

question has not endeavoured to establish such a distinction. Had he made the attempt, it would have been doubtless so fine drawn, that it would have eluded the observation even of many cleverer men.

Constitution of 1840, an Artful Deception.

That we have lived under a wretched regime, is abundantly admitted and proved.—It is for those who cannot escape from the consequences which flow from their admissions, to show that the new order of things is better than the old one—that the reforms which they have indicated were sincere and sufficient—that responsible Government such as has been practised has not been a word thrown out at random, a vain theory nullified by the practice and the explanations of Lords Russell, Sydenham, and Metcalfe, that the Act of Union, accompanied by this concession, has been given in order that popular influence should be efficiently respected by Governors. For myself I believe nothing of the kind. If I believed in the liberal dispositions of the men who passed the Act of Union of the Canadas, I might be tempted to accede to your wish that I should re-enter public life, in spite of the fatigues, the disgusts, the persecutions that all the representatives who have defended with integrity your rights, and your interests have experienced, because then I should admit that they would permit the Provincial Parliament to become a Legislature in conformity with your wishes, in conformity with the great voice of the majority, and that the prospect of being able to aid in doing good to the dear country of our birth, would outweigh the reluctance which every man must have who has no other ambition than the public good, in assuming the moral responsibility which weighs upon those colonial representatives who, with influence to make their opinions felt, love the country of their birth or adoption and its liberties, more than they love a distant metropolis with its monopolies, its privileges, and its partialities.

Nine to One for Dissolution.

Lord John Russell who caused the Union Act to be passed had no intention of giving us a better government than that which he suppressed. It was not by a palpable injustice that it was desired to prepare a future of justice, conciliation, and contentment. The official documents placed before the eyes, and loading the tablos of Parliament, established that in Lower Canada the proportion of those opposed to that scheme was as nine to one. The Act was nevertheless imposed upon us by coercion. Such a flagrant contempt for the known and expressed feelings of the people is the overturning of the first principles of all political morality. It declares as null and contemptible the words "rights of colonies, in the days of their weakness." Within and without these Provinces, there is not a colonist who if he respects himself and his own dignity, as a man and a citizen, does not feel that he is wronged—that his whole social existence is precarious and degrading when it depends on transatlantic legislation, deaf to the almost unanimous representations of interested parties settled in Canada, not one of whom but should stamp himself a malcontent as long as this unjust aggression continues. If he must obey a bad law to avoid punishment, at least let him not love the authority which imposes it, nor keep a disgraceful silence. Everything must be said and done which is legally possible to cause it to be abrogated.

A Union to Crush Freedom.

Before the Act of Union there was a strong public opinion. General elections caused no uneasiness as to their results. The popular party was assured of coming out of each of these struggles better

united and more numerous. The proud attitude that the representative body maintained towards the Executive, and the independence of the parliamentary debates, prepared the people, not only of this but also of the neighbouring provinces, to catch a glimpse, in a future indeterminate but certain, of a day of full liberty which shall shine upon each portion of the American Continent.

Before the constitutions of these colonies had been destroyed by the power of the bayonet, and by the invention of a Parliament beyond the seas against those of the Canadas, the people were strong here, represented latterly in one of the Provinces by sixty-eight representatives, in the other by sixty odd. If it had been honestly intended to concede with the Act of Union true Responsible Government, they would have respected acquired rights, left to each Province its representation too numerous to be easily intimidated or bought. But the reduction of members—the crafty and artificial arrangement of the representation, proves to every one not wishing to shut his eyes to the light, nor his understanding to the evidence, what has been the machiavolism of Ministers, who, while conceding, in theory, power to the representatives of the people, contrived such resources that the Governors, their agents, had opportunities of corrupting at its source part of the representation in the seven little boroughs or towns of Upper Canada, and in many counties of the United Province, where a

Proportion Representation to Population.

very small population of newly arrived colonists debtors to the crown, having as yet no local affection, are quite predisposed to sustain blindly the pretensions of each Governor, whatever he may be, thus exciting among them the desire to govern according to their own personal views or those of secret or irresponsible favourites—a desire which could not have been excited if the only rational system of proportioning after each census, the representation to the population had been established.

But if it be objected.—Why demand what will be refused? Why? because the demand is just,—why? because it will be refused, and such prolonged refusal will establish the bad faith with which Responsible Government has been conceded, which means, if it be not a snare and a deception, that England has removed all future interference in our legislation—that it has no predilection, no antipathy for any political system that the majorities may wish to impose on themselves in those of its colonies to which it has made the concession.

All that I demanded in the House in 1836, with so large a majority of my colleagues, supported as we were by an equal proportion in the mass of the population, I demand again in 1847, and I believe that it is impossible there can be contentment as long as these just demands shall be unsatisfied.

By some of them we claimed an absolute controul by the representatives, over all duties levied in the Province. It was, of all the rights appertaining to the Colonies, the most firmly established by the authority of jurists, as well as by Colonial history. The Union has taken it from us. Why, then,

Tribunal of Impeachment.

delay to complain of the Union? It was desired that the same body should have an efficient controul over the public functionaries, by the establishment of an independent tribunal, with power to judge them, punish them, dismiss them, in all cases of incapacity, abuse of power, prevarications, proved against any of them, and for the reason that the authority which had partially chosen an accused functionary should not with partiality choose his judges, it was desired that they should be elective. To establish the per-