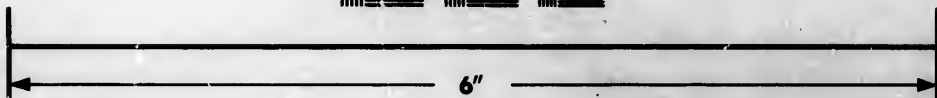
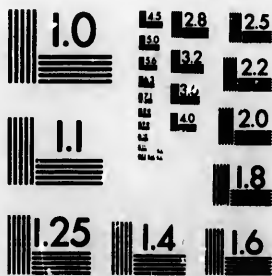


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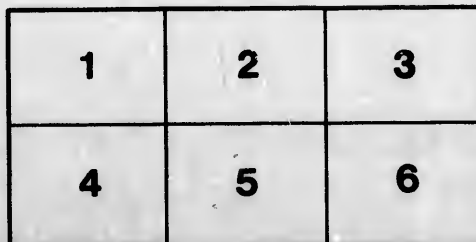
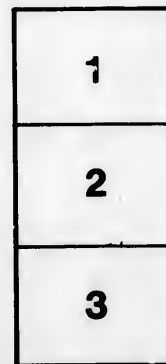
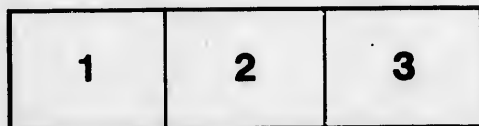
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London 1st April 1838

A FEW MORE WORDS

UPON

CANADA.

BY

CHARLES CLARK, Esq.

BARRISTER AT LAW;

AUTHOR OF "A FEW WORDS ON THE SUBJECT OF CANADA." No 2 -

LONDON:

LONGMAN, ORME, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.

1838.

WILSON AND SON, PRINTERS, 57, SKINNER-STREET, LONDON.

A FEW MORE WORDS,

§c. §c.

THE French Canadians have erected the standard of revolt, and troops have been ordered to the province to reduce them to submission. The “earnest anxiety and unremitting endeavours of the Home Government” to carry into execution the suggestions of the Select Committee of 1828* have failed of their intended effect. Con-

* See the Report of the Select Committee of 1834, appointed on the motion of Mr. Roebuck. Mr. Hume was at first named a member, but declined serving, on the ground that he was already on seven committees. Among the members who did serve on the Committee were Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Warburton, Mr. O’Connell, and Sir W. Molesworth. The Committee of 1828 had made a great many suggestions for the redress of the grievances of which the Canadians then complained. That Committee was described by the Lower House of Assembly in the strongest terms of praise, and its

cession and reasoning have alike been unsuccessful, and the Canadians have put the English

suggestions were referred to as the standard of what ought to be done to satisfy the Canadians. The Committee of 1834 was directed to inquire how far the recommendation of the Committee of 1828 had been complied with, and to inquire into certain other grievances since brought under the consideration of the House. The Committee of 1834 reported thus:—"Your Committee consider it their duty to declare their opinion, that a most earnest anxiety has existed on the part of the Home Government to carry into execution the suggestions of the Select Committee of 1828, and that the endeavours of the Government to that end have been unremitting, and guided by the desire, in all cases, to promote the interests of the Colony; and your Committee have observed, with much satisfaction, that in several important particulars their endeavours have been completely successful."—"Your Committee believe that they will best discharge their duty by withholding any further opinion on the points still in dispute. It has appeared to them that some mutual misconception has prevailed, and when your Committee consider the extreme importance that a perfect reconciliation of these differences should take place, they express their earnest hope that these misconceptions being removed, many of the present difficulties will no longer exist, or may be amicably adjusted. Your Committee are also induced to take this course by their persuasion, that the practical measures for the future administration of Lower Canada may best be left to the mature consideration of the Government, responsible for their adoption and execution." In a debate upon a petition from Canada, presented by Mr. Hume, after this Report had been laid on the table of the House, Mr. Hume, in his usual manner, made a sweeping assertion. He said—"In 1828 this House recommended certain measures to be carried into effect; but six

Government upon the hard, but inevitable, necessity of conquering them by force. Their revolt has converted the dispute from a purely Colonial into a European question ; and if the English Government wishes to maintain the respect now felt by other nations for England's power and authority, both must be effectively vindicated in the rebellious province, whatever may be the course ultimately intended to be pursued with regard to that province itself. But in order to act with vigour there, the Government ought to feel that it is cordially supported at home. Does it deserve to be so supported? Let us look a little into the history of this matter.

When General Wolfe conquered Canada, there were found in the province certain laws

years have passed over without any thing being done with that view." The same assertion has been made lately. Yet there stands the Report of the Committee of 1834, and Mr. Secretary Rice, when calling Mr. Hume's attention to that Report, said, and said it without being contradicted—"It is the verdict of an impartial Committee unanimously agreed to, and especially supported by the hon. and learned gentleman who moved for the appointment of that Committee."—*Mirror of Parliament for 1834*, p. 3199.

and customs, the relics of the ancient times of France. These laws and customs prevailed among a population descended from the French, speaking the French language, and distinguished by French habits. At that time no Republic existed on the Continent of America, and the French Revolution had not come to sweep away the old forms of French despotism. The American Revolution broke out about twelve years after the conquest of Canada, and the French Canadians, viewing with horror the republican notions of the day, fought most cordially on the side of the British. The French Revolution followed. The French Canadians were imbued with the spirit of a bitter hostility to the men who had effected, and to the country which had adopted that revolution. Lower Canada was the La Vendée of America, and if distance had not forbidden it, the French Canadians would have been found under the banners of La Roche Jacquelin, fighting for the ancient regime of France, and against any assertion of popular, in opposition to kingly and feudal rights. Their loyalty to the British sovereign, when engaged in the last war with the United States, was another result of this feeling.

It was a sentiment with them to be loyal to a Monarch, for they hated Republicans and Republicanism; nor is their present conduct a disproof of this fact. The real contest between them and the English Government is a bigoted struggle, on their parts, for the maintenance and supremacy of the feudal oligarchy of certain families in the province, the existence of that oligarchy being now endangered by the progress of free English institutions and habits. It is, in fact, a contest between the ancient and barbarous regime of France and all modern improvements — improvements very temperately introduced by England, and, in themselves, far less extensive and summary than those adopted in that very France to which Canada once belonged. It is a violent effort, on the part of feudal seigneurs, to perpetuate worn-out customs, in the continuance of which they have a pecuniary and personal interest opposed to the mass of the people; and it is not the less so because, in order to secure this object, these seigneurs adopted, at one time, a popular and constitutional mode of proceeding, invented and

practised in England*. The English method of stopping the Supplies—(a method talked of here and in the United States, but for the sake of public convenience not enforced, and only talked

* This method is stopping the Supplies. Mr. Roebuck, in a new publication just started by him, called "The Canadian Portfolio," says, "Remember that in every case the real refusal of the Supplies came from the Legislative Council." In this, as in many other instances, Mr. Roebuck quite mistakes the facts. The Address of the Assembly, in August last, upon the Speech made on the opening of the Session, after referring to the declarations of Earl Gosford respecting the Legislative Council, says—"As this declaration neither changes nor weakens the reasons which, at the last Session, induced this House to suspend its deliberations, we find ourselves under the painful necessity of adhering to the determination we then came to of suspending our deliberations until the consummation of the reforms (and that of the Legislative Council above all), announced by and in the name of the Imperial authorities." Here, at least, there was a stoppage of Supplies, and of every thing else, on the part of the Assembly; and in this Address the Assembly refers to what appears to be a similar stoppage in the preceding year. In the other case, the Bills of Supply, if sent up at all, had tacked to them clauses which rendered the adoption of them by the Government or the Legislative Council impossible. In such cases, Mr. Roebuck might contend that the Bills were stopped by the Council—in form they were, in substance they were not. At all events Mr. Roebuck's assertion assumes the whole question, and then, on this assumption, throws the blame on the Legislative Council or the Government.

of in very extreme cases)—has been resorted to most freely by the Lower Canadians, in order to compel the Government to revive and maintain laws which, in all the rest of the world, had deservedly been condemned to destruction. That this is really the object of the self-styled patriots of the Lower Canada House of Assembly is proved by all the evidence given before the Committees, and even by their own language. Mr. Neilson, one of the deputies to this country in 1828, and who gave his evidence very fully before the Committee which sat in that year, clearly stated the feeling of hostility to change, which influenced him and the men of his party*. That feeling still influences them. The improvements which British and American enterprise

* He had been asked about tenures and local organization, and other matters of a practical nature, and then this question was put—"Is it your belief, from your knowledge of the people of French extraction in Lower Canada, that from seeing such a system established in their immediate neighbourhood, they would be likely, in course of time, to conform themselves to it, and to wish to adopt it?" His answer is, "*Upon the whole, many of us have been rather afraid than otherwise that they would conform too fast to what they saw in their immediate neighbourhood; but I conceive there might be a great many improvements introduced among them with their own consent, without making them exactly such as in their neighbourhood, for it is not altogether what we could wish.*"—*H. use of Commons Papers for 1828, paper 569, p. 89.*

were likely to introduce were so many changes, which, because they were changes, were and are hateful in the eyes of the gentlemen of Lower Canada, who view with peculiar dislike the successful cultivation of commercial pursuits by the British and American settlers; pursuits, in which their prejudices will not allow them to join, and the fortunate results of which excite in their minds nothing but wrath and envy.* With this feeling among the gentlemen, the humbler classes being, as they notoriously are, very ignorant, are easily misled to sympathize. Nor is it at all wonderful that this should be the case. It was so in the early times of this and all other countries. The feudal retainers of the Lords

* The *New York Herald*, in order to show the honesty of purpose of Mr. Papineau, gives a character of him; in the course of which it says, "He looks upon commerce as an innovation, and its extension as corrupting the innocence and simplicity of his countrymen; agriculture is, with him, their natural vocation; and in the prosperity of merchants, he sees the commencement of a system by which their lands will be wrested from seigneurs and farmers, by the sure but gradual progress of trade, and the necessary mutation of real property. He is hostile to the diffusion of the English language, as he considers its propagation as a latent and dangerous auxiliary to the dissemination of the modern principles of business." The justice of these statements is fully borne out by his struggles in favour of the continuance of a system which must destroy or be destroyed by the effects of commercial enterprise.

were always ready to do battle (whatever might be the cause or pretext of the quarrel,) in defence of the overgrown and monstrous power of their masters. They were bitterly inimical to the freedom cherished in the towns, and to all who claimed exemption from feudal services; as if the existence of that freedom had been the cause and the shame of their own slavery, and as if the towns, instead of being the blessing, had been the curse of the land. The fact, therefore, that the French Canadian population is willingly guided by Papineau and his party, proves nothing more than what history has in a thousand other instances proved,—that under certain circumstances an ignorant people can easily be induced obstinately to cling to habits, even though mischievous to themselves, but which bear the recommendation of being old, and pertinaciously to refuse proffered benefits that labour under the disadvantage of being new. If this was a matter in which the interests of the French Canadians alone were concerned, they ought to be indulged in their folly, but when they wish not merely to retain their antiquated customs, but to force those customs on others who have no prejudice

of the same sort, the indulgence cannot be afforded them.

Before we proceed to show how the grievances which once did oppress the Lower Canadians, and the existence of which we never affected to deny, have been redressed by the Government at home, or the means of redressing them, offered to the Legislature of Lower Canada, it may be as well to consider what was the original error committed by the British Government, and then to inquire whether the Government ever possessed or now possesses the means of remedying that error by any other course than that which it has lately adopted. England obtained in the cession of Canada a province in which the institutions, laws, habits, language, and manners of the people, were different from her own. At the time of the Conquest, England had the undoubted right and the power to impose on that province what laws might be thought beneficial, and to grant or refuse any institutions whatever. When this province was formally ceded, no restriction as to matters of government was attempted by the King of

France, either in the preliminary articles or in the definitive treaty, to be placed upon the authority of the King of England ; nor was any promise of a restrictive nature given by the latter to the former.* That was the true period at which to change the institutions and customs of Lower Canada ; and if the change had then been made, it would have been looked upon by the people of the province as a matter of course—as a change to be expected upon conquest ; and by this time they would have been so amply satisfied with the wisdom of the change, and the benefits it had secured to them, that no attempts of their now feudal superiors would ever have been sufficient to create among them the expression of a wish to revert to the old system. It has been so

* The second section of the Preliminary Articles, and the fourth section of the Definitive Treaty of Peace, correspond with each other. They relate to Canada. The cession is full and complete, and the only limitation introduced into it of any sort relates to religion. " His Britannic Majesty agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada. He will, in consequence, give the most precise and effectual orders that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Roman church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit."—There never has been a pretence that this stipulation has not been exactly performed. Indeed, it will presently be seen that the Lower Canadians were altogether free from the restric-

in France itself, where the complete abolition of old tenures, and the institution of a perfectly new mode of holding and transmitting land, are in themselves considered as a compensation for the fearful evils which France suffered in attaining them. But we proceeded upon a wrong course at first. Our colonies were treated in a most unstatesmanlike manner.* The Canadians had been the subjects, it might be said the slaves, of a despotic Government. Interest and influence combined to make the chief men among them the supporters of the forms of that despotism, to which also long habit had so inured the people, that they came at length to regard these very forms with a certain degree of affection ; like the farmer in the fable, who quarrelled with his partner, and threatened a dissolution of the partnership, because a piece of noisome marsh land, on which he had been accustomed from his infancy to see

tions which the laws of Great Britain imposed on British subjects.—*See post*, p. 21.

* This was observable even in the mode in which, by the act of 1791, we divided the provinces. We gave the only ports to Lower Canada, so that if that province should become independent, or join the American Union, Upper Canada would be, like Poland, an isolated province, without communication with the sea except through an enemy's territory. The evils which Poland suffers from this circumstance must teach us to protect Upper Canada from such inflictions.

pools stagnate and reeds flourish, had been carefully drained and put under the plough. Long association had rendered the plashy marsh not only familiar, but pleasing in his eyes. Instead of changing these old forms of despotism, (in themselves quite incompatible with the existence of a free Government,) at the moment when the power and the right to change them would have been fully acknowledged, and instead of giving the Canadians institutions that would have fitted them for the proper exercise of political rights, we conferred those rights upon them at once, and conferred them even in a more ample manner than they had been enjoyed in colonies of British origin. This was our first grievous error, and we are now foolish enough to be astonished at the consequences. We are surprised that the leading men of the province, finding their individual wealth and importance attacked by the improvements going on around them, and made by men of another class and under another system, should convert the very power we have bestowed into the means of checking or destroying that system itself. That the injury to the personal interests and influence

of the Canadian Lords, is the real though not the avowed ground of complaint, appears not only from the statement of Mr. Neilson's feelings, and from the description given of Mr. Papineau's sentiments, but from a complaint which Mr. Roebuck made on moving for the Committee in 1834*.

What is it of which the Lower Canadians now complain? The Morning Chronicle of Wednesday (January 3), contains the "Address of the

* On that occasion, Mr. Roebuck, in the course of his speech, said, "In the discharge of a great duty I solemnly charge the Executive Government (of the province), for the last twenty years, with disgracefully and corruptly endeavouring to create and perpetuate national discord and religious hatred among his Majesty's Canadian subjects, to serve their own private and paltry purposes. It is now seen and known that the French Canadians are, one and all, excluded from the society of the Chateau: every mark of degradation is cast upon them, and it is endeavoured to make them feel, in all respects, that they are an inferior class. The people have a right to feel and express their indignation at this attempt to degrade them, and they do feel and express it."—*Mirror of Parliament* for 1834, p. 1262. In justice to Mr. Roebuck it ought to be remembered that this speech was made on moving for the Committee of 1834, and consequently before he was really acquainted with the matter about which he was speaking, and before he "especially supported" the Report of that Committee.

'Sons of Liberty of Montreal' to the young Men of the North American Colonies," published in the *Vindicator*, on the 4th of October last, and therefore justly to be considered as the latest manifesto of grievances put forth by the Canadians. The document is too long to be transcribed at full length here, but it concludes with an exhortation to the young men to unite, in order "to procure for this province a reformed system of government, based upon the elective principle; a responsible executive; the control by the representative branch of the Legislature of all public revenues, from whatever source derived; the repeal of all laws and charters passed by foreign authority, encroaching upon the rights of the people and their representatives, especially those relating to the proprietorship and tenures of land, whether belonging to the public or to individuals; an improved system of selling public lands, whereby those who wish to become actual settlers thereon may be able to do so at a small expense; the abolition of pluralities and irresponsibility of office, and an equality, before the law, for all classes, without distinction of origin, language, or religion; and depending on God, and

strong in our right, we hereby invite the young men of these provinces to form associations in their several localities, for the attainment of good, cheap, responsible government, and for the security, defence, and extension of our common liberties."

Every one of these objects was made matter of consideration before the Committee of 1828, and again before that of 1834. The first of these Committees made certain recommendations; the last of them, as we have seen, reported that there had been, on the part of the Home Government, an "earnest anxiety" to carry these recommendations into effect, and that it had used "unremitting efforts for that purpose, and that in many respects those efforts had been "completely successful." Let us for a moment refer to the matters contained in this manifesto itself. First, the demand is for "a reformed system of government based upon the elective principle, and a responsible executive." The demand here is more speciously than truly described. The Canadians really want something which no protecting state can allow its province to have. This demand

has already been discussed, and the impossibility of fully complying with it, while England holds with respect to Canada the relation of a protecting state, sufficiently shewn*.

The next is, "the control by the representative branch of the Legislature, of all revenues, from whatever source derived." This has been conceded in the most generous manner, by an act of the Imperial Parliament; and the present interference of the Parliament, with the exercise of the right conceded, by means of the Resolutions moved by Lord John Russell, in March last, was rendered not only necessary, but unavoidable, by the conduct of the Canadians themselves†.

Then comes a demand for "the repeal of all laws and charters passed by foreign authority" [that is, the English Parliament], "encroaching upon the rights of the people and their representatives, especially those relating to the proprietorship and tenures of land," "and an improved system of selling public lands." The first portion of

* See "A Few Words upon Canada," p. 13, et seq.

† Ibid. p. 42, et seq.

this demand is one which it would be the greatest injustice and dishonour on the part of England to concede in the manner required by the Canadians. Settlers have been allured to Canada from all ranks of society in the British Isles, under the belief that when there they should enjoy their own laws and customs in another part of our empire, and that the only substantive change in their condition would be that of living almost free from taxation. That change, fortunately for the "oppressed Canadians," they do enjoy, and it is the chief compensation they have received for quitting their native land. But if this demand of the Canadian Assembly was complied with, instead of receiving compensation they would have to suffer confiscation; they would be stripped of every other advantage, their property would be taken from them, and the system under which it might perhaps be again granted out, would be one which must necessarily check every operation of the skill or enterprise of the tenant, and must leave him the serf of a feudal lord, instead of the free holder of a free estate*.

* See "A Few Words," p. 22, et seq.

As to the latter portion of the demand, that there may be "an improved method of selling public lands, whereby those who wish to become actual settlers may do so at a small expense," if any such improved method can be discovered it is clear that on the part of the English people as well as on that of the Canadians, such method ought to be adopted. But it is doubtful whether this is not a mere unmeaning phrase introduced for the purpose of rounding off a sentence, or, if it is a proposition of real service to the Colony, whether, as in several other instances, it has not been put forward for the purpose of throwing the blame of its rejection on the Government; that rejection being secured by the House of Assembly tacking to the proposition some clause which it was known would render it impossible for the Legislative Council or the Governor to accept the bill in which it was maintained.

The last demand is for "an equality, before the law, of all classes, without distinction of origin, language, or religion." The introduction of this as a demand to be now complied with, stamps the spirit of the whole proceeding. It is false to pretend that such a demand can now be made,

or that it has not long been conceded. The treaty of cession guaranteed to the Roman Catholics the right to profess their religion as freely "as the laws of Great Britain would permit." The Canadian Catholics have always professed it not only as freely, but much more freely, than the laws of Great Britain permitted to British subjects at home. The English Church in Canada is not supported by tithes levied upon the Roman Catholic population. Catholics were not (even before 1829) excluded from office in Canada, for in many resolutions of the Legislative Council long antecedent to that period, it will be found that the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec sat in that council, and voted as a member. The Roman Catholic religion is supported by contributions raised by law upon the Roman Catholic population, that religion in Lower Canada being to a certain extent recognized as a state religion. The attempt to create a prejudice against the government in this country by affecting to make a demand of this sort, is one which no fair and honest man can defend, and the detection and exposure of which must completely defeat its intention.

This is, perhaps, the proper moment to advert to a matter which is cunningly but most unjustly introduced into the speeches of those who affect to be patriots here, and who warmly espouse the cause of the Canadian Assembly. It is always said that the cases of Canada and America, and Canada and Ireland, resemble each other. To this extent they do,—that a division has existed (happily, as far as regards Ireland, that statement may now be made as of a thing gone by,) between the government and the people. The resemblance extends no further. The English government in the case of America claimed the right of imposing internal taxes, not for the purpose of defraying expenses in the Colonies, but of raising a revenue to form part of the great public income of the empire. It was manifest that had such a principle been admitted, the Americans might have been made to pay for wars that were purely English and European, without having a voice in determining whether those wars should be carried on or not; or might be called on to defray the charges of expensive and absurd governments, created on every little rock in the ocean, to increase the amount of ministerial patronage,

without reference to use or necessity. The principle was resisted by the Colonies, enforced by the Government, and the Colonies were driven into a declaration of independence. The whole revenue of Lower Canada, however raised, even those parts of it which before the act 1 & 2 W. 4, c. 23, were wholly subject to the Crown as coming from Crown property, was declared to be subject to the legislature of that Colony alone, for the use of that Colony alone. There is, therefore, not only no resemblance, but the most perfect difference, between the two cases*.

Then as to Ireland. In Ireland, up to 1829, the Roman Catholics were by law a proscribed race; they received in that year emancipation. As subjects they are now equal before the law with all other denominations of men: it is therefore only lately that the Irish have become equal to the Canadians. But even they have not received the grant of official dignity to their Bishops. Their Peers sit in the House of Lords, but their Bishops have not yet been admitted to the Episcopal bench of that Assembly. It is

* See Pamphlet, p. 42, et seq.

clear therefore, that so far the Lower Canadians have still the advantage in point of privilege over the Irish. The Roman Catholic Religion, too, is maintained in Canada as a sort of state religion, in a manner similar to that in which all religions are at this day recognised in France; the law not merely tolerating it, with an affected ignorance of its existence, but enforcing the payment of funds for its support. Now the whole grievances of Ireland arose from the Roman Catholics not being admitted to an equality before the law with the other subjects of the empire. They have been since admitted to that equality; but the struggle still going on in that country is, to prevent the full, the necessary, and the proper consequences of the Duke of Wellington's Act of Catholic Emancipation from taking effect. What, then, is to be said of the dull ignorance, or the wilful perversion, which attempts to win support by likening two cases so completely dissimilar?

The spirit in which the complaints of the French Canadians have been put forward here and in Canada, has already been noticed. Un-

Fortunately that spirit is as strong, and as unfair, as ever. Mr. Roebuck, in his new publication of the "Canadian Portfolio," as well as in his speeches, too frequently gives way to the temptation of saying something smart, without staying to consider whether he is not, at the same time, conveying a most incorrect and untrue notion to the mind of his hearer or his reader. Referring thus to Mr. Caldwell's defalcation, which some years ago was, without doubt, scandalously screened by the Government, he writes as if the same line of conduct was still pursued by the Government towards that defaulter. He says—"Further, the money he purloined has not been repaid. Thus the people have been robbed, refused redress, and are now being cursed with the horrors of a civil war, because they desire to improve this corrupt and detestable system." Is Mr. Roebuck really unaware of the fact, that not only Mr. Caldwell has long since ceased to be a member of the Council, but that his property has been taken possession of by the Government to repay the defalcation? Is that refusing redress? The redress may not be perfect, but such as circum-

stances afforded has been granted; and means have been offered to render such defalcations impossible in future, but the Assembly has thought fit rather to talk about the old grievance, than to take measures to prevent its recurrence. In this, as in other instances, Mr. Roebuck's pamphlet, and his speeches, refer to circumstances which were true a few years ago, but are not true now*. But is this the way in which to conduct a cause where, from the influence of opinion, men are induced to brave the horrors of war, and to inflict the heavy curse of a civil conflict on their native land? And is not the zeal of an advocate who passes by what makes so much against him,

* Another instance relates to a still more important matter—the Legislative Council. Speaking of it, Mr. Roebuck says, that in 1828 “the Government promised solemnly to alter the composition of that body. I assert, and the Canadian people assert, that this promise was never kept. Lord Stanley endeavoured to shew that he put certain persons—actually Canadians—into the Council.” Is not this sneer misplaced? Did not Lord Stanley shew, and was Mr. Roebuck able to disprove the fact, that the Judges, with the exception of the Chief Justice, had, at the desire of the Government, retired from the Council, and that that body had been thus changed? Before 1828 it consisted of 27 members, of whom 18 were dependent on the Government. It was afterwards made to consist of 35, of whom only 7 were connected with the Government; and of these seven, the Chief Justice, recommended

to be much more condemned than praised, since it may and does lead to such fearfully mischievous consequences? No one who is really acquainted with the facts of this unfortunate business, and who forms an impartial judgment upon them, can doubt that the Canadians have been betrayed into revolt, when their grievances were either actually redressed, or when redress for those grievances was fully within their reach.

The length to which the preceding observations have run, precludes the opportunity of saying much on the question of—What ought to be done with Canada? It is sufficient to observe, generally, that the revolt ought, for the sake of all parties, to be put down as decisively, but as humanely, as possible; that this country ought then to remedy the blunders of 1791: that as the French Canadians have shown their determination not to amalgamate with the population

by the Committee of 1828 to be retained in the Council, in order to give his assistance in framing laws of a general and permanent character, is one, and the Bishop of Quebec is the other. And is it not true, as asserted in Lord Aberdeen's minute (House of Commons' Papers, for 1836, No. 113, p. 39), that seats were offered to Mr. Papineau and Mr. Neilson?

of British and American descent, and have exhibited the most rooted antipathy to the British system and to British institutions, a new division of the two provinces ought to take place ; a new scale of representation be framed, and every effort made to separate the two classes of subjects, in territorial arrangement, as much as they are now separated in feeling, language, manners, and habits. As to the rest, it is clear that honour and policy equally require that the good intentions manifested by the Government since 1828 should be most fully carried out ; so that whatever Mr. Papineau and his party may assert, all reasonable men may be convinced that England, strong and unconquerable when opposed in the field, can forget her provocation when she has achieved the victory, and that she can be as good as she is great — as forgiving as she is powerful. Nor will the ingratitude and folly which the present contest has exhibited, check in England, or in the English government, the generous desire thus to treat the Canadians. For that people, represented by all travellers as simple-minded though ignorant, as kindly though prejudiced, there is every wish to forget

their faults in their virtues. If they are determined to separate from us, there is no desire (after vindicating our authority, and protecting the British settlers, to whom we are bound by every feeling of sympathy, and every principle of honour,) but so to behave towards them, as to make even them sensible of what other men have long ago admitted, that in attempting to quit our connexion, they have endeavoured to break with their best friends, whose motives they have long and unjustly mistaken, but whose conduct has assisted in raising them from the condition of neglected and oppressed Colonists, into a state so much superior as to make them, however mistakingly, believe themselves capable of maintaining the burden and the glory of independence.

THE END.

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