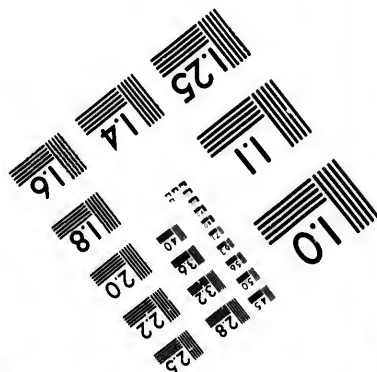
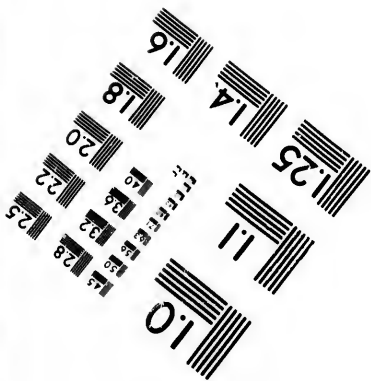
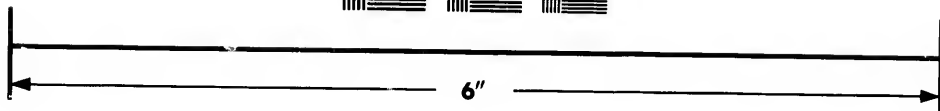
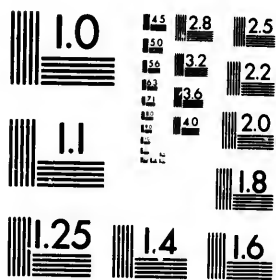


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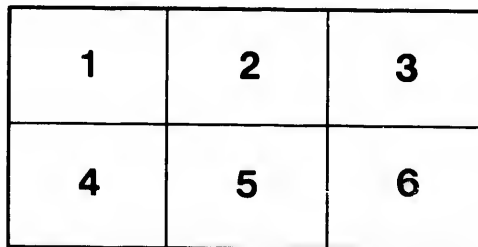
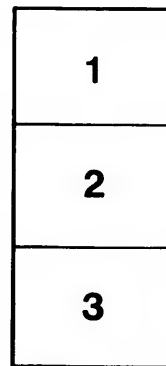
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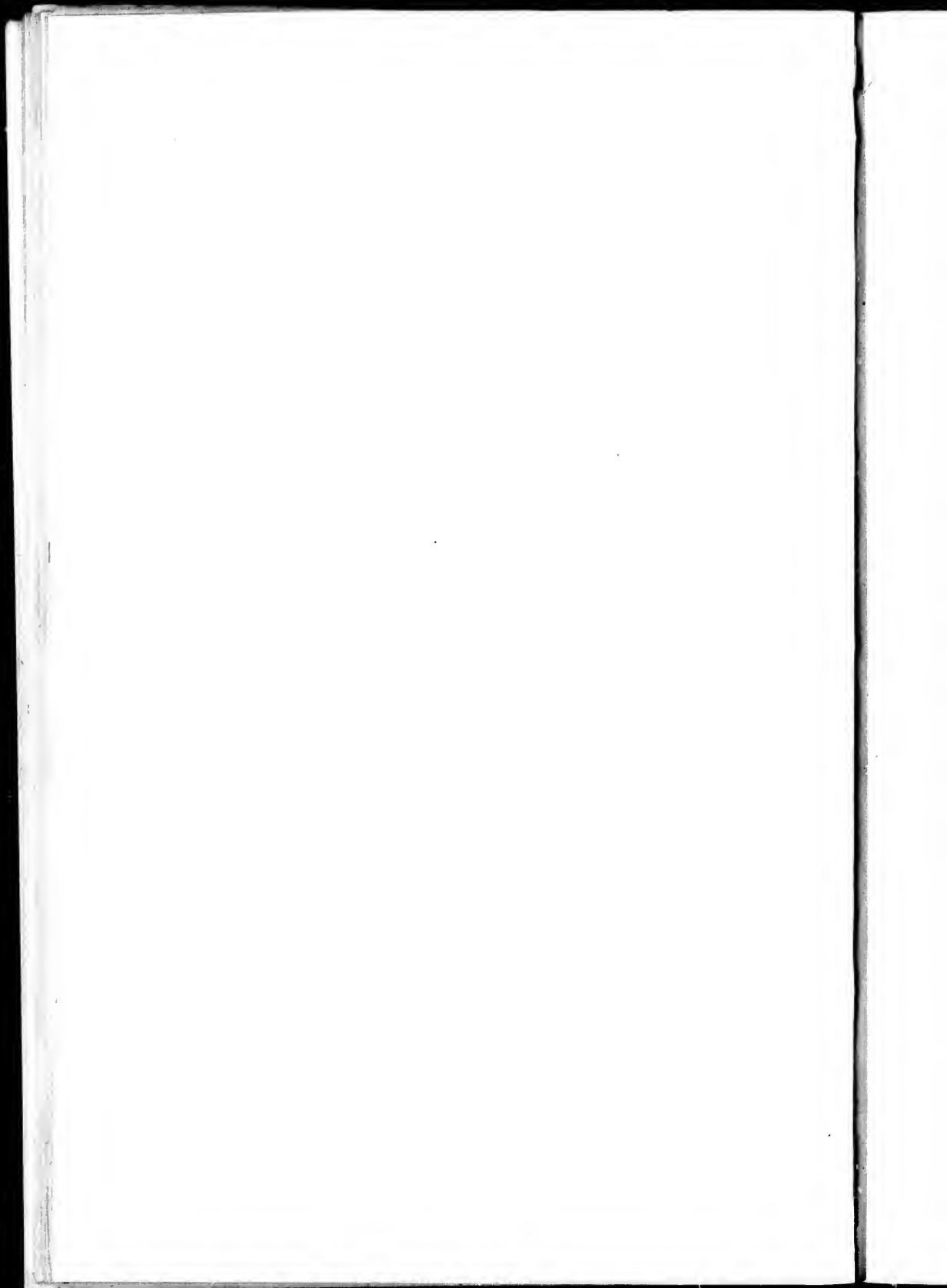
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WHAT IS THE RESULT
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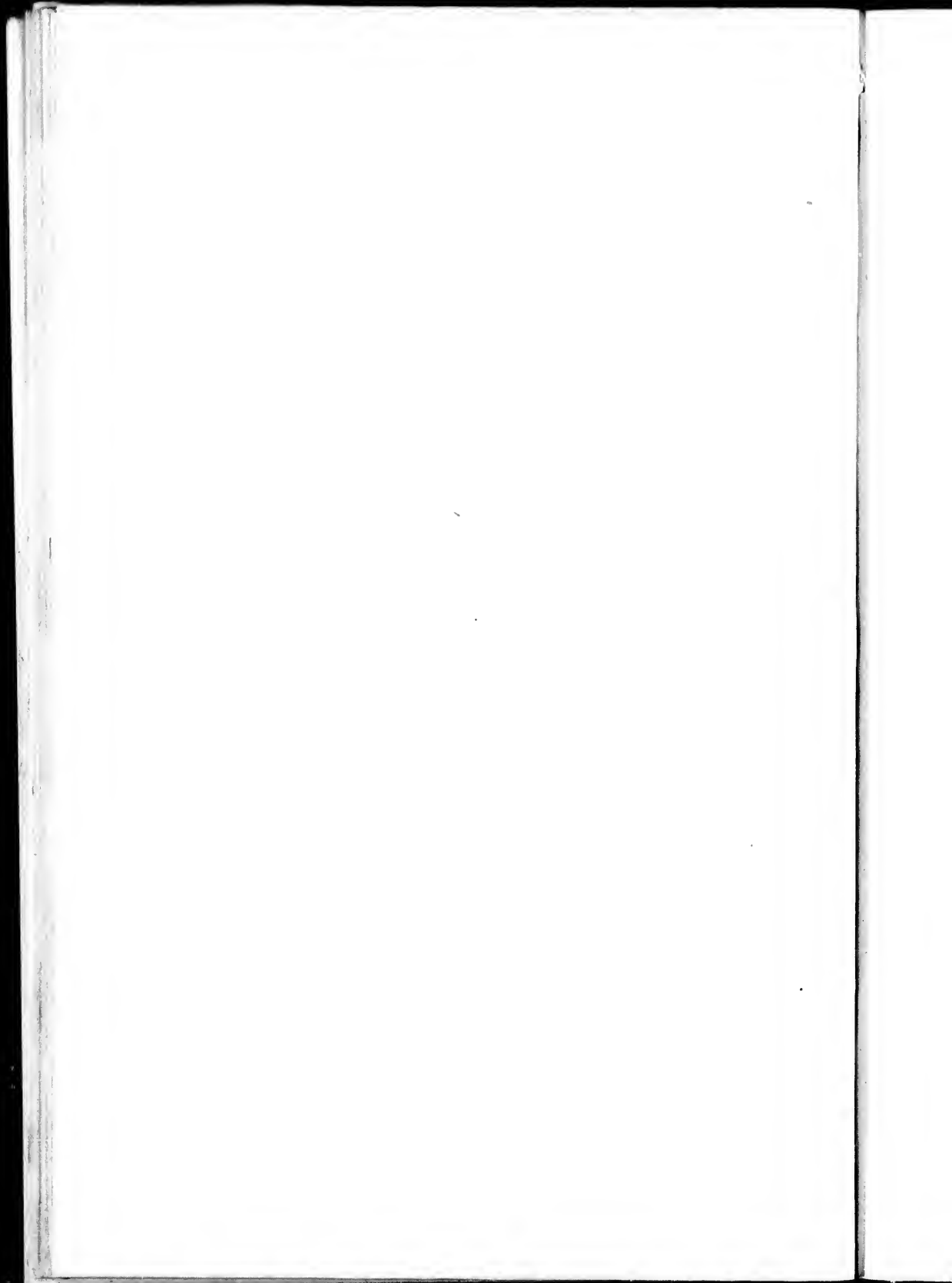
FULLY ANSWERED.

FROM THE DAILY ADVERTISER.

(SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED.)

MONTREAL:

1834.



TO

JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, ESQ., M. P.

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED BY

**THE EDITORS OF THE
DAILY ADVERTISER.**

MONTREAL, *December 8, 1834.*

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ADVERTISEMENT TO THE SECOND EDITION

SINCE the first Edition went to Press we have been enabled to make some corrections. At page 14 in the first Edition, Gaspè was stated as one of the places where there was a contest; the Newspapers have since informed us that the return was unanimous, though it is said at the cost of some foul play.

The latest information we have from Bonaventure is from a New Brunswick paper. It is as follows:—

“ELECTION FOR THE COUNTY OF BONAVENTURE, DISTRICT OF GASPÉ.—State of the Poll on the 22d November: Thibaudeau 166, Deblois 155, Hamilton 131, Birt 96. On that day the Poll was removed to the upper part of the County. On Friday, the 28th, the Poll opened at Carleton, finally to terminate there in six days;—on the first day Hamilton led the Poll 17.”

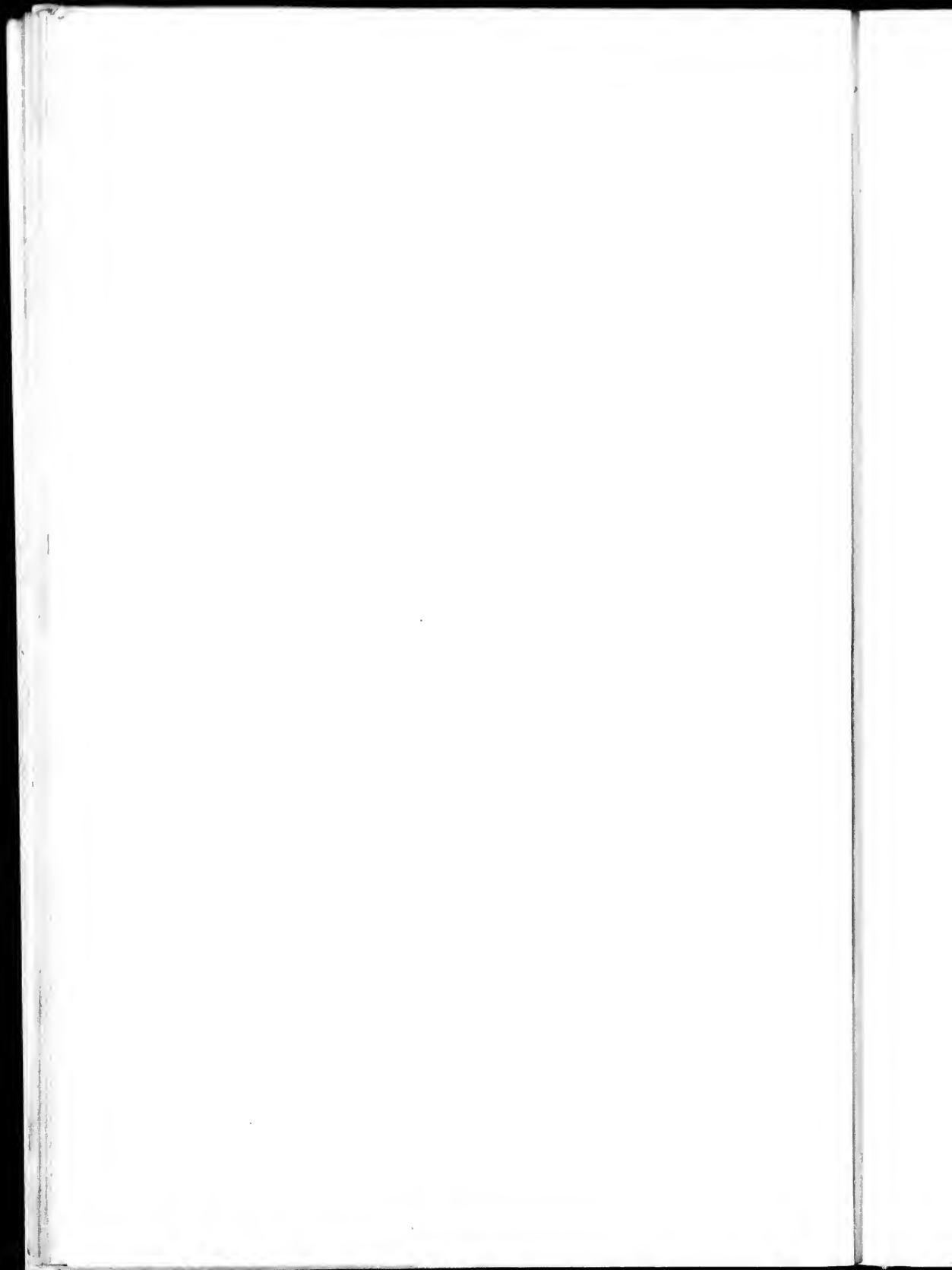
Hence, in our Table we divide the return, though we believe Mr. HAMILTON, if elected, will vote with the country.

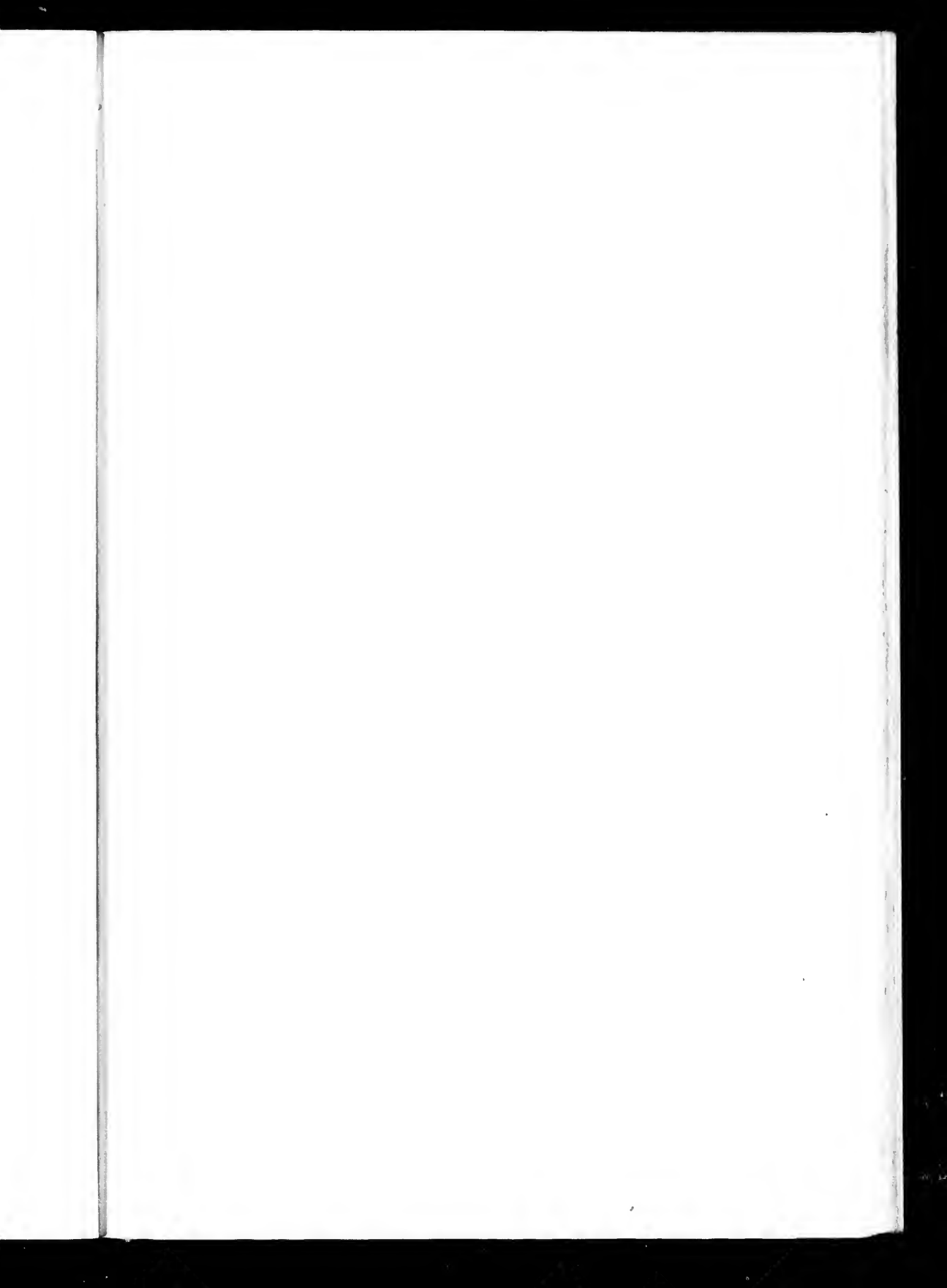
We would observe that there is some discrepancy between the detailed population of the Counties, and the total additions of the official Census, but as it only amounts to a few hundreds, and does not affect our argument, we did not think the correction worth the labour.

With regard to the Upper Canada Table, we have corrected it in conformity with the following information from the *Toronto Correspondent*:—

In the *Daily Advertiser* and *Vindicator* we find Baby and Caldwell named as returned for Essex in this Province. It should have been Caldwell and Wilkinson. The Bill erecting Huron into a County was reserved for the Royal assent, which has not been given; consequently the mention of Mr. Dunlop's name as the Member elect for Huron in the same paper is founded on error.

MONTREAL, December 20, 1834.





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WHAT IS THE RESULT
OF
THE ELECTIONS? &c.

LOWER CANADA.

WHAT is the result of the General Election? This is a question which the people of England are accustomed to ask when an Election has turned on some important principle of Legislation. May not we who are fond of imitating the Mother Country—fond of making it appear that in all things our Constitution is a mimic of that of Great Britain—ask ourselves a similar question. What is the result of the General Election? The question is at this moment of peculiar importance, and we shall endeavour to answer it with precision.

We must begin with some preliminary observations.

The Canadian Constitution is said to be a copy of that of Great Britain. If it be a copy, those who made it did not understand their original. Copy or no copy, however, the supposed parallel has led to some important results. Not an epithet has been applied to that of Great Britain which has not been caught up with avidity, and, right or wrong, attached blindly to our inimitable copy. In the Mother Country, for instance, it has long been the delight of those who profit, and those who hope to profit by abuse, to hold up that anomalous and ever changeable entity to which we are alluding, as something which it is dangerous to attempt even to improve. Acting on this approved principle, we have a set of parrot-like imitators in this Colony, who deem it becoming to what they nickname "British feeling," to apply to the supposed copy all those eulogistic epithets which have for their object to bespeak popular veneration for that which the experience of the last few years has demonstrated to be a perfect failure.

That for which the Whig Constitution of 1688—"the glorious Constitution"—has been most admired, has recently been discovered

to be a thing of the imagination. For upwards of a century it was held treasonable to doubt "the admirable working of the machine"—"the perfect independence of its separate parts"—"the beautiful harmony which pervaded the whole"—"the *vis medicatrix* which kept it in order"—"the admirable balance"—"the check which each one of its elements exercised upon the rest,"—and many other attributes which the ingenuity of those who were in the plot devised. Suddenly, however, the machine stopped, and the beautiful theory of glorious Constitution—of inimitable Constitution fell to the ground.

The writers who, backed by Parliamentary orations, aristocratical Quarterly Reviews, and Pitt-club speeches, have principally contributed to keep the delusion alive, are Sir W. BLACKSTONE, and the advocate DE LOLME. Sir W. BLACKSTONE'S eulogium, for such it is, of our Constitution's prototype, is to be found in the 2d section of the introduction, at about the fiftieth page of the 8vo Editions of his Commentaries. He first states that the political writers of antiquity do not recognize more than three regular forms of government, and continues:—

The first, when the sovereign power is lodged in an aggregate assembly, consisting of all the free members of a community, which is called a democracy; the second, when it is lodged in a council, composed of select members, and then it is styled an aristocracy; the last, when it is entrusted in the hands of a single person, and then it takes the name of a monarchy. All other species of government, they say, are either corruptions of, or reducible to, these three.

He then states that in Democracies is to be found public virtue, but not that degree of wisdom and strength which a perfect government should possess. "They are frequently foolish in their contrivance and weak in their execution."—Aristocracies on the other hand possess the required quantum of wisdom

but then "there is less of honesty than in a Republic, and less of strength than in a Monarchy." Lastly, in the strength-endowed Monarchy "there is imminent danger of his (the prince's) employing that strength to improve (that is not wise) or oppressive (that is not honest) purposes.*

An "Ancient" is then called up to show, that the union of the several powers was in the opinion of the said Ancients "a visionary whim, and one that if effected could never be lasting or secure."

Our author, however, only quoted this opinion for the purpose, as he conceived, of beating it to a mummy—of utterly demolishing it, for he thus continues:—

But, happily for us of this island, the British constitution has long remained, and I trust will long continue, a standing exception to the truth of this observation. For, as with us the executive power of the laws is lodged in a single person, they have all the advantages of strength and dispatch, that are to be found in the most absolute monarchy: and as the legislature of the kingdom is entrusted to three distinct powers entirely independent of each other; first, the king; secondly, the lords spiritual and temporal, which is an aristocratical assembly of persons selected for their piety, their birth, their wisdom, their valour, or their property; and thirdly, the House of Commons, freely chosen by the people from among themselves, which makes it a kind of democracy; as this aggregate body, actuated by different springs, and attentive to different interests, composes the British parliament, and has the supreme disposal of every thing; there can no inconvenience be attempted by either of the three branches, but will be withstood by one of the other two; each branch being armed with a negative power, sufficient to repel any innovation which it shall think inexpedient or dangerous.

Here then is lodged the sovereignty of the British constitution; and lodged as beneficially as is possible for society. For in no other shape could we be so certain of finding the three great qualities of government so well and so happily united. If the supreme power were lodged in any one of the three branches separately, we must be exposed to the inconveniences of either absolute monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy; and so want two of the three principal ingredients of good polity, either virtue, wisdom, or power. If it were lodged in any two of the

branches; for instance, in the king and house of lords; our laws might be providently made, and well executed, but they might not always have the good of the people in view: if lodged in the king and commons, we should want that circumspection and mediatory caution, which the wisdom of the peers is to afford: if the supreme rights of legislature were lodged in the two houses only, and the king had no negative upon their proceedings, they might be tempted to encroach upon the royal prerogative, or perhaps to abolish the kingly office, and thereby weaken (if not totally destroy) the strength of the executive power. But the constitutional government of this island is so admirably tempered and compounded, that nothing can endanger or hurt it, but destroying the equilibrium of power between one branch of the legislature and the rest. For if ever it should happen that the independence of any one of the three should be lost, or that it should become subservient to the views of either of the other two, there would soon be an end of our constitution. The legislature would be changed from that, which (upon the supposition of an original contract, either actual or implied) is presumed to have been originally set up by the general consent and fundamental act of the society: and such a change, however effected, is according to Mr. Locke (who perhaps carries his theory too far) at once an entire dissolution of the bands of government; and the people are hereby reduced to a state of anarchy, with liberty to constitute themselves a new legislative power.

And all this it was treason to doubt, till the old Constitution of glorious memory stopped, and was replaced by the new Constitution of 1832.

Some twenty years after BLACKSTONE wrote or lectured, DE LOLME discovered new beauties; but DE LOLME wrote under a delusion. He assumed, that the people of Great Britain actually elected their representatives. He who will take the pains to turn to this author's work, and read the eleventh chapter of the second book, will soon see why he has not given a faithful picture of the British Constitution.

According to DE LOLME, the system of checks which the Constitution afforded was perfect. Any attempted usurpation of power by any one of the three separate elements which made up the inimitable whole, was im-

* Note.—This singular doctrine of the attributes of each branch of the Constitution is met with admirable humour, in Mr. Bentham's *Fragment on Government*, in which the author demonstrates the absurdity of the doctrine, by reducing it into the mathematical form.

By Blackstone's definition, the British Government = Monarchy + Aristocracy + Democracy, Monarchy being the Government of one, Democracy being the Government of all, and Aristocracy the Government of some number between one and all. Now then Monarchy has strength—wisdom—honesty; Aristocracy has wisdom—strength—honesty; Democracy has honesty—strength—wisdom. But the British Government is Monarchy + Aristocracy + Democracy, therefore the British Government has strength + wisdom + honesty, in other words, is all-wise, all-powerful, all-honest. But all-powerful + all-wise + all-honest = all-perfect.

Therefore the British Government is all-perfect a. e. n.
* SCHOLIUM. After the same manner it may be proved, and on the same date, to be all-weak, all-foolish, and all-kuavish.

mediately followed by an union of the other two against the usurpation. The people and the Aristocracy are supposed to be in perpetual union against the undue extension of the prerogative of the Crown. The King and the Aristocracy, in like manner, are continually busied in checking popular encroachments; but the moment the Aristocracy shows symptoms of usurpation and grasping, straightway the Monarch leaves their side and joins the people against them

Those who hold this theory to be true, do not tell us how the united King and Barons get on, without the 'virtue' which BLACKSTONE tells us belongs alone to the people; or how the King and the people manage matters when deprived of the 'wisdom' which is the attribute of an Aristocracy. Strength and virtue united do not make up wisdom certainly; neither do wisdom and strength make up or render superfluous 'virtue.' However, the theory was attractive; we were a great nation, we beat all Europe single-handed, and we grew rich; so nobody doubted that the British Constitution was a glorious Constitution, was an inimitable Constitution, that it was in fact any thing that any body or every body said it was—unless indeed any body said harm of it, which was treason.

In the midst of all this hoodwinking, by means of 'glorious' epithets, one or two philosophers did venture to step forward, and doubt the validity of the theory; but then "the envy of surrounding nations" was pointed at, and the philosophers were silenced, and the study of their works confined to a few, who were as 'visionary' or 'discontented' as themselves. These philosophers said, that the boasted balance of the three Powers could not exist; that, inasmuch as it would be the interest, so also would it be the practise of two out of the three, to unite and show among

them the profits of governing ill. Perchance too, said one of them, the united two might admit the third branch to a share of the profits of misrule, on the footing of a junior partner, and thus the three united would riot in extravagance. Such an union in fact was the British Constitution. It was a partnership of King, Lords, and Commons, united by a common interest, namely, that of getting as great a proportion of the substance of the people, as the said people would submit to have abstracted from them.

Every now and then an Election came round, and the people were flattered and flattered into the idea, that they really had an important share in the business of government, and so they submitted to be taxed with the most admirable non chalance, convinced, as they were regularly told in Election speeches, that they could not be taxed but by their own consent, given through their Representatives. The power of the people, however, was a mere phantom. Fifty-one cities and boroughs returned 102 Members to the House of Commons, by means of something under 1,300 Electors! or averaging between 12 and 13 Constituents to each Member. Now, every one knows that corruption must ever be in proportion to the smallness of a constituency, and it is not surprising that those who profited by corruption, should resist every attempt to enlarge the constituencies, by transferring the franchise from a borough with three or four votes, to a city with 150,000 inhabitants; in other words, by giving increased power to the people.

By means of those small constituencies, technically called Rotten Boroughs, the British Aristocracy actually appointed—we will not call it returned—a majority of the House of Commons.* Is it wonderful that the houses of Lords and Commons 'harmonized?' Not at

* STATE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1816.

87 Peers of England and Wales returned Members.....	218
21 do Scotland do.....	31
36 do Ireland do.....	51
— 144 Peers thus returned.....	— 300
90 Commoners of England and Wales returned.....	137
14 do Scotland do.....	14
19 do Ireland do.....	20
— 123 Commoners thus returned.....	— 171
—	—
267 individuals thus returned.....	471
Independent Members.....	187
	658

Before the Irish Union, in 1800, the Commons numbered 558 Members, 310 of which were returned by patrons, and 248 were independent. At the Union, 100 Members were introduced as

all, they could not but 'pull together' most admirably. They were, in fact, a couple of political Siamese Twins, intimately linked together by means of corruption—by means of a common interest in robbing the people; and it was only when the two branches became clamorous about a share of the spoil, that the people had the least chance of getting a particle of their rights. If the Commons showed any leaning towards the people the King was instructed to dissolve them, and then came a general Election with its dinners and its speeches, and its flattery and cajolery of the people; and as the influence of the Aristocracy was omnipotent, the result was a more obedient House of Commons; and the parts of the Constitution 'harmonized' quite as beautifully as before the temporary and trifling interruption.

From what has been said it must be clear, that the boasted harmony of the British Constitution was the consequence of the people having only a nominal voice in the government. The Lords and Commons in fact had very seldom any thing to fall out about, and when they had, the Lords invariably beat the Commons.

But the King, where is he all this while? Has he no voice in the business of the Legislature! Yes, said the Constitution. But the Constitution did not say true—the Lords would not let him have a voice.

Having by means of rotten boroughs secured the Lower House, they next told the King that after the people, by their Representatives, had determined on a particular measure, and the said measure had been pronounced wise and good by the Lords spiritual and temporal, it was as much as his Crown was worth to say nay; in the meantime the Monarch was kept most abundantly supplied with every object the mind can possibly desire. No wonder His Majesty agreed with his faithful Lords and Commons, that the British Constitution worked well. Its 'harmony' was in fact most perfect.

For a long time, every thing tended to keep up the delusion. The brilliant achievements of the Army and Navy—a succession of abundant harvests—a demand for our manufactures

on the Continent, all kept the people busy. No one had any time to complain of the expediture of government, and if any one did, he was a disaffected, a disguised jacobin, an envier of Britain's greatness. Presently, however, came the peace, and with it, the day of reckoning; then the people did begin to look into their affairs, in other words, they commenced their political education.

Among other results of this examination of the nation's affairs, the philosophers whom we have already named, again stepped forward. This time they were listened to.

Every year they and their disciples, and their writings, received more attention; and ten years of peace had not passed over, before their doctrines had influenced every periodical—every newspaper in the country. The result was an increasing demand for reform, till at last THE BILL was brought forward, and after various narrow escapes carried. True, the Lords swore they never would pass it, but the Ministers resigned, and the people looked threateningly; whereupon, the Lords got frightened and passed it in a hurry without discussion. Those who wish to see a detailed history of the Bill, and its final passage by the Lords, are referred to a recent most admirable work called *England and America*.

Now, the reason why we have referred particularly to THE BILL is, because it introduced into the British Constitution, a likeness to the Canadian Constitution which never before existed between them. But it is only a partial likeness still, for we have our irresponsible Executive.

Under the new British Constitution of 1832, the people have acquired new powers. The small constituencies are nearly all destroyed, and in their places the larger cities and towns send Members. Close corporations no longer usurp the elective functions. Bath, with its 60,000 inhabitants, had formerly twenty-nine Electors, the Mayor and Corporation; now it has some thousands; and a more intelligent and incorrupt Constituency, exists not in the British Empire.

The effect of all this has been to destroy the unanimity of the two Houses; and we frequently see the Lords rejecting those

Representatives for Ireland. And by the statement given above, 471 out of 658 Members, were then at the will of 267 individuals, leaving with an increased House but 187 Independent Members. Thus indeed corruption had increased apace. More need not be said to prove the corrupt state of our boasted Constitution previously to the passing of the Reform Bill, and though it has placed power in the people's hands, a measure not less extensive will be required in a very few years, to make the Commons really a popular Assembly.

measures which the Commons bring forward in obedience to the cry of the nation. The parallel between Canada and England is thus rendered more perfect. The interests of the two branches of the Legislature are not identical; what one proposes the other rejects; and the people seeing the impossibility of harmony between elements so oppositely constituted—convinced that the philosophical writers to whom we have alluded were right, begin to ask for a peaceful change in the constitution of the second branch.

The experience of the Mother Country in a non-harmonizing Constitution, is only of a couple of years standing. The origin of the experience of Canada in a similar feature, is almost co-eval with the Constitution. Of late years, however, as the Assembly has become more aware of its peculiar posture, the difficulties have increased; the Assembly has felt the necessity of grasping firmly its rights, or rather those of the people; and as the Upper branch, backed or rather controlled by the Executive, will not give way, the result has been a complete stoppage—a perfect failure of the Constitution.

That a similar stoppage of the British Constitution must inevitably take place, is our firm conviction. The Commons are pledged to bring forward a set of measures, to which the Lords in their present frame of mind will not consent. There is nothing to alleviate these difficulties; the subjects do not admit of compromise; and supposing the continued opposition of the Lords, it would not surprise us were a Convention to be demanded to consider the necessity of amending the Constitution.

Turn we now to the case of Canada.—The last Session found the differences between the Assembly and the Council at their height. A previous Assembly had voted a Civil List according to a rule which they had laid down for themselves, but it was such a Civil List as the other branches of the Legislature would not consent to. The business of legislation accordingly had virtually stopped, and every body asked, 'what is to be done?' At this juncture, the Assembly came forward with the Ninety-two Resolutions, and framing Petitions thereon, approached the Throne and the Imperial Legislature, with the suggestion of a remedy; namely, that the people be permitted to elect the Legislative Council.

We need not refer particularly to the proceedings in the House of Commons, or to those

of the Canada Committee, any further than to state that an impression has gone abroad that the measures of the Colonial Office will in some way or other be influenced by the result of the General Election. It had been insinuated that the people of the country would not sanction the proceedings of the Assembly; this insinuation had, perhaps, been whispered to Mr. RICE; at all events it seemed to be admitted at all hands, that the popular leaders were on their trial, and that the elections were to turn on the elective principle—the pervading principle of the Resolutions.

Having thus explained the principle on which the General Election has turned, we are in a better position to answer the question with which we started:—What is the result of the General Election?

To perform this task with precision, we have prepared from the last census a table which will exhibit the constituency of the two Parliaments. Of this we shall speak presently, our business is first with the Members.

It will be seen that twenty-seven persons voted against, or were known to be opposed to the Ninety-two Resolutions; of these twenty-seven persons, sixteen did not again present themselves to the electors at the hustings,—these are

Messrs. F. A. Quessnel*	Messrs. E. Peck*
H. J. Caldwell*	O. Berthelot*
A. Cuvillier*	J. Duval*
P. H. Knowlton	T. A. Young*
C. Goodhue	T. Davis.*
A. Anderson	C. E. Cisgrain*
P. Wright*	J. Wurtele* (1)
S. Baker	J. Badeaux*

To this list we might also add the name of D. MONDELET, who was elected to the last Parliament, but whose seat was subsequently declared vacant, in consequence of his acceptance of a place under the Crown.

Of these sixteen, twelve, or those marked with a star, have been replaced by Members favorable to the elective principle, the remaining four have been replaced by Members of the same political principles as their predecessors. The places of Messrs. P. H. KNOWLTON, C. GOODHUE, A. ANDERSON, and S. BAKER have been filled by Anti-Reformers, decidedly opposed to the Ninety-two Resolutions.

The rejection or retirement of old Members, however even if they be replaced by men of the same principles, is a decided

(1) Mr. Wurtele tried a canvass in the County of Yamaska, but could not succeed.

gain to the popular cause. They come into the House without any private animosities and antipathies. Between Mr. R. TAYLOR, for instance, and the leading Members, no intercourse could possibly take place; with the new Members, however, nothing has occurred to interfere with the common courtesies of life, so that they will frequently vote with the Liberal side, where the question does not turn on what they conceive to be a great Constitutional principle.

Of the ELEVEN old Members opposed to the Resolutions, who presented themselves, SIX have been rejected, and replaced by FIVE men favorable to the elective principle, and ONE,—namely, Mr. R. TAYLOR,—opposed thereto; the names of the rejected members are

Messrs. John Neilson*	Messrs. R. Hoyle
Andrew Stuart	R. Taylor
F. Languedoc	T. Lemay

Of the remaining five, four have been re-elected, namely:

Messrs. Wm. Power	Messrs. S. Wood
J. Le Boutellier	B. A. C. Gogy.

Of Mr. HAMILTON, the remaining ONE, we have not yet heard conclusively.

And these, reader, are the only ANTI-RESOLUTIONISTS out of the whole 28 who have been able to secure a seat in the Assembly, and with Mr. GUGY the contest was very close.

We would further remark that not one single town or county, which returned a Member or Members in favor of the elective principle, has departed from that principle by sending to the present Parliament a Member opposed thereto. The result of the Election, then, as far as the Constitution of the Assembly is concerned, is that the minority of 27, or including Mr. MONDELET, of 28 Members who were opposed to the Resolutions, has been reduced to NINE, so that the Assembly will consist of:—

Members in favour of the Elective principle,	79
Opposed to ditto.....	9
	88

The triumph of opinion as indicated by the population represented, is even still greater. The effect of the guiding principle of the Elections will be exhibited by the following totals from the Table:—

	Fourteenth Parliament	Fifteenth Parliament
Population represented by Resolutionsists	373,381†	479,484†
By Anti-Resolutionists . . .	138,535‡	32,132‡
Population according to Census in 1831	511,917	511,917

It is generally admitted that the inhabitants of the cities possess a degree of intelligence superior to that possessed by the inhabitants of the country. This is, we believe, correct; especially as regards political knowledge. How has this intelligence operated? in causing the rejection of every Candidate who declared himself opposed to "the principle."

It now only remains for us to notice an attempt which has been made by the rejected Candidates and their friends at Quebec, to generate and foster an impression that the principle of the Elections has been the rejection of every person of British origin.

"It was"—said Mr. A. STUART at a meeting of his supporters—"it was a great national effort of the Canadians, to deprive the English portion of society of their moderate share of the representation."

One of the Resolutions moved at the same meeting, states "that the system now openly avowed by the dominant and coercive party, would exclude not only the trifling minority which the British have hitherto had in the House of Assembly of Lower Canada, but altogether prevent their voice from being heard within its walls." Again Mr. STUART says in another speech, or another part of the same speech "the object of that (the Liberal) party being to exclude persons of British origin," &c. We need not quote any further, though nearly every speech spoken, and article written of late at Quebec, has reiterated the same doctrine.

That it is incorrect, we shall presently show. Of the Members rejected, a large proportion are men of Canadian birth; witness the CUVILLIERS, the MONDELETS, the QUESNELS, the DUVALS, the CASGRAINS, the BADEAUX, and so forth. These men were rejected or were deterred from coming forward because they were opposed to the guiding

* Mr. John Neilson after losing the County of Quebec was put up for Bellechasse, but he did not get a vote.

Cou
Can
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principle of the late contest. If origin and language were ever considered by the Canadians, why was Mr. JOHN NEILSON so many years one of the cherished favorites of the people? Why was he received with open arms, and even with embraces where his person was unknown on the bare mention of his then honoured name? Perhaps you will answer that this same animosity to men of British origin has only just come over the people. Let us also answer this theory by a few questions. If the principle of the recent election were that of exclusive, why was a native Scotchman chosen for the East Ward? Does any one in his senses imagine that any appeal to national prejudice could dislodge JAMES LESLIE from the hearts of the Canadians, or unseat him from the Assembly? Again, why did the Canadian Electors solicit the son of an Englishman to present himself for the West Ward, and why did those electors give him almost their unanimous votes? Need we say more to prove that with the great mass of the population of Lower Canada, origin and language are as nought compared with a great principle of Government. One case more, and we have done. At Yamaska, an Irishman presented himself for the suffrages of the electors; the former Member was a Canadian. Use was made of this to excite the supposed national prejudice. How did it succeed? the reply of the Canadian electors was characteristic of their extraordinary steadiness to principle; "better," said they—"better a good Irishman than a bad Canadian."

In fact the present Parliament in its general division into *persons of Canadian origin* and *persons of other origin* exhibits no change to warrant the outcry that has been raised about exclusion, as the following statement will show:—

14TH PARLIAMENT.		15TH PARLIAMENT.	
Country or Origin.	Numbers.		Numbers.
Canadian	61		63
American	11		9
English	2		4
Scotch	5		3
Irish	3		3
German or Dutch	4		4
Jersey	1		1
Swiss	1		1
	— 27		— 25*
	83		83

The census does not give the division of the population as to origin, but it gives a division as to religion, namely, 403,472 Catholics, and 108,445 of other denominations; so that as-

suming a small addition to the last figure for persons of the Catholic religion, of other than Canadian origin, we shall have Canadians compared with others in the proportion of three to one. This is a much larger allowance than is usually made by those who accuse the Canadians of exclusive feelings, yet it shows that those of origin other than Canadian, were, and are actually over represented. The numbers should be 66 to 22, whereas the numbers are 63 to 25. Another fact is that the Counties inhabited by a majority of French Canadians frequently return a Member of English origin, whilst the Counties inhabited chiefly by persons of other origin have not even dreamed of a French Canadian representative. The count consists of the rejection of two of American, and two of Scotch origin, and the election of two of English origin, and two Canadians in their places. The facts are too strong to admit of dispute.

But if the attempt to show that the Canadians have been guilty of exciting national prejudices by an appeal to national distinctions, be thus defeated, are there no persons on whom the imputation can be fixed? Let us enquire.

A person named COLLAR, or CULLAR, is reported to have said at an election meeting at Quebec:—

"He would call upon the sons of old England, the descendants of those proud nobles and yeomen who signed the great charter! forward to the poll! 'Tis the voice of your country calls you. Children of the mist and the mountain, sons of the land of field and flood, and the free kilt and waving plume—Scotchmen! forward! 'Tis a STUART calls. Last, though not least, Lads of Old Erin! To the Poll! Onward in the cause of the Rose and the Shamrock."

We must apologize to our readers for quoting such bombastic trash, but we must observe that it was listened to with marks of approbation. Need we now ask what party would foment national distinctions.

Neilson's *Gazette* admits that the STUART party had "excited to national distinctions," but adds, "is there no palliation for such conduct?" and what is the palliation offered? why that the Canadians had done the same. Now this 'palliation' we have already destroyed; the naked fact, therefore, remains, that the Conservative party at Quebec have fomented national prejudices without 'palliation.' To place this beyond a doubt, we shall give one more quotation—namely, part

* If Mr. Hamilton be returned for Bonaventure the number will be 26

of one of the Resolutions passed at one of the STUART meetings at Quebec:—

Resolved.—That this Meeting, confident in the justice of the cause they support, and satisfied that public opinion is in its favor, call upon every elector who boasts *British Blood*, &c.

The unanimity and steadiness of the people of Canada towards their principles, is another feature which should not be omitted.

The House is composed of 88 Members, returned by two Cities, of two Wards each, two Boroughs, and forty Counties, making 46 places. To exhibit the feature we have alluded to, we have prepared the following statement, which we believe will be found correct:—

PLACES. MEMBERS.

Unanimous returns, without contest, in favor of the elective principle.....	22	42
Ditto against ditto, (Gaspé)...	1	2*
Contests on local grounds, where the Candidates were all Reformers; namely, L'Assomption, Saguenay, Rimouski, and Dorchester....	4	8

Ditto, where the Candidates were all Anti-Reformers; namely, Missisquoi and Shefford.....

2 4*

Contests on the principle, where it was successful; namely, Beauce, Beauharnois, Bellechasse, †L'Acadie, Ottawa, Quebec, (County) Rouville, Stanstead, Two Mountains, East Ward Montreal, West Ward Montreal, Upper Town of Quebec, Lower Town of Quebec, Three Rivers, Soré.....

15 29

Ditto where the principle was unsuccessful; namely, Sherbrooke, and Megantic.....

2 3*

46 88

Those marked thus * being the only Anti-Reformers in the House.

† A contest indeed, but the Anti-Reformer, Neilson, got no vote.

Not to detain our readers longer, we shall submit to their attention the following Table, which will fully illustrate the result of the General Election:—

TABLE showing the composition of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Parliaments of Lower Canada, with the Number of Members in each favourable or opposed to the proposal to make the Council elective; together with the Population of each County, City, or Borough represented, so as to exhibit the effect of the guiding principle of the last Election, and to serve as an Index of the state of public opinion.

POPULATION.		MEMBERS		Names of Members of the 14th Parliament.	Name of County, City, or Borough.	Names of Members of the 15th Parliament.	MEMBERS		POPULATION.	
Against an Elective Council.	For an Elective Council.	Ag't	St'nt				Ag't	St'nt	For an Elective Council.	Ag't
	11,900	1	1	A. C. Taschereau	Beauce	A. C. Taschereau	1	1	11,900	
	16,857	1	1	P. E. Taschereau		P. E. Taschereau	1	1	16,857	
	13,529	1	1	J. Dewitt	Beauharnois	J. Dewitt	1	1	13,529	
	20,225	1	1	C. Archambault	Bellechasse	C. Archambault	1	1	20,225	
	4,154	1	1	N. Boissonnault		N. Boissonnault	1	1	4,154	4,154
	7,741	1	1	A. N. Morin	Berthier	A. N. Morin	1	1	7,741	
	6,991	1	1	J. Deligny		J. Deligny	1	1	6,991	
	5,973	1	1	A. Mousseau	Bonaventure	A. Mousseau	1	1	5,973	
	7,741	1	1	E. Thibaudeau*		No Return yet received.	1	1	7,741	
	6,991	1	1	J. R. Hamilton	Chambly	L. M. Viger	1	1	6,991	
	5,973	1	1	F. A. Quesnel		L. Lacoste	1	1	5,973	
	3,566	1	1	L. M. Viger	Champlain	P. A. Dorion	1	1	3,566	
	7,278	1	1	P. A. Dorion		O. Trudel	1	1	7,278	
	11,419	1	1	O. Trudel	Dorchester	J. Bouffard	1	1	11,419	
	9,461	1	1	H. J. Caldwell		J. Beaudoin	1	1	9,461	
	9,248	1	1	J. Bouffard	Drummond	E. Toomy	1	1	9,248	
	12,767	1	1	E. Toomy	Gaspé	Wm. Power	1	1	12,767	
	13,518	1	1	Wm. Power		J. Le Boutellier	1	1	13,518	
	6,948	1	1	J. Le Boutellier	Kamouraska	A. Dionne	1	1	6,948	
	2,283	1	1	A. Dionne		A. C. Marquis	1	1	2,283	
	8,801	1	1	C. F. Casgrain	L'Acadie	C. H. O. Cote	1	1	8,801	
	3,743	1	1	F. Languedoc		M. Hotchkiss	1	1	3,743	
		1	1	R. Hoyle	Lachesnaye	F. Courteau	1	1		
		1	1	F. Courteau		J. M. Rochon	1	1		
		1	1	J. M. Rochon	Laprairie	J. M. Raymond	1	1		
		1	1	A. Cuvillier		J. N. Cardinal	1	1		
		1	1	J. M. Raymond	L'Assomption	F. E. Rodier	1	1		
		1	1	A. Deschamps		J. B. Meilleur	1	1		
		1	1	E. E. Rodier	L'Islet	J. C. Letourneau	1	1		
		1	1	J. C. Letourneau		J. B. Fortin	1	1		
		1	1	J. B. Fortin	Lotbiniere	L. Methot	1	1		
		1	1	L. Methot		J. B. Noel	1	1		
		1	1	J. B. Noel	Megantic	J. G. Clapham	1	1		
		1	1	A. Anderson	Montmorenci	E. Bedard	1	1		
		1	1	E. Bedard		E. Knight	1	1		
		1	1	S. Baker	Missisquoi	E. Knight	1	1		
		1	1	R. T aylor		Wm. Baker	1	1		
61,902	153,901	12	25	Totals carried over			31	6	195,561	20,241

Proposed.

Assembly to contain 100 members
to be returned in electoral
districts as nearly equal in
points of population as
possible.

One member to each district.

Counties	Districts	Members
Beauce	Two	2
Beauharnois	Three	3
Belle Chapeau	Two	2
Berthier	Four	4
Bonaventure	Two	2
Chamblay	Three	3
Champlain	one	1
Dorchester	Two	2
Drummond	one	1
Gaspé	one	1
Normanville	Three	3
L'Acadie	Two	2
Lachapelle	Two	2

Counties	Dist. each	Members
		28
La Prairie	Four	4
L'Assomption	Two	2
Leval	Two	2
Lithicieres	one	1
Stegouche	None	0
St. Maurice	one	1
St. Joseph	Two	2
Montreal	Nine	9
county & city		2
Richelieu	Two	1
St. Leonard	one	1
Ottawa	one	1
St. Jean	Two	2
Levis	Seven	13
Beauce	Three	2
Rimouski	Two	4
Rouville	Four	2
La Guerne	Two	1
Shefford	one	1
Shebrooke	one	2
Stanstead	Two	3
St. Jacques	Three	3
St. Maurice	Three	3
St. Jerome	Three	4
Two counties	Four	2
Verdun	Two	3
Vecheux	Three	2
Yamaska	Two	

CONTINUATION OF THE TABLE.

			Totals brought forward			
61,902	153,901	12 25		31	6 195,561	20,241
8,238 **	8,239 **	1	J. Valois <i>Vacant</i>	Montreal Co.	L. J. Papineau C. S. Cherrier	16,476
	12,504	1	L. Bourdages	Nicolet	L. Bourdages	12,501
	4,349	1	J. B. Proulx	Orleans	J. B. Proulx	4,349
4,786		1	A. Godbout	Ottawa	A. Godbout	4,786
	12,350	1	J. B. Casault <i>P. Wright</i> <i>T. Davis</i>	Port Neuf	J. Blackburn B. Bowman H. S. Huot	12,350
3,958 **	3,958 **	1	H. S. Larue <i>J. Neilson</i>	Quebec	F. X. Larue L. T. Besserer	7,916
	15,096 **	1	L. T. Besserer	Richelieu	J. Blanchet	15,096
	10,061	1	J. Dorion	Rimouski	J. Dorion	10,061
9,057 †	9,057 †	1	C. C. De Bleury	Rouville	C. C. De Bleury	18,115
	8,385	1	L. Bertrand	Saguenay	L. Bertrand	8,385
5,087		1	A. Rivard <i>T. Lemay</i>	Shefford	J. B. Taché P. Carreau	
7,104		1	P. Careau	Sherbrooke	P. M. Bady	5,087
		1	A. Simon	Stonstead	A. Simon	7,104
		1	X. Tessier	St. Hyacinthe	X. Tessier	
		1	<i>P. H. Knowlton</i>	St. Maurice	S. Wood	
		1	<i>Samuel Wood</i>	Terrebonne	A. Wells	
		1	C. F. H. Goodhue	Two Mountains	J. Moore	
		1	B. A. C. Gagy	Vaudreuil	B. A. Gagy	
5,153		1	E. Peck	Vercheres	M. Child	10,306
	5,153	1	M. Child	Yamaska	J. Grannis	15,366
	15,366	1	L. R. Blanchard	Montreal, } East Ward. }	L. R. Blanchard	13,796
		1	L. Poulin	West Ward	T. Bouthillier	16,623
		1	V. Guillet	Quebec } Upper Town }	V. Guillet	20,905
	13,796 **	1	P. Bureau	Lower Town }	P. Bureau	13,111
	16,623	1	J. O. Turgeon	Three Rivers	L. H. Lafontaine	12,319
	20,905	1	L. H. Lafontaine	William Henry	S. Boue	9,496
	13,111	1	W. H. Scott		W. H. Scott	12,492
	12,319	1	J. J. Girouard		J. J. Girouard	
		1	P. T. Masson		C. Larocque	
		1	C. Larocque		C. O. Perrault	
		1	P. Amiot		P. Amiot	
		1	J. T. Drolet		J. T. Drolet	
4,748	4,748	1	J. Badaux		LG de Tonnanc	
	6,246	1	LG de Tonnancour		E. B. O'Callag	
	14,805	1	O. Berthelot		J. Leslie	
		1	L. J. Papineau, } <i>Speaker.</i> }		J. Roy	
		1	<i>Vacant</i>		L. J. Papineau	
		1	A. Stuart		R. Nelson	
		1	J. F. J. Duval		A. Berthelot	
		1	T. A. Young		E. Caron	
	7,064	1	G. Vanfelson		G. Vanfelson	
	3,113	1	R. J. Kimber		H. Dubord	
		1	J. Defosses*		R. J. Kimber	
		1	J. Wurtete		E. Barnard	
1,063		1			J. Finkel	
138,535 †	373,381 †	28 60				78 10 179,484 †
						32,432 †

* Absent on leave when the division took place, but known to be favourable to the Elective principle.

† Absent on leave, but known to be unfavourable thereto.

‡ Seat vacant by dismissal; the late Member (D. Mondelet) known to be unfavourable to the Elective principle.

§ Seat vacant by death; the late Member (Dr. Tracy) known to be favourable thereto.

** Counties having represented Cities and Boroughs therein. From such Counties the population of the said Cities and Boroughs is deducted, being placed opposite and divided according to the voters of the City Members.

UPPER CANADA.

Having exhibited the result of the Elections of Lower Canada, it is highly desirable that we should perform a similar task with respect to the Elections of the sister Province. We must observe, however, that our means of comparison are not as satisfactory as in this Province. We have no accurate record of the votes of the last Parliament; we can only state in general terms that it was a Tory House of a very ultra character. This fact was referred to by Mr. STANLEY, in his speech in the House of Commons on the 15th of April last, and the "beautiful har-

mony" of the Constitution of Upper Canada was held to be almost equal to that of the Constitution of the Mother Country.

In reply to Mr. ROBAUCK the late Secretary for the Colonies is reported to have said, "there is between the Governor and the Legislative Council, and the House of Assembly not one single point of difference; that perfect cordiality and uniform harmony prevails between the three branches of the Constitution established in that Province, notwithstanding the sedulous efforts that have been made to disturb them."

Again, "the people of Upper Canada, as well by their Representatives, as by their Legislative Council, have expressed their entire and unqualified approbation of the Constitution under which they live, and their full conviction of the benefits which they enjoy under it."

Every body who knows Upper Canada is well aware that that 'harmony' was brought about by the very means which we have just pointed out, as pervading the Legislature of the Mother Country, though applied in a different way. Corruption had found its way, in various shapes, among the Electors, and the result was, that the late House 'harmonized' with the Governor and Council. We must do the people of Upper Canada, however, the justice to say, that the Members, when candidates, professed to be imbued with principles which we are at a loss to discover in their subsequent votes, so that the great body of electors were enojed, and the House was not what they intended it to be. Be this as it may, no sooner had it gone forth, that the Secretary for the Colonies had declared that the most perfect cordiality existed between the three branches of the Legislature of Upper Canada; than the people speaking through the Liberal press said, "we will elect a Liberal House." At this juncture another great pivot for the Elections to turn upon was introduced by the publication of Mr. HUME's celebrated letter in the *Advocate* newspaper. It was at once denounced by the Tory press as revolutionary. This was considered as a capital election lit. A bug-bear was raised up, which the dominant party calculated would frighten the people from voting for the friends of Mr. M'KENZIE; and some true Reformers, calculating upon the number of timid politicians, and politicians wanting only a good excuse to change, to be met with in every country, began to think that the publication of the letter had been injudicious. Mr. M'KENZIE, however, persevered; the true character of the letter was pointing out as denouncing bad government only, and not good government; and a list was put forward in the *Advocate* of men who were Reformers in M'KENZIE's sense of the word. In short, the Reformers said—"by Mr. HUME's letter will we be tried."

On the other hand, and as an antidote to this list, the ultra Tory party put forward their list, which they called the *White-List*, and there seemed to be a general understanding that these lists should become the test of the

strength of the two extreme parties. What was the result! the people selected twenty-three persons out of M'KENZIE's list, and nineteen out of the white-list; of these nineteen, however, two are Reformers—namely, H. NORTON, and Dr. DUNCOMB, which reduces the Tories from the white-list to seventeen.

Of course, in all elections, local considerations will carry the day; accordingly, we find twenty-one Members elected who are not in either list, and who may therefore be considered as neutrals, as far as the main trial of strength is concerned. With regard to Mr. STANLEY's foolish statement, however, they will not be neutral, twelve of them being good Reformers, eight only "staunch Tories," as they delight to call themselves.

In point of population, the Reformers have gained even a more signal victory, as the most populous counties have been almost unanimous in their return of Reformers. Unfortunately, we have no detailed statement of the population since 1832: but the returns of that year will serve to establish a proportion, which is all we require. Some few defects may be apparent in taking the population of the towns from that of the counties, and in allowing for the part of Lincoln not yet represented; however, the errors cannot be great; and we have endeavoured to give the Conservative side the benefit of all allowances—the Reform interest can well afford it.

Our table will serve to exhibit the matter in detail, still it may be well to recapitulate:—

REFORMERS.	POPULATION.	
Named by M'Kenzie - - 22	121,156	
Not named by M'Kenzie - 12	52,680	
	—31	173,836
ANTI-REFORMERS.		
Named in the White-list,		
deducting H. Norton		
and Duncombe - - - 16	59,958½	
Other known Tories - - 9	22,966½	81,055
	—25	
No return - - - - - 1	0	0
	60	254,891

The election of Speaker is another question by which the real state of parties will be tested, and the general character of the House further exhibited. Mr. M'LEAN is understood to be the ultra-Tory Candidate, and Mr. BIDWELL the popular Candidate.

A classification has been put forward by the *British Whig* newspaper, which would give people in England a very erroneous conception of the state of parties in Upper Canada. Of the first forty-eight Members returned, thirty-six were called Whigs, and twelve

Tories
MAYOR
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TABLE
and A
the To

COUNT

Cornwall
Brockville
Kingston
Toronto
Hamilton
Niagara
Prescott

Russell
Gengary

Stormou

Dundas

Grenville

Leeds

Carleton

Lanark

Frontenac

Lennox and

Hastings

Prince Edw

Northumber

Durham

York, (4 Rid

Simcoe

Halton

Wentworth

Lincoln, (4 R

Haldimand
Oxford

Middlesex

Norfolk

Kent

Essex

Huron

** From M'K
* Reformers.
† Tories from
Tories not in
‡ The popul
Reformers.

Tories. Now, the absurdity of classing the MAYOR of Toronto with OGLE GOWAN, a violent Orangeman, must be obvious enough; there could scarcely occur a question whereon they would vote on the same side. HUME

or O'CONNELL might as well be called Whigs! As far as Colonial politics are concerned, the terms Whig and Tory have very nearly the same signification.

TABLE of the Newly-Elected Parliament of Upper Canada, showing the Population represented by Reformers and Anti-Reformers; also the Population represented by Men chosen out of M'Kenzie's Reform List, and out of the Tory White List.

COUNTY OR TOWN.	MEMBERS.	POPULATION REPRESENTED BY REFORMERS.			POPULATION REPRESENTED BY ANTI-REFORMERS.		
		By Men in Mr. M'K.'s Reform List.	By Men not in M'K.'s List.	Total.	By Men in the White List.	By Men not in the White List.	Total.
Cornwall	M'Leant				1,047		1,047
Brockville	D. Jones.†				†		
Kingston	C. Hagerman.†				4,196		4,196
Toronto	J. E. Small.*	5,505		5,505			
Hamilton	Mr. M'Nab.†				1,200		1,200
Niagara	C. Richardson.					1,406	1,406
Prescott	Waters.*		2,082	2,082	2,082		2,082
	M'Donald†				1,129		1,129
Russell	T. M'Kny.†						
Glengary	Chisholm	5,265‡		5,265‡	5,265‡		5,265‡
	M'Donell.†						
Stormont	Bruce.*		6,265	6,265			
	A. M'Donell.*						
Dundas	Shaver.**	3,922		3,922			
	Cook.**						
Gronville	H. Norton.**	5,090	5,090	10,180			
	W. B. Wells.*						
Leeds	Jamieson.†				14,119		14,119
	Gowan.†						
Carleton	Lewis.†		5,289‡	5,289‡	5,289‡		5,289‡
	Mallock.*						
Lanark	Morris.		4,528‡	4,528‡	4,528‡		4,528‡
	Taylor.*						
Frontenac	Shibley.**	3,103‡		3,103‡		3,103‡	3,103‡
	Strange.						
Lennox and Addington	Bidwell.**	10,733		10,733			
	Perry.**						
Hastings	Yager.*		2,765	2,765	2,765		2,765
	Samson.†						
Prince Edward	Roblin.**	5,395‡	5,395‡	10,791			
	Wilson.*						
Northumberland	Gilechrist.*		6,151‡	6,151‡	6,151‡		6,151‡
	M'Donell.†						
Durham	Bolton.†				8,716		8,716
	Brown.†						
York, (4 Ridings)	Mackenzie.**						
	Gibson.**						
	M'Intosh.**	31,158		31,158			
	Morrison.**						
Simcoe	W. Robinson.†	1,993‡		1,993‡	1,993‡		1,993‡
	S. Lonn.*						
Halton	Hopkins.**	9,009	9,009	18,018			
	Durand.						
Wentworth	Smith.**	8,006		8,006			
	Rymal.**						
Lincoln, (4 Ridings)	M'icking**						
	2d no Return						
	Wolverton.**	11,203		11,203	1,769	5,603	5,603
	Rykert.					1,769	1,769
Haldimand	W. H. Merritt†						
Oxford	Alway.**	3,235‡		3,235‡	3,235‡		3,235‡
	Duncombe.†						
Middlesex	Parke.**	15,286		15,286			
	Moore.**						
Norfolk	Walsh.		3,042	3,042		3,042	3,042
	D. Duncomb.*						
Kent	Cornwall.**	2,251‡		2,251‡		2,251‡	2,251‡
	M'Crac.						
Essex	Wilkinson.		3,062	6,124		3,062	
	Caldwell.*						
Huron							
		121,156	52,680	173,836	58,958‡	22,064‡	810,55

** From M'Kenzie's Reform List.

* Reformers, but not in M'Kenzie's List.

† Tories from the White List.

Tories not in the White List—no mark.

‡ The population of Brockville is included in that of the County of Leeds, all the Members being Anti-Reformers.

P. S.—Last year the Conservatives advocated a union of the Provinces, supposing if it could be brought about, that the French Canadians, or the popular influence in this Province could thereby be destroyed. Of course the injustice of the proposition, coming as it did from the minority of this community, never caused them to hesitate. They had an object to attain, the means, therefore, without regard to the kind, were deemed justifiable.

At the time the proposition was made, we pointed out the fallacy, which consisted in the assumption that language, and not principle, would determine the formation of political parties. But even for argument sake, supposing that language would, upon such an event being brought about by forcible means, for we know of no other the Tories would deign to use, still would they be in the minority yet awhile; for the united number speaking the English language in both Provinces, does not equal the number speaking the French language in this Province.

Assuming, however, as we feel we may with justice to the Liberals of Upper Canada, that principle, not language, would determine their conduct then, as steadily as it does now, the following extract from the above tables will show the result of such an iniquitous measure:—

PROVINCES.	<i>For the existing state of things in the two Canadas.</i>	<i>For change of present system, with security for the future.</i>
In Upper Canada,	98,346*	208,603*
In Lower Canada,	32,432	479,484
Totals	130,778	688,087

* One-fifth is added to the number in the table to make up the present population.

Supposing the Colonial Office were inclined to attempt carrying into effect the threat which that most petulant—most rash—most conceited—and most tyrannical of Colonial Ministers, EDWARD GEOFFREY STANLEY, made use of in the House of Commons, in replying

to Mr. ROEBUCK's speech on the state of the Canadas, we know well what would be the consequence—resistance even unto revolution. But supposing that such a thought did exist in the mind of Mr. RICE, it must have arisen from erroneous ideas, which the result of the Elections cannot fail to dispel. The attempt would be more than the value of his place; and now that the case of the Tories is proved so hopeless, we doubt if they or their friend Mr. PATRICK STUART, M. P., will mention the plan again.

If the Tories could calmly look around them, they would quickly perceive that their darling object, the destruction of the French influence as they call it, but popular influence as we call it, and as it is in fact, cannot under any circumstances within their control be brought about. Let them look to the Southern of the United States, where other than the English language is spoken, where the speakers of such languages bear no such proportion to the Anglo-Americans as the immense body of the French Canadians here do to the English, and say if the legitimate influence, without regard to its nature, could have been destroyed, had there been the inclination, without the most tyrannical proceedings, of which, fortunately, the several constitutions do not admit. Again, let them look at home, and say if the speakers of the native language of Scotland—if the speakers of the native language of Ireland—if the speakers of the native language of Wales could, were it desired by the English, be disregarded and treated as nought in Great Britain. Even in Wales, small as that community is, in comparison with that of England, we were told by a Member of Parliament for one of its Counties, that he did not suppose the English language would be generally understood and used in a century from the present time! How then can the Tories hope to attain their fond purpose—the annihilation of the French language, and the subjugation of the will of the many to their dictum.

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