weeks previous been exasperated, and trained, and cast-hardened for deeds of Assassination, and arson, by a depraved and hireling Press. Lord Elgin may feel happy under a consciousness of the rectitude of his own principles and conduct. He may feel proud of the chivalry and heroism of a long line of renowned ancestry; or, he may feel all the bravery and nobleness of soul which characterized the greatest of his great ancestors, but not any one all of these feelings could have the least influence in rendering him invulnerable to the daggers or missiles of a mob of *furios*, more than they have had in protecting him from the scurrility and ruffianism of the Tory Press. And had he willfully, and unnecessarily dared the insults, and ferocity of the hired incendiaries of Montreal Toryism, on the occasion alluded to, his courage would not have ranked so high as the courage of even the common Daedalus, and that we can only recognize as the bravery of the madman!

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