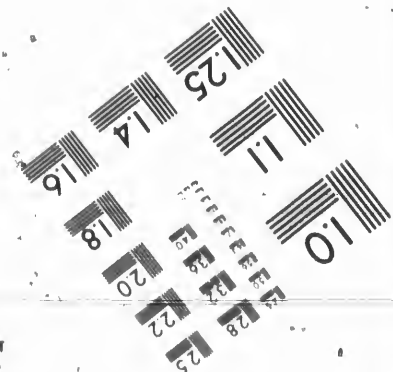
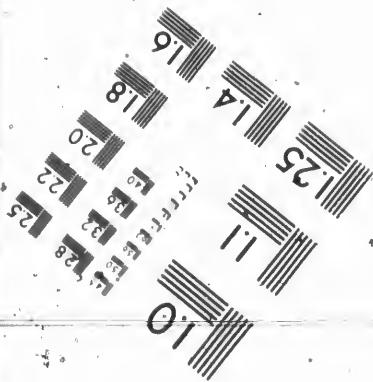
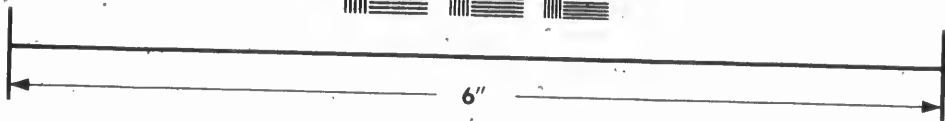
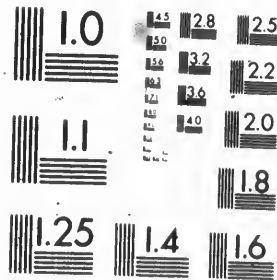


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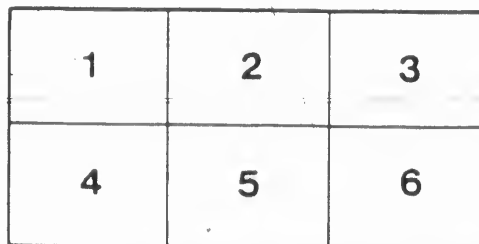
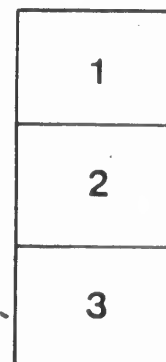
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# MORAL CONSEQUENCES OF SIR R. PEEL'S UNPRINCIPLED AND FATAL COURSE, DISQUIET, OVERTURN, AND REVOLUTION.

CHIEFLY FROM THE NEWSPAPER WRITINGS OF  
ISAAC BUCHANAN,

FORMERLY PRESIDENT OF THE BOARDS OF TRADE OF TORONTO AND HAMILTON, C. W., AND MEMBER FOR TORONTO, THE THEN METROPOLIS,  
IN THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF UNITED CANADA.

"Our Colonies are passing from us before we have learned the use of them."—*Spectator*.  
"The fact is that in our politics in Great Britain and Ireland, no less than in the European countries in revolt, we are being taught that there is a government of the affairs of this world superior to that of statesmen. We see that a wrong principle cannot possibly be carried out, because its own operation cuts its own throat. We see that if the late commercial machinery we have since become intolerable. The Crisis of Sir R. Peel's Mission.

"I will overturn, overturn, overturn it; and it shall be no more, until He comes whose right it is; and I will give it Him." The Original of all authority thus declared for the moment; and why? I now anticipate more fearful consequences than have yet flowed from the cruel principle of Peel's Money Law of 1810, is because I see clearly that our protective system, as restricting imports of foreign produce, necessarily prevented the export of Gold and the blowing up of the Banking System, which in his wisdom Peel has based on the shifting foundation of our stock of the precious metals, imitating the man who built his house on the sand, in all except the important point that it is not his own, but the Public's, vital interests which he has so abominably trifled with.

"To the great question,—CAN THE BRITISH MONARCHY BE PRESERVED?—THE GREATEST—THE MOST ENDURING—THE MOST DISTINGUISHED—PERSONIFICATION OF RIGHT AND PRACTICAL PRINCIPLES THAT HAS BEEN TESTED BY TIME! I answer No, emphatically No, unless our Upper Classes permit the immediate adoption of measures which their personal interest will, I fear, make them denounce as revolutionary, just as the Slave-breeding Lord of the republican America prefers risking the integrity of the Republic rather than yield the wretched institution of slavery. I believe the people of England are as loyal as ever to the Monarchy, but I don't believe their self-respect will any longer permit them to tolerate church establishments, exclusive universities, or the uncontrolled interference of the nobility in the legislation of the country. The time has come when the possibility of saving the crown itself depends on our having it distinctly understood, that the objects of the Government are just the simple, practical, and disinterested objects of philanthropy, so boldly and unequivocally expressed by Oliver Cromwell when he said, 'If any man thinks that the interest of these nations and the interest of Christianity are two separate and distinct things, I wish my soul may never enter into his secret.' And I have not the least doubt that every Government, till it has come to feel itself the mere instrument of God's purposes, is liable to the moral consequences of its conduct, conquest, overturn, and revolution."—From my letter to Lord George Bontinec on the breaking out of the Revolutions on the Continent, dated New York, 25th March, 1848, and published at the time. A great part of Peel's legislation of 1846, taken in connection with the entirely contrary principle (the one piece of legislation makes gold necessary to confidence or prosperity in this country, the other leads to the exportation of gold) of his money law of 1810, loudly demands an immediate union of the friends of our own working classes; this is rendered a thing practically impossible by our now irreconcilable divisions as to the effects of a Church Establishment; so that, as the vital question of labour cannot at present receive an unprejudiced discussion, Peel and his irrevocable Free Trade will be submitted to, even though they are seen evidently to reduce our national employment, because our protectionist legislators love their Church (the particular ecclesiastical machinery which they sacrilegiously call this Church) better than they love their country.

"The triumph he covets is the laborious triumph of just ideas, without distinction or origin; it is the reform of all inveterate abuses; it is the simplification of all the complicated, imperfect, costly wheels of fortune; it is the realisation of Henry IV. and Napoleon—emperor; it is the extinction of pauperism; it is the completion of universal suffrage by universal wellbeing. Universal wellbeing, if you say it is an Utopia, we answer that it is a necessity, and that civilization is placed now, in this narrow alternative, to get over the obstacle of Utopia into the abyss. Universal wellbeing, general ease, is not an Utopia; no, pauperism is not a necessity; it does not exist in Utopia; there is no reason it should be perpetuated in society. Pauperism is not the work of God; Providence, by having on it a responsibility which is wholly human."—The Press of last Thursday, 31st January, 1850.

"To see the Noble Lord and his Honourable Friends on the one hand, with Messrs Hunt and Wooler on the other, united in their attempt to pull down the mighty fabric erected by the immortal Pitt, was at once ludicrous and painful." The first Sir Robert Peel's Speech in Parliament on 24th May, 1819, on the memorable occasion of his presenting the petition of the Merchants and Bankers of London, deprecating the proposed fixed Gold standard. This, and Peel's father's continued denunciations of his great act ought to put an end to the notion that, in expressing our irreconcilable objections to his principles and measures, we have any personal hostility to the Right Honourable Baronet.

While independence has any existence in this country we must persist in agreeing with his father that Peel has ruined his country, even if (as his father predicted he would) he had not doubled his own fortune by the same act! Peel in 1810 took the low Shylock ground of raising the question of money, as one only between money and property in circulation, instead of seeing the chief importance of money (as the medium of exchange) to be as a machinery for the production of property and its distribution so as to give the greatest possible advantage to the industrious classes, as opposed to the lazy rich, annuitants, or non-producers; this alone will make his name stink in the nostrils of future generations, and make history deny him the place either of a great man or a great statesman; and I hold this alone sufficient justification for my assertion, that "no tyrant in any country has so far exceeded in the cause of so much suffering to his subjects as Sir R. Peel has been to our industrious classes." But the directly direct conduct of the unavowed classes who then ruled supreme in Parliament (as in fact they do yet), the landlords having first been bribed by the corrupt law of 1813, was in their enabling Peel in 1819 to add one half to our national burdens as measured in the value of commodities, or to speak more plainly, in the Poor man's time. Peel's money bill of 1819 enacts that the public creditor should be paid in gold pounds worth 20s, instead of in gold pounds worth about 13s 4d. Even if the Government, when borrowing in paper and the debt is greatly composed of funded no more be expected to be sustained than could a similar transaction by a Trustee, the party lending the money knowing it to be illegal. The public creditor in fact bought stock from Pitt and his successors at say £60 for every £100 of consols; but this £60 was not worth more than £40 in gold at £3 17s 10½d the ounce, and Peel passed a bill in 1819 agreeing to pay the public creditor £100 in gold at £3 17s 10½d per ounce! I cannot in so short space explain the distinction drawn by Mr Pitt between gold money and paper money, as by the following quotation from *CONSERVATIVE PAPERS AGAINST GOLD*. In the debate on 28th February 1817, the opposition had charged the Minister with having taken money from the Bank and sent it abroad in subsidies, and this quotation is the substance of Mr Pitt's victorious and most complete reply:—"Pitt said that Mr Hussey was wholly in error to suppose that the bank made advances to the Government in specie; Pitt said, that the advances were made in notes, and paid in the same manner; that if the Government were to raise money and pay the bank, the bank would not therefore be supplied with an additional guinea note; that the tax were not paid in specie, that loans were advanced without any idea of repayment in specie; that the bank had it in contemplation that every quarterly dividend was to be paid in cash; that the receipt of the revenue was in paper, and that the whole of Mr Hussey's observations were entirely founded in mistake." Who then can doubt that Peel's Legislation was the most immoral, white-washed, and infamous thing ever done beyond the cruel spirit of his act of 1819, which makes the rich richer, and the poor poorer, more and more, as the millionaires' accumulations sap the independence of higher and higher classes in the working industry!

reduced in "price,"  
as from wages.

TRIUMPH TO PEEL JUST MEANS RUIN TO HIS COUNTRY'S WORKING CLASSES.

"It is remarkable that Free Trade has been carried by the Middle Classes, not only without the assistance of the Working Classes but in spite of their opposition."—Ebenezer Elliot, the Corn Law Rhymer, dated 17th October, 1849.

It will be a virtual abdication by the present parliamentary constituencies, if the middle classes permit Peel and the monied class another triumph over the industry of the empire—for a continuance of the bureaucratic system, and the continued triumph of Peel and his Whig pliancy, are just convertible terms for the funeral knell of British principle and repudiation of patriotism. I know of course that in the Queen's speech it is said—"Her Majesty has great gratification in congratulating you on the improved condition of commerce and manufactures. It is with regret that her Majesty observes the complaints which, in many parts of the Kingdom, have been received from the owners and occupiers of land. Her Majesty greatly laments that any portion of her subjects should be in distress; but it is a source of gratification to her Majesty to witness the increased enjoyment of the necessaries and comforts which cheapness and plenty have bestowed on the great body of the people." But I cannot forget that in January, 1849, the King's Speech said—"The Prince Regent has the greatest satisfaction in being able to inform you that the trade, commerce, and manufactures of the country are in a most flourishing condition." Both agriculture and manufactures were prosperous at that period, but Peel's Bill of 1846 passed, and in November of the same year, the Parliament is addressed in a very different strain; the King's Speech says—"I have observed with great concern the attempts made in some of the manufacturing districts to take advantage of local distress, to excite disaffection to the institutions and government of the country. A spirit is now fully manifested, utterly hostile to the constitution of this kingdom, and aiming, not only at the change of those political institutions which have hitherto constituted the pride and security of this country, but at the subversion of the rights of property, and of all order in society." The operation of Peel's Money Bill may be (I think will be) as fatal in 1850, or very shortly thereafter.

It will be admitted by all who take the trouble to reflect on the subject, that any serious lessening of employment in this country, so artificial is the situation of our industrial classes, could not fail to cause political confusion, even in the presence of loyalty to the Crown and to the reigning Sovereign, which has never at any former period been exceeded; and on my mind there is not the shadow of a doubt that Peel's irreciprocal Free Trade principle must necessarily produce the dreaded change. Peel's monetary legislation of 1846 crushed down wages on an average to near the starvation point, and quite to it if the lost time of the unemployed is considered; his monetary legislation also tended to reduce employment through contracting the currency; but the vital blow at our national employment is Peel's having, in 1846, arranged for the increase of our imports of foreign labour, not only without demanding reciprocity (so as to curtail the drain on us for the precious metals which sustain our currency, such as it is), but without first revolutionising our monetary laws, so as to admit of our increasing our exports of British goods. A large supply of gold from California would effect exactly what monetary reformers have always sought, as, gold once fallen abroad, the sustaining of our fixed price would leave the sovereign the representative of 20s. value in British commodities, instead of as now the representative of itself, or a certain weight of a foreign commodity; but the same alien or Jew principle that prevents the alteration of the law now in justice to British industry, would then lead to the alteration, thus crushing the golden prospects of the working man. With, therefore, what is more likely a drain on us for gold in payment of imports, our manufacturing ability must be speedily and fearfully reduced, and I am astonished that men who believe Free Trade a thing practicable would delay the use of every means to get a full supply for this country of an internal circulation, or money, which could not be removed to other countries. I see clearly that without paper money, or in other words the repeal of Peel's law of 1846, our one-sided Free Trade has no chance whatever of success, although I feel nearly as well satisfied that even with paper money it will not eventually succeed, and that free imports of commodities produced by ourselves, unless the trade is reciprocal, must lead to reduced employment in this country among our manufacturing and mechanical population, as well as in the agricultural and mining districts. Not only, therefore, is Peel's legislation of 1846, in my mind, utterly impracticable, under any circumstances, but I see that any chance of success to it is upset by the continued existence of his monetary legislation of 1846, which is an embodiment of the exactly contrary theory of Trade.

The jarring and utterly irreconcilable principles of Peel's Bills of 1846 and 1849 will of course force a change before very long; but to the extent this can be hastened will the suffering to the people, and the danger to the country be lessened. What then are the working classes to do as a first step? I answer, let them refuse their confidence to every man who refuses his confidence to them; let them refuse to listen to the details of any man who is not their political friend in the sense of going with them for their political enfranchisement—in a word, for the principle of Universal Suffrage—which I firmly believe to be—in the true or patriotic, and not the party sense of the word—Conservative—the most conservative measure that can be proposed this day in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, as a means to lead to a just protection to highly taxed British against Foreign untaxed industry, and to the vindication of the rights of labour as opposed to the usurpations of money.

It is difficult to account for the gross ignorance of Sir R. Peel and the Manchester school on the subject of the true interests of the working classes. The working men themselves, however, are opening their eyes to the fact, that food is not the first necessary, but employment, or the means of getting food, and that the question of labour or employment for the population, and the question of money, are one and the same question; and thus they are coming also gradually to see that they are in the same boat with men of fixed property, and, indeed, with every interest but that of the mere monied class. Sir James Graham pointed this out long ago:—"fixed property, and, indeed, with every interest but that of the mere monied class. See that when they hire out their labour or skill for wages, they under [See "Corn and Currency," 1827] The working men begin to see that when they hire out their labour or skill for wages, they under our monstrous money law, are buyers of gold, and that when gold is hoarded or exported to the diminution of its quantity, they under (according to the internal law of supply and demand) give more time for less gold, so that their wages fall, even if they are not completely deprived of employment. In a word, the British artisan has to give more time or labour for gold, but the London Jew and the foreigner have not to give more money gold! This cruel result to the working men and their families (felt equally in reducing the price of all property) arises from no cause within their own control. Prudence could not prevent it; so prudence gets to a dishearten in their eyes. It arises from the ebb and flow of foreign trade being permitted to regulate directly, and most arbitrarily to affect, the value of all property, including the labour of the poor man's hands although he may never have worked for a foreign market! The means by which this is effected is the making the plentiful article money (it should be plentiful if productive property, or value, of which money is merely the representative, is plentiful) always hold the same value as the scarce article gold—a consummation which Sir Robert Peel effected when, in 1810, he upset Mr Little's money law, and thus gave the neck of the industry of this country to the feet of the money monopolists, by a violation of the law of supply and demand so outrageous, that its very impudent excess blinded the public to it at first, and has ever since continued to do so. No minister would dare to have attempted the same result above-board. If the gold were made to rise as indigo or any other commodity does, without wages and price exchanged for it being permitted to rise equally, THE MINISTER WOULD HAVE BEEN STONED; but the very same thing is done indirectly, only that the rise in gold is directly expressed, not by the rise of gold, but by the rise of the rate of interest, and which never fails to cause a fall, and not a rise in wages and prices!"

SHORT VIEW OF OUR CRITICAL POSITION.

We deceive ourselves if we suppose that the people remain so ignorant as not to know that the lowering of the price of Gold is an equivalent term for raising the purchasing power of money—in other words, for lowering the exchangeable value of property, commodities, and labour. The Working Classes have been taught by long and most cruel experience, that the principle of the reward which the Law of Supply and Demand would naturally award to it, by leading to the export of gold (which upsets the country's Banking facilities), and thus contracting the currency whenever the Foreigner prefers taking Gold, which he of course does unless the price of British Manufactures approximates in value to that of Gold—even although the same Foreigner did not buy into this country Gold, or other commodity sold at the cheap price of a Paper or "prosperity" price for

the Foreign Commodities if payment of which the indebtedness of our Law puts it in his power to take Gold at the cheap rate.—They now see clearly, that the fact of Gold being absurdly fixed at the same low rate when it is in the greatest demand as when it is in the smallest demand for exportation as a commodity necessarily fixes down, as the general rule, to the same low, untaxed, and profitless standard the remuneration to the producers of British Commodities, which have to be sold against Gold as a Commodity to Foreigners, as well as into Gold as a Money to our own people in the same market! So much for our manufacturing or mechanical labour (which is either sold to the foreigner or to the non-producing consumer—at the same price to both and as a general rule at a price as low, or nearly as low, as the untaxed and profitless price of its competitor, the commodity gold)—and as to imports of agricultural produce which we have to pay for in gold at a low fixed foreign standard, it amounts to nothing short of the insanity that would exchange full weight sovereigns for

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clipped ones; it is in fact and practice just England bartering gold (which is a foreign commodity) without adding a profit or "price" to cover taxation, for foreign produce at British or taxed prices—for the foreigner gets the same price for the same quality of wheat as the Yorkshire farmer—although the foreigner is paid in gold at a *raw material* price; or in other words, supposing both got 32s per quarter or 4s per bushel—for his 4s the foreigner takes 3 lbs. of raw cotton as imported from America at say 6d per lb., giving the industry of this country no employment; the Yorkshire farmer, without getting a higher nominal price, is paid in the cotton at 6d per lb, after 3d has been added to it as a profit to this country, to cover wages, mill rent, house rent—rates and charges of all sorts, taxation, &c., &c. He gets 5½ lbs of cotton, while the foreigner gets 8 lbs. The difference between the gain this country would have if the foreigner was paid in goods instead of gold. We admit that with paper money (and FOREIGNERS CHARGED OUR TAXATION IF THEY TOOK GOLD IN PAYMENT), our "prices" would include our "taxation," and that under free trade with countries that will agree to take payment in their *taxed goods* we would be virtually collecting an import duty in the best way of doing so; but we argue that FREE TRADE WITHOUT RECIPROcity IS A VIRTUAL REPUDIATION OF THE NATIONAL DEBT OR BANKRUPTCY—AND FANKRUPTCY (AS THE TIMES HAS WELL SAID IN REVOLUTION).

As the only way to avoid National Bankruptcy, and TO PUT A STOP TO OUR TAXATION BEING A DEDUCTION FROM WAGES AS AT PRESENT, THE PROPERTY, REAL AND PERSONAL, OF THE COUNTRY MUST ASSUME THE NATIONAL DEBT. This I pointed out in my letter to the *Glasgow Examiner* of 25th May, 1848, as follows:—

"I also begin to have my eyes open to the absolute and immediate necessity of preventing the taxation on the country's industry being as at present a deduction from wages, in the only way this can be remedied, viz. by vesting the management of the National Debt from the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer (thus declaring that the realized property of the country is alone bound for the present and all future national debts or obligations). But I despair of seeing this done by Parliament, constituted as it is, and the industry of the country must remain in a miserably crushed condition till we repudiate the principle, or want of principle, that took off the war tax without taking off the war debt. My view is that the industry of the country should repudiate the National Debt, leaving it to be paid by the property of the country. Commissioners of the National Debt would thus have to pay the interest by levying a half per cent. on our six thousand millions of property, real and personal, but the percentage next year would come to be reduced by the balance in the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer this year; such balance being handed over to the Commissioners of the National Debt as the measure of the protection to native industry afforded by the country's property.

"By no other means than thus setting the English money market at defiance, can the fixed property and industry of this country ever get represented by a great party in the State. A PARTY REPRESENTATIVE OF LABOUR (which in interest is the same as fixed property, as it is labour that gives property its value), will of course never get the support of the money market; so British industry must either be contented to remain unprotected, or the support of the money market must be voted, as above, to be no longer necessary. THE DAY OF EXCHEQUER DIFFICULTIES TURNING OUT, OR KEEPING OUT A MINISTER, BEING MADE TO PASS TO THE TOMB OF ALL THE CAPELES."

As I was finishing the foregoing, a friend called on me, to whom I read it; and he put the following question to me, my answer to which I am anxious to give here, as the same query may suggest itself to some of my other friends and readers. It is not—said he—quite clear to me why you think there is any use in continuing your opposition to "Peel's fatal policy," since you hold in such contempt, and have no hope from, either of the two divisions of Sir R. Peel's opponents, viz. the Protectionists who consider the ex-Premier's measure of 1846 to be fatal, and the currency reformers (as represented by the London and Liverpool societies), mostly composed of Free Traders, who believe that Peel's Money Bill of 1846 was originally the cause of the working classes being defrauded of remunerative wages, and will now, in consequence of his doing away with the restriction on imports by his measure of 1846, lead also to so vastly diminished employment as certainly to cause social confusion and political convulsion in this country?

[WITHOUT IMMEDIATE PROTECTION THE WESTERN COLONIES WILL BE LOST TO THE EMPIRE.]

My answer is, that though I have no hope from either of the two classes of Peel's opponents, I see that the public do not seem to be alive to the fact, that without immediate protection to British industry, the Western Colonies will be immediately lost to the empire. I think I am right in assuming that, if the British public had their eyes opened to this, the melancholy issue I point at would get prevented in some way. Can I suppose sane men up in arms, as even the Manchester school is now, about our dependence on foreigners for our supply of cotton, being willing, by their own act, to make the country also dependent on foreigners for its supply of the other great staples, wheat, sugar, and timber?

And if, after having lost the Colonies, the reversal of Peel's

policy will be necessary to save this country from a war of classes, such as we have the beginning of at Stafford and at the late meeting of the working classes at Stepney in London, is it not a pity the subject should not be understood now?

I may, in conclusion, be allowed to explain how I think the Currency Reformers are wrong in supposing that, after the Colonies are lost, the prosperity of the working classes may be attained by means of paper money, in which gold would rise in price, thus enabling the producer to get back in "price" from the foreigner and consumer the taxation paid by the industry of this country. Before there were free imports, I admit that paper money would have enabled the British producer to add the "taxation" he had paid to his "price." If the price of producing wheat were 368s and the taxation 25 per cent., the farmer would get 45s for his wheat. But under the present system (which I hold to be suicide on the part of all the industrious classes, both manufacturing and agricultural), no sooner would the price be raised to 45s, but in comes fifteen millions of quarters of wheat paying no tax, which has to be got back in "price," to add to our own sixty-five millions of home growth, and down goes the price to 36s, under the law of supply and demand; in fact, it is evident that British industry, under free imports, will be no better off with the advantages of paper money than it was under a protected system without the advantage of paper money. And, when one thinks of it, how absurd for Free Traders to be monetary reformers! They accuse Peel of reducing prices and wages by his bill of 1846, and they do the same thing by their Free Trade measures. They accuse Peel of indirectly giving a foreign price to British labour, by giving a foreign price to gold, which the foreigner has it always in his power to prefer to British goods the moment they get up to a "prosperity" point; and they *live* give a foreign price to British labour by permitting free imports of foreign labour. But, even were there any use in their triumph over Peel, this is rendered practically impossible by their attacking Peel simultaneously on his banking bill of 1844, on which he must always triumph over them (especially if he puts out the monopolist clause and allows new banks under the same restrictions). The country is anxious for monetary reform, or the repeal of Peel's bill of 1846, but not at the expense of a chaos of banking.

[IF WE THROUGH EMBLEMATIC MONEY ENABLE THE PRODUCER IN THIS COUNTRY TO INCLUDE HIS "TAXES IN HIS "PRICE," THEN WE CAN SAFELY HAVE FREE TRADE WITH COUNTRIES THAT WILL TAKE BRITISH GOODS IN RETURN.]

My long held view is, that British prices, through the instrumentality of paper money (and a consequent appreciation of the commodity gold, as compared to its price abroad), should be permitted to rise sufficiently to cover our taxation, and to prevent all our taxes being practically a deduction from wages as at present; this once effected, the foreigner who takes British goods will be paying British taxes, and this will be *bona fide* FREE TRADE; but, at present, whenever prices and wages rise to a remunerative point, it becomes the interest of the foreigner to take gold, which is not permitted by Peel's infamous law of 1846 to rise. When prices are profitable the foreigner avails of them—as he gets more for his produce—but under Peel's alien legislation, he is enabled to avoid paying more for the gold which he takes in return. THE OBJECT OF THE CURRENCY IS NOT ATTAINED, because the public have taken up the impression that "it is impossible to understand it." Instead of this, it is the easiest possible of all the principles, an understanding of which is vital to every man's safety in a commercial country. If people would only read my friend Mr Capps' pamphlet, "*The Nation in a Dilemma*," they would at once get undeceived.

"It is well known," observes Mr Capps, "that by the pressure of the atmosphere water will rise in a vacuum (the barrel of a pump for instance) to about thirty-three feet. Now, suppose that the water in a certain vacuum had always been prevented, by the interposition of a plug, from rising higher than ten feet, it would follow that, when this plug was raised one, two, or ten feet higher, the water would immediately rush up, and fill the additional vacuum created. Now, had the plug never been entirely withdrawn, and people had not known what was the cause which produced the rise of the water, they might have concluded that the water would rise *ad infinitum*, and that it was necessary to interpose a limiting power to prevent it overflowing and deluging everything around. But it is obvious that the removal of the plug was not the cause of the rise of the water, but was only that which permitted it to rise; the cause was the weight of the atmosphere, and it ceased to act when an equilibrium was gained. So, in like manner, the extension of the currency is not the cause of the rise of prices, as many think, but is only that which permits it; the cause is the weight of taxation, and the rise will cease whenever a price which will form an equilibrium with the weight of taxation is obtained."

It is clear, however, that Mr Capps must anticipate the foreigner also be taxed, otherwise the British Producer could never add his taxation to his "Price," but must deduct it from the wages of his workers. In the long run capital must be profitable or it will not (indeed it could not) continue to co-operate with the poor man, or, in other words, to give employment to our masses; and thus it is that, directly or indirectly, the working classes pay all our taxes. If taxes cannot be included in "price," the only ultimate alternative is to deduct them from wages.



THE MOST FEARFUL SOCIAL CONVULSIONS COULD NOT FAIL TO ARISE OUT OF ANY SUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT IN PARLIAMENT TO PERPETUATE THE PRINCIPLE OF SIR R. PEELE'S MONEY LAW OF 1819, OR TO CRUSH OUR WORKING CLASSES BY LOWERING OUR FIXED PRICE OF GOLD DOWN TO THE VALUE TO WHICH GOLD MAY FALL ABROAD.

"Peel's system must be destroyed by violence." The late Lord Wharncliffe, President of her Majesty's Council in the last Ministry of Sir Robert Peel.—(See Bankers' Circular of 23d July, 1847.)

"The present threatening aspect of our Monetary matters will not be temporary, but permanent, because it arises not from a temporary but from a permanent cause—because, in fact, it is a derangement of our Monetary and Banking system, but an increasing paralysis thereof. I view it to be near child's play, our wasting time in discussions about the senselessness of the BANK OF ENGLAND (the Bill of 1844) as established by Sir Robert Peel—as much child's play as if a physician, called to a patient in whom life (the Bill of 1819) is expiring, were to devote his whole attention to an examination into the form or outward structure of the patient's limbs, or as if we were to stop to praise the marvellous adaptation to its use of the channel of a mighty river, when its well-springs are drying up, or when its waters have flown away."—My letter to Lord George Bentinck, published in April, 1847.

"There is at the present time a complete plethora in the money market. The rate for money at call is nominally two per cent., though there would be great difficulty in placing any large sum on these terms. This superabundance of unemployed money capital, abundant only because the MEANS OF EMPLOYING IT HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN DESTROYED, cannot fail, under the present system, to produce its usual effects. The low rate of interest will lead to speculations of some kind or other, and to immense engagements, to be as certainly followed by stagnation and distress. The Californian gold may for a time ward off panic, but will not prevent it ultimately coming upon the nation."—The justly celebrated letters of "Gemini," Birmingham, November 20, 1849.

"After the experience of 1847, what guarantee can be given that in contracting to pay a rent of fifty guineas next Midsummer, we are not incurring a liability equal to sixty guineas at their present value? And although, on the other hand, it may be extravagant to suppose that gold will ever become as abundant as lead, what assurance have we that we shall be able, six months hence, or in all future time, to obtain exactly a sovereign's worth for a sovereign, a shilling's worth for a shilling, and a penny's worth for a penny? Are the 5 dwts. 3 grs. of gold, which, technically and legally, represent a pound, really a standard of value in the sense of purchasing power, or only a sliding scale?"—*Westminster Review*.

"Before, however, the gigantic speculations upon human labour, in which the manufacturers here and elsewhere fondly indulge can be carried out to completion, something yet remains to be consulted—that is, the will of the labouring classes. There is a mind whose secret workings and deep communings with itself the world does not seem to heed; there is a voice whose fearful accents, in all their strength and power the world has not yet heard—the mind and the voice of the working population throughout Christendom, burdened beyond the power of further endurance, and asking on every hand, where the region of righteous resistance begins? If governments take not good heed, this mind and voice will one day give utterance to the sense of wrong unjustly inflicted in forms and ways that will shake from their foundations all the existing institutions of the earth. The doctrine that the only true capital is labour, however specious and unsound in its application, is gaining fast hold of the minds of the masses. The claim of the workman to eat the fruits of the earth—to partake of the gifts of God—to be warm and to be clothed—to be fed when he is hungry, and to be sheltered from the storm, in fair return for the toil of his arm and the sweat of his brow, is daily making itself heard in accents that cannot be mistaken. A communion of interests—of indignation at the infliction of past wrongs—of determination to resist fresh oppressions, is binding the labouring classes of all lands into one powerful fraternity. To meet this growing confederacy is by far the most difficult task of the statesman in the present day; for it is by far the most fearful and dangerous element with which he has had yet to deal."—*The Church of England Quarterly Review* of April 1846.

"The fact is that the price not only of corn, but of commodities generally, began to fall in 1810, and gradually settled down in proportion to the contraction of the currency, until the year 1822. The bitter fruit of the system was tested by all classes—I am in error when I say by all; for amidst the ruin of the farmer and the manufacturer, the distress of landlords, and the insurrection of a populace without bread and without employment, one class flourished and was triumphant; the annuitant and the tax-eater rejoiced in the increased value of money—in the sacrifice of productive industry to unproductive wealth—in the victory of the drones over the bees."—*Sir James Graham's Pamphlet on Corn and Currency* published in 1827.

"No man knows better than the author of 'Corn and Currency' the main causes of the low prices of 1822, and few men have been more familiar during the last twenty years with the application of means for lifting up prices from a state of ruinous depression than the consequences alarmed the ruling power. Sir James Graham knows perfectly that no analogy can be fairly drawn between the cases of 1822 and 1835, and that of 1849-50, either as to the cause of probable duration of each, or the means of relief. He knows that the low prices and paralysis of agricultural industry in 1822 were caused by the screwing up of the value of Money by 'the enormous error Act' of 1819. Within the last two years he has admitted (as reported by Mr Spooner in a speech in the House of Commons which was never contradicted by the Right Honourable Baronet) that he still considered the Act of 1819 as one of the most unjust and oppressive measures ever submitted to Parliament. He knows that its effects so alarmed the Government that Lord Londonderry, &c., &c."—*Banker's Circular of last week, 8th February, 1850, being an exposure of Sir James Graham's late Speech to his Tenantry.*

"Appreciation of the purchasing power of money [or, in other words, cheapness of commodities,] on the contrary, is a check to production. The farmer who pays low rent and taxes, when money is dear, with the proceeds of 99 quarters of wheat instead of 50, has ten quarters less for other purposes than he calculated on when he took the farm. While his labourers are congratulating themselves that a shilling will now go farther than it did a year or two ago, he is making up his mind to farm some of them adrift. The landlord, the fundholder, and all who stand in the relation of creditors receive the benefit while it lasts, but it lasts only while the goose is dying which laid the golden eggs. Ultimately land is thrown up, manufacturing operations are suspended, rents fall, the fixed burden of the taxes becomes more and more intolerable, and if we were to imagine the process of appreciation (of money) continuing for a great number of years in a country manacled with the interest of a debt, like that of England, which could not be shaken off or reduced like private obligations, the end would necessarily be national bankruptcy and universal confusion. These facts were noted by David Hume, but they have been almost wholly lost sight of by modern economists."

[From the *Westminster Review* of January, 1848. Any one carefully studying this must come to see that Mr Cobden and the political economists are either very original in dragging the public mind, as they have, as to the value, to a country's industrious classes, of "cheapness," or are so stupid as not to be able to understand that the cheapness of commodities is a convertible term for the clearness of money.]

THE QUESTION OF MONEY—HOW IT WILL BE AFFECTED BY LARGE IMPORTS OF GOLD FROM CALIFORNIA.

To the Editor of the Weekly Register.

Edinburgh, 24th Feb., 1850.—SIR,— No one can help praising the consistency of the *Times* in its decision that, as in 1810 gold was by law fixed down to a price lower than its natural or average price in this country, without the debtor class being enabled to discharge their debts with proportionally less gold, so in 1849 the debtor should have the same unjust advantage over the creditor class, as the least repayment the latter could offer. Monetary reformers must however deplore that the *Times* and the bullionists should have taken so low a position in 1819 in regard to money and currency as to view the question as one only between money and property in existence, instead of seeing the chief importance of money to be as a machinery for the production of property and its proper distribution.

Nothing but the most abject political helplessness could have made the working-classes endure up to this day Sir Robert Peel's money law. To see this, and to be satisfied that NO TYRANNY IN ANY COUNTRY HAS EVER BEEN EQUALLED BY ONE OF SO MUCH SUFFERING TO HIS SUBJECTS AS SIR R. PEELE HAS BEEN TO OUR WORKING-CLASSES, we

have only to understand the practical operation of his bill of 1819. Under it (with gold here fixed down to the price abroad) our commercial history must necessarily be a succession of money panics, for it is utterly impossible to attain prosperity without becoming the cause of immediate distress in this country! The issue of paper pounds as the legal tender (or payable at the London market price of gold), was the only remedy while the foreign price was as high as our fixed price. In no other way could remunerative prices long be got by our manufacturers and producers, even when they had an extensive demand for their wares—as the opposing article gold was always to be had centrally here when scarce as when plentiful in this country. But if the foreign price of gold is to be greatly and permanently lower than £4 the ounce, our retention of the sovereign, or a quarter of an ounce of gold, as the counter for our pound sterling, will suit the same purpose of enabling prices of British commodities to rise to the level of the demand for them; and indeed with our fixed price above the foreign price, the use by us of the gold money as a legal tender will be far preferable, as having TWO IN-DIRECT ADVANTAGES which in our circumstances (especially under the operation of free imports) will be of vital importance in increasing the employment, and thus sustaining the wages of our working-classes. While we continue to make gold the basis of our banks, etc circulation and facilities, it is evidently the in-

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interest of our industry that the greatest amount possible of gold be imported, as extending that basis, besides the import of gold being an evidence that we are, just as the export of it is an evidence that we are not, exporting British labour. All therefore will readily perceive that we ought to prefer the sovereign as our legal tender for a pound, when the foreign price of gold is sufficiently (and it matters not how far down it goes) below £4 the ounce, if thereby we attained the two points of preventing gold being exported, and of encouraging gold being imported in the greatest quantity.

FIRSTLY.—On the same principle (the defence of British industry) on which Monetary Reformers, when gold tended to advance above our fixed price of £4 from scarceness, opposed the pound sterling being at all times equal to a quarter of an ounce of gold, we must, in the now altered prospects, resist not only any increase of the weight of the sovereign (or, in other words, any lowering of the price of gold), but while gold abroad remains under our nominal price of £4, we must prefer the present money law to a system of paper money convertible at the market price of gold, as the former tends more than the latter to prevent the export of gold. In the latter way there would be more inducement to export gold as a speculation, as the foreigner would get more weight of gold for the paper pound; for in the latter way, if the gold was worth £2 in the market, the paper pound would buy half-an-ounce of it, while in the former way the paper pound would only buy a sovereign, or a quarter of an ounce of gold. On the other hand, it is equally clear, that with the price above £4, our fixed price, the paper system would best check the export of gold, as then, with gold at £5 the ounce, the bearer of a pound note would only get 1-5th of an ounce by this system, while by the other he would demand a sovereign.

SECONDLY.—With the foreign price of gold below our fixed price, it is decidedly the interest of our industry that we should sustain the law as it now stands, and prefer the gold to the paper counter, as tending more to encourage the importation from America of the largest possible share of the gold now getting in Cali-

fornia. The American will bring more gold here if he's sure to get, at the British Mint, four sovereigns for his ounce of gold, than if the fluctuating market price in London were £3, for he could not rely on getting British goods equally cheap in proportion. He knows this would depend on the demand for British manufactures. The American has learned, from "Tooke on Prices," that the high price of gold after 1797 did not directly cause high prices for British commodities, although the confidence arising from the internal circulation being made independent of gold led to increased demand, and, consequently, to higher prices. The price of commodities is only directly regulated by the demand for the particular articles, and (even at present the low fixed price of gold chiefly operates on prices by paralyzing our currency through threatening its export) the price of gold has an indirect and often remote effect on them to the extent it increases or decreases the demand for goods. Now (supposing wages to have risen 50 per cent., or the cloth to have risen in price to 1s. 6d., whose Peel or starvation price I assumed at 1s.), the American, if he got 4 sovereigns for his ounce of gold, could buy 53 yards of the cloth, whereas, were the market price of gold down to 60s an ounce, he being paid in paper pounds, would only get 40 yards of the cloth at 1s 6d for his ounce of gold. Thus it is clear we should get more gold from America by sustaining our present money law, and of manufactures, and as a consequence larger prices and wages, but as the less gold the Americans retain to themselves the slower will be the development of their banking system, and the less ability they will possess to hold their cotton for high prices, and to increase their manufacturing opposition to us in their own markets and those of other countries. Had the Americans not required to send away, to carry on their war with Mexico, the gold they drew from us in 1847, they could have held their cotton for speculative prices last year, and thus aggravated indefinitely our manufacturing distress in this country.

Yours very respectfully,

ISAAC BUCHANAN,

SIR R. PEEL OVERLOOKED THE GREAT FACT OF OUR HAVING COLONIES WHEN HE PROPOSED FREE TRADE—FREE TRADE AND COLONIES BEING THINGS INCOMPATIBLE WITH EACH OTHER.

RAPID ALIENATION OF THE COLONISTS, OR DEADENING OF THE EXTREMITIES OF THE EMPIRE;

The *petit maitre's* statements of the present day are throwing up those noble countries called the British Colonies with the same non-chalance as they departed from the noble maxims called British principles. To the countries and the principles alluded to there is the same moral certainty of a glorious resurrection, but whether this shall occur before or after these have been driven to repudiate the name of British and to take refuge under the American flag, depends on how long the national delusion shall continue that holds up such men as Peel, Gladstone, and Lord Grey. In the meantime the condition of the colonial proprietors is being made more and more desperate. Gladstone's administration of Peel's principles, and especially his celebrated dispatch to Canada, (in which, banishing from his memory all our American experience,) he boldly asserted that the Colonial tie was secured by the traditional prejudices of the Colonists; reminds us of the treatment received by distinguished French travellers who was shipwrecked on the coast of Barbary; to dry up his tears the Barbarians threw dust in his eyes! But to describe the effects of the principles of political economy as administered to the Colonies by Lord Grey, it is impossible to find language. The eloquent language of Sheridan, instead of overstating, far understates the case; for so *petiferous* to British interests is the breath of our late geometrical legislation that it at once succeeds in blasting all agricultural pursuits at home and in the colonies, and at same time invigorates the national industry of our opponents and enemies, reanimating even their accursed slave trade.

"It looks as if some fabled monster had made its passage through the country, whose pestiferous breath had blasted more than its voracious appetite could devour. Am I asked why these people arose in such concert? Because they were people in human shape; because patience under the dejected tyranny of man is rebellion to the sovereignty of God; because allegiance to that power that gives us the forms of men commands to maintain the rights of men."

Never was this inextinguishable truth destroyed from the heart that man is not the property of man, that human power is a trust for human benefit; and that when it is abused, revenge becomes justice if not the bounden duty of the injured. These, my Lords, were the causes why these people rose."

Perhaps no where has the truth as to the misgovernment of the  
 "The race of small men described by Chambrad, "Jenno homme qui se distingue par un ton decisiif, par des manieres libres et etourdises."

† BRITISH PRINCIPLES, BANISHED FROM THEIR OWN COUNTRY, HAVE TAKEN REFUGE IN AMERICA.

The following is the deliverance of the greatest living American, the Hon. Henry Clay. He terms Free Trade "Concessions to foreign powers, to our rival's jealous of our growth and anxious to impede our onward progress. Encouragement to domestic industry is a concession to our fellow-citizens. It is a concession by the whole to the whole; for every part of the country possesses a capability to manufacture, and every part of the country more or less does manufacture." And the Free Trader or Theorist he characterises thus—"He has mounted his hobby and has determined to spur and whip him on, rough shod, over all facts, obstacles, and impediments that lie in his way."

Colonies been more fearlessly stated than in the late numbers of *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*:-

"The influence" says *Tait*, "that retains the British people together must be strong, to resist in years of successive and violent temptations to separate. The design of casting off the colonies is now openly avowed by the subordinate of the Government; but, if ever their superiors propose a bill for that purpose in Parliament, they will learn that they have completely miscalculated the temper of the people. The Ministry will not follow that plain path. They will continue to insult, misgovern, and oppress, in expectation of the consequences. They will sustain Ferrington, the Governor, and priest-whipper, in Ceylon; they will give certificates of good conduct to the Moro O'Ferrals, who may turn our fortress into the tools of the Jesuits—knighthood to Wards, who hang Cephalonians like the Haynauas—peerages to the Elgins, who hide in the woods from the presence of the colonists whom they have successfully involved in trouble—and all manner of support to the dozens of governors in over-taxed islands that demand for themselves more money than the colonists can earn. This is the habit of the Colonial office. An effort to part the Colonies from home, made avowedly and manfully, would not be successful. The people would at once lay the reason prostrate. Therefore, a deeper scheme is invented. The Colonists are teased, tormented, and smothered with constitutions. Here they are threatened with an inundation of paupers; there with an infusion of felons and felony. Now they are pressed to the earth, and money squeezed out of them hydraulically to pay governors and officials, over whose appointments and dismissals they have no power; again they are forbidden to employ labourers, except with permission, best, and benison from Earl Grey. In one quarter land is rendered of dangerous and difficult attainment; in another it is squandered away in grants to favourite pets, with guilty profusion."

The colonies are in danger. The empire is parting. We are in the progress downwards, and commence our second millennium, as Anglo-Saxons, with bad prospects, unless our policy be decisively and rapidly changed.

To me it has long been clear that, whether willfully or not, Peel and Grey have, between them, as nearly as possible, broken up the British Empire. At all the different stages of the Free Trade Mania, I have seen its certain result; firstly, in our ceasing to be an Empire, and secondly, in our being involved in revolution from want of employment in this country; and I have not finished from what I consider the duty of declaring that Peel and Grey, with Colden and others, are in the opinion of the Colonists mere political cut-throats. The following are the words which I addressed to the Secretary for the Colonies, on the 11th April last,



the principle of the greatest benefit to the greatest number; and such they view to be the best government of a country, just as acting under the Law of Kindness, an authoritative head is a blessing to a family, for the loss of which other expedients but feebly atone. They think it is passing sentence (especially in these Revolutionary days) on Monarchy to admit that it is incompatible with democratic or popular legislation—while it is equally to condemn Universal Suffrage, to suppose it incompatible with the firm administration of the Law, after that law has been framed by means of the machinery which is generally admitted by themselves to be the best to indicate the People's interests and feelings. These views were expressed in Mr Buchanan's letter to Lord George Bessborough (page 10). It will be observed that he did not mean to say that he expressed the views of the individual protectionists, but the protectionist views which could alone hope for success.

(From the Greenock Advertiser, of February 8, 1850.)

Among the intelligence by the American steamer, we have in one very gratifying item enough to show that the true "never say die" feeling will ever be uppermost among the Anglo-Saxon population of British America, and that under whatever government they may be, these Colonies will neither sink under their miseries like the West Indies, nor yet allow themselves to be Irelandized. On our first page will be found the particulars from the Toronto Colonist of 11th ult. of an offer of prizes to the extent of L.100 to be competed for by the working men of the British Isles for the best essays on the following questions:—"Whether does a policy of centralizing the manufacturing arts in Great Britain, or one of diffusing them through the Colonies, offer the greater advantages to the working people of the British Isles? and is such diffusion more likely to be attained by a system of Colonial Protection, or by one of Free Trade?" The essays are to be given in to the judges by 1st January, 1851; and the donor, a gentleman connected with one of the best known families in the West of Scotland, has requested, it will be seen, his Grace the Duke of ARGYLE, Mr ADDERLEY, M.P., and Mr ISAAC BUCHANAN, late M.P. for Toronto, to act as judges.

Mr BUCHANAN has just called at our office, and authorizes us to state that he will, on account of his friend in Canada, pay the money as soon as it is required to be deposited to await the decision, so that the thing may be relied on as certain to go on, whether the other judges be and he accept the office or not. It is well known that Mr BUCHANAN considers it barely possible that the Western Colonies can be saved to the empire; he therefore feels the more gratified at an opportunity so unexpectedly occurring to get the attention of our home population drawn to their Colonial interests before it be too late; and he farther authorizes us to say that, impelled by his interest as a Canadian proprietor, as well as by higher motives, he will add L.100 to the donation—so that the prizes will be for L.200—probably eight in number—viz., L.75, L.50, L.30, L.20, L.10, L.5, L.5, L.5.

To prevent any misunderstanding of Mr BUCHANAN'S views, we ought here distinctly to mention that he joins in the present enterprise merely because of its encouraging the working classes to judge for themselves; as, if they do so—his principles leading him to place the greatest confidence in the intelligence of our operatives—he has no fear of the result. On the subject of Free Trade he says the working classes were never consulted, and quotes, in corroboration, the authority of EBENEZER ELLIOT, the Corn Law Rhymer, who wrote on 17th October, 1849:—"It is remarkable that Free Trade has been carried by the middle classes, not only without the assistance of the working classes, but in spite of their opposition."

But Mr BUCHANAN does not approve of the wording of the questions, in as far as they encourage the fond but (as he says) foolish hope that, without the principle of Protection being adopted for the empire, with Free Trade for the Colonies and reciprocating countries, it is possible to retain the Canadas and the West Indies. He says that so far is this from his conviction that he believes that the American States would not remain united six months under a system of Free Trade, even though these States are countries lying contiguous to each other.

We shall hereafter have great pleasure in reporting the progress of the farther arrangements about this most interesting competition, and we trust that the intelligent working classes of this town and neighbourhood will be among the successful competitors.

We should not be at all surprised to see the example followed (as it was with Mr HENDERSON'S Sabbath Essays) by other parties deeply interested in a true un-

derstanding of the now pressing question of Colonies, and to find the prizes in this way greatly added to in numbers, if not in their amounts, which seem already abundantly handsome. In such case the form of the questions may be varied with general advantage, as well as in order to make them more applicable to the condition and capabilities of other Colonies.

PRIZES OF £100 TO THE WORKING CLASSES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

(From the British Colonist of Toronto, of 11th January.)

We beg to direct public attention to the letter in another column of our correspondent "A Colonist." The subject of protection to Colonial manufactures is there brought forward in a form more attractive to the English operative than any that we have hitherto seen.

"A Colonist" proposes to give prizes of £50, £30, £20, for the three best Essays on the following question:—"Whether does a policy of centralizing the manufacturing arts in Great Britain, or one of diffusing them through her Colonies, offer the greater advantage to the working people of the British Isles? and is such diffusion more likely to be attained by a system of colonial protection, or by one of Free Trade?"

The competitors are to be working men of the British Isles. His Grace the Duke of Argyle, Mr Adderley, M.P. for North Staffordshire, and Mr Isaac Buchanan, late M.P. for Toronto, are requested to act as judges. The essays are required to be given in to the Judges on or before the 1st January, 1851.

ADDRESS

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION OF UPPER CANADA FOR PROMOTING THE ARTS OF AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURES.

If we Canadian farmers would avoid annexation, and would lend a hand to prevent disastrous wars between England and the United States, and peradventure to save the British Isles from utter degradation and ruin, we must adopt the language of President Taylor's last Message to Congress, and apply it to Canada. We must—viz., "by due encouragement to manufactures, give a new and increased stimulus to agriculture, and promote the development of the resources of our common country." President Taylor adds, immediately after the words above quoted:—"Believing that to the attainment of these ends (as well as the necessary augmentation of the revenue and prevention of frauds) a system of specific duties is best adapted, I strongly recommend to Congress the adoption of that system, fixing the duties at rates high enough to afford substantial encouragement to our own industry, and at the same time so adjusted as to insure stability." The Secretary of the American Treasury, in his report of December, enforces these views of the President by detailed statements, and by arguments that are irresistibly conclusive.

When Great Britain has, in the relations of commerce, put her Colonies upon the same footing with foreign countries, the presumption is, that the policy of foreign countries, towards Great Britain, is the policy which the Colonies ought to adopt towards her—especially when foreign countries are unanimous—and that without combination or conspiracy, but each being solely guided by reference to its own national interest, and that presumption is strengthened into proof, when our neighbours of the United States, having tried more than once the present commercial policy of Canada, and having uniformly failed in these trials, and having tried more than once a protective policy, and having uniformly succeeded in these trials, have, after these two-fold experiences, firmly resolved to maintain, and for the last eight years has maintained, the latter policy, and under it have, in spite of great and well known drawbacks, advanced beyond all example in population, wealth, and power.

In the language of President Taylor, encouragement to manufactures is required, to "give a new and increased stimulus to agriculture, and to promote the development of the resources of our common country."

In other words—Canada needs manufactures, and to get them she must impose such duties, not only on Foreign, but also on British manufactures, as shall give adequate assurance of profit to manufacturing enterprise in Canada, by guarding it from exposure to overthrow, by floods of imports—the production of an union of labour, poverty-stricken by over-competition—with a capital, real and artificial, of an amount so vast as to have been as yet enabled to crush all attempts at revolt on the part of its crowded and pauperized task servants; and which, by means of their exertions, has aggrandized itself to the utmost pitch that accumulation has yet attained, at rates of profit far advanced towards the infinitesimally little—far advanced beyond any point to which, on this continent, for some generations at least to come, the most sanguine avarice may hope to reach.

The policy that promises benefits to the Canadian farmer, holds

FREE TRADE AND COLONIES THINGS INCOMPATIBLE WITH EACH OTHER.

out like propeets to the British artizan. It cannot be that he is benefited by having the Colonies shut out from his occupation, and by having himself chained to the workshop of his smooth tongued taskmaster,—yet these are the results of the policy of "free trade." The Factory Lord well understands that cheap bread means low wages. Liberty to the voracious strong, is oppression to the needy weak. The Colonies being prevented from manufacturing—and the British workman being treated as an alien in the United States, even after he becomes a nominal citizen—it follows that there is no country using his own language open to his skill and art—but that he is bound to his "cheap bread" master in England. Open to him not only Canada, but all the British Colonies, and while he is spreading the arts of civilization over the whole world, he will escape to himself at least a fair day's wages for a fair day's work—and by relieving a miserable over-competition, will secure the like blessing to his fellow artizan left at home. Instead of being used as an instrument for ruining the farmer, and filling the poor houses at home, he will in the Colonies, while providing for himself, enrich his agricultural neighbours, and at the same time will co-operate in laying the foundation of a system which must relieve the British Isles of the reproach of abject boisterous pauperism. He will assist in converting the industrious pauper himself into a reliever of poverty.

Now, as of old, knowledge and wisdom lead to riches and honour; but if our sole aim be riches, let us ask ourselves how we can hit it by dealing with beggars. Are not those who are richest already in the Poor houses of England, or are fast wending there, our real customers? The Merchant and the Lordly Manufacturer—are these our customers, or are they not rather the mere Brokers of our Exchange with the scantily paid and competition jostled labourer and the pauper?

The Economists cry aloud for cheapness—but where is the beauty of their cheapness? Where, but in cleanness of teeth? If price be the representative of labour, degrade the representative and you degrade the constituent.

When all the world around is rising or rattling with the hurly burly of reform, has the doctrine of price reached perfection? Has Manchester got it? And are all attempts to ameliorate the condition of man, by opening new fields for his industry, skill, and genius, to be met and put down by a Clicker Retailer's cry of "buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest markets?" Are not buying and selling, taken in the main, only two parts of one operation—viz., the operation of exchange; and in one and the same transaction is the giving of a good bargain inconsistent with the taking of such? Nay, to keep good customers is it not needful to give them good bargains? We do not aver that a Retail dealer may not by either tacit or open falsehood both buy cheaper and sell dearer than the fair trader for a few days or months, any more than we deny that a man may fill his pocket at the expense of his neighbour, by directly breaking the eighth commandment;—but neither of these kinds of operations is on the whole profitable—and in both, the better the customers become acquainted with each other, the less mutual satisfaction is there between them. To get and keep good customers—these are the objects of successful trade, and the only mode yet found out for attaining these objects is to give good bargains.

But admitting, for the occasion, that the lowest grade of Retail Merchants may be guided by the ready reckoned maxim—"Buy in the cheapest—sell in the dearest market,"—are Nations and their administrators to be so guided and governed—and is the peddling maxim so captivating that its sway must be extended to prevent the making of markets? If the markets which we already have are proved to be bad, and if we have it in our power to make others, and these good,—are we to be stopped from exercising that power, and to be confined to making the best of the bad markets that we have?

We must be a singular people indeed, if we cannot make better markets than those which we have four thousand, or four hun-

dred miles away. We have the pattern for making these at hand,— and must not Great Britain reflect whether, if she refuse us liberty to make them, the power of attraction at 400 miles' distance (New York) will not prove greater than at 4000 (London).

If Wheat and lumber (Timber) form almost the entire list of our exchangeable productions, whilst our soil is proverbially fertile, our water-power vast, and distributed with infinite prudence, as well as bounty, over all parts of the land, and our climate healthful and invigorating to the body and to the spirit of man, is it just to ourselves, right to our fellow-countrymen, and grateful to the Giver of all these good gifts, that we cry content to the continuance of this our barrenness, and humble ourselves to be the willing instruments of insatiable avarice, aggrandizing itself by playing the hypocrite of philanthropy,—crying out for convention peace with all the world, and cheap bread to the poor and needy, the more effectually to inveigle these to that proximate famine, which is the sure index of its own luxurious opulence.

Can any but the densest intelligence deny, that in the circumstances of our exchangeable productions being almost entirely confined to wheat and lumber, there is a clear indication, that we either are deficient in enterprise, or have our energies misdirected, or that we suffer under both of these causes of depression. The first of these alternatives is disproved by a crowd of witnesses. There has been no end to our bankruptcies. The unnatural course of our exchange, and the juggling finance of England, have been too strong for our clearest-headed merchants.

The second, then, is the cause of our unproductiveness, and if we continue our degraded adorations to either the universal free trade Diana of Manchester, or the more circumscribed Jode, it tended to lead to annexation, what improvement can we expect? or our soil is unprofitably to us worn out by our unnatural exactions from it of wheat, and after we have given away as a thing of nought, the noble crop of our fields, the growth of beautiful countries, and when we shall at last discover our mistake, how shall we answer to our children for its consequences?

Cannot all but the very blindest—that is, those who will not see—perceive that with us there is really no practical and beneficial question between free trade and protection? Is it not transparent to Canadians, that the former can only be transient—that it is shortly to be or is now—only used as a stalking-horse, by the way of annexation, to carry England forward to the mark of freedom from commerce, with United North America, and bearing a charge to bind Canada with fetters of iron, to the chariot-wheels of Boston and New York?

The true and substantial question for Canada to consider is, whether she is to have real and express protection in alliance with Great Britain, or express but no real protection, via annexation; whether she is to have moderate, but adequate protection, enjoying the benefit of her customs dues, under her own management, together with the advantages that must follow upon the establishment and advancement of manufacturing art and industry; or whether, under the name of high protection, she is first to be subject to the yoke of enormous customs dues, and then to have the management of these engrossed by foreigners, and their proceeds transferred to a nominal protector, but actual extortioner, at a distance of 800 miles,—and for a climax of the complacency so coveted by some of the dowiest of her offspring, to have all hope of a now attainable advancement and elevation in the arts, prostrated and held down, by the adverse interests of an already powerful and avarice-ridden rivalry.

Let it be pondered how unenviable will be the responsibility incurred by Canada, if possessing the mother of empire, she with a heart full of spite and of treachery, for her country and kind, shall discharge herself of her high office, by an award of which this must necessarily be one count, viz.,—that "No one spot on this continent will remain, on which a native of the United Kingdom can rest the sole of his foot, and say she is the equal of any other man." Do not these few plain and true words

† The contrary opinion to this is at present unhappily circulated by the Manchester School. Although the great argument of the Anti-Corn-Law League was that they wanted cheap food to enable them to manufacture cheaply, and thus beat the world, the understandings of the Working Classes are now insulted by being assured of the exactly contrary doctrine—viz., that there is no connection between prices and wages; that when our shrewd working men, whose general political knowledge is far in advance of the middle classes, turn their minds easily to this particular point, they cannot fail to see how shamefully they have been humbugged by the cry of "cheapness." If "cheapness" does not lead to more general employment in this country, all men admit that it must prove a curse to our industrious classes; and if cheapness were, by possibility, to lead to no increased demand for labour, this would just as quickly upset the theory of "cheapness," for is not increased demand the mother of money "dearness," or, in other words, of increased wages and prices? Let the working classes take warning by the fate of the landowners, and avoid a narrow view of their interests. The Landlords thought they could have dear grain and cheap commodities of which they were buyers; but as we warned by their failure. In my "Crisis of Sir R. Peel's Mission," I described the miserable position of the landowners (page 24.)

To understand what Sir James Graham actually meant when he, in the passage referred to, denounced the Corn Bill of 1816, I must continue my quotation from his excellent pamphlet. It will be observed that Sir James declared his conviction to be that our true and honest policy is a fixed duty, such as Lord John Russell proposed in 1841. "Let me implore, therefore, the landowners to abandon the futile attempt of artificially maintaining high prices under the ancient standard; let them make a timely compromise with the public, and take an ample, but fair protecting duty, with open ports, on the admission of foreign corn—a DUTY EQUIVALENT TO THE BURDENS IMPOSED ON THE PRODUCE OF CORN IN THIS COUNTRY, TO WHICH THE CONSUMERS OF CORN ARE EQUALLY LIABLE; and, on the same principle, a drawback on exportation may be obtained. This concession will win back the friendly feelings of the people; and let not the landowners lose this great advantage; let them rivet the gratitude of the community to their cause; let them exert all their power, and insist on the revocation of Mr. Peel's Act of 1819—an Act not less fatal to the landowner than to the payer of taxes—an Act now about to come into full operation—an Act which, from its first introduction, goaded 1. people to insurrection; and the returning influence of which has not failed to produce the same alarming consequences. Here, the landowners may with safety make their stand; the position is impregnable; the payers of taxes, the productive classes, are ready to defend it; substantial justice is on our side; and who are they that are against us?—the ANTI-TAXERS, the FOMENTERS, and the ECONOMISTS; a host, which the landowners, if true to themselves, and in concert with the people, cannot fail to defeat."—Sir James Graham's Pamphlet on Corn and Currency, published in 1827.

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FREE TRADE AND COLONIES THINGS INCOMPATIBLE WITH EACH OTHER.

demand a hearty garden, from frail men to a frail man? A parchment one is got already. [They are the words of W. Lion M'Konzig.]

England may become greater than ever, by spreading the arts of civilization in her provinces, and thereby over the whole world. A merely nominal free trade, which robs her productive industry and her productive capital at home, and which is raising rebel- lion in many of her provinces, must first be the raising of rebel- dark places of the earth must be enlightened, and the habitations of orderly exposed. But, for dark spots and cruel habitations, England need not look beyond her own shores: the poor girls that stifle *the cheap Bibles*, have to eke out a livelihood by Ra- habism;—these modern deliverers of the Jerusalem messengers, than the idolatry of cheapness. Economy of labour is good— economy of price is bad. Cheap appropriation is a false balance. £20,000,000 were paid to the West India planters,—one million would send 100,000 manufacturers out here. Rather than en- davour to enslaving the land, and water, and wood of Canada. Immigration on a large scale must be orderly. Manufacturers must come first. These, once established—immigration may come rough-and-tumble.

I am thoroughly convinced that the establishment of manufac- tories here will be for the advantage of the holders of productive property, and of all the working people in the British Isles. I strongly believe these working people need only to have their attention directed to the subject, in order to their being brought to the same conviction. Endeavouring to give this direction, I would follow the example of Mr Henderson, of Park; and I trust that the offer here to be made will elicit a like spirit, as well as a like ability to those displayed in the "Essays on the temporal ad- vantages of the Sabbath to the working classes."

I propose as a subject of essay for the working men of the British Isles:—"Whether does a policy of centralizing the manufac- turing arts in Great Britain, or one of diffusing them through the colonies, offer the greater advantage to the working people of the British Isles; and is such diffusion more likely to be attained by a system of Colonial Protection, or by one of Free Trade."

For the best essay on the above subject, I bind myself to give £50; for the second in merit, £20; and for the third, £20.

The essays to be sent, by the last of January, 1851, to such place as shall be directed by the judges.

I request His Grace the Duke of Argyll, Mr Adderley, M.P. for North Stafford, and Mr Isaac Buchanan, late M.P. for Toronto, in Upper Canada, to be judges. And I would take the liberty of humbly, but strongly recommending to His Grace, and to the gentlemen whom I have named, that upon them the colonies have their none so closely connected with the people of the colonies, by patriarchal and ancient territorial associations as he; upon rural usage, passed current as promissory notes, for future perfor- mance; and upon Mr Buchanan, because of his intimate ac- quaintance with colonial affairs, and of his well-known character in Canada for honesty and sagacity.

Steps will be taken forthwith to bring the above proposal before the British public. In the meantime, I beg to recommend it to the notice of Editors of newspapers, in order to their giving it extensive publicity.

THE POSTULATES OF "A COLONIST."

The foregoing address, which offers three prizes to the working men of Great Britain is the 5th of a second series of addresses. We give the first of this second series below as containing his "postulates." This embraces all the leading ideas of the author as regards the advantage to, and absolute necessity of, Canada be- ing made a manufacturing country, except one, viz., that manufac- tures in Canada, through increasing the tide of emigration to the British America, would afford the ships outward freights from the mother country, and would thus cheapen the immense freights which Canada now has to pay on her exports on account of the great proportion of the vessels having to come from Eng- land in ballast.

The patriotic views of "A Colonist," who is a large landed proprietor farming his own land in the neighbourhood of To- ronto, differ not, as to his ultimate objects, from those of our old correspondent, his friend Mr Isaac Buchanan now of Glas- gow, but only as to the means of the attainment of these. The portion of her Majesty's subjects who have settled, or may here- after settle, in British America; 2d, The preservation of the supremacy of England over the different colonies comprising British America (if this can be made compatible with the great-

est prosperity to these countries, as otherwise; of course, it is impossible, and, if possible, would be inimical; both gentlemen of these magnificent countries—a mutual experience of twenty years field afforded by them for the degraded working masses of Great Britain will hereafter be deemed sufficient ground for the im- peachment of any minister who may be instrumental in throwing them away, even if Britain had an independent supply of timber, and even if it were no object for Britain to have the degradation a necessary of national existence, elsewhere (which she has not), pointed out in the "Colonist's" feeling quotation—

"No one spot on this continent will remain; on which a native of the United Kingdom can rest the sole of his foot, and say he is treated as an alien in the United States, even after he becomes a nominal citizen."

Mr Buchanan has written more than any other man on the ne- cessity of protection—not because England could not do with Free Trade if other countries would imitate her example, but because it is not in her power to do so. England is in a position to open its ports—and this is also the view of "A Colonist." They agree, too, in declaring that without protection our Western Colonies must be inundated by the tide of the Empire; but the "Colonist" goes further and shows that CANADA MUST PROTECT HERSELF AGAINST ENGLAND! He attempts (and we avow our interest of every country so situated, to manufacture for itself, as well as grow its food. He shows, in fact, that Canada must have manufactures, and that, to manufacture a system of protection is a *sine qua non*.

"A Colonist" has long thought that if the attention of the intelligent working men could be got to examine the vast and rich field that the Colonies present for their occupation, that the tide of Free Trade would fall, but not till a few weeks ago did that there might be no fear, that every fair play should be had by competitors holding convictions on the subject of Free Trade, judges two free Traders, and only one Protectionist. There are three enlarged views long held by Mr Buchanan, which will probably become very popular, (especially as taken in connection with our present subject) with the working classes of Great Britain.

1st, Steam flint the million across the Atlantic; 2d, That every country and colony should have paper money, and that the ad- vantage of the circulation should be taken from the rich, who do not stand in need of it, and given to the poorer classes, if this can be done with safety—not only a direct benefit, but as a means of individual banking credit which the richer classes also monopolize at present. He would induce the industrial classes to take stock in New National LAND BANKS, whose notes he would make a legal tender (thus giving the poor interest on the *proven* lands, to be let in small parcels, at rents to yield 5 per cent. would be always in the option of any holder of this stock, which might be termed "People's Certificates," to get legal tender notes advanced to him on loan at 5 per cent. to the extent of one half his stock, the National LAND BANKS not having the privilege of advancing on any other security but their own stock, and in order to the amount of only one half the amount invested in land. Such a system, Mr Buchanan thinks, would get at once into con- copartnership between the Government and the people; all Crown Lands in the respective countries being thrown into the joint stock, the Crown, however, getting no return till the private stockholders had received 6 per cent.; and in order to its adoption, he does not see it at all necessary directly to interfere with the existing Bank of England, or other banks in England, Ireland, Scotland, and the Colonies. He says that the legal tender notes contemplated would go out gradually to the extent the system acquired public confidence; or rather the confidence of the working classes; and that to the extent the notes of the National LAND BANK OF England, Ireland, Scotland, or the particular Colony, were issued, the notes of the Bank of England and the present banks would be displaced, leaving these latter only to fill up any deficiency of the circulating medium, which they would always be prepared to do at all times.

3d, Mr Buchanan views the public lands as the birth-right of the working classes of Great Britain—the lands in the Colonies being the only thing they have to represent the national expenditure in going to and conquering and defending them. He would therefore insist on EVERY BRITISH SUBJECT HAVING A RIGHT TO LAND IN THE COLONIES GRATIS. He has often written details of such a system of colonization, and we shall subjoin† the last of these sketches,

\* Presided over by a new member of the Cabinet, whom Mr Buchanan proposes calling "the Minister of Employment." These Land BANKS, if made to include the Crown, would be a small embodiment of the Constitution, for Mr Buchanan's idea is from what Lord J. Russell has said that those who are afraid of Universal Suffrage may at least agree to add to the present co-stituency the name of every man who has been a stockholder, for twelve months, to the extent of Five Pounds in the National Land Bank.

† SYSTEM OF COLONIZATION.—SWEEPING REDEMPTION OF THE COLONIAL OFFICE—AND A FREE GRANT OF LAND IN THE COLONIES TO EVERY BRITISH SUBJECT THAT CRUISES AND IS ABLE TO EMIGRATE. (As it appeared in the Toronto Colonist, April, 1848.) To Ireland and the British Colonies there must be a NATIONAL SYSTEM OF COLONIZATION under a new Cabinet Minister, whom I would call the MINISTER OF EMPLOYMENT with the co-operation of the principal Secretaries of State for the Colonies, who should be not less than four in number with distinct depart- ments—say the North American department, the Australian de- partment (including the African settlements) the department of India East—and the department of India West—to be called

which was published in the *British Colonist*, in April, 1848, being part of Mr Buchanan's letter, dated New York, 25th March, 1848, to Lord George Bessborough, on the breaking out of the Continental Revolution being heard of in America.

In conclusion, he would just notice one of the many very shrewd remarks of "A Colonist," in one of his addresses after showing that Canada must manufacture—and repeating that must is the word—he thus appeals to the Canadian manufacturer on the impossibility of his being able, unprotected, to compete with the Manchester millowner. "You can neither starve personally nor by proxy; the latter, the Manchester cotton lord can and does do."

## ADDRESS—I.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION OF UPPER CANADA FOR PROMOTING THE ARTS OF AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURES. I believe that the want of success of Canadian enterprise, and

Secretary of State for the Northern Colonies.  
Secretary of State for the Eastern Colonies.  
Secretary of State for the Southern Colonies,  
Secretary of State for the Western Colonies.

I am far from believing that the foregoing machinery, each Secretary having the assistance of two under secretaries, [natives of the particular Colonial Department, whom I shall refer to as the important duties, the proper performance of which would realise good government to the Colonies; and from this may be gathered any idea of THE TOTAL INADEQUACY OF THE PRESENT DEPARTMENT IN DOWNING STREET, as the Colonial machinery of a great empire whose life's blood is

"Ships, Colonies and Commerce."

and 'not the mere "Manufacturing Commerce" of the Free Trade, or mere Manchester man. The country should look to the new department for the accomplishment of a distinct and common sense or practical object, such as the extension of the country's exports, not less in any one year, above the former year's exports, than one million of pounds sterling—with a similar increase of the productions in the British dependencies of cotton and other raw material essential to our manufacturing independence and supremacy, or as I expressed it in March, 1846, "So systematising matters that, through the labour of a British Colonial population, we will each year be getting more and more cotton, more wheat, more timber, more sugar, more sheep's wool, and all other necessities, saving British labour for them and so on BUTTER GOLD, AS AT PRESENT." By means of practical government like this we should find ourselves very little dependent on foreign trade, which however would be sure to woo us the more, the more we become independent of it; and thus would we be the blessed instrument of bringing independence to the door of every industrious family in England, an independence which could be relied on to last as long as our repudiation of irreciprocal Free Trade and our determination to adhere to the great principle of patriotic selfishness as opposed to the Cosmopolitan doctrines.

IS IRELAND THE SUBJECT OF COLONIZATION IS ALTOGETHER A MATTER OF LOCAL CIRCUMSTANCES, and one which my local knowledge does not fit me for entering into, farther than to say, that should you wish much to act on my friend, Mr Smith, or Deanston's, professional opinion, as to the possibility of reclaiming the Irish lands, than to rest satisfied with Sir Robert Peel's well known official dictum on the subject. OF THE CAPABILITIES OF THE COLONIES, I KNOW ENOUGH TO REBUKE. AS IT RESPECTS THE FOUNDATION, AND THE MERE CREATION OF INDEPENDENCE, THE IDEA THAT THE COLONIZATION SUBJECT IS RECOMMENDED WITH UNAVOIDABLE INEFFECTUALLY. I think that all the difficulty lies in the ignorance and want of hands (and heads I had almost said) in Downing Street; and I should feel the colonization enterprise half effected—upon the principle that a thing well begun is half finished—when the views and principles held by Lord Stanley, and most other Colonial Ministers, were thrown overboard. After being nearly twenty years a colonist, I feel confident in asserting this as the universal feeling in the Colonies. I would give a free grant, as his birthright, to every man in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, of 100 acres of land, in whatever colony he chooses to go to and remain in as an actual settler; thus at once would a gleam of hope and self-respect be thrown into the darkest breast in Manchester or Glasgow, while a MOTIVE TO ECONOMY would be furnished to every man, in gathering together sufficient money to convey his family thither. In justice to the colonists, as well as to furnish me a means of knowing that there exists in the man the energy necessary for a settler's struggle, I would assist no settler till he has arrived at his land; when I should furnish to those whose [well authenticated] circumstances required it, agricultural implements and food for the months that intervene till he can get his first crop (but no money), all this being done on a self-supporting principle, the land still being retained in security. I would gradually raise a million or two millions of pounds sterling in London by the creation of a new debt called COLONIZATION FUNDS [secured not only by the Home Government's credit, but by the whole lands of the colony where the money is applied]. With this money I would prepare houses in the various parts of the different grades of emigrants; and I would form a corps of experienced colonization agents—men of the profession of farmers—to be scattered throughout the Colony to secure to the emigrant disinterested advice, and to put WITH HIS REACH ALL THE INSTRUCTION WHICH THE GREAT PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE CAN FURNISH. I could put my hand on hundreds of practical and experienced men to answer the above des-

the dissatisfaction pervading the minds of Canadians are chiefly to be ascribed to the absence of such a variety of employments as is needed for the profitable exchange, and other convenience of the population at large, and as is suited to the various tastes and capacities of its various members; and I further believe that a proper supply and distribution of occupations are essential to the prosperity of any people. I am, moreover, convinced that a remedy of the evils which press on the enterprise of the country cannot be provided by individual exertion, but only by the co-operation of the body politic through the Legislature. Therefore I feel it incumbent on me to lay my convictions before the public. Before venturing to do so, I have endeavoured to make the consideration of them easy and unincumbered, by reducing them to a shape as formal and abstract as they would bear. I earnestly crave attention to them, and that if approved of, they

ception in Canada, who would, for a very small annual consideration, [beyond a grant of land,] transfer themselves to the new districts, about to be laid open, as the heads of these settlements; and I have no doubt the same thing would be as easy in all other Colonies to men locally acquainted with them as I am with Upper Canada.

Guided by no consideration but the great interests of the empire, I would, without any hesitation, appoint to be JOINT COLONIAL SECRETARIES OF STATE in London, men of genius, and combining parliamentary talent with the Colonial experience; and for this work my men would be the Honourable Robert Sullivan, and Joseph Howe, [at present Prime Ministers of Canada and Nova Scotia, respectively,] to preside over the northern and southern Colonies, leaving the present able under secretaries, Mr Lawes and Mr Buller, to apply themselves to the eastern and western colonial departments. Over these men I would allow no supercilious or lordly master, any more than I would tolerate the interference of any slow-moving Downing-street clerk, cumbered with old musty forms and senseless precedents.

Thus we would throw a simultaneous glow of confidence into the non-declining extremities of the empire, just as your lordship, with Lord Ashburton, and Mr Ferriss, by placing yourselves in the breach of the constitution at the present crisis of its fate would do in one moment the troubled heart of the empire and of the world by being able to announce that following your noble example Lord Clarendon and Palmerston [incomparably the ablest men in England] having come and laid their personal antipathies on the altar of their country, were prepared to undertake the foreign and home departments of the government. Lord Palmerston should be at the Home Office, if not Prime Minister. Although it is all important to have the benefit of his Lordship's experience in foreign affairs, it is self-evident, that a man, equally firm, and, if possible, more determined on the right course, yet, at the same time, more cool, and less committed, [combining in a word, the *suaviter in modo with the fortiter in re*], is required, arbiter of the world's destinies at this juncture.

ENGLAND AT THIS HOUR IS CERTAINLY ON A COURSE OF DECLINE, and with empires like individuals, their downward course is rapid — "*facilis est descensus Averni*."

To enable us to fix on the cure, we must first ascertain the causes of England's decline, and prominent among these will stand out the want of government and want of government of the Colonies by which England has been prevented being benefitted by her foreign possessions, and has been made in too many cases a curse to them. Then we will find, in pursuing our inquiry, that the weakness [of our own creating] of the colonies was availed of by an unpatriotic [cosmopolitan] combination of cotton Lords in Manchester to excite the people in favour of Foreign Trade, on which there is no dependence, in preference to the Home and Colonial Trades which our legislation has the power to retain to feed the industry of England. Poor John Bull therefore finds himself [more frightened than actually hurt as yet] in the predicament of the rich old invalid, whose disease—serious enough if continued—is that having deviated from his good old principle of living within his income, and thus had his large INDEPENDENCY slightly invaded, he already realizes himself a beggar. My view of the only course open to this country, was fully explained in a paper, headed STATEMENT OF PROTECTIONIST VIEWS AS THE RESULT OF PARLIAMENT, which appeared in the *Obsequer Reformers' Gazette*, in January, 1847, a number of the Imperial Parliament as well as the Colonial Legislature. And I still feel as satisfied that ENGLAND HAS NOT AT COMMAND THE ELEMENTS OF GREATNESS AND HAPPINESS IN A DEGREE POSSESSED BY NO OTHER COUNTRY IN THE WORLD, as I am satisfied that [set free from the circumstantial disadvantages of her church and aristocracy, and able to retain the disinterested social influences of these noble and old time honoured institutions] England has an executive government admitting of the prompt and independent execution of high designs, and containing within it capabilities at once of progress and accumulation, to a greater practical extent than does the principle of any other government whatever. I see that her subjects may enjoy every advantage of democracy which a Republic offers, while they are saved the natural evils of democracy which are inherent in a Republic. And as the first or one of the first steps to centralize the productive energies of England, I would make the COLONIES INTEGRAL PARTS OF THE EMPIRE. They should have their own government in common with the mother country and with each other. And HUMANITY IN AMERICA, should not only be bound to Great Britain, but to HUMANITY IN GREAT BRITAIN AND WEST BY EVERY WHICH common interest, as well as common glory can create.

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may be noted on; and with profound humility I would add that I am satisfied such action cannot begin too soon.

POSTULATES.

1. It is expedient for a country to manufacture for its own use all kinds of articles, which when manufactured are of primary necessity to its people.
2. It is more expedient for a country to manufacture so much of its own rude productions, as of these, or like productions in a manufactured state, it requires for its own use.
3. It is still more expedient for a country so to manufacture, when supplying such rude productions in abundance, and being able indefinitely to increase them, it also possesses large natural powers and facilities for such manufacture.
4. It is yet still more expedient for such a country so to manufacture, when otherwise it must draw its supplies of such manufactures from, and in exchange send its own rude, bulky, heavy, and perishable productions to a market, or markets, not only distant, but which are for a large portion of the year inaccessible.
5. It is expedient for a country to adopt measures calculated to provide honest employment for such of its people as are not fitted, or not needed for merchandize, and for the few trades which even the rudest agriculture requires to have at hand, and who are also unsuited to agriculture, whether by reason of want of bodily strength, or of adverse habits acquired, or of natural temporary or extraordinary aptitude for occupations of manufacture, it is expedient for a country to promote the establishment of manufactures within its own bounds.
6. It is expedient for a country to promote the establishment of manufactures, because the development of manufactures advances the quality, productiveness, and profits of agriculture, as well by holding out inducements of enhanced gain to such advancement, as by disseminating knowledge whereby such advancement may be assured, expeditious, and extended.
7. It is expedient to promote the establishment of manufactures, because the advancement of agriculture to follow thereon must promote greater developments of manufactures, skill, enterprise, industry, and other capital, and because these will produce reaction beneficial to agriculture.
8. It is expedient for a country to promote the establishment of manufactures as powerful instruments of forwarding and increasing internal communications, and other improvements for the benefit of the public, and especially of the inhabitants of the interior.
9. It is expedient for a country to manufacture for itself, because by agriculture without manufacture the soil is impoverished, and thus a permanent and real capital is sacrificed to a temporary and fallacious interest.
10. It is expedient for Great Britain and Canada to promote the establishment of manufactures in Canada,—for Great Britain, in order to provide a field for the profitable occupation of a portion of her surplus manufacturing population; and for Canada in order that she may import customers to enhance the value of her surplus productions, and not merely competitors to diminish that value; and that, along with customers, she may import a practical knowledge of those useful arts in which she is deficient.
11. It is expedient for Great Britain and Canada to promote the establishment of manufactures in Canada, because without

them Canada cannot be prepared for independence, and because the law of dependence, if Canada be rightly subjected to that law, must drift her to another dependence than that on Great Britain, and one antagonistic to it, and consequently the preparation for independence is a necessary condition of assured conservation.

12. It is the duty of Canada to establish, and of Britain to promote, the establishment of manufactures in Canada, because to neglect doing so would be to disregard the good gifts of Providence—to disobey the divine command to subdue the earth, and to leave unimproved those opportunities of making discoveries useful to man, and honourable to his Maker, for which every land has some, and Canada many, and great special qualifications.

Having thus stated twelve good reasons for the establishment of manufactures in Canada, I must add, that Canada cannot establish manufactures for herself, except by means similar to those by which other countries have established them for themselves, viz.: that it is impossible for Canada to establish manufactures otherwise than by adequately taxing imported manufactures.

1st. Because she has not the requisite amount of skill, and cannot get it otherwise than by encouraging it with a protective tariff.

2d. She has not available capital, and cannot get it otherwise than by encouraging it with a protective tariff.

3d. She has not adequate manufacturing organization, and cannot get it otherwise than by encouraging it with a protective tariff.

These three wants will be surely supplied by adequate protection. With such protection supplies will spring up within the country, and be imported without the country. Partial supplies of skill and capital will not then be, as they now necessarily are, exported or dissipated, in consequence of the want of such protection; nor the partial supplies of organization already in the country kept down, and crushed by the adverse interests of the importing merchants, acting through the monied institutions, which are almost entirely supported and consequently are controlled by the importers.

A COLONIST.

\* How true a picture this of the baneful effects of foreign merchants in England on our politics, although they are as foreign in their interests as the produce in which they deal.—I. B.

REMEDIES NOT IN THE POWER OF THE COLONISTS.

ADDRESS—No. II.

These remedies proposed, which we cannot of ourselves apply, are 1st, Britain's returning to her old protection; 2d, America's granting us free trade with her; 3d, a union with this sister Province; and 4th, Annexation to the United States.

[As the more immediate object of this publication is circulation among the members of Parliament and the press of the United Kingdom, our friend "A Colonist" will readily concur in the propriety of our omitting the details of his second address, the more especially as this is required to prevent the leaving out of the subject admirably corroborated by his view, by his esteemed neighbour Mr Gamble—a gentleman who is a native Canadian, and of the highest standing. It is taken from the Canadian papers.]

• Since we send men to Washington to get reciprocity for Canada, why not do the same for England? Every practical man in the American trade knows that the way to support the Free-trade party in the United States is our taking American products free, every article from the United States, only deferring the cotton duty one-half for three years, and the other half for 6 years.—I. B.

THE QUESTION OF PROTECTION CONCEDED BY "THE ECONOMIST."

CANADIAN DISCONTENT, AND DEPRESSION—ANNEXATION.—Such is the title of two Editorials in the *Economist*, in August. Of this journal, the writer was formerly a great admirer; from its pages he has derived much useful information, at one time regarded it as a sound guide in questions of political economy, and with many others looked upon its commercial articles as almost most oracular; but having learnt to mistrust the dogmas of Adam Smith—having seen the foundation on which (See Cary's "Past, Present, and Future") Ricardo based his celebrated theory of rent, utterly demolished, he has of late found it necessary to bestow closer attention upon the writings, and exercise greater caution before receiving the opinions of the great advocate of laissez-faire.

The article alluded to asserts that farmers and millers in Canada, favourable to annexation, adopt that plan from an opinion of its necessity, and as a countervailing benefit, contingent upon our colonial condition, points to the protection on Canadian timber in the States as a market for that staple, thus rendering valueless the only commercial advantage remaining to us as a colony, and leaving the argument of necessity, as stated by a subordinate minister of the Crown, to exert its full force in favour of annexation.

I hold that, to insure continuous prosperity to Canada, consumer and producer must be brought still nearer—placed side by side, and that the mode to accomplish this, and to aid the farmer in inducing the mechanic to take his place beside him, is a high protective tariff on all those articles for the manufacture of which we possess natural advantages. The editor of the *Economist*, this suburban refuge for the depressed agricultural and milling interests of England, admits, as his deliberate conviction, that the only relief, caused by the "protected corporations of New England," is to be sought and found—where? Why, in the markets of the United States. Here it is.

I repeat, the remedy is to be found in the United States of our natural products, promised us by the *Economist*, by treaty of Reciprocity. "The difference of the free ingress into the United States of our natural products, promised us by the *Economist*, by treaty of Reciprocity." The difference of the free ingress into the United States of our natural products, promised us by the *Economist*, by treaty of Reciprocity. The difference of the free ingress into the United States of our natural products, promised us by the *Economist*, by treaty of Reciprocity.

The *Economist* says, free-trade will soon furnish you with a market of your own, for your agricultural products at home. Leads. No, no, Mr *Economist*, England must consult the interests of her people abroad equally with those at home—they are no longer to be gulled with such words as "British subjects," and "integral parts of the empire." They have the shadow—they want the substance; she must consult their interests, or they will consult them for themselves. ANNEXATION IS FAR PREFERABLE to your "free trade in raw products," unaccompanied by protection to home industry; and I submit whether the question of protection is not virtually conceded by this free-trader?



## REMEDIES WHICH THE COLONISTS CAN APPLY.

ADDRESS—No. III.

I propose now to consider and compare the most prominent of that class of remedies proposed for her alleged evils, which Canada has in her own power to apply.

They are two in number. They are, in nature and tendency, in the extremest opposition to each other. The one rejoices in the *som de guerre* of "Free Trade with all the world." The other proposes to raise up workshops for the cultivation of those useful and necessary arts in which Canada is undoubtedly and greatly deficient, by means of duties, to be imposed on imported manufactures—duties, which it is alleged, will, at the same time, afford the means best calculated for the convenience of the country, of paying its debt and current expenses, and of extending its public improvements. It takes the less liberal name of "Protection to Home Industry." It takes the

The one is a new fashioned importation from Manchester—prelly—but by the shrewdest judges of all countries, save one, pronounced flimsy and rotten. The other is a homelier article, but of world established reputation for tear and wear.

The one has for its authority—that pseudo-national school, of which Mr Cobden is the well paid master, and Sir Robert Peel the most noted disciple. The other, the unanimous concurrence and practical approbation of the Statesmen of all civilized nations in all ages,—fresh raised, or late converted, save those already described, of the present day in England.

The question having arisen, which of these two schemes to prefer, and having to be settled too, either simply, or by annexation, (which would settle it with a vengeance on the free traders)—the lovers of free enquiry in Canada must, in examining their merits, feel thankful for the effulgent light which has lately been shed on the Manchester Emanation, by a politician so free from obsolete prejudices as Mr Boulton, Member for Toronto.

The masterly, practical, and straightforward—the singularly candid exposition, which Mr Boulton has given of the Manchester philosophy, must open the eyes of all those who have profited in their opportunity of reading his explanatory letter, addressed to four of his constituents.

I do not, for I certainly cannot, claim the least merit as due to Mr Boulton, for any display in that exposition of grandeur and originality of genius, but for shrewdness in perceiving the true and practical drift of the Cobden system, and for his happy application of it to the circumstances of Canada, what man of right feeling and the most ordinary judgment can deny him the palm of supremacy.

Then, although so lucid and unmistakable in meaning, there

The advocates for protection against foreign competition hold that by subjecting foreign manufactures to the payment of a high duty on importation, domestic industry is thereby stimulated to produce manufactures at home.

Thereby furnishing mouths to consume upon the ground the productions of the earth, and supplying a home market to the farmer. [—Note by Isaac Buchanan—Had they all remained farmers, as our Free-traders want them to remain, the United States would be no better than Ireland and the countries on the Black Sea which have "cheap" food but no arts or manufactures.]

That a home market so caused, yields higher prices and is subject to little fluctuation, that if the farmer does pay a little more for his clothing, under a protective policy, he and the rest of the community benefit a hundred fold thereby.

By an increased price for their produce.

By an enhanced value for their property.

That the free admission of foreign manufactures in a young and agricultural country, necessary to compel mechanics (consumers) to become farmers (producers), thereby converting valuable consumers to the farmer, in their proper vocation, into his rivals in a market already glutted with surplus production.

That prices are not only low but unsteady, when regulated solely by foreign demand.

That freight and commissions are unnecessary waste, out of the pockets of the producer, to be avoided by consumption on the ground.

Vaughan, Canada West, Oct. 22, 1840.

\* Mr Isaac Buchanan, whose knowledge of commerce in general, and of Canadian affairs in particular, and whose honesty and real ability must command respect wherever he is known, brought the free trade policy to its *cul de sac* and, when he showed the necessity in maintaining it for Great Britain to resolve herself into "a *Nation and Committee for Smuggling*."—A COLONIST.

is not a syllable in it to offend the most fastidiously delicate ear. It is so gracefully and decently worded. From beginning to end "smuggling" never once occurs; and the most accomplished parrot, on hearing it read, could have no idea of its real reach and bearing.

At once, having introduced his borrowed engine, the Member for Toronto lays it bare, and points it straight at the mark. The weak points of the object of attack is exposed—the necessity to which the United States Government is subject, of maintaining its Tariff, is at once pointed out, in order to establish and define a position for Free Trade assant.

Next the palmy days of Prescott, Niagara, and Amherstburg, in July 1831, are sung, and their present shrunken leanness and degeneracy lamented. Their 1834 prosperity is ascribed to the "immense business done with the United States in Broadcloths, and other British Manufactures." Then their downfall is traced to the deplorable facts of, 1st, the improved manufactures of the United States under a protecting Tariff, and 2d, the increase of provincial duties imposed to pay the interest of our debt. And then comes the cool reflection. "Had the low duties (2 per cent.) continued, a large and profitable business would still have been carried on at an immense profit to this country."

The argument in immediate sequence is—"If, then, such a trade flourished in the article of broadcloths almost exclusively, with a duty of 2 per cent., what has since occurred to prevent an immense increase and continuance of such trade, if we can offer them in our towns the productions of the world free of any duties whatever." In such smooth and decent words is the doctrine of smuggling preached.\* Now, reader, bear in mind that this is not Mr Boulton's doctrine, but Mr Cobden's doctrine, and Sir Robert Peel's doctrine—truly and simply developed and illustrated by Mr Boulton. We continue the quotation, which gets clearer and clearer. "Would any Merchant living east or west of Albany, ever think of going to New York or Boston to purchase foreign produce, with from 15 to 40 per cent. duties added, when they could at all our frontier towns, purchase the same articles free of duty." Fancy a cool calculation with a Q. E. D. understood at the end, that there shall be found no honest merchant east or west of Albany! None to save New York and Boston from ruin, by purchasing a single foreign product, at either of these doomed cities? Not one! How thankful Mr Cobden and Sir Robert Peel should be to Mr Boulton for taking this invidious explanation business off their hands!

And who so barefaced as deny Mr Boulton's to be a legitimate and correct explanation of the Manchester theory as applicable to Canada? Mr Boulton riots in it. Tastes are various.

The *Economist* says:—At present Canada has the advantage of importing the manufactured goods and the products of Europe, subject only to the small revenue duty of 7 per cent., upon which, in the United States, high protective duties, varying from 25 to 40 per cent., are levied for the benefit of the Corporations in Now England.

But in the United States, it must be borne in mind, is an immense home market. They have a population of twenty-one millions, a large majority of whom are consumers, and not producers of grain. It therefore frequently happens, that in those parts of the Union the price of grain is regulated exclusively in respect to the home demand, for which it is worth more than for shipment.

There too (in the Union) wheat, except when it is very high in Europe, commands a price from 20 to 25 per cent. more than on the Canadian side of the lakes and rivers.

It is under these circumstances, that wheat frequently is from 15 to 25 per cent. higher on the American side of the St. Lawrence, than on the Canadian.

It is this circumstance which has added so much to the value of property on the south side of the river and lakes, compared with the north bank.

On the other hand, Canada has a population of one and a half millions, nearly all producers of grain.

To find a market for the surplus, after supplying the markets of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, they must resort to Great Britain. Their prices, therefore, are always regulated by those of this country.

Making due allowance for freight and charges.

J. W. GAMBLE.

Mr Boulton reckons the result of such a policy would be "almost beyond calculation," almost! nay—we admit it would be so quite, for who could calculate the result of the whole length of the St. Lawrence being made a smuggling hell—sooting and sootering all within its reach.

But with all his partiality to the Manchester doctrine, he does not overlook objection—only one. What, is that smuggling? Pooh, nonsense. What then? "Aversion to direct taxation." Truly an universal aversion, for, on that account it is the key to the cry for direct tax. Now I because that cry proceeds from the importing merchants upon whom that which is called direct taxation presses less, than that which is called indirect.

Let us examine shortly and succinctly the merits of these two systems of taxation, called direct and indirect, and, 1st, in point of economy, must not that which is called indirect be the cheaper, inasmuch as it is more easy of accomplishment, by reason of its dealing in the gross—and consequently requiring a greatly smaller number of hands than the other, which deals in detail, and more especially in a country of so thin and scattered a population as Canada is? 2d, In point of morality—if fraud be necessarily connected with the levying and paying of taxes—were it not better to have two men, corrupted in one transaction, amounting to £100, than 100 men in 100 transactions, amounting to that sum?—And, 3d, if fraud be not necessarily connected with the gathering and paying of taxes, will it not be easier to find two men proof against it, than to find a 100 such? 3d, In point of social convenience, will it not be more comfortable for the members of society, that there be in each frontier town one tax tavern, than that every private dwelling in the land be made an inn for the tax-gatherer?

Farther on Mr Boulton inform us that "in this colony, were all duties abandoned, our farmers would not only be exempt from taxation, but would enjoy the necessities and luxuries of life cheaper even than the Americans." Luxuries of life, not only plenty as blackberries, but almost as cheap. Cheap, cheap—oh, happy farmers; and no taxes to pay! Paradise regained.

But of one thing Mr Boulton has not informed us;—a thing which Mr Cobden, or Sir Robert Peel really should, either themselves or by deputy, explain to us, ignorant Canadians,—namely, how, when the defeating of the American tariff, which they contemplate, shall have destroyed American manufactures, and when the destruction of American manufactures shall have brought down the price of American farm produce to the level of Canadian, or lower, how, I say, in these contingencies, is Canada to be supplied with the flow of American capital which their exposer, Mr Boulton, has promised us? If the fruit tree be cut down, what more crop can we look for it to grow? And if the rewards of agriculture are to be curtailed by a diminution of price, how is the farmer to be benefited? Does not the farmer mean here simply Canada? And are we not called a purely agricultural country? Lower the price of farm produce, already, according to Mr Cobden's expositor, ruinously low, and "profit this country immensely." Why, Mr Boulton, the whole population would be swallowed up by the floods of bankruptcy, except such as should incontinently run away.

Has not Mr Boulton here entered a prose jockeyed Parnassus nag, to compete for the prize of grotesque absurdity with the exquisite nursery rhyme:—

Three children sliding on the ice upon a summer's day,  
As it fell out they all fell in, the rest they ran away.

Yet this scheme put forward by Mr Boulton is none other than that of Mr Cobden, and Sir Robert Peel, only divested of ambiguity, and exhibited in not quite, but almost naked simplicity.

Mr Boulton is as happy in his calculations as to the overflowing of the Public Exchequer as in those he has made for the benefit of the individual farmer. Wheat being, by his own showing, at present not to be raised without loss, while the United States market is, in consequence of their manufactures, available to Canada. Destroy these manufactures, and that market fails both to the Canadian and United States farmers. Why, then, neither we nor they shall produce at all. Therefore, the canals will be unused, and the Exchequer filled with only "hundreds of thousands" of no dollars, the proceeds of no tolls.

Hitherto this scheme has been examined in an almost exclusively economical point of view; now let us take a peep at its moral aspect. And first, I earnestly observe, that cannot be economical which is immoral, for "honesty is the best policy." Alas, Mr Boulton does not read the true lesson from the contrast he draws between the condition of Prescott, Niagara, and Amherstburgh in 1834, and that of those places in 1840. They are poor now, says he, and were rich in 1834; abandon, then, the present system, he infers, and return to that of 1834. That is Mr Boulton's lesson; but the true one is, Dishonesty leads to bankruptcy.

And if it be true that "evil communications corrupt good manners," and that the poor invite the rich, and especially in their views, what a contamination will *Free Trade with all the world* spread north and south, from the "damnable rich" shores of the St. Lawrence. And if the dens of smuggling be pitiable in 1840, as compared with their condition in 1834, what a smash they will suffer from the new 1834 to the new 1840.

Avarice is ever imprudent with all its produce, but if they had ears to hear, and hearts to understand, would it not be prudent for the economists of the Golden Age, especially those of

them who, like Mr Boulton, maintain an "unwavering attachment" to England, to hearken and to reflect how our neighbours to the south will think, and speak, and act, when the Cobden mine is attempted to be dug into them; when they see a string of respectable, smiling swindlers, established all along their northern frontiers, and hear them preaching universal peace, and universal free trade, after the pattern of the Manchester apostle, while all the time they are casting their nets for relieving the Washington treasury of its haul of imports, and laying their schemes for driving American manufactures out of their own market, and reducing the price of American farm produce to the foreign market standard, and lowering, and lowering that standard to the zero point,—whether would the actions of these cis-atlantic disciples be disapproved, or their sermons approved of the more? Canada surely has annexation in her power,—universal free trade would certainly do the business. It would combine the whole United States in favour of it, and animate that entire confederacy to the fighting point to attain it. And on the north side of the St. Lawrence, what honest man could, or would, stand up for a government whose fundamental policy was that of the swindler,—and what sort of a holdfast for Great Britain would the rogues make? Are they not already against her? and may not English free trade, if long persisted in, turn out to mean the freeing of England from all foreign trade, beginning with united North America.

Now would not plump and plain annexation be better than the universal free trade scheme, if it be only assumed as a mask; and if it be adopted *bona fide*, so to speak, would not only filthy momentary shower both of annexation be better than playing the gin horse, and wallowing round and round, year after year, in the smuggling saiks, till a Canadian Merchant Prince got rich enough to fertilize an onion bed by merely jumping over it.

I think I have sufficiently shown that the Manchester Diana of free trade with all the world, would neither enrich the Canadian farmer nor the public treasury of Canada; and if a gang of smuggling merchants should, by it, rise for a little season of great power, and spread themselves like green bay trees, yet would even their riches speedily pass away, and if sought for, not be found.

Upon the whole, then, I would humbly contend, that it could not lead to the prosperity of Canada, for her to take up, the position of commercial pimp, and common smuggler for all the world.

A COLONIST.

PROTECTION TO NATIVE INDUSTRY.  
ADDRESS—NO. IV.

Let it be admitted, that the departments of industry in a country, and the minor divisions thereof, ought to be directed, established, and maintained, in harmony with the power which should regulate its exchange. It follows that if that power does not regulate it equitably and judiciously—if that power be hostile, ignorant, or otherwise disqualified—it should be reformed, so as to discharge its functions in conformity with equity and judgment. If such reformation cannot be effected otherwise, it is the duty of legislation to effect it. If it be urged that Canadian legislation cannot effect such reform, the answer is, that it has never been tried. Such being the state of the case, is it a wonder that lawyers, traders, tavern-keepers, and all the tribes of the horse leech generation swarm as they do. Until such reform be fairly tried, and the trial fail, how can it be maintained that Canadian legislation is not able to effect such reform? Shall we conclude, without the proof of trial, that truth in any case shall fail of being established?

The first argument that I shall urge in favour of Canada giving legislative protection to her home industry is, that by doing so, she will clear a field for the occupation of the various talents from useful and innocent occupations, congenial to its various phases in various individuals, forthwith it slides—at first imperceptibly, then plunges impetuously into various courses of ruin and vice—or at best whiles its time away alternately in palated indolence and feverish over-exertion. The most urgent work is done as bees, and not done well. The less urgent is left undone.

Farming is an occupation, less, it may be, congenial to man than soldiering, and yet volunteer Dugald Stewart's drill sergeant declared that he would rather inculcate the noble science of self-defence, by gun and bayonet, upon ten blockheads than upon one philosopher. A similar superior docility might be found in ten Canadian farmers.

The poor Justices of the Peace in Canada are blamed for the vexatious multiplication of taverns. As the tavern-keepers, however, are only the executioners, so the magistrates are only the administrators of the capital penal law to the moral man. The impetuous law itself will be found in the ignorant omission of wise industrial legislation on the part of our lower legislators, or in the wilful commission of unwise restraint on the part of our higher.

My second argument is, that protection to home industry will encourage an orderly, a great, and an increasing immigration, to the mutual benefit of the people of Canada, of the immigrants, and of the industrious workmen left in the country or countries of emigration.

Of immigrants the great bulk must be poor. Poverty is the great mother of emigration. The skill of the immigrant is all

his acquired wealth—skill in manufactures and skill in agriculture—these are the two staples of immigration capital.

In many articles of wood, some of iron, and all or nearly all, of *broom corn*, Canadian farmers enjoy a natural protection. The manufacturers of these flourish, and inasmuch as they flourish, they benefit the farmer, as a drop of water refreshes the parched tongue. They are at most thimbleful. But in a country where, with an axe and spade, a man may put up a lodging in two or three days, he may, after providing himself in board, have no indispensable demand to be supplied, but that of clothing.

Skill then in the manufacture of clothing, and in the cultivation of food, being the main supplies brought by immigration, it follows that we must regulate our supplies to meet the demands which these induce—and if they cannot be met otherwise, they must be met by appropriate legislation.

Agricultural skill is not in demand, because it is not remunerated for want of a fair exchange of manufactures. Now can it, when most of its surplus, rude, heavy, bulky and perishable productions, have to be carried 4000 miles, and the remainder 400 miles away, and the return of exchange carried the same distances—all at the expense of the Canadian farmer?

And when the tendency of Britain's policy is to make wheat—now, alas! almost our sole surplus product—cheaper and cheaper, must not the exchange be getting worse and worse for Canada? Consequently agricultural skill cannot be in proper demand, and will not, until we have an internal exchange and the regulation of it.

The skill of the manufacturing immigrant is still less in demand. Some coarser articles of wool, by extraordinary frugality, and that economy which the strictest and most thoroughly interested superintendence provides, may be manufactured with a small show of profit on a year's balance sheet. But is it not known that the manufactures of clothing here do not thrive? Do not the importers trap them, both by their importations and at the banks? Nay, are not the importers compelled to do so?

But some person says—"Mr so and so, the woollen manufacturer, tells me he can make such and such coarse sheep-like fabrics, in defiance of foreign competition." Of course he is tempted to do so—he has a bank account.

The West Indian interests brought petitions against Emancipation from "the negroes themselves." The manufacturers may be disinclined to best of their mental affinity, to the swan-like deliverers of the Roman empire, and their confessions of success may be interpreted as modest disclamations of such affinity.

In order to the establishment of manufactures, there is required Legislative protection, and that obtained, manufactures will be established—manufacturers will migrate hither. They will flourish, and will supply the demands, and demand the supplies of farmers. Both then will thrive. Labourers in numbers undefinable, agricultural and manufacturing, will be required to subdue the vast inanimate powers of nature—the earth of Canada, now waiting for and inviting subjugation. Residents and Immigrants will rejoice, like armus meeting to fight a common enemy—and a miserable competition over competition in the countries of emigration will be relieved. A great step will be gained both here and there towards the disenfranchising of the minds of one class of men, and the bodies of another class, from the respective bondages of avarice and penury.

Thirdly, Protection to home industry will operate not only to the increased, but also to the improved production of agriculture. Wheat being now the only grain that can be cultivated to the smallest profit in order to exportation, and our present mode of exchange requiring an enormous amount of exportation, it follows that wheat is cultivated in conditions of soil which render it unsuitable—in conditions which, with a judicious system of exchange, would compel other cultivation, and such as would conduce to preserve and improve the fertility of the soil.

Again, wheat being the only agricultural production cultivated for export, and the only one cultivated in excess of the wants of the country, when it fails, whether by frost in winter, or mildew in summer, the farmer's loss is much greater than it would be if he raised a variety of productions for exchange, and such variety would be much more profitable to the producer, but for the expense of transportation.

The United States protecting both their agriculture and their manufactures, their farmers produce pork cheaper than Canadian farmers do; and to foster a ruinous and degraded lumber trade, United States pork is admitted at a rate of duty so low as to plunder the Canadian farmer of his own market, bad as it is—a duty which has been imposed at so low a rate, on the ridiculous pretext that Canadian farmers cannot feed pork fat enough for lumbermen.

Has not Canada a natural monopoly in supplying the United States with lumber? If so, would it not be advisable for her to take duty on the north side of the St Lawrence, instead of paying duty on the south? Canada's lumber goes to the States, leaving little or nothing in Canada, but the refuse of the wages of a corrupted labour, paid in American pork and American whiskey, and the commission of a bungled down factorage. Impose protective duties, and alter manufactures are established.

\* Certainly "Order is Heaven's first law." An orderly emigration! This were the great-at heaven the British workers can enjoy on earth; and, if manufacturing colonies were first attended to, a population to grow their food in Canada would soon follow. Canada's name, I have long ago said, should be Britain in America, and with "steam for the million across the Atlantic," the above would be no more than sending people from one country of Great Britain, where they cannot live, to another where they would enjoy entire independence, besides being a blessing to their neighbours abroad and their friends at home.—BRAE BUCHANAN.

lished, there will follow a variety of farm productions adapted to home exchange, improving both the cultivation and the fertility of the land.

Fourthly, Protection to home industry, by encouraging immigration, will facilitate the exportation of our surplus agricultural productions, and thereby both cheapen to the farmer the cost of such exportation, and render it more profitable to shipping. The reason of the present heavy cost of freights of export is to be found either in the want of freights of import, or in their unprofitableness. Encourage immigration, and there will be abundance of profitable freights of import.

Again—paradoxical as it may seem—such protection will lower freights in favour of the Canadian farmer, by actually increasing the importation of British manufactures. If Canada be benefited, as she must be, and as the United States have been, by the establishment of home manufactures, her surplus agricultural productions, while they decrease in comparison with those of her productions required for home consumption, will with her advancing prosperity, positively increase. The articles of import, under protection to home industry, will be different from those imported now, in their assortments, but both in value and in bulk they may be expected to increase.

Increased importation of commodities, as well as of immigrants, must therefore follow protection to home industry, and must necessarily decrease the enormous cost of freights of export, under the burden of which Canada now labours. Free navigation is a specious but not the real remedy for lightening that burden. Profit is a better bait than freedom for catching mariners.

Fifthly, Protection to home industry will tend to promote education, industrial, mental, and moral. 1st. Industry undoubtedly is, in a great measure, regulated by the prospect of reward. The best way of insuring profitable industry is to insure it a fair and profitable remuneration. But without employment industry and reward both fail. The present want of employment in Canada, we have already shown. We have shown its cause, and we raise wheat, wheat, wheat, at 3s a bushel—paying labourers from 8 to £12 per month—or of toiling and trudging with saws and planes—or of a blacksmith's shop, with a tavern at hand to drive dull care away, are the sole prospects of the bulk of Canada's youth, under the present policy. Do these prospects afford sufficient encouragement to mental exertion? If nothing beyond these prospects is to be realized, is it not to be feared, that with other than a blessing? The progress of education in the common schools of Canada is truly surprising; but if a variety of definite and desirable marks were presented, how much these would tend to the attainment of desirable ends, and how much they would direct the aims and stimulate the exertions of the youthful mind! With protection to home industry, the general prosperity of the country might be expected to be such that education would occupy the greater portion of the time of boyhood; and sheer poverty in parents would not here be apt—as has, alas! how often been the case in other lands—to prevent the developments of genius. Here let us hope it could not then be said or sung—

'Till honny repressed their noble rage,  
And froze the genial current of the soul.

3d. Morally—The law of human improvement provides that one attainment necessitates efforts to further attainment—one step towards the mark for the prize of our high calling, forbids looking behind, and demands further advance. Let men avoid disobeying that law, as they fear to become castaways.

The admirable system of general education, now working in Canada, will lead to the depravity of the youth of the country, unless occupations are provided to suit their elevated aspirations.

These suggestions I put forth, with a hope of their being found sufficient to induce inquiry and reflection, and to animate unprejudiced minds to favour and adopt the policy of protection to home industry.

The number of arguments, and of good arguments too, in favour of that policy, might be increased, and illustrations and demonstrations amplified indefinitely. The arguments already stated, however, with such others, not here included, as are suggested in the "Postulates" contained in my letter, inserted in the *British Colonist* of November the 2d, I consider more than sufficient to lead to the conclusions indicated.

But if any over-advventurous Canadian manufacturing might propose as a task for himself—to compete with the over-grown factory lords of England—let him first ponder well, in his own mind, whether, if it should seem to him desirable, he can starve by deputy, as these factory lords both can and do. If he cannot manage that, let him cease from the competition as vain and self-starving, as indeed the straight road to ruin; and let him admit that Canada either cannot manufacture, or if she must try, and *must* is the word—that she has no other alternative, but either to impose a protective tariff, or to have an extensive one imposed on her.

A COLONIST.

DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATION THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE LEFT US BY PEEL—TO SAVE THE EMPIRE.\*

DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATION THE ONLY MEANS OF OBTAINING OUR NAVAL SUPREMACY, OF PRESERVING OUR COLONIES, AND OF SAVING OUR NATIVE INDUSTRY FROM THE IRON GRIP OF THE POLITICAL ECONOMISTS OF MONEY-POWER. POLITICAL ECONOMY HAS ALWAYS DEFEATED UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

"If the unhappy prejudices that now exist on this subject should continue, and if the extension of representative government should increase the power of public opinion over the policy of nations, I fear that commerce may not long be enabled to retain even that degree of freedom that she now enjoys."—"I have perfect reliance on the knowledge and good intentions of our present Ministers—but very little on the knowledge possessed by the country at large. And if Ministers are unsupported by the country at large—if each class, in turn, is to be permitted a complete or a partial monopoly, and bribed by this sacrifice of the general and permanent interest [Query]—the interest of the agriculturists and tax-payers, whom Sir James Graham calls "the drones of the hive," I. B.] of the public to a town partial and immediate advantage, to allow others to clamour for the power to exercise a similar oppression—if Ministers are not aided by the public voice in their struggles against individual rapacity—we shall tread backwards with greater rapidity, the few steps which we have so laboriously gained. In a representative government, where each individual may prohibit, in their utmost exaggeration, his sufferings and his fears, where the power arbitrarily to do good is obtained by the same factors which restrain the power arbitrarily to do evil—where, in short, public opinion is omnipotent, and is, on these subjects, so ill-informed, and therefore so easily misunderstood, there appears at first sight, no limit to the extent to which individual interest, popular prejudice, and national jealousy, might next carry the system of exclusion."

From the *Mercantile Theory of Wealth*, by Mr Senior, an old and distinguished authority of the Political Economists.

"A man born unto a world already possessed, if he cannot get subsistence from his parents, and if society does not want his labour, has no claim of right to the smallest portion of food, and in fact, has no business to be where he is."—*Mithras*.

"The science of money, and the science of employing the working classes, is one and the same science, the security of the labour power against the money power, forming the great and only vital constitutional question in all countries, but more especially in Great Britain, whose population is in more artificial circumstances than any other people; and when a sufficient number of honest and independent-minded men come to see this, a great popular party will be formed, which will upset the machinations of the fixed standard bullionists, and thus save the country a revolution."

My communication to *Glasgow Examiner*, of 21st Oct., 1843.

To the Editor of the *Greenock Advertiser*—20th August, 1840.

Sir,—The prejudice against universal suffrage is fast falling away, and many like myself believe it would, in our circumstances, be a highly conservative measure as enfranchising the agricultural labourers to a greater extent than any other class, besides securing a due representation for the sea-faring interest.

The happy result of the experiment in France may have contributed to this; but the main cause of it is, that without an extension of the suffrage we see no means of the nation *throwing off* the incubus of political economy, or irreciprocal Free Trade, which at best can only be viewed by our native industry as a slow death, while it at once loses the colonies to the empire. It is quite clear that the political economists have always dreaded the true expression of the public opinion by an extended franchise, having no confidence in the working masses, (or rather, perhaps, having no confidence that their theoretical absurdities could ever be introduced otherwise than arbitrarily into any country); and the working classes having had confidence in them.

\* It is not generally known that Earl Stanhope proposed, many years ago, a scheme of Universal Suffrage. This I of course would object to as perpetuating class legislation; but I think it well to give it here. The following are the resolutions submitted to Earl Grey's Government in the year 1830. In Lord Stanhope's opinion the House of Commons ought not to contain more than 500 members; and to each of the classes below he would give the election of one hundred representatives. (Just as we were going to press we learn that the resolutions intended to be given here are to be published in London, with suitable explanations, and we therefore omit them.)

† Though united against British industry, it will be seen, from the following, that these Free Trade newspapers are not united among themselves. They are, in fact, in the same position as our political characters in Parliament, not united by any common principle, if not from a common want of principle:—"The Nicaragua Dispute."—As the misunderstanding which is alleged to have sprung up between the English and American Governments, in reference to the claim of sovereignty set up by the state of Nicaragua to the Mosquito territory, may lead to some serious diplomatic difficulties hereafter, it is very desirable that Englishmen should have a correct notion of the facts involved in the dispute. We have, therefore, copied from the *Globe* of Thursday last a very able article in reply to one which appeared in the *Times* of the preceding day, and in which the facts were very much distorted, with the view of so far warped by a bitter personal animosity, as to disregard not only justice and fairness towards the individual, but even the honour and welfare of the country.—The *Manchester Guardian* of Saturday, 24th Nov., 1840. This character of the *Times* is no other purpose than to render it possible to have our political parties placed beyond the control of the London Money Market and its organ the *Times*:—"To say nothing of the more notoriously immoral portion of our press, such journals as the *Times* are a standing reproach to the country, and could not maintain their position for a week, if the state of our public mind were sound and healthy. Able, but unprincipled; with vast resources, but destitute of conscience; at one moment suppressing truth, and at another unblushingly giving utterance to lies; pandering to the tyrant of the day, whenever that tyrant may be; opposing every generous and philanthropic scheme with violence so long as there is a hope of crushing it, and then contemptuously joining its ranks, and claiming to share its triumphs; adopting the patriotism only to serve the purposes of power; the seeming friend, but the bitter enemy of the just; the *Times* is emphatically the curse and the reproach of our land."

has arisen simply from utter ignorance of what was meant by the much vaunted word "cheapness." How could the political economists forget that the navigation law was the work of Oliver Cromwell and the Long Parliament, and that, though our colonial system may date its nominal origin from Queen Elizabeth, it owed all its vitality and development to the extreme democracy of the great rebellion? They had proof, too, that the protection of native industry and a pure democracy are almost synonymous terms, in the puritans, whom persecution drove away to another land, transmitting this old British principle unimpaired to their posterity. THE BATTLE, HOWEVER, OF NATIVE INDUSTRY AGAINST THE POLITICAL ECONOMISTS MAY NOW BE SAID TO BE GAINED, FOR THE WORKING CLASSES WILL NO LONGER BE HUMBUGGED; THEY WILL TRUST NO MAN WHO IS NOT THEIR FRIEND POLITICALLY, I. E., WHO WILL NOT VOTE FOR UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE BY THE BALLOT. Universal suffrage would make short work with theories of all sorts; and, at all events, few or no men would be returned to Parliament who believe, like the bulk of our present annuitant legislators that a system which produces more employment, and consequently better wages, should be condemned as restrictive of trade, because it practically reduces the exchangeable value of money!

In fact, I consider that the metropolitan and Manchester press may be viewed as chiefly that which the political economists now rely on.† Through this great mental machinery (for the stiffest, as it unfortunately is now, of public opinion instead of its honest expression), the money power of this country affects, for instance, to sneer at the social condition and prospects of France, as if these were not now infinitely better than they ever were before! I believe that if the French would only secure a strong permanent Executive, fixing on Louis Napoleon or any other man, as Emperor, they have the most workable Legislature of the present day, and one to which, for the security of the throne, every loyal British subject will soon desire to see ours approximating, in moral weight, and so far as to have both houses elected by universal suffrage, the nobility, with perhaps the baronetcy, however, only being eligible for the Upper House as members. Such being the state of things, I have deemed it useful to bring forward, as I now do, the views of General Lafayette in 1830, of "a monarchy for France, surrounded by Republican Institutions," believing that on the adoption, soon enough, by us of these views, somewhat modified, depends the continued supremacy of this great empire. I desire, however, to repeat that, looked at as it is with the political economists, or money power, the press is nearly as great an evil commercially, as in other things it is a benefit to this country. Indeed, Mr Alison, in his work on population, states a view of what the possible effects of the press might be in smothering freedom, not much darker than our present experience of it in this country, while in some of the Colonies there is a section of the press even more degraded from its more immediate contact with the Colonial Office, or its representatives:—"It may be relied on, that if the bulk of the people become corrupted, either from the selfishness of repose, the enjoyments of pleasure, the passions of power, or the luxuries of opulence, the press will become the most fatal instrument that ever was devised for destroying the liberties of mankind; for it will throw its enervating spell over their minds, and deprive them even of the will to regain their freedom."

But some of these men of the cosmopolitan press, and others who do not understand our subject from actual experience but from books, their minds being at best a mere granary of other men's thoughts, have often asked me to explain this. How, say they, do you reconcile your assertion that low prices of commodities are a mere consequence of low wages with your assertion that high wages will benefit the working man? If he has to pay proportionately high for his commodities, where is his gain from higher wages? Such in fact is the miserable devil, if it is not the deep and intended deception, of the science of political economy so called. They try to make the effort of the advocates of native industry appear to be to affect comparative prices by legis-

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lation. They either do not know, or conceal that they know, of a state of high wages under one system, or condition of trade, compared with what under another law would be the wages (measured by the quantity of commodities they will procure). The reference to "higher wages contrasted with the price of commodities at the time." The soul of honour, he would not have given a deceptive look to win the cause nearest his heart (and that was the well-being of our working classes), far from being guilty of a humbug or "dodge" in actual terms, like the political economists, as to prices. Lord George Bentinck meant the straightforward proposition that his system would give the poor man a balance in his pocket after procuring the same quantity of food and clothing. His grasp of mind enabled him to dissect the dress from the one of any argument; and he saw that the only way actually to raise wages was to increase the number of the bidders for the labour of our mechanics and manufacturing population. More employment, in fact, is the mother of more wages; and the great vital question (and which legislation really can affect) is "EMPLOYMENT"—not price. This increased employment, we believe, can only arise from benefitting the employers of labour (as opposed to the mere employer of money), or, in other words, increasing their ability to employ British labour; and this we can only do by doing away the blighting influence of the foreign trade on our internal paper circulation. THIS IS PRACTICALLY TO REPUDIATE POLITICAL ECONOMY. We have no wish to restrict the import of foreign goods, except when its introduction manifestly tends to upset our banking system, and thus, by doing away with our national employment, be the instrument of discontent among our industrious masses and eventually of revolution.

Even if he did a fortunate thing, this can never excuse Sir R. Peel for setting the example of a disregard of the constitutions, which, if followed, might lose this country its best secured and most valued institutions, and even the crown itself, although no voice may have been lifted against these at the hustings! Nor could the after assent of the constitutions (which showed that their independence was gone, and that the country could have nothing worse in the shape of electors) save Sir Robert's guilt; it could only save him, as a thief is saved from punishment. But the more important question with me has always been: is the national employment to be reduced or not, by this new, or irreciprocal Free Trade, system? And so decidedly did I at once, from my experience of business, answer this in the affirmative, that the only consolation I had was one which originated in favour of a measure which I saw must inevitably work its own overthrow (or rather exposure, for, an atheism, and not a principle speaking be overthrown), I could not avoid feeling more strongly than I ever could otherwise have done, that there is a principle in the government of this world above the influence of human legislation, which statesmen can only temporarily defy, but cannot destroy. Indeed, I well remember saying to Lord George Bentinck, that if he and Mr D'Israeli, and all the members of both Houses of Parliament, with all the constituencies at their back, were to league together to carry out the irreciprocal Free Trade of Sir R. Peel, all would not do; and if in these letters to the *Advertiser*, which I am now concluding, I have appeared to use language too vehement for the occasion, I feel sure this will not be the general opinion two years hence.

I can not be supposed to mean that no honest or good man could be led away by the fallacies of political economy, for this was the case of the most eminent man of the church to which I have the honour to belong, who was also, perhaps, the finest mind of modern times. None of the conspirators of the money market, who hold their unholy orgies over that grossness of all the acts of the political economists—Sir R. Peel's mind, which Dr Chalmers did on the subject of political economy; and, strange to say, by it was this great man's mind perverted into a distrust of the working classes for whom it may be said that he had lived; for in his political economy, in connection with the moral state and moral prospects of society, we find the following:—  
"A liberal politics forms no guarantee, but, we doubt, the opposite, for a liberal political economy. This is a SUBJECT ON WHICH THE POPULAR AND PHILOSOPHIC MIND ARE NOT AT ALL IN HARMONY; and the very admission into Parliament of so large an influence from the will of the humbler classes may, with all danger the cause of sound legislation, on every topic where the seeming and the substantial interests of the country are at variance."—Your obedient humble servant, ISAAC BUCHANAN.

WHEN ARE CORN DUTIES PAID BY THE FOREIGNER?  
To the Editor of the North British Daily Mail.  
Sir,—Perhaps, as only desiring the development of the truth, you will allow me to make a few remarks on the subject of the

second leading article in your number of to-day. I, of course, am—as I have always been, and, I believe, will always be—an ardent advocate for the protection of "Native Industry," but this, I feel, is not incompatible with desiring to see the greatest amount of "free imports," or "cheapness," which is not productive of "lessened employment." And, though firm in my belief that the cause of true protection is the cause of philanthropy, &c. &c.

But, even supposing that human nature were different from what it is, and that our politicians of both sides were undoubtedly philanthropists, and could afford to have no other object in view than the elevation of the working-classes, there would still remain the question of the best means of attaining their patriotic purpose; and it is only on this high ground, and not with the least view to party purposes, that I have, since 1846, persisted in stating the following case, in opposition to your view, that the consumer, in this country, would always pay the import duty on foreign food, were such imposed.

I admit that when there is a deficiency of wheat in this country the consumer would pay a rise in price equivalent to the duty on the foreign wheat which we import. I admit this for argument's sake, and as being quite willing to concur in having free imports when the price of wheat rises above the price of a full market; but, at such a time, I deny that it is the duty itself, which directly increases the price, or that, in a time of scarcity, wheat which had paid no import duty would sell for less than "wheat which had paid 8s per quarter to the Revenue," it being the law of supply and demand\* that entirely regulates the price of articles, the stock of which we chiefly grow ourselves, the same quantity of wheat, whatever it cost the holder, will have the same effect in reducing the price; and the admission I make above, amounts only to an acknowledgment that the consumer in this country would have to pay a higher price from the import duty did it prevent the stock being increased to a full supply.

My argument, therefore, against free imports being for the advantage of the labouring classes, comes only into play when we have a well supplied market; (independently of supplies of wheat for which we shall have to pay *any* gold, thus extirpating the Bank facilities of this country); and if our home-growth of wheat, aided by supplies from the colonies and other reciprocating countries, does not keep down the price of wheat to that of a fully supplied market—say 45s per quarter—I have no objections to receiving foreign wheat, duty free, till the price is again brought down to that of a full market; as it appears to me monstrous to suppose that the farmer should be allowed to benefit by food being scarce.—But I argue that the price of wheat in a fully supplied market—say 45s—indicates the lowest price at which it can be sold to cover the direct and indirect taxation, local as well as general, of this country, and that a fall in price below this is an evil to all classes, as ruining the agricultural customers of our manufacturing and mechanical population.\* My principles would not lead me to refuse to take wheat from foreigners that take payment in British goods, even when the price is under 45s; but for us to pay gold for wheat, in such case, appears to me ONLY TO RUIN THE FARMER, AND, THROUGH HIM, ALL OTHER CLASSES OF THE COMMUNITY, BUT DIRECTLY TO RUIN ALL CLASSES, BY DEPRIVING THE COUNTRY, AS IN 1847, OF ITS BANK FACILITIES.

But to add to the calamity of driving the agriculturists to pay their taxation, local and general, as well as their rents less or more, out of their capital, and by thus extirpating profit to deprive the classes requiring employment of the co-operation of capital, it appears to me that when the price is under that of a FULL MARKET, WE MAKE A PRESENT OF THE DUTY TO THE FOREIGN PRODUCER. I think that he will save the 8s which should go to the revenue; the additional fall in price his wheat causes is an apparent saving to the consumer, to stand against his reduced employment, and for which it is but an insignificant set off, for, as the Irishman who came to Liverpool said, "He could get anything in Ireland for sixpence, but the only question was, how to get the sixpence?" You must pardon me if I continue to hold these views as long as I continue to hold that the only regulator of the price of bread-stuffs is the law of supply and demand. Indeed, I am persuaded that all will yet come to see that, when our provision markets are so full as that wheat has fallen 5s per quarter below that which a full supply would indicate—say to 40s—the foreigner importing wheat, instead of getting 48s, to cover his 8s import duty, would actually get less than 40s by the amount of the fall in price which his additional quantity of wheat brings about in the British markets. I feel confident that, in the case I allude to—which is now about becoming the experience of this country—the foreigner would, out of his own pocket, pay the 8s duty, were such imposed, and have it in his power only to take away gold to the extent of 32s (instead of 40s with free imports).—Yours faithfully, ISAAC BUCHANAN.  
Glasgow, Jan. 14, 1850.

\* We could safely free trade with nations that take payment in British goods, were our money law so altered as to enable our taxation to be included in "price," as then we would be recovering from the foreigner a portion of our taxation; and by buying 15 per cent. on the produce and manufactures of countries that refuse our very liberal terms of Reciprocity, (we would take quite free the produce of every country that does not charge us more than 15 per cent. on any article of British manufacture—see page 6.) we would always be saved taxation to the amount the British treasury is replenished, while the foreign importer would not be able to recover the duty in "price" except when the market is not fully supplied, at which time we should levy no duty.  
† The first loss comes out of the Tenant's Capital, but ultimately our heavy British taxation (if it is not got back in "price") has no alternative but to become a deduction from wages, manufacturers and landlords being equally victims of the money-lord.



r. I, of course, am always been an ar- industry," but this, the greatest amount not productive of my belief that the navy, &c., &c. are different from what were undoubtedly no other object in there would still ing their patriotic and not with the 1840, persisted in our view, that the import duty or

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able our taxa- levying 15 per take quite free (see page 6.) did not be able tek in "price") money-lord.

## THE CRISIS OF SIR ROBERT PEEL'S MISSION;

HIS ASSERTION OF THE OMNIPOTENCE OF PARLIAMENT, IN THE ROOM OF THE OMNIPOTENCE OF PRINCIPLE, MORAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL, MUST—if we would prevent unfortunate Legislation becoming a cause of Revolution, after losing the Colonies and our supremacy on the sea—PRECIPITATE

### UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATION, HOWEVER, AS BEING SYNONYMOUS WITH SHIELDING THE LABOUR AND FIXED PROPERTY OF THE COUNTRY FROM THE ALBION MONEY-POWER, IS THE BEST OR ONLY PERMANENT SECURITY FOR MONARCHY IN THE EXECUTIVE, IN THESE DAYS OF 'REVOLUTION'; THING, OR LIKE WILLIAM PITT, AT THE HELM—FROM THE FACTS THAT THE CONSTITUTION HAS INVARIABLY GREN STRENGTHENED BY THE WIDENING OF THE FRANCHISE, WHETHER IN THE TIME OF KING JOHN, CHARLES I., OR THE MORE RECENT REFORM BILL, AND THAT THE NAVIGATION LAW WAS THE WORK OF OLIVELIZABETH, OWED ALL ITS VITALITY AND DEVELOPMENT TO THE EXTREME DEMOCRACY OF THE GREAT REBELLION.—OUR UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE SHOULD ALSO BE USED TO ELBOW THE UPPER HOUSE, WHICH IS AT PRESENT WITHOUT MORAL BRIGHT IN THE COUNTRY, PEERS AND BARONETS, WITH THEIR SONS, BEING ELIGIBLE AS MEMBERS OF IT HEREAFTER.—

FROM THE NEWSPAPER WRITINGS OF

### ISAAC BUCHANAN,

FORMERLY PRESIDENT OF THE BOARDS OF TRADE OF TORONTO AND HAMILTON, C. W., AND MEMBER FOR TORONTO, THE THEN METROPOLIS, IN THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF UNITED CANADA.

"The protective system is purely democratic in its tendency. It fosters industry, and enables the poor man, who has no capital, but his own labour, no surplus but what is found in his own sinews, to acquire a competency to support and educate his family. It is designed not for the few, but for the many; and though it will be productive of the common good, its peculiar blessings will fall upon the labouring classes. But there is a sort of looseness in the phrase 'Free Trade,' which renders this discussion embarrassing. The advocates of this doctrine do not tell us with sufficient precision what they mean by the phrase. If they mean that we should take off all restrictions from commerce, whether other nations do or not, it is one thing; but if they mean that we should do it towards those nations which will reciprocate the favour, it is quite another thing. But the phrase itself imply a trade which is mutually beneficial, or it must not. If it does not imply a trade that is mutually unrestricted and mutually beneficial, that is a good reason for rejecting it. I have not made sufficient proficiency in the science of political non-resistance to advocate a system of trade which enriches other nations by impoverishing us. I cannot consent to open our ports, duty free, to those nations which throw every embarrassment in the way of our commerce. My political creed does not require me to love other nations better than my own. But if Free Trade implies a trade mutually advantageous, I am willing to adopt it; but this can never be done by taking off all commercial restrictions. If the trade is to be mutually beneficial, it must not only imply a reciprocity in commercial regulations, but a similarity in conditions. We, as a nation, are peculiarly situated. We are separated from the Old World by distance, and by the nature of our institutions. Our leading characteristic is, that our citizens are freemen, and are labourers. THE NATURE OF OUR INSTITUTIONS TENDS TO ELEVATE THE WORKING CLASSES, AND TO SECURE TO THE LABOURER A MAN. So long as we retain this our national characteristic, by protecting our own industry, our country will be prosperous. But let the pleasing but delusive doctrines of Free Trade obtain in our land—that policy under which we have grown up and prospered be abandoned, and let us open our ports to the fabrics of those nations whose hardy labourers can obtain but a shilling a day, and board themselves, and it requires no spirit of prophecy to predict the embarrassment and distress which would ensue. When our navigators are driven from the ocean, and our manufacturers and mechanics from their mills and their workshops, and all are compelled to cultivate the soil, the benefits of Free Trade would be realized. We might have agricultural products, but we should have no market. BEING DEPENDENT UPON OTHER NATIONS FOR MANY OF THE COMFORTS OF LIFE, AND AT THE SAME TIME DEPRIVED OF A MARKET FOR OUR PRODUCE, WE SHOULD BE COMPELLED TO TOIL FOR A MEER PITTANCE, AND SHOULD, LIKE TANTALUS IN THE FABLE, PERISH IN THE MIDST OF AGRICULTURAL PLENTY."—From Hunt's *New York Merchants Magazine*.

"In democracies, where the right of making Laws resides in the people at large, public virtue and goodness of intention is more likely to be found than in either of the other qualities of Government. Popular assemblies are frequently foolish in their contrivance, and weak in their execution; but generally mean to do the thing that is right and just, and have always a degree of patriotism or public spirit."—Blackstone.

From the published conversation of a French gentleman, (at Claremont, in November 1848), with Louis Philippe, late King of the French:—"Gentleman.—But the expression of Lafayette, 'Sire, you will be the best of Republics!' King.—This was not said at the Hotel de Ville; but a week previously at the Palais Royal, and far from leaving it without reply, I immediately added: 'Not the best of Republics, for the very best is good for nothing. 'Well, then,' added General Lafayette, 'a Monarchy surrounded by Republican institutions?' Ah! 'Yes,' said I, 'a Monarchy surrounded by Republican institutions, I approve of—a Republic, No!'"

From Cooper's Residence in France, in 1832—"Lafayette frankly admitted, what all now seem disposed to admit, that it was a fault not to have made sure of the institutions before the King was put upon the throne. He affirmed, however, that it was much easier to assert the wisdom of taking this precaution, than to have adopted it in fact."

This and the above quotations go to show that had the legislation been Republican, Louis Philippe could not have lost France its monarchy; while from the following, (the best-informed view of the present state of France that has been published,) it seems probable we may soon have an example there of the state of things, which Peel's unprincipled course must inflict on England, *notens volens*.

"At present, indeed, such is the state of France, that the exercise of the supreme power repels more than it attracts, and the leading statesmen of the nation have shown more anxiety to escape from the responsibility of so arduous a position than to rescue their country from insurmountable dangers at the cost of their own reputations. It is characteristic of the confusion still prevailing in France, that the most opposite and inconsistent political doctrines are expressed with equal openness; and the nation is less adverse to the regret publicly displayed by the partisans of the late dynasty, or to the claims of a still more formidable Pretender, than it is to the extreme theories of the democratic Republic.

In most of the departments an impression prevailed favourable to the revision of the Constitution, but none undertook to affirm to what extent the requisite changes ought to be carried, or what result they should produce. Some few of the central districts openly professed the doctrines of the Red faction. In none was there any striking or decided manifestation of Bonapartist opinions, or any personal homage to the imperial pretensions of the President. Nevertheless, it is still the opinion of many of the most profound and experienced observers of the French nation, that with the assistance of opportunity and of fortune, an imitation of the Empire is the next transformation we are destined to witness. The urgent want of money for the support of this quasi-royalty—the claims of a needy and ambitious family—and perhaps eventually the attitude of a powerful Opposition in the Assembly, will precipitate the crisis; and as Louis Napoleon has fully succeeded in maintaining his popularity with the army, it is possible that in the hour of action that powerful instrument may again decide for a time in favour of an Imperial dynasty.—*Times*.

## CONTENTS.

[I do not place here the headings of the particular articles, but a list of the important points which I have laboured in these and all my other writings, to get the public to consider before, like the French, we require to say, "it is now too late."]

- I. The principles of the *Political Economists*, into whose hands Sir Robert Peel has betrayed the interests of British labour, must soon lead to the starvation not only of our working men, but of all our industrious classes, and of men with fixed property which is encumbered with debt.
- II. No opposing or *native industry* party can be formed, as things now stand, because the *friends of the working classes* are divided by the Church Question, and dare not trust each other with power; and that the removal out of the way of church establishments is made imperative by Sir R. Peel's treason to native industry.
- III. Therefore—the immediate adoption of Democratic Legislation or the responsibility of our Legislative Acts being transferred to the entire people, (as the only possible means of doing away the obstacles to the union of the labour, as opposed to the money-power) is synonymous with preserving the Crown and saving this country from political confusion, even if Peel's assertion of the omnipotence of parliament were not equivalent to an announcement of UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.
- IV. Details of some of the measures which would come to be adopted under Universal Suffrage for the well-being of this country's industry—being the antipodes of the teachings of political economy, or "the science of cheapness;" the public having at length come to see that DEAR COMMODITIES AND LOW WAGES ARE THE GREATEST IMPOSITION on the industry of a country, as just in truth meaning *dear money*,—or, *money increased in exchangeable value*, not from the superabundance of British productions, but from our supply of money continuing limited by Law; and from untaxed foreign labour monopolising our precious metals—that greatest of national calamities.

### PEEL'S UNPRINCIPLED AND FATAL COURSE.

THE EX-PREMIER HAS LEFT US IN A CONDITION WORSE THAN POLITICAL CHAOS, AS HAVING ROBBED US OF OUR PRINCIPLES. EVEN THE PRINCIPLE THAT SELF-PRESERVATION IS THE FIRST LAW OF NATURE HAS BEEN REPEATED; AND BRITISH POLITICS HAVE BEEN REDUCED INTO THE TWO ORIGINAL ELEMENTS OF ALL NATIONAL POLITICS—THE LABOUR-POWER AND THE MONEY-POWER. THE LABOUR-POWER MUST COME TO BE REPRESENTED BY SOCIAL ECONOMISTS, OR PRACTICAL MEN, OR PATRIOTS, THE CHARACTER OF WHOSE LEGISLATION WILL BE THAT IT TAKES THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF OUR OWN SOCIETY INTO ACCOUNT; THE MONEY-POWER BEING REPRESENTED BY POLITICAL ECONOMISTS OR COSMOPOLITAN THEORISTS; WHO WOULD HAVE THIS COUNTRY LEGISLATE FOR THE WORLD, WHILE THEY VIEW POLITICAL ECONOMY AS A SYSTEM OF PURE MATHEMATICS, OR, AT BEST, ONE FOR THE CREATION OF WEALTH, WITHOUT ANY REGARD TO ITS DISTRIBUTION.

Capital has usually had the power to take care of itself, and does not require the aid of Congress to place it in any other position, than to put the labour in motion. Congress should legislate for the labour, and the capital will take care of itself. The Free Trade of the Political Economists of Great Britain is a transcendental philosophy, which is not likely to be adopted by any government on the face of the Globe, unless it be the Chinese, and we have already the earnest effect of low duties in the internal condition of that country. The Trade of that Empire is fast approaching to barter; the precious metals having been drained, to pay for the foreign products introduced into it.

Pamphlet of the Honourable Abbot Lawrence of Boston, lately appointed the American Ambassador to the Court of London, published early in 1846, in opposition to the proposal to upset the Tariff of 1842, being letters addressed to the Honourable William Rives of Virginia, lately appointed Ambassador to France. These valuable letters are at page 17 of the Appendix.

There are many who impute the commercial crises of the United States to their paper and banking systems; but there can be no doubt that the evil originated in the 'Compromise Bill' (1832), in consequence of which America's imports soon exceeded her exports, and the United States became debtors to England for several hundred millions of dollars, which they were unable to cancel by their exports. The proof that these crises must chiefly be ascribed to the excess of imports lies in the fact, that they invariably occurred in times of great influx of foreign manufactures in consequence of a reduced tariff; and that, on the contrary, they never took place either in time of war, when few imports could take place, or when, by the high import duties, the exports had been brought into just proportion with the imports. "A similar phenomenon presented itself in Russia. Soon after the war in 1815 there arose a teacher of the Free-Trade theory, a certain Storch, who taught in Russia what Say did in France, and Dr Smith in England, viz., that Balance of Trade is a mere phantom, a chimera engendered in the disordered brain of the teachers of the mercantile system. Government gave that Free Trade system a fair trial, until the Chancellor of the Empire, Count Nesselrode, declared, in an Official Circular of 1821, 'That Russia finds herself compelled by circumstances to adopt an independent system in commerce, as the raw productions of the country find but an indifferent market abroad, the native manufacturers are becoming ruined, all the ready cash is going abroad, and the most solid mercantile houses are about to break.' In a few weeks afterwards the new protective Tariff was issued, and the beneficial consequences soon manifested themselves. Capital, talent, and mechanical industry soon found their way into Russia from all parts of the civilized world, and more especially from England and Germany. Nothing more was heard there of commercial crises, caused by over-trading; the nation has grown prosperous and the manufactures are flourishing."—Dr Lis's *Der Internationale Handel*.

Mr Cobden and the political economists, like their pupil Sir Robert Peel, persist in that most fatal of all legislative heresies, that a country should be legislated for as a *consumer* instead of as a *producer*. Their argument, that this country would pay as a general rule the fixed duty on corn were such imposed (and not the foreign producer of the corn), proceeds entirely on the assumption of an exceptional case. In defiance of all the facts, they begin by assuming that this country, aided by her colonies and reciprocity of trade, could not grow a sufficient quantity of food for her population; and then they assume that the price abroad is as great as the price here, concealing that the cause of this is our being purchasers in the markets of reciprocity countries in consequence of there being no import duty in this country. Thus by the absence of the import duty they produce (call into existence) the fact on which they found their argument, that the foreign grower does not pay the British duty, for *how would he send his wheat to Britain to get 4s when he can get 4s at home?* The reader will easily see that it is our national infatuation that has raised the price abroad, so as to give a semblance of plausibility to this argument. It will also be perceived that, in any case, this argument is of any value only while the quantity of food in this country is under the consumption; for supposing the supply of our own growth, aided by our colonies and by reciprocity countries, to be equal to our consumption, and the price to be 4s per quarter, the foreigner whose price at home is also 4s would pay the 8s duty, did such exist, so that nothing, but his necessities or a surplus, would induce him to send wheat here while the price in his own country (we mean, of course, including freight and charges by Britain) is over 37s. But, we get quit of all Mr Cobden's mystifications by keeping the simplest common sense position, again frankly assuring him that we are as far as he can be from desiring to see the price of food enhanced in consequence of the supply not being equal to the consumption, but to meet this *exceptional* case, the way is to charge no duty when the supply is deficient, indicated as this would be by the price rising above the price which a full market would give, say 4s. Why, in the name of common sense (under the plea of meeting such exceptional case), should we extirpate the agricultural customers of our manufacturing and artisan population, by permitting the free introduction of food (after our supply is full) by foreigners, who refuse to take in exchange the labour of our manufacturing or mining districts?—From my answer to Mr Cobden on the Question of a Fixed Duty on Corn, dated 20th July, 1840.

"Our Colonies are passing from us before we have learned the use of them."—*Spectator*.

Let me implore, therefore, the landowners to abandon the futile attempt of artificially maintaining high prices under the ancient standard; let them make a timely compromise with the public, and take an ample, but fair protecting duty, with open ports, on the admission of foreign corn—a duty equivalent to the burdens imposed on the produce of corn in this country, to which the consumers of corn are equally liable; and, on the same principles, a drawback on exportation may be obtained. This concession will win back the friendly feelings of the people; and let not the landowners lose this great advantage; let them rivet the gratitude of the community to their cause; let them exert all their power, and insist on the revision of Mr Peel's Act of 1819—an Act no less fatal to the landowner than to the payer of taxes—an Act now about to come into full operation—an Act which, from its first introduction, goaded the people to insurrection; and the returning influence of which has not failed to produce the same alarming consequences. Here the landowners may with safety make their stand; the position is impregnable; the payers of taxes, the productive classes, are ready to defend it; substantial justice is on our side; and who are they that are against us?—the ANTI-TAXERS, the FARMHOLDERS, and

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the Economists; a body which the landowners, if true to themselves, and in concert with the people, cannot fail to defeat."—Sir James Graham's Pamphlet on Corn and Currency, published in 1827.

"He begged the house would pay particular attention to the petition which he held in his hand. It was of no common character, but that of a great and important body, all of the first respectability, praying that those resolutions which were intended to be brought into the house might not be carried into effect. He begged leave to state his opinion, that the petitioners were the benefactors of the country, the most experienced men, and the best qualified from their connection with our manufactures and commerce, to be consulted on the subject of the country, he hoped, therefore, that before a measure so destructive of the commercial interests of the country was passed, (and when he said that, honourable members would conclude every other interest to be combined with wanted.) In looking at the reports which had been published on the subject, he must say, that the witnesses were not men likely to give any information to government, not men acquainted with the state of the country; the last men who should have been questioned, if government wanted to arrive at the merits of the case."

From the speech of Peel's father, the late Sir Robert Peel, delivered in the House of Commons, on the 24th May, 1810, in presenting the petition of about five hundred of the Leading Merchants of the City of London, against the conclusions at which the Bank Committee had arrived. It will be observed that not only is his son's Money Bill denounced, but the *Jeremy Bentham* of the House of Commons in 1826 (with which I shall close the Introductory Article), ought to put an end to the notion that, in expressing our irreconcilable objections to Peel's principles and measures, we have any personal hostility to the Right Honourable Bart.

"And it may not be *inappropos* that I here quote the following from my letter in the *Glasgow Reformers' Gazette* of 14th March, as proving the inestimable value of colonial trade as well as the mighty fluctuation which is the inseparable character of trade subject of colonial trade to show its infinite superiority over a foreign trade, or a merely manufacturing commerce, and I take my figures from the official statements, of the exports and imports of Great Britain in 1843, not having the later returns at hand. In the trade with Britain and her colonies in the western world, about 60,000 seamen are yearly employed, for whom the amount of wages and provisions cannot be less than £3,500,000 per annum; and the repairs, insurance, and replacing of capital in the ships wages, provisions, &c. will amount to £500,000; and the replacement of capital and increase £300,000; in all, £1,900,000. The whole, or nearly the whole of the supplies necessary to maintain these seamen and tonnage, are the productions of British soil and labour, which, in a national point of view, shows the superiority of such a trade over a merely manufacturing commerce. A comparison of the trade of the eastern with that of the western world, taking the value of imports and exports, stands nearly thus:—£14,000,000. It thus appears that the latter or British American trade requires nearly five times more ships, tonnage, and seamen to carry it on, than the former or trade to all India and China; thereby affording an incalculable advantage to a naval power, and the support of a naval force, and also to the employment of the world for the year 1843, to which we have alluded, we find that the weight of cotton yarn and cotton goods exported from Great Britain annually is 120,000 tons, and the value £23,600,000. It follows, then, that one-half the tonnage employed in carrying the West Indian exports (value £2,882,441) would be sufficient to carry the whole cotton export trade of this country; and as regards the North American trade, one-seventh of the tonnage would be sufficient to carry all that cotton trade about which Mr Cobden has made such a noise, but whose real and great intrinsic importance to the empire, no agriculturist nor colonist has ever shown any disposition to undervalue that I am aware of. I cannot better finish off this statement than by repeating that, while the trade of B. America and the West Indies, stated in 1843 to be only £14,000,000, employs 2,900 ships of 970,000 tons\*, and 60,000 seamen, our trade with the United States, estimated at £22,000,000 three-fifths being imports of raw cotton, &c., is carried in 350 ships of 233,000 tons; and the import from China, amounting to £5,000,000 is brought in 84 ships of 39,712 tons. The trade of America when our colony in 1769 employed, on the average of three years, 1,078 ships, and 23,910 seamen, and the value of the goods taken from Great Britain was £3,370,000; the exports of the colony being £3,924,006. The population of the United States is now nearly ten times what it then was, without any great permanent increase in our exports to America, (causes over which we had no control, brought them down in the year 1842 to £3,528,807.) Before closing my remarks, I desire to recur to the disingenuous conclusion of Sir Robert Peel's great speech, which I have quoted from. Yes, the Premier triumphantly concludes—'This is what you have to decide by your vote on this question—Will you advance or will you recede?' And again—'What should be the motto of a country like this? Should it advance or retrograde?' Now, Sir Robert Peel interests of this country, and could not show, how FREE TRADE is to advance, even temporarily, any one of the great England felt, or expressed, any wish or determination to recede or retrograde in the liberality of our legislation for the extent they can think they can without giving a fatal blow to the industry of our own people, whether artisans or agriculturists. All Sir Robert Peel's former friends charge him with is that he shows himself determined to go forward in the dark! They only demand an explanation, and it seems high time that they should do so, when they can now see in the Premier scarcely the shadow of his former principles. Pausing,—Sir Robert Peel's followers simply address their political leader as HAMLET did the Ghost of his father—

Hamlet—Whither wilt thou lead me?

Speak! I'll go no further.

Ghost—Mark me. [This is Sir R. Peel to the life.]

Hamlet—I will.

Ghost—My hour is almost come,

When I to sulph'rous and tormenting flames

Must render up myself.

Hamlet—Alas! poor Ghost!

"But the melancholy fact is that the British Government is now, and has for more than twenty years been, in hands so morally weak as to have no real control of the greater affairs and interests of the country. The statesmen of the present day aspire to no more than to be (apparently unconcerned) lookers-on at the fights of the Free Traders against the Protectionists, and the thinkers against the Protestants, and side with the winning party for the time being. Such men as Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Earl Grey, Canning, Wilburforce, and Anti-Corn-Law Villiers, disdained to count numbers in their moral contests; but, the present, and most of our governments since the days of Canning, have not had the moral power in England and her dependencies, even of the Norths and Walpoles of the last century."—From the *Glasgow Reformers' Gazette* of 8th April, 1810, being my answer to the *Manchester Guardian*.

## GENERAL REVIEW.

The Ex-Premier had better have resigned himself to the tender mercies of his old than his new friends. \* Save me from my friends," if applicable to old friends, is yet more so to new ones; and Peel should not have forgotten that in his place in Parliament, that patriotic, however mistaken bard. He should have asked his own breast whether it is not even now the pride of his heart to have been an instrument in rearing this living monument to principle "are perennius." Was it an easy thing for Peel's old friends to part with a leader of unrivalled tact if not talent? This was only more easy for them than to forsake their principles, and grief than in anger. Had not their respect for his practical talents, compared to contemporaneous statesmen, slant their ears against what Sir James Graham called "the insurrection of a populace" on the subject of Peel's Money Law? And in the case of the Emancipation of the Catholics did they not go farther with him than any lover of constitutional government can ever pardon, (however much like myself he may have desired the emancipation), when at that time they passed over Peel's delinquency to the constituencies of the empire, arguing that it was at least a generous act, and one which gave something to a deserving portion of

\* In giving up our Western Colonies to the United States, Peel nearly doubles their tonnage in Foreign trade which was, in 1848, 1,241,312 tons.

our fellow-subjects, without taking any privilege away from any class? Such are the friends Sir R. Peel has lost. Like the children of a worthless parent, they have stood up for him till their longer doing so would only be losing their own character without their being able to save his. They have too much confidence in the morality of public opinion to let them believe that the country will ever come to regard the present Peel men otherwise than with the same suspicion with which we regard the potatoes of a blighted lot. The change in his mind can no more be explained than the corruption in the potatoes; and political is like female virtue, once gone no charm can restore it. Decency, therefore, united with the public interest in leading us to hope that we should hear no more of Peel and still less of his creatures. He has wounded the honour and insulted the rank of statesmanship, by associating its character with his profligate principle that "the end justifies the means." Public opinion may not at once be sufficiently independent to repudiate utterly a man whose name was lately powerful, but if so, let him think what value should be placed on a judgment which could approve of principles being admissible in public which are repudiated in private life, and of popularity being taken as a guide, instead of being valued only as the follower of consistent and correct principles. Peel has yet—say his old friends—by covering himself with the oblivion of political death, an opportunity of recording what must be his opinion of what will be the just and certain fate of all men who hereafter may betray native industry, like him, allowing themselves to be debauched by Mr Cobden, "the friend of every country but his own." All men are fallible, and why should Peel not be willing to confess the truth that, even if it were proved that he did a fortunate thing, this can never excuse his setting the example of a disregard of the constituencies, which, if followed, might lose this country its best secured and most valued institutions, and even the crown itself, although no voice may have been lifted against these at the hustings! He knows well that the *ex post facto* assent of the constituencies only showed that their independence was gone, and that the country could have nothing worse in the shape of electors. This, Sir Robert knows, could not do away his guilt; it could only save him, as a criminal is saved, from punishment.

A public man is judged of by his acts, and Sir R. Peel's new friends at Aberdeen can only be held to apostrophise the principles of a Member in Parliament doing the contrary to what he promised at the hustings: as if Lord John Russell, who has been sent into Parliament to build up a free trade system, were to use the power with which the confiding constituencies have entrusted him to hurt the whole free trade fabric to the ground. So great an outrage on constitutional principle, as this would be on Lord John's part, and as Peel's course was on his part, can only be justified by the enemies of constitutional principle. Haynau, Torrington, O'Ferrall, and Elgin may as easily be justified by our Aberdeen friends on the principles of mercy and justice. But the "cry" of "motives not men" will have small chance of putting out the good old "cry" of "measures not men," while the "cry" of the masses is for "food," and the Manchester school will in vain attempt to rouse the country to "the political necessity of Sir Robert Peel." Let them stick to Cobden if he will agree to repeal Peel's Money Bill of 1819, in which the whole country would support him, repudiating his own (Cobden's) bullionist heresy, and sticking to the evidence which he gave in 1840 before the Parliamentary Committee on Banks of Issue.\* Our working classes have no confidence in, although they could not, perhaps, afford to trouble themselves much about Sir R. Peel's motives; and they certainly want no more of his measures. They have learned thus much political wisdom, that they are now no longer anxious about the men or instruments to be employed. Starvation, starting them in the face, has rendered them only anxious about, and determined on, certain measures—by whatever party brought about—as life or death to their families. The measures of Sir Robert Peel, they say, are those which have reduced the employment of the people, and ground down wages to the earth. His monetary measure of 1819 reduced wages and prices of commodities to the low foreign standard of gold at an untaxed price, though our protective system prevented any great diminution of employment. In 1846, however, Sir Robert Peel did away the protective system, without demanding reciprocity, which naturally must result in still more reduced wages! And a reduction of wages or prices, the result of foreign competition, is seen to be just another way of expressing a want of employment, for when prices and wages, and freights, are reduced one-half, the evil is not only that we find ourselves paying the landlords and annuitants double the amount of British industry that we before did for the money due them each half year; but, under free trade (or where the reduction in the price of our labour flows from foreign competition), we must be subjected to the infinitely greater calamity of the loss of all our bank facilities. The industrial classes in this country find that, in addition to requiring the annuitant or man of money as much labour as formerly, (seeing that the price in money is only one-half) they will have, out of gold, the basis of our currency to furnish the capitalist with half the amount of his claim in hard cash to send abroad in payment of foreign labour, thus fostering and increasing that foreign industry to compete with which is impossible for us under our national burdens or (even though freed from these burdens) till our population is reduced below the circumstances of the foreign serf or slave for the actual wants of the latter must ever remain fewer than those of a people with habits such as ours, and living in so much more rigorous a climate as that of Great Britain. Those subsisting on wages, the great component part of price in commodities, have been deeply injured by the *oneness* formed by Sir R. Peel's law of 1819, between gold and money, out of which has arisen all the evils of our working population. Even when we get wheat in return for gold, we have a right to complain of the importer being paid in "gold as a money," or gold at a fixed price. The foreigner is a buyer, and having it always in his power to get gold at £3 17s 10½d per ounce, he prefers it to British commodities whenever the prices of these rise above the starvation point, or Peel's law. For instance, with wages near the starvation point in this country, the foreigner finds he can for £4 get either an ounce of gold or 80 yards of cloth at 1s per yard, and he may probably take the cloth in preference; but as soon as prosperity raises prices, say to 1s 3d per yard, the foreigner finds his advantage in taking away our gold, of which, from its being fixed in price, he can still get an ounce, while of the cloth he can now only get 64 yards for £4. This state of things is the more galling and positively unjust to our home industry, as it is clear that for the commodity which the foreigner himself imported he must have got the paper, or "prosperity" price; and to exchange or barter, with the foreigner, gold at a low fixed, or continental, price against our local paper money representing prices raised so as to cover British rents, taxes, wages, and profits, (which our prices must do when the trade is not unprofitable), is conducted as silly as if the Bank were to advertise that it was ready to exchange full weight sovereigns for clipped ones! Indeed, the former is the greater national delusion, as the profits derived from the legal clipping under Peel's abominable act of 1819 leave the country, while in the latter case the "clippings" would just go from one pocket to another among ourselves. But how much more monstrous it is, that, without getting any useful article in return, but only for the benefit of the

\* Richard Cobden, in 1840, makes the following impressive statement before Parliament:—"I could allude a fact derived from my own experience, that would illustrate the heavy losses to which manufacturers were exposed in their operations, by those fluctuations (in 1837) in the value of money. I am a calico printer; I purchase the cloth, which is my raw material, in the market; and have usually in warehouse three or four months' supply of material. I must necessarily proceed in my operations, whatever change there may be—whether a rise or a fall in the market. I employ 600 hands; and those hands must be employed. I have fixed machinery and capital, which must also be kept going; and, therefore, whatever the prospects of a rise or fall in prices may be, I am constantly obliged to be purchasing the material, and contracting for the material on which I operate. In 1837, I lost by my stock in hand, £20,000, as compared with the stock-taking in 1835, 1836, and 1838; the average of those three years, when compared with 1837, shows that I lost £20,000 by my business in 1837; and what I wish to add is, that the whole of this loss arose from the depreciation in the value of my stock. My business was as prosperous; we stood as high as printers as we did previously; our business since that has been as good, and there was no other cause for the losses I then sustained, but the depreciation of the value of the articles in warehouse in my hands. What I wish particularly to show is, the defenceless condition in which we manufacturers are placed, and how completely we are at the mercy of these unnatural fluctuations. Although I was aware that the losses were coming, it was impossible I could do otherwise than proceed forward—with the certainty of suffering a loss on the stock; to stop the work of 600 hands, and to fail to supply our customers would have been altogether ruinous; that is a fact drawn from my own experience. I wish to point to another example of a most striking kind, showing the effect of these fluctuations on merchants. I hold in my hand a list of 36 articles, which were imported in 1837, by the house of Butterfield and Brookes, of Manchester, a house very well known; Mr Brookes is now borough-reeve of Manchester. Here is a list of 36 articles imported in the year 1837, in the regular way of business, and opposite to each article there is the rate of loss upon it as it arrived, and as it was a lb. The average loss is 37½ per cent. on those 36 articles, and they were imported from Capten, Trieste, Bombay, Bahia, Alexandria, Lima, and in fact all the intermediate places almost. This, I presume, is a fair guide, to show the losses which other merchants incurred on similar articles."

Mr Cobden now, however, denies that the price of gold is fixed at all in this country; but we argue that the price of gold is fixed, seeing that any one can go to the mint and get coin for gold bullion at the rate of £3 17s 10½d per ounce. Mr Cobden replies that this is merely the government putting their stamp on the sovereign, to attest its fineness and weight, the same as a bushel measure for wheat is stamped or regulated by authority. It is clear, however, that the one case is not parallel to the other, as the wheat is only measured, not priced, by law. For the gold when stamped, as containing 5 dwts and 3 grains, called a sovereign, you can demand 20s worth of any other commodity, and with it you cannot liquidate any debt not more than 20s. Law thus fixes the price of wheat or gold, although no legislation can supplant the operation of the natural law of supply and demand, which determines all values. And if wheat were fixed in price by law, its fluctuations (arising from its being plentiful or scarce) would be driven to express themselves in the increased or decreased price of money. This is exactly what now occurs with gold. The reduction of the stock of gold is expressed by the rise in the price or exchangeable value of money, and the consequent ruin of the property and industry of the country.

London Jew houses, in taking foreign loans, we should have, on the statute book, a law which, by making gold and money synonymous, makes the export of gold equivalent to the export of our paper money, the withdrawal of all mercantile confidence, and the annihilation of our bank facilities.

If we do not assume that Sir R. Peel *intends* constitutional changes, we must hold his intellect in supreme contempt, and believe the Tory papers that, incapable of an original idea, he barely understands the borrowed principles of his own measures, and certainly has not the guilt of being able to foresee their result. Every one but himself knew (if he did not), that the existence of his money bill of 1819 was the great argument for the excessive restrictions retained upon imports. Peel's money bill prevented, and still prevents, our ability to increase our export trade, and till its repeal our only safe course was to restrict our imports, as thus alone we could retain our banking facilities by preventing an export of gold. What, then, are we to think of Sir R. Peel's doing away with this breakwater, if he had no ulterior views? The act of a statesman, however, has no different effect whether done from intellect or design, and revolutionary changes must assuredly flow from Peel's having in 1846, Judas like, betrayed with a kiss the cause of our native industry, which till then, he had professed, was the cause of his heart. Every one knew that patriotic selfishness, the fostering of British industry was the vital interest of the Colonies, and that the loss of these noble appendages of the British Crown must follow the admission of foreign produce on the same terms as Colonial—as certainly as effect follows cause; so that Peel's much vaunted movement in 1846 amounted to the reduction of Great Britain from the lofty bearing of a great Empire, the mistress of the seas, to the position of a petty country. And even were such change shown (as it never could be), to be the interest of this country, why not have effected so important a transaction with the sanction of the constituencies? Why not let even the Colonists, who had ever been foremost in love to British rule, have some little say in a transaction which involved all their dearest affections and deepest rooted prejudices? Was there any proof that with the Colonists their material interests would have weighed in their minds as a feather if these were found obstructing the great interests of their glorious father land? The following language of *Edinburgh* in the *Glasgow Refractory's Gazette* of 14th March, 1846 (which I sent at the time to every member of both Houses of Parliament), conveys I believe, the sentiments of the Colonists as a body:—"In a former number it was shown that *reciprocal trade* must necessarily, in its very nature, lose us the colonies, because the principle of protection abandoned, the colonial system (which is a mere branch of it), falls also, or, what is to my mind far worse, and could only last a year or two, the colonies become a drag on the empire, having ceased to benefit the mother country in any way after they have thrown off the Imperial Parliament's right to legislate for their trade, and commenced free trade with all the world. But I speak for the retention of the colonies only, because it is the interest of ENGLAND. I hold that it were better for ENGLAND to lose her colonies, MASSIVELY, though they be, than to forebear doing anything, which is shown to us to be a detriment in favour of the oppressor population in this country. Though I before pointed out, that the adoption of free trade would necessarily lose the colonies (whose markets there is no reason for us going to the expense of defending, unless our manufactures are protected there), I do not pretend to argue that, to save the colonies, for their sakes alone, should prevent us adopting free trade in England, if the greater and more immediate interests of the mother country would be advantaged thereby. Far, however, from this being the case, I view free trade as tending to reduce the extent of our own manufactures, to degrade the condition of our manufacturers; in fact, I consider that free trade is suicide on the part of Mr Cobden and the weavers. Well do the independent aristocracy see, that though the ordeal will be a fiery one to their neighbours whose lands are in debt, and a more fiery one still to the manufacturers, the final result will assuredly be, that the landowners will be the permanently predominant and popular or powerful interest, the weavers having been one-half driven back again to the fields by want of manufacturing employment. The effect, in fact, of Sir Robert Peel's measure will be to prevent all progress in manufacturing, and reduce the whole of the interests of the country into a narrower compass, in which, in the way I have pointed out, agriculture will lose the largest, and become the largest, but because all other interests have been made smaller in proportion by Sir Robert Peel's liberal measure." Corroboration of this, if wanted by any one, is found in the late address of the British American League, of which the following is the character:—"During a long period, chequered by adversity and prosperity, the people of this colony have, in war, rallied round the flag of their forefathers, and in peace have endeavoured to cement the union with their fatherland by the strongest ties of amity and interest. In return for this devotion, the British Government has long extended to the colony a commercial preference in her markets. The harmony which so long existed—interrupted by an abortive rebellion—was again restored at its close; and the progress of the colony became almost unimpeded, under the fostering influence of a wise imperial legislation. But unhappily for Great Britain, an empire whose colonies are the strong arm of her power—she has recently opened her ports to foreign nations, upon equal terms with her colonies; thus virtually excluding us from her markets, by throwing us into a ruinous competition with those to whom her ports are more immediately and cheaply accessible. In her promulgation of free trade principles, she has lost sight of the interests of her colonies with the (vain?) view of obtaining from all nations reciprocal free trade, and thereby inundating the world with her manufactures. The new policy of the empire has recently produced its inevitable results. Unprotected by an adequate tariff, we have continued to consume a vast amount of British manufactures; while our produce—the principal source upon which we rely for our payment—has rarely entered the English markets, except at a sacrifice. The result has been a monetary pressure, excessive bankruptcy, and general distress."

Ireland, too, looks on Peel as a man with his throat cut\* would do on the perpetrator who could unblushingly stoop to apostrophise his motives; but, say Peel's friends; see the great statesman about to lead on a forlorn hope for Ireland! see him, we reply, having killed the man getting the public to subscribe for his fatherless family. The *Times* comes to the aid of the bold men of Aberdeen, and by a *petitio principii*, suggests that a good act (reciprocal free trade) cannot have a very bad motive, and we might feel able to hope that, by way of rescuing the motive, Peel's still-born Irish Scheme may be cooked up into something better than a mere flourish of trumpets, were the whole thing not too manifestly intended *only for effect*. In fact, in nothing previously has Sir R. Peel come out so unmistakably in the character of a quack, as in his Irish Plantation Scheme. In its preliminary confabulation and baptism of the present proprietors, it is like the cholera, if, as has been said, it commences where natural diseases end—in death. In politics as in medicine, the quack professes to *cure*, while the profession of the regular practitioner is to no more than allaying the morbidity, so as to allow nature to work its own cure, which it always does (when once the morbid excitement is allayed) if sufficient stamina in the constitution remains; but Sir Robert's plan would remove whatever stamina remains in Ireland, leaving only the alien church as a great remnant on an emaciated relict's trunk; and I never can believe that any ministry or man can have either the power or the will to *raise* Ireland out of the wretched condition it is in, without first attempting to remove, and *erecting* *destruendo*, Ireland's ecclesiastical tumour. But even if the whole revenue of the Irish Church were devoted as I would wish to ragged schools (to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, and trades, leaving the religion of the children to their churches and quarantines), I yet believe that prosperity would be impossible, as the whole armies or life of British and Irish industry has been withdrawn by the withdrawal of protection to native labour. I therefore view Ireland as hopeless, if left in such hands as Peel's. Mere phrasemongers, and men who have to appeal beyond their measures for their motives, will no longer do for Ireland. It now becomes very apparent that if Ireland was Peel's *chief difficulty*, the Ex-premier has, in a far higher sense, been Ireland's *chief difficulty*; and as to his motives let us see what Lord Anglesey says. (See Lord Anglesey's letter to Lord Clonerey, dated Rome, 28th January, 1835:—"I do not quite see into the state of affairs, but it appears to me that, take what view you will of them, they are frightful. Can the Peel and Wellington Government stand? I am sure it ought not; and if there be countenance and fair dealing, no man will not. But can any one count upon honesty and fair dealing in these days? I think not. I strongly suspect what are called the moderate Whigs. I have no faith in them. I believe that in general they are frightened, and only show liberalism as long as the tide runs that way, and as it turns (if turn it do) they will float back with it. Neither have I any faith in the ultra-Tories. I suspect that a great part of them, with a view to office, or at all events to retaining in office men who, upon the whole, they like better, and believe themselves to be safer in the hands of than the honest Liberals; that with a view to preserving in power, I say, the present leaders, they will sacrifice all their principles, and eat all their words, and vote through thick and thin for reform—ay, even for Church reform. Here, then, if I be right, will be a tolerable equipage of votes, and thus Peel and Wellington will continue to hold the reins, and, with a bad grace, give all the reforms that were in contemplation by the last Government, and which, if my voice had been attended to, would, as far as the Irish Church is concerned, have been set smooth three years ago. I am sure I have no objection to take any part whatever in public affairs. You, with your usual kindness and partiality, express a wish that I should, in the event of a change, be unkindly and ungenerously treated, both by friends and foes, and I do not see why I should again allow myself to be made unhappy by either. The truth is, I have not the capacity for acting with men who have recourse to trick and duplicity. I have independent thought; and if I go I must go my own way. I could not consent to allow Ireland to be governed in Downing Street, and therefore I did not suit my employer and employers generally."

It is but too true that the British Government has been practically the worst possible government in Ireland and the Colonies.

\* With less than half Great Britain's population, Ireland has about as many souls dependent on agriculture; and the *Dublin Evening Mail* thus describes the condition of Ireland:—"She is undone—irretrievably undone. Free Trade, then, in corn and provisions, is progressive ruin to Great Britain—to Ireland it is sudden and untimely death."

because everything else has always been sacrificed to the building up of an alien established church. The inhabitants agree entirely upon the legitimate objects for which government is wanted, but the church question prevents their cordial co-operation—for instance, with the following view in Mr Butt's appeal to the constituency of Cork I entirely concur, these being the antipodes of Peel's economical views, but as he seems a church bigot or not independent enough to defy the church, I could not vote for him any more than he could vote for me, who am liberal enough to think that Christian churches the best for each individual which each thinks best, and to infinitely prefer a good Roman Catholic to a bad Protestant. Mr Butt says—"I have formed the decided and deliberate convictions, that to secure the labouring population the greatest amount of comfort, and to the country the greatest amount of production, protection to native industry is indispensable. I acted on these views nine years ago, when I took part in a voluntary movement to sustain our native manufactures. I have seen no reason to change my opinions, and I am therefore opposed, especially in the case of Irish interests, to the Protectionists' application of what are termed principles of Free Trade. I am convinced, that for a country like Ireland, a protection to all home industry is essential to its progress in prosperity. At the time of the union, and for many years after, there were thousands of Irish weavers and an employed and happy population, in many of the districts of your county and city that are now regarded as poverty. Why? because an Irish parliament had imposed protecting duties upon these manufactures, which afterwards were taken away. I will vote for the fostering of home industry and reasonable protection. I will vote for it for all branches of industry alike. For the sailor in his vessel, for the agriculturist in his farm, and for the artisan at his loom. I have seen with indignation this noble island reduced to misery and decay. I have seen

with more indignation on the lives of THOUSANDS OF IRISHMEN SACRIFICED TO THE DAMNABLE DOCTRINES OF A FALSE POLITICAL ECONOMY." The fact is that in our politics in Great Britain and Ireland, no less than in the European countries in revolt, we are being taught that there is a government of the affairs of this world superior to that of statesmen. We see that a wrong principle cannot possibly be carried out because its own operation cuts its own throat. We see that if the late commercial machinery we have set up in this country will not operate practical philanthropy, it can, (like the continental royalties), only exist till the evils it occasions become insupportable. The most charitable view that can be taken of Sir R. Peel is to suppose that he knew how degraded the operation of his monetary law had made the masses in this country, so that our population would never be "seen" the truth till they "felt" it, and could not or have been persuaded that cheapness is a blessing on condition that the labourer be able to pay for his labour (the only thing he has to pay with), or, in other words, is fully employed by the growers of the breadstuffs he eats, if he be a manufacturing artisan, or by the furishers of his clothing and implements, if he be an agricultural labourer. Thus (if we may suppose it just possible), that Peel may have thought that political discontent and convulsion might temporarily be staved off by his course—thus giving make-shift government another chance. If he could have, in 1845, foreseen the continental revolutions of 1848, his case would be all the better; but to attribute any far-sightedness to the puny statesmen we now have, would, in my opinion, be very absurd. Our Free Trade, however, has had its "mission" in leaving bad subjects without grounds of agitation; it diminishes employment, it will sooner, or later, cause wide spread starvation, not in one, but in every class, and this, without any disloyalty to the sovereign, must end either in revolution, or in the repudiation of government by theory, or practical economy. I showed all this to Lord George Bentinck early in 1846, in Cavendish Square. My words were nearly as follows, "I have seen the better that I afterwards inserted them in a statement of views considered by me essential to the triumph of a Native Industry party."—"Even if your Lordship and Mr Disraeli, and all the members of both-houses of Parliament, and all the people in the country at their back, were to go over to the Whigs as Sir R. Peel has done, all would not suffice to carry out irreciprocal free trade. My objection to the measures of 1846, it should be borne in mind, is, not that they are, but that they are not, free trades—only free imports—freedom, in fact, to foreign, but not to British labour." But that the Protectionists can come into power now seems quite out of the question. The thorough reformation of the Irish Ecclesiastical nuisance, must be a prelude to our trusting a class of men who, though distinguished for their personal honour, are equally distinguished for their Church Toryism. "The Church will no longer be permitted to rule this country in the name of the Government. The Reformation of the Irish Church is imperatively called for, as a prelude to the unprejudiced discussion of the question of labour, or of the full employment of the country's industry, that great interest which now must alone be legislated for, as seen to involve the stability of all that we hold sacred—the happiness of the people, the Crown, and the national credit; but it is also required as a prelude to the necessary social ameliorations in Ireland, the condition of which country is a disgrace to the empire. The other Established Churches may be defended as matters of circumstance, but the Irish one, as now constituted, cannot. Some good men within it have been able to do a little good, in spite of the degrading system of which they are a part. But let us compare this with the good that might have been done in Ireland, and slender when we think of the heart-burnings and animosities which their exclusive system has created, generally ending in the foulest barbaries by Christians of their fellow-Christians. The whole revenues of the Irish Church will probably have to be devoted to the endowment of their fellow-Christians, charity being the only religious duty in which the former and present possessors of them conscientiously agree (the State guaranteeing an equitable provision for the present incumbents for life); of course, if we could get the whole or half for Ragged Schools, so much the better. Religious inequality banished from Ireland, the law may, and will be vindicated; for murder will then have none of those thousand excuses, which the present ramified system of oppression is daily creating. The foregoing seems our duty, even if we could not expect in our day, to see the blessings of a good system of law appreciated by a nation of men so dead to every feeling of rational independence, as to have quietly submitted so long to have a church on our part, of a population individually so warm-hearted. Indeed, I think there is every reason, from the generous treatment men abroad, to believe that, if in Ireland we invest them with all the privileges of British subjects, they will be prepared and forward to perform all their duties with alacrity. In such case, how soon the scene would change! Ireland becoming an outlet for British manufacturing labour, such as no foreign country can present, and in everything the ornament and boast of the Empire, instead of, as at present, its cause of shame." Lord George Bentinck knew that I had struck the first blow for Lord Metcalfe in Upper Canada, when colonial public opinion ran as strong in favour of his retired ministers (the same to whom Lord Elgin has succumbed) as British public opinion was made to appear to be in favour of Metcalfe, that [though we were certain to triumph at the moment, our cause triumph, because church questions split them up. The ministry who deserted Lord Metcalfe, in the vain attempt to coerce that great man, and to make the British Government the mere tool of a parliamentary omnipotence in Canada, were supported afterwards, not because they (or most of them) were rebels, but because, even as rebels, they were preferred to Church Tories; and, I believe that both Canada and Ireland have to endure anti-British Government, and have in a word been brought into the states they now are (very similar to each other, in many respects,) because statesmen cannot be found independent enough to do away with Ecclesiastical inequalities." Lord George Bentinck, however, instead of putting down the English Church in Ireland, would have done more harm than good to the cause of British industry, had he got power at once, his career would have been a short and a not very popular one, probably would have left public life (for a while, at least) as abruptly as he entered it. My fond hope, however, is that he would have been called for by public opinion some years afterwards, and that, in the mean time, he would have got convinced (as I have been called) that all must be sacrificed to the safety of a protestant throne, and thus have been seen the Labour-power against the Money-power of the country, as the leader of a new party of Social Economists.

\* DEATH OF LORD GEORGE BENTINCK.—THE EXPECTED HEAD OF A NATIVE INDUSTRY PARTY. [The following is the sketch alluded to above as it appeared at the time in the *Glasgow Examiner*.]

"In Lord George Bentinck, second son of the present Duke of Portland, and nephew of the distinguished nobleman who lately represented the city of Glasgow, the country has lost its most promising statesman, and a perfectly honest man. Humily speaking Stanley, could not, in such a position, be the very soul of honour—have outlived the conviction that his noble and much admired friend man. Lord George's popularity, and the very judgment which entitles a man to be called in the true sense a statesman, a short period as successors to the ministry, but soon Lord Stanley's incapacity as a general or chief would have become as much a matter of notoriety, as the failure of his business of a department of the government. It was at this point we expected Lord George Bentinck to become the head and man of this party. Into his alder and better hands—such as were our fond hope—the government must have come, and we could again see the party he must have principles, and the Whigs' incapacity in finance prevents us requiring to look for other reasons why they are only fitted for an opposition, not for a government. And Lord George Bentinck—as the honest man we believe him to have been—must, in the country's extremity, have risen with the circum-



My enjoying the confidence of Lord Metcalfe the *adus Achates* in India of his uncle, Lord William Bentinck, was the cause of my intercourse with Lord George Bentinck being unrestrained by the possibility of doubt as to the objects I would recommend being moderate and practical, although so often clothed by my indignation in violent language. At our first meeting I pointed out to Lord George that Peel's assertion of the omnipotence of Parliament, in the name of the omnipotence of Principle, moral and constitutional, must (if we would prevent unfortunate legislation becoming a cause of revolution) lead to the responsibility of our Legislative Acts being transferred to the entire people, because omnipotence may be both tyranny, which could only safely be exercised by principals. And I expressed to his Lordship my opinion that Peel's unprincipled course would be fatal to cause the alteration of every institution in the country, except the Crown, distinctions hitherto valuable because regulated by principle being now a nuisance—my words were nearly those:—“The Parliama has left us in a condition worse than political chaos, as having no bond of our constitution. Every thing principle that self-preservation is the first law of nature has been repudiated; and British Politics have been reduced into the two original elements of all national politics—the Labour-power and the Money-power. The Labour-power must come to be represented by Social Economists, or practical men, or Patriots, the character of whose legislation will be that it takes the circumstances of our own society into account; the Money-power being represented by Political Economists or cosmopolitan Theorists, who would have this country legislate for the world, while they view Political Science as a system of pure mathematics, or, at best, one for the creation of wealth, without any regard to its distribution.”

Indeed, to my mind, it never appeared that the permanently important question was as to whether it was a right or a wrong thing, as the Peel did in 1846. His policy, however great, appears to me to stand, in relation to his repudiation of moral and constitutional principle, just as a misfortune does to a crime. I myself, for instance, am opposed to Established Churches, even if these were the best churches possible, viewing partially to any class of her Majesty's subjects an impediment to general confidence in the Crown and Law of the Land; but give me the power to injure the Church, or any other vital interest by a side wind, would I, as a minister, or even as a Legislator do it? If the constituencies don't wish the Church demolished, dare I, their servant, put it down? And if the constituencies do wish it put down, what need is there for me to interfere unduly? It has always seemed to me to be the duty of a minister rather to try to find evidence in favour of a respectable existence; and a state of things does not deserve the name of constitutional or of moral, unless it is one in which a Great Interest can repose with equal more safety in the hands of its avowed enemy, seeing that he, as an honourable man, would require the greater evidence for its overthrow, to leave no shadow of a suspicion, even in his own mind, that his personal predilections had influenced his conduct as a public man.

The reverse of the picture is a very humbling one. Behold the constituencies of the empire, standing in the position of trustees of the entire people, employing, as agent under the trust, the man of Tamworth, who immediately turns round and repudiates all obligation to abide by the terms of the trust deed, or even to act on any principle whatever! And what are we to think of our contemptible trustees in submitting thus to be bullied? What are we to think of the honour of our constituencies in delegating, by their *ex post facto* assent to Peel's conduct, an omnipotence or arbitrary power to parliament which they had not to give? My own view has always been that we have in this transaction so gross a violation of our Legislative constitution as to amount (whatever may have been Peel's intention at the time) to a virtual abdication by the present constitutional government (whatsoever it may be) of the principle proceeding is what we have chiefly at present to do with, and that arises from the fact of our being in itself vitally wrong, as tending to lessen instead of to increase the employment of our masses, at home, at sea, and in the colonies—thus containing in the seeds of Revolution, both at home and in our foreign dependencies, whether done constitutionally or unconstitutionally.

In a word, two great objects present themselves to British subjects—1st, viewing Britain in the isolated and simple light of a country, to save it from revolution by saving its industrious masses from starvation—2d, viewing ourselves as members of a great glorious, and commanding empire, the trustee of liberty and progress, to preserve its integrity. The second of these objects cannot be attained except by having peculiar privileges bestowed on, as we require peculiar duties of, our Colonial fellow-subjects; but the first may be otherwise attained, at least in a great degree—*viz.*, by our adoption of paper money as the legal tender. There must be a different value attributed to money to be exported than we allow it money remaining here to *viuify our own industry*, which can only be done by permitting gold to rise, under the law of supply and demand, like all other commodities; and we need not wait, before issuing paper money, to quarrel over what security to give the public for the paper-issues to be made a legal tender, for twenty millions of paper pounds, the evidences of the deposit of twenty millions in the vaults of the Government, or Bank of England, will depreciate, or in more correct phrase permit gold to appreciate, quite as well as a more rational, because less expensive, machinery of paper money. Our great practical difficulty is the *uselessness* of our object—so degraded and backstereing are the statements of the present day. The movement for Emblematic money (as opposed to counters embodying in themselves intrinsic value) is a movement in constitutional, not in party or mercenary, politics; and our objects are high and disinterested compared to those of a mere party struggle. We desire the establishment of a great principle, and have in our ranks men who on the merely local or banking question take different sides—just as all Protestant or Bible Christians may unite in a movement for a PROTESTANT SABBATH as the only security of a PROTESTANT TURK; not seeing that there is any more authority for the 6th, 7th, and 8th commandments than for the 1th), although they may be split up into two parties as to whether a Church Establishment is a blessing or, an evil in our particular circumstances. Emblematic money, as the great machinery for securing national industry its full development, and thus employing the masses, will come to be seen to be as necessary to the well-being of every country's industry as a

stances calling for an extreme course. He must have given to the winds all split straws of opinion, and offered the hand of fellowship to every man with the heart of a patriot. Will you support the British crown and a Protestant succession? Will you hold with me that the greatest and best paid employment of our own working classes shall hereafter be the great constitutional question and security of our times? These are the two elements of opinion out of which we looked to see Lord George Bentinck form the greatest and most enduring, because the most nobly patriotic political superstructure the world ever saw. We trusted that it was he who should have been the proper instrument of extricating our nation, and saving it from our factions. We could not, indeed, agree with all his views as he avowed them, but we laid this to the chivalrous way he followed Lord George as leader in the House of Commons, on account of his low rate, was held at Lord Stanley's house, in this we saw the first ray of hope of the final separation of minds so unequally yoked. We are unaware how far the alienation between their lordships had proceeded, but we feel certain that the spell that bound Lord George was broken, and that the utter alienation of a great from a little mind could only have been a short matter of time. We have supposed it possible that they might have sat together in one ministry, and that a very short lived one; and we felt sure that one short trial is all the country wants of Lord Stanley. The Stanley ministry past, we hoped to see a purely Bentinck or “native industry” administration, one that, disdaining to divide its resources in party struggles, would have men who on the merely on the entire democracy of the country, on the principle of allegiance only to the throne. And had a pre-announced man, like Lord George Bentinck, of the highest rank, with the greatest firmness and ability, adopted such a course, who can doubt its success?—who can doubt, what is far better, that a class of politics, whose alpha and omega were the elevation of the men first, and then into Christians of our now wretched masses, deserved success? Thus it is that, with bitter and deep regret, we lam at the premature decease of one of the noblest of the British people, in every sense of the word. The memory of Lord George Bentinck is one which will for ever be green with the laurels of his country's best and warmest affections. In communion with nearly the entire country, (this was to appear in a liberal paper,) we at one period believed him wrong in his almost superhuman exertions to impress on the country that Sir Robert Peel had not introduced Free Trade, but only free imports. That, however opposed to the means by which Lord George Bentinck would attain the prosperity of this great country, no one ever doubted that such was his pure and lofty purpose. Lord George Bentinck never doubted (even in what he considered the darkest days of his life) that the British empire has got within itself more elements of greatness and prosperity than this or any other country ever before possessed, if only they could be reduced from their present state of chaos by some master mind. Such a mind was his own, although Lord George Bentinck's characteristic modesty made it his unceasing regret that there had not been found a better man than himself to fight the battles of his country's working classes. With all the advantages of early political training availed of by Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell, we ourselves have no doubt that the subject of our present notice would have been immeasurably their superior as a fine British character and statesman. And by men of all parties and all shades of opinion, he will, at least, be allowed to have been one of our finest examples of the “JUSTUM ET TENACEM DIPOSIU VIRUM.”

But it will not do for the friends of native industry and monetary reform to dwell too long on the heavy loss we have sustained in the death of a friend of the people, so commanding at once in his character and practical talents. Whatever our instruments be, we must carry our purpose, or a revolution must soon be the consequence of diminished wages and lessened employment. If all the statesmen, backed by all the electors in the country, were on one side, they could not make our one-sided Free Trade to work. Many of the protectionists—spaniel-like, *availing the voice they cry kick*—are already declaring that no man is left for them to follow but Sir R. Peel! We urge the friends of the working classes to be united. We ourselves do not see how any united action can be attained otherwise than through the means of a completely new organisation in politics.

sufficiency of pure air is to the healthy action of the lungs.\* In fact, paper money, perfectly secured, and above suspicion, is as much a condition of good and impartial government as is the great principle of equal justice to the poor man as to the rich; and the coalition of SOCIAL ECONOMISTS which we would form to prevent this country being utterly ruined by the theories of the political Economists, will be no more of a party character than is "the combining of good men when bad men conspire." As I have so often explained, OUR SIMPLE OBJECT is to save THE COUNTRY A REVOLUTION, which we see to be the natural and inevitable result of "irreciprocal Free Trade and a fettered currency." All along my language has been—"The science of money, and the science of exchange, only vital constitutional question in all countries, but more especially in Great Britain, whose population is in more artificial circumstances than any people; and when a sufficient number of honest and independent-minded men come to see this, a great popular party will be formed, which will upset the machinations of the fixed standard bullionists, and thus save the country a revolution."

The foregoing would save Great Britain as a country; but as a mere country Britain would be no longer GREAT, and must descend to the rank of a second or third rate power in Europe. Having ceased to be a naval and become a military power, our national liberties would descend to the level of those of France, a perpetual vibration between extremes. THIS OUR OBJECT, THAT OF ALL TRUE BRITISH SUBJECTS SHOULD BE TO PRESERVE THE INTEGRITY OF THE EMPIRE; and not only do I believe that this may easily be done, but I see that a career for Great Britain in the future may be opened up which will far outshine the past of this or any other empire. Let us only declare the Colonies integral parts of the empire, and our trade with them a constant trade, in which no foreign shipping may interfere, (the same as the Americans have their trade between New York and California.) Let us have an entirely Free Trade with our Colonies, no duties, except on articles subject to an Excise duty, being levied either in the mother country or the colony. And while we charge at least 15 per cent. import duty on every foreign article except cotton (the neglect of the Colonial cultivation of which is enure sufficient for the impeachment of Ministers), let us at all times be prepared to waive such duty entirely in favour of countries which will agree to free trade with our colonies, and to reduce their tariff on British goods to not more than 15 per cent. on any article. It will of course be objected that my principle would lose the Chancellor of the Exchequer the whole duty to be seen from the following writings; has long been that fiscal alterations of a far more revolutionary nature are due to the country's industry. And I cannot more shortly indicate the scope of my views, ON THE GREAT SUBJECT OF THE COUNTRY'S FINANCE, than by the following quotation from my letter to the *Glasgow Examiner* of 25th May, 1818:—

"I also begin to have my eyes opened to the absolute and immediate necessity of separating the management of the national debt from the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer (thus declaring that the real property of the country is alone bound for the debt, and all future national debts or obligations). But I begin to despair of seeing this done by parliament, alone, as it is, and the industry of the country must remain in a miserably crushed condition till we repudiate the principle, or wait of principle, that took off the war tax without taking off the war debt. My view is that the virtuousness of the country should repudiate the National Debt, leaving per cent. on our Five Thousand Millions of Property, real and personal, but the per centage next year would come to be reduced by the balance in the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer this year; such balance being handed over to the Commissioners of the National Debt as the measure of the protection to native industry afforded by the country's property."

By no other means than thus setting the English money market at defiance, and the fixed property and industry of this country ever represented by a great party in the State. A PARTY REPRESENTATIVE OF LABOUR (which in interest is the same as fixed property, as it is labour that gives property its value), will of course never get the support of the money market; so British industry must either be contented to remain unprotected, or the support of the money market must be voted, as above, to be no longer necessary, the DAY OF EXCHEQUER DIFFICULTIES TURNING OUT, OR KEEPING OUT A MINISTRY, BEING MADE TO PASS TO THE TOMB OF ALL THE CAPULETS!

\* Those who have still doubts whether Peel's immoral course necessarily involves the revolutionary changes which I indicate, have not studied our position sufficiently. The combined ignorance, selfishness, and eventual unpopularity of the landlords, have been Sir Robert Peel's tools for effecting the dirty work of the money market. Ignorant that in the long run the interest of men with fixed property is identical with every interest in the community but that of money, the landlords betrayed the other interests of the country on money market (the Corn Bill of 1815) had permanently secured the high or war prices of corn, they winked at the monetary heresies which in 1816 were first attempted; and they consummated their foolery in 1819 by enabling Peel to pass his currency law, whose object (they were told), was to reduce wages and the prices of articles in general of which they were purchasers and not sellers! This reney: "As a body up to this moment they remain uneducated; but it is well known that in this last session they bargained with King's ministers to support the further contraction of the currency, on condition that the government did not destroy their monopolists' safeguards, must prove fatal to their interests; and they received, as the consideration, on the precarious tenure of one year, the shadow of a benefit, in fact illusory by their own concession."

It is impossible to perpetuate in this country any legislative enactment, the tendency of which is to degrade and to impoverish any adjustment of contracts, or adequate reduction of indirect taxes. The paramount duty of every government is, attention to the interests of the community, of which the labourers must form the great majority; the right of property itself is instituted for the good, not of the few who possess wealth and honours, but of the many who have them not; if the majority be deeply injured, the public peace is in danger; if THE MAJORITY WANT FOOD, PRIVATE PROPERTY BECOMES A NUISANCE.

Then in 1840 Peel found, in the deserved unpopularity of the landlords, an efficient instrument for carrying through his unparliamentary despatch against British industry, for the entire repeal of Sir R. Peel's corn measure of 1819 was not carried on its own merits, but because Reform in every shape was resisted by the landlords, who, always a selfish and supercilious, had become a hated, class.

All the wealthy British classes have a certain oneness of interest, (for if one of the legitimate interests of the body politic of the country prosper, all the other members prosper with it;) and the case, therefore, would not have been so bad if any other section of the community, than the MONEYED INTEREST, had been 1 ft. through Peel and his men deserting to the Whigs, the one constitutional party in the State, or the one represented interest in Parliament. But the money power had, by Sir R. Peel's bill of 1819, been made an ally (not legitimate or purely British in its interests) class, having its interests at unity with those of the fixed property and industrial classes, enhances the exchangeable value of the money of the annuitants and money mongers, through reducing wages and prices of commodities, while it raises the rate of discount or interest which they charge to the community! Such are the strong impressions on my mind, long turned to the philosophy of politics, which caused my newspaper writings early in 1840 and subsequently (my reasons for continuing these being the smallness of the minority in which (ill lately my opinions have been); and I may here re-peat one of the earliest of these my warnings to the public:—"Even the National Debt of England will be found to be only so much empty paper if we persist in our present suicidal course, for it is secured only by the industry of the empire, from which we have taken away the ability to perform peculiar duties and bear peculiar burdens, by the removal of all its peculiar privileges."

I feel that in this general view of Peel's unprincipled and fatal course, I cannot do better than extract from DE L'IST'S DER INTERNATIONALE HANDEL, the remainder of the paragraph, part of which appears at the top of this, showing the ruin which in the *United States* uniformly flowed from far less irrational Legislation than ours, and in the direction of free imports. If the reader will also turn to the article headed CAUSES OF THE REVOLT OF THE OLD AMERICAN COLONIES, he will see that the most prominent cause of offence to our Transatlantic fellow-subjects was our interference with their local currencies, which never failed to prostrate their industry.

Some writer—either Mr Taylor or Mr Jonathan Duncan, I think—likening mercantile transactions to the lungs, shows how foolish is the fear of an excessive circulation of paper. The paper may exist, like the air, in superabundance, but the mercantile air we only put in motion the quantity they require—the quality or goodness of the paper is our only anxiety, just as it is of the

It was in 1790 that the first American Tariff was framed, imposing a 60ling duty on the most important articles of import. Trifling as the rate of the duty was, its effects on the prosperity of the country became so manifest, that Washington in his message (1791) already congratulated the nation on the flourishing state of manufactures and agriculture. Encouraged by the success of the first attempt, the Congress raised, in 1801, the Import Duties to 75 per cent., and in 1815 the manufactures of the United States already employed (according to the Report of the Commercial Committee to the Congress) 100,000 hands, and the annual amount of the produce amounted to sixty million of dollars, while the value of land and the prices of all sorts of goods, as well as wages, rose to an extraordinary degree. After the peace of Ghent the Congress doubled the rate of duty for the first year; but pressed by the arguments of the disciples of Free Trade, it lowered the tariff in 1816, after which the calamities of the period of 1793 to 1791 soon made their re-appearance, viz., ruin of the manufacturers, valuelessness of productions, and a fall in the value of landed pro-

Peel and the Theorists, with the facts before them, seem incapable of anticipating the enormous increase to American Exports of agricultural produce which must arise from the more safe and cheap conveyance of it from the interior of the States, even without taking into consideration the almost incalculable increase of production in a country to which the Despots of Europe are driving away their subjects more and more. The following interesting facts, on this subject, are from the *Times* of 9th Sept., 1849:—"A first report of some experiments on the bread-stuffs of the United States, made by Professor Beck for the government at Washington, has just been published, the object having been to ascertain how the intrinsic value of the various kinds of grain may be determined, their injury guarded against, and their adulterations detected. The aggregate amount of grain convertible into bread-stuff or its substitutes, annually produced throughout the union, is estimated at 900 millions bushels, of which nearly one-half is Indian corn, while the total of all kinds required for home consumption does not exceed 300 millions. The quantity of wheat is supposed to be about 100 millions of bushels, and it is wheat and wheat-flour that the present report is confined. With regard to the amount of water contained in the various sorts, the results obtained by Professor Beck give 16 to 20 per cent. for Alsatian, 14 to 17 per cent. for English, 12 to 14 per cent. for American, and 9 to 11 per cent. for African and Sicilian. In relation to the amount of gluten in various samples of flour from different parts of the United States and Europe, the preference is awarded to the Kubanka variety, from the south of Russia. On the subject of loss by the presence of moisture, from want of due precautions, it is stated that the books of a single inspector in New York City showed that, in 1847, he inspected 218,879 barrels of sour and musty flour, and that in every year the total loss in the United States from moisture in wheat and flour is estimated at from \$3,000,000 to \$5,000,000."

But, that Sir Robert Peel made a fearful blunder in assuming that English agriculture can successfully compete with the agriculture of America, cannot be better shown than by the following extract from the pamphlet of the Illustrious Abbot Lawrence, already referred to. That experienced and practical statesman shows that it is vain even for the Old or Atlantic States of America, to attempt to compete in agriculture with the virgin soils of their own country, beyond the River Ohio. His object was, when he wrote, (in 1846,) to direct the energies of his friends in Virginia to fields of enterprise in which success could reasonably be expected:—"The settlement and development of the resources of the Western country, have brought into existence an active and effectual competition with your people, in the great staples of your agricultural products, namely, Wheat, Indian Corn and Tobacco, Maryland and North Carolina, like yourselves, are essentially affected by competition from the same quarter—from Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa. The Great West is now supplying largely the New England and other States, which are consumers of these agricultural staples, in quantity and value, to a greater extent than all the foreign world besides. The internal improvements of the country already finished, have brought Boston, by steam, within the distance of four days' travel of Cincinnati, by way of Buffalo; and a contemplated railroad from Burlington, Vermont, to Ogdensburg, New York, will bring us practically yet nearer to those fertile regions of the West. The expense of transportation is essentially reduced wherever railroads or canals have been constructed, and even the Mississippi herself bears down upon her bosom the products of the West, at less than half the freight that was charged a few years ago. Thirty years since, a few small schooners were sufficient to carry on the commerce between this city and New Orleans; now, within the last year, we have had one hundred and sixty-five arrivals from New Orleans at this port, and many of these vessels are of the largest class; ships from five hundred to seven hundred tons burthen. They have brought us Tobacco, Indian Corn, Flour, Cotton, Beef, Pork, Lard, Lead, &c., amounting in the aggregate to many millions of dollars. Of the first three of these articles, which now come to us in such quantities from New Orleans, our importations, in former times, were almost exclusively from Virginia, North Carolina and Maryland. Can you expect to compete successfully with the Western regions of our country, where, without much labour, THE SOIL PRODUCES DOUBLE, AND SOMETIMES EVEN MORE, TO THE ACRES, than the average crops of the last-mentioned States?"

And even if we, as a nation, were in circumstances to sacrifice our agriculturists, it is clear that Peel's unprincipled course will be fatal to every interest in the country, by upsetting the money market and doing away with our Banking system, the import of grain being only another term for the abstraction of our paper as well as our metal circulation. In the case of Virginia, alluded to above, the money did not leave America, but only a particular state, and here we have the bad working of Free Trade even between countries or states having a common money! Peel's friends try to flatter us here in the north, by calling him a follower of ADAM SMITH. But if a follower of Adam Smith, why did he repeal the Navigation Laws? And why does he not see the advantage of Illinois and Colonial over Foreign Trade, as stated by Smith? "The capital which is employed in purchasing in one part of the country, in order to sell in another the produce of the industry of that country, generally replaces by such operation two distinct capitals that had been employed in the agriculture or manufactures of that country, and thereby enables them to continue that employment. The capital which sends Scotch manufactures to London, and brings back English corn and manufactures to Edinburgh, necessarily replaces by every such operation two British capitals which had both been employed in the agriculture and manufactures of Great Britain."

But the capital which sends British food to Portugal and brings back Portuguese goods to Great Britain replaces by every such operation only one British capital. The other is a Portuguese one." The fact is, that Peel and Cobden have only followed Adam Smith in errors which so shrewd a man would not have committed had he lived in our day. Adam Smith either forgot or did not know the effect Free Trade would have in upsetting the banking system of a country; and I think no one can suppose after reading the following from his "Wealth of Nations," that he would have been the advocate of any system which directly or indirectly (through the withdrawal of bank facilities or otherwise) was the cause of lessened or limited production:—"There is another balance, indeed, which has already been explained, very different from the Balance of Trade, and which, according as it happens to be either favourable or unfavourable, necessarily occasions the prosperity or decay of every nation. This is the balance of the annual produce and annual consumption. If the exchangeable value of the annual produce, it has already been observed, exceeds that of the annual consumption, the capital of the society must annually increase in proportion to this excess. The society in this case lives within its revenue, and what is annually saved out of its revenue is naturally added to its capital, and employed so as to increase still further the annual produce. If the exchangeable value of the annual produce, on the contrary, fall short of the annual consumption, the capital of the society must annually decay in proportion to the deficiency. The expense of the society in this case exceeds its revenue, and necessarily encroaches upon its capital: its capital, therefore, must necessarily decay, and, together with it, the exchangeable value of the annual produce of its industry." Mr Fox, the late Lord Grey, Burke, and Sheridan, were decidedly opposed to the delusive theories of Free Trade. This is admitted in the *Edinburgh Review* of January, 1846. "We must in candour admit and lament that those maxims of policy taught by Dr Adam Smith, which bind nations together by the reciprocal benefits of commerce (there is no reciprocity—[i. e. H.] produced less effect on the minds of the Whig leaders than on that of Mr Pitt."

In fact, all the vital interests of this country require (even the safety of the state requires) the protection of native industry: 1st, Through such a radical change of the Money Law as will remove our home trade beyond the influence of any disturbance to our internal currency, flowing from the foreign trade being able to demand gold at the foreign, not the British, price; 2d, Through the imposition, without delay, of a fixed duty on corn when the price is under 45s. the quarter, with moderate duties on all other articles, excepting cotton for the present. And those who doubt that we are on the eve of great constitutional changes, for which we shall have to thank Sir R. Peel's deviation from principle, have to consider whether PARLIAMENT AS NOW CONSTITUTED BEING REPRESENTATIVES of, or under the influence of, the money market, can be expected thus (by the measure indicated) to raise the price of labour and commodities, and proportionally reduce the exchangeable value of their article, money. Hitherto certainly the monetary battle has always been lost by the selfishness of the "Keweenaw ax" in Parliament. The "dodge," to use Mr Cobden's elegant phrase, has been to confuse or mangle it up with the banking question, with which it has no necessary connection. I explained this as follows in my communication to the *Glasgow Examiner* of 12th August, 1845:—

"We have always seen clearly that Sir Robert Peel must of necessity have temporarily a triumph over his present opponents in parliament on the question of Money, because their ignorance and want of practical experience of the country's trade and other great interests lead them to give to issue with Sir R. Peel on the bill of 1844 only, instead of on the bill of 1849. The bill of 1844 had mainly for its object to give increased security to the holder of bank notes, and in this object it has undoubtedly succeeded. We may question whether the country has not been made to 'pay too dear for its whistle.' We may think it outrageous that Sir Robert

Peel, After the country had thus again, during the second war, enjoyed the blessings of peace, it once more experienced all the previous evils after the conclusion of peace, when a great influx of manufactures again took place, and these evils of peace were even greater than those caused by the devastations of war. It was only in 1824 that the Congress saw the expediency of, and resolved upon, raising the tariff; but that resolution was frustrated by Mr Huxley's threat of retaliatory measures. The ruinous state of the industrial classes of the United States at last compelled the Congress to raise the tariff in 1828, which was, however, modified in 1832 (by the 'Compromise Bill'), owing to the exertions of Mr Fanelet Thompson, the successor of Huxley, in which he was aided by the planters of the South, who all clamoured for a cheap tariff. The consequence of that 'Compromise Bill' was the importation into the United States of such enormous quantities of English manufactures as totally to destroy the balance of Trade between the two countries, and to bring about the commercial crisis in 1835, from which the United States had not yet been recovered, despite the revision of the tariff in 1840. All this plainly shows the necessity of not allowing the imports of a country to exceed the exports, or, in short, of keeping continual vigils in sight the Balance of Trade."



Peel should (to attain so simple an object) prevent the establishment of new banks. We may think it preposterous that the old banks of issue should not be allowed in 1818 to increase their issue of bank notes, as compared to their circulation in 1814, in the same proportion (if they found they could do so) as their paid-up capital in 1848 had increased as compared to their paid-up capital in 1814; and we may ridicule a principle which dooms the commercial transactions of 1844 to be measured by the same volume of circulating medium as those of 1814. And, as regards Scotland, we have an obvious right to complain that Bank of England notes, because practical, evils, and the country would not long rest satisfied without a remedy of them, if it were not at same time very clear that our recent distresses in commercial matters have had their origin not in any great deficiency of currency, but in a total absence of confidence arising from the threatened export of gold. Situated as we were from October, 1846, till May, 1847, had our CURRENT RESERVE MORE EXTENDED MOULD HAVE BEEN CHEAPER, AND GOLD WOULD HAVE, TO THAT EXTENT, BEEN A BETTER SPECULATION TO SHIP; AND THIS BY THE EXPORT OF MORE GOLD OUR MONEY PANIC WOULD HAVE BEEN INFINITELY INCREASED.

"The rise of gold should no longer lead to the rise of money, but should be shown directly by the price of gold rising when through its being in demand as a commodity for export its value has risen (instead of this increased value being expressed in the dishonest, indirect modes of a rise in the rate of interest, of money, and a fall in wages and commodities). Then the foreigner would, at such times as our markets stand in need of his article ask for his commodity just so much more price as would yield him the same weight of gold, (thus we show the prejudice, that this plan would interfere with foreign trade) to be without foundation), while at times when our markets don't stand in need of the particular article of foreign produce the foreigner could not, of course, recover the full premium on gold, which would be a thing indicated by the general demand for gold. Our rate of wages would be good, as on a par with good and uniform employment which would no longer be diminished by the ebbs and flows of foreign trade, were our bank note circulation no longer affected by the low price of gold, compared to labour, leading to its exportation instead of British labour to pay foreigners. If addressing only our Glasgow readers, we might not feel it necessary to amplify at such length our proofs, that cheap gold becomes an equivalent term for dear money, and as a consequence low wages, the moment that gold gets into demand as a commodity for export, which occurs whenever prices of British commodities become remunerative or dearer to the foreigner than £3 17s. 10d per oz.

At present our paper as increasing the amount of money, and in the same ratio increasing the demand, and consequently the price for labour and commodities, appears at first sight greatly to alleviate the effect of the bill of 1819 or the fixed Gold Standard—which has for its object to reduce the price of British commodities and labour by making money dear, (this being a convertible term for making gold cheap nominally, and at the same time making British commodities and wages low or worthless in exchangeable value.) But this happy and natural influence of paper money, as said Sir Robert had business knowledge enough to see inevitable, is nearly altogether lost to the industry of this country by the malign influence which Sir Robert Peel's monetary legislation cause our Foreign Trade to exert as the dictator or regulator of prices, and consequently of wages, and as the great lessener of employment through lessening the circulating medium. It is only, therefore, when prices are down to a ruinous level—which unfortunately they usually are under Peel's system—that the remark of the Free-trader holds true that the foreign trade is now carried on practically in the same way as if we had a barter system, or if there was no more paper money. UNDER A BARTER SYSTEM THE FOREIGNER WOULD GET A LOW PRICE FOR HIS COMMODITIES, BUT WE WOULD GET OUR GOLD AT NO LOWER PRICE THAN AT PRESENT! The object of our measure, as Monetary Reformers, is to do away the influence of the foreign Exchanges on the circulating medium, while it will prevent the price of commodities and wages—as measured by paper, which will represent, and ALWAYS BE CONVERTIBLE INTO, GOLD AT ITS BRITISH PRICE—being as at present not permitted to rise above the level of the low foreign price of £3 17s 10d per ounce for standard gold. We see clearly that what the trade of the country wants is CONFIDENCE, which is liable to be unaligned in three ways—1st. By the want of perfect confidence in the local bank notes—the chief object of Sir R. Peel's bill of 1844 was to secure them, and in which he has succeeded; 2d and 3d. Commercial confidence must also be impossible either when the bank, as must always be the case under our new system of Free Exports, is virtually being drained of gold as in 1847, or when there is the anticipation of a drain of our precious metals as at present; and, as it thus is evident that it is the assured presence of a certain amount of gold that is required, we therefore propose, as above, to prevent the Bank of England parting with any more specie when its stock gets down to fourteen millions. It is obvious that when the Foreign Exchanges get more against us than this point indicates, the country's industry is unnecessarily sacrificed, and our object is to save it, even though the moneyed classes should suffer from the absence of bad times, a high rate of discounts, and low prices and wages!—which are only different ways of expressing the same thing, the necessary effect of the Peel principle of money. Let me repeat two sentences from former articles—"The remedy for this state of things is, that we take up our minds to retain a *Hoarding* as the security of the bank note circulation, doing away with gold as a standard of value." And again,—"The true principle of monetary reform is only another way of expressing the full employment of our national industry free from the distasteful use of force, or an external influence." We must draw the line of demarcation between foreign interests and home and British interests, otherwise—between the operation of the conflicting principles of Peel's Currency bill of 1819, which hangs all confidence and bank facilities on gold, and Peel's Free Import Bill of 1846, which gives away our gold to foreigners—the trade and industry of this country must be ruined, and we shall have the most dreadful social convulsions. I now submit, as I promised, the celebrated letter of Sir R. Peel's father, merely remarking that there is this evidence that the father knew more about Mexico than the son, that the petitions to Parliament of the London Merchants and Bankers from 1793 to 1847 have been in substance the same as this letter, which indeed embodies the views of almost every practical man who had studied the subject I have ever met with. I have always disputed the claim of our opponents to be the "*Laissez-faire*" politicians. Our position is not that by legislation the prosperity of a country can always be secured. Indeed our object—as explained above—is not to introduce any new principle, but only to remove away the mal-legislation of 1819, which has subverted this country's independence of other countries, and rendered the permanent prosperity of our labouring classes a thing impossible.

It may not be generally understood that Peel's father, when thus justly opposing his son's practice, said on a public occasion that the Act of 1819 would add half-a-million sterling to his fortune; but such being the fact, articles like the following, which I take from the *London Standard*, in answer to the Aberdeen demonstration, are not to be wondered at:—"Sir Robert challenges any suspicion of his motives. Now this is hardly fair, but the challenge thrown down must be taken up at any risk. Lord Grey, an able

\* Sir ROBERT PEEL'S *Letter to the Members of both Houses of Parliament*.—My Lords and Gentlemen,—Will you permit an old man to address you on the subject of our Currency? I sat in Parliament thirty years, during which time I frequently heard this important question discussed in the house by Mr Pitt, Mr Fox, and other distinguished characters. On the passing of the Bank Restriction Act, I was entrusted by the merchants and citizens of London to present their petition against the measure. Though my opinions were embodied in their case, my best endeavours to serve them were not successful. Having been long and extensively engaged in commercial dealings, I often witnessed a national embarrassment arising from a defective and impure currency, which resembled the present stagnation in trade, and I lamented to observe, that suffering and experience have failed, in this instance, of producing their usual good effects. In the enlarged scale of business carried on by this country, embracing a great variety of pursuits, a reliance on a metallic circulation alone ever did, and ever will fail us. Gold, though in itself massy, often disappears in consequence of war or speculation—nay, the breath of rumour itself is sufficient to disperse it. Our domestic concerns are interrupted, and confidence lost for want of an ample and approved medium of traffic. I am no friend to an unrestrained issue of paper money, and saw with concern, in the absence of a due quantity of specie, bills admitted into circulation issued by persons of respectability, possessing property, but evidently unable to meet a sudden and large demand upon them. More than two years ago, I mentioned to a friend high in his Majesty's councils my fears of the mischief likely to ensue if the practice were not discontinued, accompanied with a suggestion to confine future issues of paper money, or tokens, to the Bank of England and other competent bodies of men, who would give security in land, the public funds, canals, buildings, or other tangible property, amounting, at least, to one-half of the value of their bills or tokens in circulation. My proposition was not favour'd with any notice, but had it been adopted, I trust of opinion, that most of the panic and distress now so severely felt in the nation would have been avoided. If such an improvement in the banking system could be made applicable to gold, we should have a more secure and a more abundant supply of the state, and a more uniform circulation of paper money. The present paper and distress in the country have been declared by high authority to proceed from "over-trading" and "wild speculation." Infant nations and establishments are liable to miscarry from want of experience and solidity. TRADE AND SPECULATION being the basis of the island, and parents of our wealth and independence, are surely exempt from such an imputation. The same authority has declared that gold and paper money are incompatible with each other, and cannot exist together. The population and trade of the country having been increased, a proportionate increase in the medium of circulation is called for; and when gold is found insufficient, recourse must be had to paper, which, if supported on the principle already suggested, the two substances would be found in the same pack without friction. Anxious to see our situation ameliorated, I trust the currency may be amended without changing or impairing the national and commercial character, which measure, if resorted to, would resemble the policy of diverting from its course a powerful river that had become a tortoise and happened to a large district, merely because, from excessive rains, it had sometimes exceeded its natural limits, and produced partial injury—I am, my Lords and Gentlemen, your faithful and obedient servant,

Brighton Manor, Apr 23, 1829.

HUGH PEEL.

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IT IS BOUND TO DEFEND THE COUNTRY—AS IS SHOWN IN ALL TITLES TO LAND FROM THE CROWN BEING FOR SERVICES TO THE COUNTRY—AND THAT THE PRESENT AND ALL FUTURE NATIONAL DEBTS MUST BE VIEWED TO BE A CLAIM ONLY ON THE REALISED PROPERTY OF THE COUNTRY, LANDED AND PERSONAL. WE MAY INSIST THAT THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER SHALL OWE OVER THE PROVIDING FOR THE INTEREST OF THE NATIONAL DEBT TO NATIONAL COMMISSIONERS OF THE DEBT, THE EXCHEQUER HAVING HERETOFORE NO MORE TO DO WITH THE DEBT, EXCEPT THAT FOR THE FOLLOWING YEAR—THIS BEING VIEWED TO BE THE MEASURE OF PROTECTION TO NATIONAL INDUSTRY AFFORDED BY THE PROPERTY OF THE COUNTRY. WE SHOULD LIKE TO SEE THE GLASGOW VIEW DECLARED TO BE THAT FOR ONE YEAR A HALF PER CENT. BE RAISED FROM THE WHOLE PRODUCE OF GREAT BRITAIN, LEAVING THE ASSESSMENT NEXT YEAR TO BE REDUCED TO THE EXTENT OF THE BALANCE DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF THE REVENUE FROM TRADE ALLUDED TO ABOVE. THE PROPERTY OF GREAT BRITAIN IS ESTIMATED AT FIVE THOUSAND MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING, AND ONE-HALF PER CENT. ON THIS IS TWENTY-FIVE MILLIONS. BUT UNDER A RESUSCITATED STATE OF PROSPERITY IN THE COUNTRY WE WOULD CALCULATE THAT THAN BIRMINGHAM AT THE PRESENT CRISIS. WE NEED ONLY REFER TO OUR VIEWS AS STATED ABOVE. GLASGOW MAY, IN ITS MONETARY REFORM, COMBINE THE BULLIONIST BASIS FOR THE LEGAL TENDER PAPER WITH THE TOTAL ERADICATION OF THE HARD MONEY MONOPOLY—WHICH IS THE OBJECT OF THE BIRMINGHAM SCHOOL, ALTHOUGH TO ATTAIN IT THEY WOULD INVOLVE US IN AN EVIL ONLY LESS FATAL, DEPRECIATION FROM INSURENCY: GLASGOW, IN A WORD, MAY HOLD TO THE SIMPLE CURVE OF MAKING THE STATE OF THE FOREIGN EXCHANGES, OR THE EXPORT OF GOLD, BE INDICATED IN A RISE IN THE COMMODITY GOLD INSTEAD OF IN THE COMMODITY MONEY, THE BANK NOTE BEING ONLY REPRESENTATIVE OF GOLD AT THE MARKET PRICE OF GOLD IN THE LONDON MARKET, AND THE BANK OF ENGLAND BEING ENTITLED TO HAVE NOTES OUT TO THE FULL LONDON MARKET VALUE OF THE GOLD IN ITS VAULTS—BESIDES THE FOURTEEN MILLIONS—THE BANK THUS BEING MADE INTERESTED IN SUPPLYING ANY VACUUM OF CIRCULATION THROUGH THE EXPORTATION OF GOLD BY AN INCREASED ISSUE OF PAPER UP TO THE INCREASED MARKET VALUE OF THE GOLD IN ITS VAULTS. WE MAY BE ASKED HOW THE GLASGOW SCHOOL HAS VIEWS SUPERIOR TO THOSE OF THE MANCHESTER SCHOOL. WE ANSWER THAT WE GO THE LENGTH OF SOCIAL ECONOMY, NOT STOPPING SHORT AT POLITICAL ECONOMY. OUR VIEWS ARE PATRIOTIC—ON HAVE REFERENCE TO OUR OWN COUNTRY; FOR WE DO NOT EXPECT TO GET CREDIT FOR OUR GOOD INTENTIONS TOWARDS THE WORLD, TILL AFTER WE HAVE PRACTICALLY ILLUSTRATED THEM IN OUR OWN FAMILIES; IN A WORD, WE MUST (TO USE THE WORDS OF BURNS) "BE LOVED AT HOME" BEFORE WE CAN BE "REVERED ABROAD."

"From scenes like these old Scotia's grandeur springs,  
That makes her loved at home, revered abroad."

THE MANCHESTER VIEWS ARE COSMOPOLITE—FORGETTING THAT THOUGH CHARITY SHOULD NOT END AT HOME IT SHOULD BEGIN THERE. GLASGOW, IN FACT, MAY GO FOR RECIPROCAL FREE TRADE, AS OPPOSED TO THE MANCHESTER COMMERCIAL ATHEISM OF IRREPROCAL FREE TRADE; BY, IN OTHER WORDS, BY BRITISH LEGISLATION, EXCEPT THAT BY SO FRAMING OUR LAWS AS TO GIVE TO OUR OWN PEOPLE, AND TO THOSE WHO WILL RECIPROCATE WITH US, A PREFERENCE OF OUR NATIONAL EMPLOYMENT—AT HOME, AT SEA, AND IN THE COLONIES—WE MAY GRADUALLY INCREASE THE BIDDERS FOR THE POOR MAN'S LABOUR, AND THUS INDIRECTLY RAISE HIS WAGES. THE GREATEST EMPLOYMENT OF OUR WORKING CLASSES, IRRESPECTIVE OF PRICE, MUST BE THE VITAL QUESTION. WE OF COURSE HOLD THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF FREE TRADE WOULD, IF ATTAINABLE IN PRACTICE, BE THE BEST FOR THIS COUNTRY, BECAUSE WE HAVE MORE CAPITAL, MORE INDUSTRY, AND MORE ECONOMY THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY; AND NONE COULD OBJECT MORE THAN OURSELVES TO THE PROTECTION, FOR ITS OWN SAKE, OF ANY CLASS INTEREST IN THIS COMMUNITY. WE, HOWEVER, HAVE ALWAYS EXPECTED FREE TRADE TO BE, AT LEAST TO A GREAT EXTENT, RECIPROCAL, BECAUSE WE HAVE ALWAYS SEEN THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF OUR CURRENCY—THE LIFE BLOOD OF ALL OUR INTERESTS—BEING PROTECTED FROM INVASION AT THE WILL OF OUR FOREIGN OPPONENTS, BY THEIR DRAINING US OF OUR PRECIOUS METALS; AND WE NOW GIVE BELOW OUR SKETCH OF A FREE TRADE RECIPROCAL LEAGUE:—

#### A RECIPROCAL LEAGUE, OR BRITISH ZOLLVEREIN, MUST BE PROPOSED BY THE SOCIAL ECONOMISTS.

1st. We would at once proclaim entire Free Trade with our colonies, thus making them integral parts of the empire, and receiving their sugar, wheat, and every other production free of duty; and by the same Act of Parliament we would provide (with our confidence in British manufacturing superiority) that foreign productions be also received duty free from all countries which agree not to charge us more than fifteen per cent. duty on the value in Britain, on any British manufacture. 2d. We conceive it to be reasonable that such countries as will not take British labour in payment should have deducted from the price they get in England for their productions, a certain sum equivalent to the national and local burdens and taxes, which weigh to the earth our native or Colonial producers of the same articles. And our Act of Parliament would provide that on all foreign articles except cotton (the production of countries that will not accept the above liberal terms of reciprocity), on which there is now no duty, or a duty less than fifteen per cent. on the value in Britain, the said duty of fifteen per cent. be levied by our Custom Houses. 3d. The foreign price of gold to be done away—the price hereafter to be indicated by the foreign exchanges, so that bad times will hereafter raise the price of the commodity, gold, in which foreigners and annuitants are alone interested, instead of, as at present, the price of money (to keep down the value of which is the interest of all classes in Great Britain and her colonies, except the mere annuitants), and so that the annuitants or money market, finding gold going to an increased price as compared with their money, may be driven to co-operate with our European price, or, in other words, the annuitants made to regain the present value given to it by the money law of Sir Robert Peel. In a word, we decidedly are free traders; but in common with almost the entire working classes, and most practical manufacturers and merchants who prefer their country to their party—we now see that what is not reciprocal, is not in truth free trade. By our great boon we have it in our power to give, till we get something approaching an equivalent, make it the interest of the foreign grower of wheat and other produce to use all their united influence with their respective Governments in favour of the British manufacturer; for we see reciprocity to be absolutely necessary to prevent so great a reduction of employment as in this country and her colonies must lead to revolution, although there exists no disloyalty to the Monarchy.

#### MEANS TO THE FOREGOING GREAT ENDS OR MACHINERY OF THE SOCIAL ECONOMIST PARTY.

Universal Suffrage need be the only thing agitated for, because the Parliament once popularised, the other Reforms will follow as a matter of course; but our Universal Suffrage must be by the ballot, and we must use it as a machinery for the election of both houses of Parliament, if we would prevent aristocratic prejudices from hindering popular legislation, and from thus precipitating such a state of things as exists on the Continent. We would not degrade the Lords from being an ennobled class, but before permitting any of them to interfere in the country's legislation, we would require him to gain the votes of one of the same constituencies as elect the Commons, and we would make eligible for the House of Lords all the descendants (when registered) of all English, Irish, and Scotch peers in the House of Commons in three different Parliaments.

But it may be asked, how can the money-law be changed, and the rights of labour asserted, with Parliament constituted as at present? We answer—Even if the Whigs and political economists were beaten in Parliament by the friends of the working classes, and even if the theories of political economy were to break down (as no doubt they will) from sheer inherent weakness, the friends of the people will still be divided by church questions. Lord Stanley would not support a ministry composed of Dissenters, as on their principles they must do away with the Established Church. The Dissenters, on the other hand, would not trust Lord Stanley with power, because he would perpetuate the Church, which they hold to be our greatest nuisance. All, therefore, must see that

were illegal, null and void. Nothing is wanted, but a voice to speak such words in a seat of public deliberation, and the creditor will instantly understand that he receives his dividends by sufferance, by indulgence, as a matter of expediency, but not by law or right. The house may be counted out, and no debate take place, but the consolidation of the system will be dated from the day on which actual settlement of the motion. Indeed, the value of the securities may fall more by a protracted and irrelevant debate, than by an dividends are not primary, or depending on the original contract, but secondary, viz (1.) Because of the imminent and great dangers and sufferings to all classes which legislation would cause. (2.) Because each successive parliament has in turn committed at the public sale of the claims of individuals over the proceeds of future taxation."



if Universal Suffrage is the only means of getting rid of the Church, it is the only means of rendering it possible for us to have the QUESTION OF LABOUR considered—the only way, in our opinion, to avoid revolution (even although no disloyalty to the Crown or to the person of the Sovereign exists in this country.) Such is the result of the desertion by Bishops and other churchmen, under Sir R. Peel, of British industry. I had these views, nearly in the same words, before the late Lord George Bentinck, on the breaking out of the revolutions on the Continent, appealing to him, for the sake of his country, to come out on the INTEREST OF LABOUR, as the head of a great native industry party. My question then was, CAN THE BRITISH MONARCHY BE PRESERVED?—THE GREATEST—THE MOST ENDURING—THE MOST DISINTERESTED—PERSONIFICATION OF RIGHT AND PRACTICAL PRINCIPLES THAT HAS BEEN TESTED BY TIME!—and with my answer on that occasion I shall close this explanation, already, I fear, too much extended for the general reader:—

"I answer No, emphatically No, unless our Upper Classes permit the immediate adoption of measures which their personal integrity of the Republic rather than yield the wretched 'institution' of slavery. I believe the people of Republican America prefers risking the error to the Monarchy, but I don't believe their self-respect will any longer permit them to tolerate church establishments, exclusive universities, or the uncontrolled interference of the nobility in the legislation of the country. The time has come when the possibility of SAVING THE CROWN itself, depends on our having it distinctly understood, that the objects of the Government are just the simple, practical, and disinterested objects of philanthropy, so boldly and unequivocally expressed by Oliver Cromwell when he said, 'If any man thinks that the interest of these nations and the interest of Christianity are two separate and distinct things, I wish my soul may never enter into his secret.' And I have not the least doubt that every Government, till it has come to feel itself the mere instrument of God's purposes, is liable to the moral consequences of its conduct, DISQUIET, OVERTURN, and REVOLUTION."

## UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE LEFT US BY PEEI.

BY LEAVING THE LABOUR AND FIXED PROPERTY UNREPRESENTED BY ANY EFFECTIVE PARTY, PEEI HAS LEFT THE COUNTRY NO ALTERNATIVE BUT A CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

"After a trial of seventeen years, it cannot be denied that, with regard to any systematic legislation for the amelioration of the moral and material condition of the working classes, the Reform Act has failed to make good the professions which it held out, and sure which they prescribed as sufficient to effect them. The objects which its authors then professed to desire have not been attained by the measure, therefore, against the Reform Act, is not with regard to the nature, but to the extent of the measure which it has produced. Our complaint, the necessity was felt of effecting a change which should secure a greater attention to the interests of the middle and working classes. The change which was actually accomplished resembled the answer of Jove to the hero's petition—he granted half the prayer, the other half he scattered to the winds. Since 1832 we have had a systematic course of legislation, in which the wants and wishes of the middle class have been carefully attended to, and their interests habitually consulted. But have we seen signs of the same solicitude with respect to the necessities and interests—certainly not less pressing nor less important—of the working classes? We do not indeed, for an instant suppose that there can be any antagonism or contrariety between the interests of the employer and those of the employed; no error could be more fatal, no doctrine more mischievous. We are most anxious to assert that the gain of the former is ultimately, though indirectly, the gain of the latter. But, while we admit the concurrence of their interests, we deny that they are at all points co-extensive. \* \* \* This is our charge against the reformed House of Commons—that it has dealt effectually with no questions where the interests of the middle class ceased to be co-extensive with those of the working class. The long and anxious discussions, the thorough and effective legislation, on all commercial questions—contrasted with the indifference to educational and sanitary measures, and with the miserably insufficient provision for these objects—completely establish our position. The predominant influence in the legislature had no direct interest in these questions, and they consequently went to the wall."—From the *Peel Organ, the Morning Chronicle*, of 6th September, 1849.

"By the Reform Bill two-thirds of the seats in the House of Commons were given to the boroughs, and two-thirds of the voters in the boroughs, in the new constituency, were shopkeepers or those in their interest. Thus a decisive majority in the House which, by buying and selling—with whom *cheap prices* (and low wages as a necessary consequence) was all in all. The producing classes were virtually, and to all practical purposes, cast out of the scale. The landed interest on all questions vital to its welfare, would evidently soon be in a minority."—From *Blackwood's Magazine* for July, 1849.

"Hence we can say to the gentlemen of the Reform League, Your project fills us with no terror on account of what we may lose. We are not inclined to receive a new constitution at your hands; but as for the existing system of representation, it came from the Birmingham mint—A Lambton was its principal inventor. No Conservative assisted at its fabrication; nor will any Conservative mourn when, as base metal, it shall be cast away. We end, as we began, by recommending these matters to the consideration of the Conservatives. There is nothing in the existing system for which they are bound to fight. And any change in which justice and common sense are not thrown quite out of view, must be a change for the better. So saying, however, we give no accord or approval to the Drury-Lane proceedings. We doubt the honesty of the promoters of that movement. We fear that their ultimate object is to get the government of the country, by fair means or foul, into their own hands. But this conviction makes us only the more anxious that a great question, such as that of the representation, should not be left entirely in their possession."—*Morning Herald*, Aug. 18, 1849.

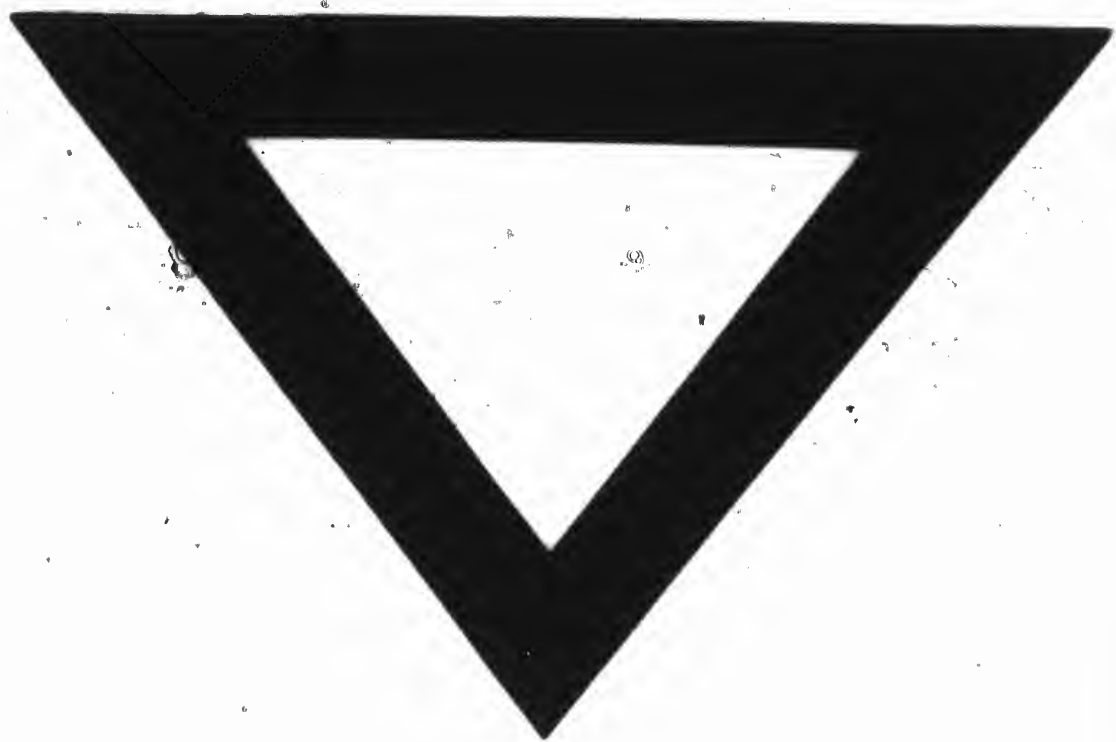
"In regarding Peel's monetary school, or the House of Commons as at present constituted, we fully sympathise with Cromwell when he told the parliament to make room for better men. The original policy and present effort of Peel's class to bribe the money market, by giving money a monopoly of the property and labour markets. PEELISM seems altogether incapable of seeing that in all countries the goodness or popularity of a government is just in the proportion that it sides with the labour, as opposed to the money, power."—From my communication to the *Glasgow Examiner*, of 14th Nov., 1848.

Loyalty to the monarchy and devoted attachment to the Sovereign are shown by her Majesty's recent reception in Ireland, and by all classes here (in Scotland), to be quite compatible with our entertaining the gravest objections to the nation's Legislative acts, and with the firmest determination on our part to have a radical alteration in the machinery of Parliament, for millions of her Majesty's subjects are well known to have been brought to feel that no remedy short of *Universal Suffrage* will avail to cure our national wretchedness. We of course see that as a man on being called on to act as a special constable, or to perform any other duty of the subject, is not interrogated as to his possessing a ten pound qualification, neither should this be a condition to his enjoying the privilege of the subject; but we also see that the wresting of the practical monopoly of legislative power from the moneyed interest is not only absolutely necessary to the improvement and moral elevation of the working classes, but to their very existence. We think, in fact, that the overthrow speedily of political economy or "cheapness" is necessary to save our people from starvation, and the country as a necessary consequence from political trouble and confusion. Comparatively few seem to have their eyes open to what is passing around them, and this is what induces the republication of these letters in this shape. The writer's aim, however, was originally, and is now, only the humble one of leading attention to the subject of our critical position as a nation, before we again find ourselves amid commercial difficulties like those in 1817, which were wholly caused by Sir Robert Peel's money Bill of 1819, or surrounded by other continental Revolutions, when all our danger would be felt to flow from the reasonable discontent of our working masses. At the breaking out of the late French Revolution the writer endeavoured to express his critical position of the country in a letter (published at the time) to the late Lord George Bentinck, dated New York, 25th March, 1848, as follows:—

"The time has come when we must be in a position to have a reasonable expectation that every class of her Majesty's subjects will be cheerfully prepared to do all the duties of the subject, and when, as a matter of course, we must yield to every one all the subject's privileges. A man can scarcely be expected to lay his life and property on the altar of his country, if he has not the same extent of interest in, and attachment to, the Government, as is enjoyed by his neighbour. Upon this ground alone then I would insist on the vital necessity of immediately doing away with Church establishments and exclusive Universities. I would let each incumbent enjoy the what he at present has during his life, but at his death, I should have the clergyman's income diverted to the purpose of Common School Education, or to support Ragged Schools, if any other reasons were wanted to show this important reform being imperatively called for, we would find it in the fact that church quarrels divide those who are mutually the people's advocates in the question of protection to the British labourer or artisan. At the opening of the Parliament in January, 1847, being then in Glasgow, I published the following remarks on this vital point:—'It will soon become palpable that there are not really two Working Constitutional Parties in the State, and that the Whigs or Political Economists have a Monopoly of Power: for it will be self-evident







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