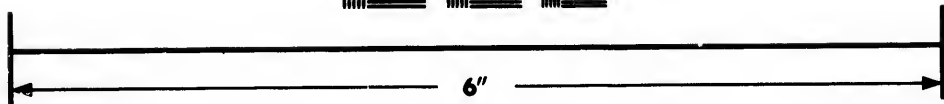
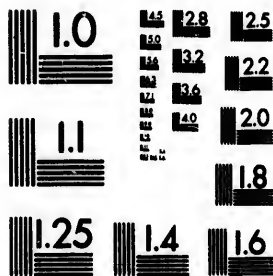


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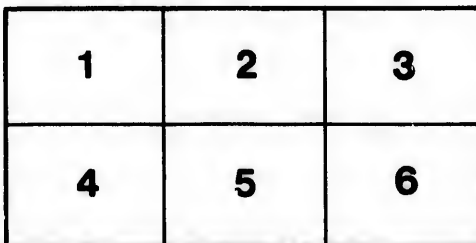
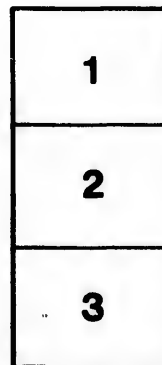
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THE DUBLIN
UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE.

No. CCVI.

FEBRUARY, 1850.

VOL. XXXV.

35

CANADA.

In an article upon the Canadas, published in the number of this Magazine for September, we commented upon two important eras in the history of that country—its conquest by Wolfe, and the passing of the Rebellion Losses' Indemnity Bill by Lord Elgin. Since then the crisis which that Bill produced has passed, the feverish excitement consequent upon it is over; but we have now before us the most convincing evidence that that fever has been replaced by a chronic discontent. We hear no more of peltings, of burnings, of riots, and of bloodshed; but we have to deal with a cool, deliberate, and well-digested scheme for a peaceful severance of that colony from our empire. Between one thousand and one thousand five hundred of the most wealthy, intelligent, and respectable inhabitants of its metropolis have attached their names to a manifesto, declaring their belief of a necessity for, and their determination to advocate, a peaceful separation of Canada from Great Britain, and its annexation to the United States.

This document breathes no word of defiance, it speaks no word of rage, it refers to no outrage, it asks for no redress of wrongs, but calmly, and seemingly more in sorrow than in anger, it states the sad condition of the country, and pronounces upon what is deemed the only feasible means of retrieving its decaying fortunes.

It has, at last, then, come to this! The empire which has cost us years of contest and diplomacy, seas of blood and mines of treasure to win and to hold, is crumbling in pieces in our grasp, and Britain will soon be called upon to bid farewell to the Western Continent, to resign one of the fairest portions of her long-boasted dominion, the sun will soon set upon her terri-

tories, and she must, crab-like, walk backward to the East, if she hopes to preserve any remnant of her proud position among the nations of the earth. For, let us not be deceived; if we give up Canada, all our possessions in North America must soon follow in her wake, or we must preserve, at the expense of perpetual warfare, an authority which will be detested as unjustly maintained. If we yield to the demand of the Canadas, there is not one reason, except those of a purely selfish nature, which we can urge for a refusal of the same boon to Nova Scotia, to New Brunswick, to Newfoundland, to Prince Edward Island, or to the West Indies. The advantages of the changes will be as great to them; and will it be wise, or generous, or right, can it have any other effect than to sour and embitter their feelings, to urge only these selfish considerations in opposition to their claims, in themselves equally just with those of the Canadians? If, in the language of the *Times*, we are to "take care, that, in surrendering Canada not to surrender one jot of sea or land the possession of which really, and effectively concerns the maritime and commercial importance of Great Britain," then must we retain the Canadas. But let us, in God's name, retain them by a tenure which shall make it not burdensome to them, and as little onerous as possible to ourselves. Let us not let them feel that they are wronged by the connexion; or that we are not willing to take upon ourselves the burden which it imposes upon them.

To learn wisdom from the experience of the past is the duty of statesmen and philosophers, and it is to be gleaned no less from the errors of our predecessors, and their evil results,

than from the good effects of their prudence and foresight. Let us look back over the events which have been prominent in our connexion with Canada, and mark how our alternate weakness and rashness (too frequently the result of ignorance) have step by step led to this result.

Canada, at the period of the Conquest, contained a French population of about sixty-five thousand souls. To these, by the terms of the capitulation of Quebec, and the subsequent treaty between France and Great Britain, certain rights were conceded. Their laws, language, and religion were guaranteed to them. This guarantee was variously interpreted, according to the commission to General Murray, and the ordinance passed in conformity therewith; it meant that their laws should have full effect upon all rights obtained and accrued up to a time certain, fixed by the Government. To this the French Canadians demurred, and by the "Quebec Act," 14 Geo. III., cap. 83, the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church were granted the future exercise of all their old rights over the Roman Catholic population, and the English laws and practice of courts which had then been in force in Canada for ten years were annulled. From this source may be traced nearly all the evils to which Lower Canada has since been subject. Lord Durham, with all his faults, and all his blunders, told a truth which has not been enough heeded, that the troubles in Eastern Canada have been the result of a war of races.

Emigrants had been induced to flock to the country under a guarantee of British laws and usages. They were now left to fight their way onward against an ignorant and prejudiced race, and under the retarding influences of a system of laws totally unfitted for an enterprising commercial community.

With the guarantee of their laws to the French Canadians, was perpetuated a system of feudal burdens and exactions, under which no country can prosper. The guarantee of the use of their language in legislative and judicial proceedings, kept alive a spirit of nationality, and a desire to maintain separate interests from those of their conquerors. The guarantee of the free use of their religion was just; but that which legalised the levying of

tithes, and the holding of large estates in mortmain, has proved a curse. These concessions were made at a time when the Government seemed apprehensive that they would join the Americans in their struggle for independence.

It is probable that the Government of the time imagined that these evils would work their own cure, and that if a local legislature were established, the people, being themselves brought to see the evil effects of these remnants of feudal barbarism, and having the power in their own hands to do so, would abolish them. The legislature which was accordingly given them by the "Constitutional Act," 3rd Geo. III., cap. 31, was, however, necessarily somewhat popular in its character, being founded upon the model of those conceded to the other American colonies. In the House of Assembly, the conquered French Canadians had an overwhelming majority, and guarded jealously their ancient, cumbrous institutions, endeared to them as a part of their cherished nationality. To secure an influence to the British settlers, which it was necessary for the welfare of the commercial and industrial interests of the country that they should possess, a preponderance was given them in the Upper House, or Legislative Council. This was their due by reason of their position, intelligence, and enterprise. The proclamation which invited them to settle in Canada (then the Province of Quebec) had guaranteed them British laws. This pledge had been broken. It was absolutely necessary that, in a British colony, British inhabitants should have some protection from the legislative power of uneducated and unenterprising Frenchmen.

Unused to self-government of any kind, the French Canadians were for a time happy and contented with their new position, but opposed with jealous vigilance any innovation by the Anglo-Canadians, on their laws and feudal usages. At last, they were taught by some English and Scotch radicals; and American republicans, through their political leaders, that they were much oppressed, because they were not represented according to their numbers in the upper house, and because the public offices were, to a certain (as they asserted, to a grievous) extent, monopolised by people of British extraction.

These instructors of the people would only see general principles, and would

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not perceive how they were affected by peculiar circumstances. Their heads were filled with high ideas of the free institutions of Great Britain and the United States, and they would not see how utterly unfitted the ignorant and bigoted French Canadian was for their exercise. Either the natural law, that rights belong to those only who have the capacity properly to use and enjoy them, never entered their imaginations; or they were willing to believe in an intelligence which nowhere existed, an enterprise which was nowhere manifested; a capacity for freedom which their past history and present state should have taught them was as yet chimerical.

The French Canadians were almost wholly engaged in agricultural pursuits; the trade of the country, which soon fell principally into the hands of the British and American settlers, was clogged by them with customs' duties, from which the whole of the provincial revenue was raised. They endeavoured to put a tax upon emigrants. They perpetually remonstrated that the legislative council was not filled by election, that it might be as wholly under their control as the lower house. They complained that public offices, which their lack of education and general information rendered them unqualified to fill, were not given to them in proportion to their numerical strength. They complained that a corporation in England (the British American Land Company), had been given grants of a large tract of land for the purpose of re-selling it to British settlers. These formed the continual subject of complaints, petitions, and demands for redress of grievances.

We have seen that previous to the revolution in America, large concessions were made to the French Canadians; others were again made, previous to the war of 1812. They regarded the approach of trouble as a favourable opportunity for demands on the imperial government, and its compliance with their desires as a triumph on their part, and a mark of weakness on the part of that government.

It is unnecessary to trace the history of this agitation onward through all its different stages, until the granting of the civil list, and the breaking out of the rebellion. We sufficiently commented upon this, when that rebellion brought it more immediately under our

consideration. We wish merely to recall to the remembrance of our readers its prominent features, and to direct attention to the fact, that conciliation and concession only led to the discovery of farther grievances; that a right given to-day was considered as a basis whereon to found a claim for another to-morrow, without which that of to-day would be incomplete; and that these concessions were almost invariably made at the wrong time, and in an undignified manner. The grant of their old national rights was necessarily followed by that of representative institutions, in order that those evils might be abolished by the people themselves, which were sacred from the touch of the high prerogatives of the crown. This was followed, before one step had been taken in the desired direction, by clamours for the civil list and an elective legislative council; and the concession of one demand was used as a lever wherewith to compel the granting of the other, and the extension of the authority of the people over the officers of the crown. The Assembly withheld the supplies until these grievances should be redressed, viz., until absolute power was put into the hands of the French Canadian colonists. Lord John Russell, the Colonial Minister of that time, procured certain resolutions to be passed by the House of Commons, upon the subject of the conduct of the Canadian Assembly; and among others one to the following effect, "That, for defraying the arrears due on account of the established and customary charges of the administration of justice, and of the civil government of the province, it is expedient, that after applying for that purpose such balance as should, on the 10th day of April last, be in the hands of the receiver-general, arising out of the hereditary, territorial, and casual revenues of the crown, the governor of the province be empowered to issue, out of any other moneys in the hands of the receiver-general, such further sums as shall be necessary to effect the payment of such arrears and charges up to the 10th April last."

These resolutions afforded the proximate cause of the rebellion, which the British inhabitants, and a small portion of the better class of French Canadians, rushed to arms to put down. If ever a pure and chivalrous loyalty burned in the breasts of any men, it did in

those of the loyalists of that period. It is true that their leaders had been supported, and their conduct heartily approved of and endorsed by the British Government and Parliament, and they were only called upon, in their turn, to support the government to which they were thus indebted; but they responded to the call, not on account of gratitude for these benefits alone, but from an innate love and loyalty towards Britain, and an honest and heartfelt pride in their participation in her glories.

The French Canadians and their Anglo-republican allies were subdued, but not without cost; Britain lost some brave soldiers, and many of the loyalists had to mourn murdered friends and blighted health and prospects. Yet they had suffered in the cause of British supremacy, and their sacrifices were cheerfully endured. It is unnecessary here to dilate at length upon the reforms which were proposed and attempted by Lords Gosford and Durham. They received due attention from the periodical press of this country at the time they were put forth. Their authors received no thanks for their efforts. Sir John Colborne was elevated to the peerage for suppressing the rebellion.

Since then Canada has been governed successively by a very talented but corrupt politician, by a weak old baronet, by the greatest man Canada ever saw, by a *pro tempore* military governor, and by Lord Elgin. We will deal with his character hereafter.

If we are to judge of Lord Sydenham's instructions by his acts, and of the intentions of government by the conduct of its representative, he was sent out to prepare Lower Canada, by the legislation of a special council nominated by himself and predecessors, for a union with Upper Canada; to effect that union in such a manner, if possible, as to give to the British inhabitants a preponderance in both houses of the provincial parliament; and when this had been done, to concede to them the most ample powers of self-government. This was evidently the task he set himself about. The legislation of the special council, dictated, no doubt, principally by himself, was of a kind to anglify the country, to secure their titles to purchasers of property, and thus offer additional inducements to new settlers, and to prepare the people to abolish the seigniorial dues by com-

position or commutation. He stimulated, too, a spirit of enterprise and a desire for wealth and progress among the people. By the Union Act the representation was divided equally between Upper and Lower Canada, though the latter was much the more populous; and by a skilful distribution of the representatives in the lower province, the number of Anglo-Canadian constituents was made much greater in the united province than the French-Canadian. His Lordship's next step, after proclaiming this Act, was quietly to intimate to all the officials throughout the country, that they must find seats in parliament or resign their places. By means of bribery and violence, these men scrambled into parliament, and became the willing instruments of his Excellency's will. The forced legislation of this parliament, also under his dictation, certainly tended farther toward the Anglification of the country. But in the midst of his career he was cut off. What the result of his policy would have been, had he lived to carry it out, it is hard to determine. Unfortunately for the country, he was succeeded by a weak old man, whom the nepotism of a Conservative government thrust into office. He was entirely incapable, as well from his lack of talent as from his sterling integrity of purpose, of carrying out the crafty designs of his predecessors.

Lord Sydenham had, by the ratification of a resolution passed by the House of Assembly, no doubt introduced with his sanction, or perhaps at his suggestion, granted responsible government. This, while he lived to control its workings, and had a lower house filled with the menials of government, was a mere "rib to the whale," a bait wherewith to catch "liberal" gudgeons; but in the hands of such a man as Sir Charles Bagot it proved a most serious and dangerous concession.

Those who held places as heads of departments under Lord Sydenham, and who formed his executive council, or cabinet (as it now began to be called), were of almost all shades of politics. The French Canadians, however, were not represented there. For the purpose of bringing them into his council, he fixed his eyes on M. L. H. Menard, *dit* Lafontaine, a rival of Mr. Papineau in the old Lower Canadian House of Assembly, who had escaped punishment for participation in the

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rebellion (if we may be permitted a hibernicism) "by the skin of his teeth." His Lordship, no doubt, thought, that by calling this gentleman into his cabinet, he would leave no cause for complaint on the part of the French Canadians, that they had no part in conducting the affairs of the country. Yet that he should effectually act upon the maxim, "divide et impera;" that the old partisans of Mr. Papineau would not consent to be led by Mr. Lafontaine; that he would bring but a section of his countrymen with him; that his influence would thus be inconsiderable, and that he would have to yield to the Anglo-Canadian interests, represented in his cabinet, and more powerfully supported in parliament; if his lordship thought this, he was mistaken. Mr. Lafontaine brought all the Canadian members at his back, and could then, and can now, command more votes in the House of Assembly than any other member of the cabinet. Although overtures were made to this gentleman by Lord Sydenham, it was under Sir Charles Bagot that he commenced his reign. The cabinet was remodelled, some of the old members were sent to the bench, some resigned, some got *leave of absence*, and Mr. Baldwin, who stood in a similar position with regard to the rebellion in Upper Canada, to that of Mr. Lafontaine with regard to that in the lower province, held a place in the cabinet; besides him, as leader of the Upper Canadian "liberals," several leading men who had been conservatives while place seemed to be most exclusively in the gift of that party, now became loud-mouthed in their professions of "liberalism;" and strove, some of them successfully, for places in or under the "liberal" government. These men, and those whom they could influence, received with open arms by the man in power, swelled the ranks of their supporters, and created for them a most subservient majority. Messrs. Lafontaine and Baldwin ruled the province, while poor Sir Charles Bagot enjoyed the empty honour of being called the governor. Sickness, perhaps, as much as natural lack of determination or talent, rendered him a mere tool in the hands of his ministers.

They afforded in their legislation an exemplification of the proverb, that "liberals out of office are despots when in power." They were utterly regardless

of the feelings of the minority; their rights, opinions, and feelings were not at nought. Their chief aim seemed to be, so to alter the laws and constitution of the province, and so to strengthen themselves by the distribution of patronage, as to secure place and power to themselves for all time to come. But Sir Charles Bagot also died. Lord (then Sir Charles) Metcalfe succeeded him—a man who will ever live in the memories of Anglo-Canadians, enshrined in their heart of hearts—as a man, a Christian, and a statesman, without his peer in the annals of Canada, without his superior in the history of the world. A long list of distinguished services in the East and West Indies had crowned his brow with undying laurels. His private fortune raised him far above all allurements of pecuniary gain, and his disinterested generosity and noble-mindedness at once destroyed all suspicions of personal and selfish motives. To his hand Britain wisely confided the government of Canada: would that nepotism, carelessness, and experimentalism had allowed more such names to be placed upon the roll of her governors.

The "liberal" ministry soon found that he was not at all disposed to be a passive instrument in their hands. They demanded pledges of him which he considered equivalent to that of a complete surrender of his authority into their hands. He indignantly refused compliance: they resigned their offices, and were succeeded by an amalgamation ministry, consisting of a very small section of Lower Canadian liberals, and the conservatives of both sections of the province. A dissolution ensued, and the country returned a very small majority in favour of the new ministers, who were compelled to use almost any means in their power to strengthen their position. To such a man as Lord Sydenham, skilled in all the wiles of political intrigue, and careless of the means employed; so that the desired end were obtained, this task would not have been so difficult. But Lord Metcalfe was too honest to be altogether successful. If any corrupt practices were made use of they were his ministers'. Nearly all the governors of Canada have endeavoured to conciliate and make friends of the French Canadians. This is impracticable. Clinging to each other with a perti-

nacity almost unequalled, they present an impenetrable phalanx to the attacks of enemies, or the solicitations of friends, from which it is almost impossible to detach a single person. If they take power at all, it must be as a body; if they are to be the friends of the government, it is only on condition that they are made absolute masters of Eastern Canada. These have been invariably their terms, from which they bate no jot or tittle, dictated by a desire to preserve their peculiar institutions, and a determination to maintain their nationality. Their friendship for an English governor is a thing of nought—a cuckoo-cry taught them by their leaders when they deem it for their interest.

Lord Metcalfe was unfortunately not free from this generous weakness, dictated by impartiality and high feeling, but entertained in ignorance of the peculiarities of the nation with whom he had to deal. The means which his ministry made use of to gain French support, created dissatisfaction among their immediate friends, and caused a dangerous display of their weakness to their rivals. With their small majority they were unable to carry through parliament many important measures which the necessities of the country required, or to carry on the government with proper efficiency. Parliament was dissolved, and a new one called, in which the ministry was left with a minority. They fell, unregretted by a great many of their former supporters, to the evident satisfaction of some of them. Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine returned to power.

In the meantime, Lord Metcalfe had quitted the country. Ill health had compelled him to leave his government, and seek in his native land his home and his grave. Both Houses of the Imperial Parliament had pronounced their approval of his conduct: the government had rewarded him with a peerage.

Lord Cathcart, for a short time, while there was a likelihood of a rupture with the United States upon the Oregon question, held the appointment, and then gave place to Lord Elgin.

The career of this nobleman will long serve to mark a most important era in the annals of our colonial empire. If there was ever a time when the bonds of loyalty required strengthening, when strenuous exertions were

required to render the government of his royal mistress pleasant to the colonist, the period of Lord Elgin's government has been that time. Our free-trade policy had snapped in sunder the powerful ties of interest which bound our colonies to us; and some men were already pondering the likelihood of, and the benefits to be derived from, their separation from us. Besides, the example of all continental Europe was unsettling men's minds with regard to the duties of loyalty and obedience; and it was manifest, that if the feelings of love and respect for Great Britain and their sovereign were not fostered, they must soon yield to the attacks of self-interest and theoretical notions of liberty. Instead of studying how he might best accomplish this end, he set about earning for himself a personal popularity. He attended fairs, bazaars, and charitable soirées, (to which, however, he never gave anything), celebrations of mechanics' institutes, and mercantile library associations; he made speeches, and danced highland flings; in fact, did all that a borough member would do to win favour with his constituents, through their wives and daughters. One feature of this career, which he so steadfastly pursued, dimmed the lustre of the laurels which he won. His downright niggardliness, the intense desire he always manifested to save money, soon became a common topic of conversation in the circles where he seemed most to seek for applause, and showed to the greater disadvantage when contrasted with Lord Metcalfe's almost princely munificence.

This soon gave rise to a rumour, which loosened the hold he might have had upon the feelings of the people, and lessened the respect which they wished to entertain for the representative of their sovereign. It was to the effect that he had obtained his appointment from his over-kind relative, that he might earn a peerage, and be enabled, by his savings, to pay off some of the incumbrances upon his Scottish estates. If this be not true, his lordship has himself to blame for having given cause for the belief by a niggardliness conformable to the supposition.

Still annexation or independence was a thing seldom thought of, and less frequently mentioned. A few bankrupt merchants and unsuccessful land speculators believed that their pockets could be replenished in no other way;

and they were quietly, but unsuccessfully, striving to convert men to their creed. Lord Elgin was compelled, by his ministry, to break his plighted faith, to degrade his office into an engine of their malice and petty revenge. Still, while despising the representative, the Anglo-Canadians cherished in their inmost hearts, a love and a veneration for Britain's Queen, such as is seldom met with in these unchivalrous days.

During the long vacation which ensued between the accession of the liberals to office, and the too-famous last session of the Provincial Parliament, every means had been taken to impress the country favourably with the eminently practical and useful measures which it was to expect at their hands. It was groaning under a lavish expenditure—economy and retrenchment were to be practised—commercial depression of the most grievous kind was everywhere felt—politico-economical remedies were to be applied—the system of judiciary required reform—they were to startle men with a monument of legislative wisdom in this respect—in fact, they were to be the great and enlightened instrument of “giving everybody everything.”

Parliament met. The Governor-General came down to the House proposing, for their consideration these reforms, and an act of general amnesty to those who had been engaged in the unfortunate struggle of 1837 and 1838. But no word spake he of their indemnification. The act of amnesty passed unanimously, and Anglo-Canadians showed a joyful alacrity in endeavouring by these means for ever to bury in oblivion the unhappy events of those troublous times. They hoped that thereafter the only cause of emulation between the races would be, in a generous contest for the first place in the pursuit of the material interests of their common country. One of the first acts of the ministry was to pass an act offering reciprocal free trade with Canada to the United States. An agitation was commenced out of Parliament for the purpose of establishing and protecting home manufactures. The plan proposed was, to reduce the duties on articles of necessary consumption, and on raw materials for manufactures, and to raise them as high as possible on articles of luxury, and the coarser kinds of foreign manufactures. This was the

general outline of the proposed plan, modified in detail to suit the requirements of the revenue. This protection movement seemed to bid fair to break up other parties, and to merge them in the two which should respectively support or oppose it, and thus lead to a lasting oblivion of old feuds.

Just at this period (before almost any of their boasted measures of reform were brought to light, when all breaches seemed healed, and a new and better state of things to have arisen,) was chosen for the introduction of the Rebellion Losses' Indemnity Bill into the House of Assembly. It burst upon the loyalists like a thunder-storm—it flew through the province with the speed and blighting effects of lightning. The whole country was roused and agitated. Meeting after meeting was held; petition after petition was forwarded to the Governor-General, remonstrating with him upon the introduction of such a bill with his sanction, and beseeching him to withhold from it the royal assent, or reserve it for the consideration of the Imperial Government. He answered coolly to all, that he would give the matter “due consideration.” What this meant, and why this curt reply was invariably given, will be considered hereafter.

Delay was prayed for by the Conservative members—but ten days' delay, that they might communicate with their constituents. “Not a moment's” was their answer from the leaders of the ministry. They prayed, they remonstrated in vain. The ministry, with their spaniel majority, held on their way. In self-defence, the opposition were compelled to waste several days in a protracted and useless discussion, that their constituents might have time to be heard from. The bill passed both houses. Disgust at the vacillation of the late ministry had filled the lower, Lord Grey's blank *mandamuses*, skillfully used by Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine, had filled the upper with their obedient tools.

Time wore on, and the loyalists verily believed that the bill had been passed as a party triumph, that it would be reserved, sent home to the Imperial Government, and there, being shelved, would be no more heard of. In the midst of this quieting belief, Lord Elgin went down to Parliament in an unaccustomed (we had almost said sneaking) manner, without giving the

usual preliminary notice, professedly to sanction only a customs' duty bill, and, among many others, sanctioned this infamous measure.

Let us reflect upon the conduct of the Imperial Government, and their representatives in Canada up to this time—let us remember how the colony was first planted—how the Anglo-Saxon colonists had struggled for years against the ignorance, the arrogance, and hatred of a Gallican majority—how they had been protected and encouraged in their efforts by that Government—how they had been compelled to fight for the authority of the British Empire in a civil war, proximately caused by an act of the Imperial Parliament, at the instance of the present premier, and remotely and principally, by a deep-rooted hatred, on the part of the French Canadians, of British interference in their government, and of the British colonists, who had settled among them, and by their longings after a pure democracy, where rank, fortune, and intelligence must succumb to the dictation of a brute numerical majority. Let us remember the hardships the loyalists encountered, the money and substance they expended, and the blood which they shed, fighting side by side with soldiers, and under the command of British officers, to suppress that rebellion—that Lord Seaton was rewarded with a peerage, Sir Allan M'Nab with knighthood, for their part in doing so, while Lords Gosford and Durham were received with coldness, almost with disapprobation, on account of their measures and theories of concession to French Canadians—that a form of government was afterwards, by means of corrupt influences, set in operation to anglify the province, under a man who, for his efforts to this end, was rewarded with a peerage, but that it had in weaker hands rendered the *habitans* their masters—that under this new *régime* they had seen traitor after traitor come back to rule over them—men who had endeavoured to drive them from the country for their loyalty, who had procured the midnight incendiary to burn their houses over their heads, and had pointed the sword of the assassin at their throats, had driven their defenceless mothers, wives, and children into the bleak snowdrifts and inclement frosts of Canadian winter nights; that they had seen these men

taking their places among their legislators and officers of State; that they had heard them with swelling braggadocio boast of these exploits, and, in all the pride and insolence of office, look down upon and spurn them for their loyalty; that governor after governor had striven with weak generosity to heal the breach between the traitor and the loyalist, by fawning upon the former; that Lord Metcalfe had been rewarded also by elevation to the peerage for endeavouring, with dignified firmness, to interpose the authority of the crown as a barrier between the unbridled insolence of a democratic majority and the rights of the "leal and the true," and to modify the radical defects of the form of government by the enforcement of constitutional checks and prerogatives, and that his conduct in this regard had met with the almost unanimous approval of both houses of the Imperial Parliament; let us remember, too, that Lord Elgin had rendered himself despicable by his meannesses and weakness, and that his ministers had grossly insulted them, taunting them with their weakness in point of numbers, and terming the devotion they had displayed to Britain's Queen and government "a slavish, spurious loyalty;" let us remember all this, and then conceive, if we can, the maddened frenzy with which they heard that Lord Elgin had lent the sanction of his name and high office to his infamous measures; had made a way to rebellion the law of the land. He was no longer in their eyes the representative of the gracious Queen for whom they had fought and bled; it were a foul wrong on her sense of gratitude to believe it, and upon Lord Elgin, the supple instrument of an unprincipled ministry, not upon their governor, was visited the wrath of the populace.

The burning of the parliament-house was a mad, if unpremeditated—a wicked, if premeditated act. We have every reason to believe that it was wholly unpremeditated. No good man can justify it; but all loyal, honest minds will feel that the cause palliated, nay, that it furnished a sufficient excuse for, the offence, and that they have incurred the heaviest responsibility, who, by their wicked acts, drove men to such a pitch of exasperation. The subsequent acts of violence

were committed by an unreasoning, unruly, excited mob, and were countenanced by the leaders of no party. It was not to be expected that they were hypocritically to lament that men who had been guilty of such wilful violation of the rules of morality and social order, had been visited with a shower of eggs, or other unsavory missiles, had been jostled in the streets, or had their hats knocked over their eyes; but the leading Conservatives repeatedly offered their services to the government to protect life and property, and though their services were declined, exerted themselves to the utmost to do so.

Lord Elgin abandoned his capital, and a debasing cowardice has still further lowered him in the public esteem. He wrote vapouring answers to condolence addresses, of which, as a scholar, he should be ashamed, always excepting those addressed to French Canadians, which, by their frothy, declamatory style, are admirably fitted to win their admiration. We alluded to his answer to the Hastings address in our article alluded to above. We can hardly give Lord Elgin credit for the ignorance which we there admitted, as an alternative whereby he might escape the charge of falsehood. We fear he must rest for ever hereafter upon the latter horn of the dilemma. If we could for a moment believe in the truth of the assertion of innocence he there made, as apologist for his ministry and their supporters, why, in the name of justice, in the name of common honour and honesty, did he not, instead of the curt assurance to the loyalists in answer to their petitions, that he would give the matter "*due consideration*," condescend to explain to them their mistaken views upon the subject. Surely, it would have been quite as "*dignified*" to have thus addressed loyal and tried freemen, as subsequently to answer in such endearing and familiar terms to the condolence addresses of their adversaries. There is no answer which the most jesuitical minister could frame that can satisfy an honest mind with Lord Elgin's conduct in this regard. He saw the storm gathering, he saw the agitation of the elements of political discord, he read his ministers' declaration in parliament that they would pay rebels, and he employed this bungling subterfuge—this pitiful shift to disguise a determination to do

evil, to ward off for a few short days the angry tornado which only gathered force by the delay.

He wrote an explanation of his conduct in two despatches to Earl Grey, which we leave to the tender mercies of the *Morning Chronicle* and other Conservative journals, by which it was shown up as a compound of egotistic folly, of misrepresentation, and of insult to the dead. One passage in it we answered in our previous article, and it contains the only real argument which his lordship ever put before the public in defence of his policy. "The parliament had been but recently elected under the auspices, not of the ministry, but of the opposition. To have recourse to a general election, in order to test the feelings of the people on this exciting topic, was to provoke, in many parts of the country, scenes of violence, perhaps of bloodshed. Moreover, a dissolution implied a change of administration; and if it failed of its object, its only effect would be to implant suspicion and mutual distrust between the representative of the crown and the local parliament." We repeat what we then said, "The case was one in which the motto of the minister should have been, '*Fiat justitia, ruat cælum*.'"

We shall be told, perhaps, as he too asserts, that it was necessary that imperial interference in colonial legislation should cease, and that the disallowance, or even the reservation of this bill, under the circumstances, would have been a breach of constitutional usage. If it be conceded that it was intended to reward rebels, we have shown, we believe conclusively, that it was a sacred duty for the Governor-General, under the constitution of Canada, to reserve it, as of an "*extraordinary nature*," or to disallow it, as subversive of the first elements of an organised polity. But if it were only intended to pay loyalists—a vast majority of those interested, who bore arms in service and defence of their Queen and country in 1837 and '8, petitioned for its disallowance, because it came to them in such a questionable shape, and from such a questionable source; and surely the men in power, whose majority is made up of those who have been disaffected, would not have been much wronged by a refusal to sanction what would little benefit their supporters.

We see, then, that up to the time of Lord Elgin's government, the con-

tinued policy of England, while making large concessions to French Canadians and their Upper Canadian democratic allies, whenever they were believed (alas! how often erroneously believed) to be necessary or just, had been to foster British interest in the persons of British colonists in Canada; that the governors who carried out this policy had been invariably rewarded for their services; that, for a period of between seventy and eighty years, Anglo-Canadians had been taught to believe that this, though not the uniform course, was the constant aim of British statesmen. Gradually, since the time of Lord Sydenham, they had seen a disposition evinced to let them fight their own battles with their opponents; but the approval of the policy of Lord Metcalfe had led them to believe that they might still look for protection from any great wrong in the exercise of the prerogative of the crown. It remained for Lord Elgin and the ministry who have procured from the imperial parliament a ratification of his policy, to teach them that the crown will no longer afford them any assistance—that it has absolutely renounced the prerogatives with which the constitution has invested it, and that they must hereafter, while they are told to believe that they have a transcript of the British constitution, be content to be governed by a pure and unchecked democracy, where the will of the majority must be final and irrevocable. Do not the Canadian annexationists act in conformity with this principle?

Such has been the answer, conveyed in an unmistakable manner, which the British government and parliament have given to the complaints of the Canadian loyalists. Comment is useless upon it. The fact is patent to all who have read the debates in parliament on this subject. We surely cannot wonder, then, that these men should seek relief in the well-ordered government of the United States, from the curses attendant upon their present condition. There they have a constitution by which a house of representatives is subjected to checks, without which any system of government is incomplete and arbitrary, which they entirely lack in Canada. The majority elect the House of Assembly, they nominate the ministers, and the ministers, in their turn, manufacture a useless and expensive upper house out of their most wealthy partisans, and rule

the Governor, who is too much occupied in the preservation of a "dignified neutrality" even to exercise the authority which was once supposed to belong to his office. Such is the form of government which we boast of, as a blessing we have conferred upon our colonies. The salutary conservative checks which our House of Lords afford us, and around a president and cabinet holding office for four years, in spite of any sudden veering of political opinion, and a senate elected by a different franchise afford the United States, nowhere exist. It is manifest that they cannot exist thus.

The Montreal manifesto is a proof that a portion of the Canadian people are convinced of this; another will be found in an association in Canada, called "The British American League," which dates its existence from the passing of the too-famous bill.

We have said that the tone of this manifesto is calm and dispassionate. It is the calm and resolved accents of despair. Nought but despair of redress or justice from Britain could have tempted loyal men to have penned or signed such a document. The decision of the legislature first induced this belief. The insulting, sneering tone of some of the leading journals, among which we may instance the *Times*, *Economist*, *Examiner*, and *Daily News*, confirmed it; but the elevation of Lord Elgin to the peerage has completed the lesson, and has rendered assurance "doubly sure." Indeed we know not for which of his good qualities this has been done—whether for his meanness, his avarice, his weakness, his cowardice, or his mendacity. Perhaps it is in reward of his boasted services to the "cause of constitutional liberty," which have destroyed the bonds of moral and social order throughout the greater part of Canada. However this may be, we feel sure that the loyalty of many, which had been tried and not found wanting, has been for ever extinguished by the insults heaped upon them.

Foremost in this worthy cause, distinguished above all others, is the *Times*. When the news of the riots in Montreal first reached England, the *Times*, in a most bitter article, assailed the Canadian Tories, in terms which Billingsgate might have almost rejoiced in: contemptible as they were in numbers, they were still more so in fortune; and in character, no

epithet was too foul to be applied to this party. They only wished for the subversion of a constitutional government which they had hated before, and hated still more—now that they were subject to it. In such a strain as this did the leading journal of the empire, which is supposed to speak the opinions of the ministry, endeavour to heal the breach between Lord Elgin and the Canadian loyalists. In a subsequent article it explains its conduct. It then informs its readers, that when the first articles were written, upon the first arrival of the news, no official answer could be given to the numberless inquiries upon Canadian affairs; that only private letters had then arrived. Lord Grey mentions private letters from Lord Elgin as having arrived by that mail. So, like the man in the play, "putting that and that together," we may reasonably infer, that the tenor of the "private letters" found their way into the columns of the *Times*, and that all the rage and animosity against Canadian conservatives which Lord Elgin felt when he wrote these letters, soon after his pelting, was transferred to these articles.

In this latter article, too, it complains that it is deluged with information on Canadian affairs, and cries out, as if in the agonies of suffocation, "ohé jam satis." This official and other overpowering information seems, fortunately, to show the necessity of giving some argument to maintain the position from which (having assumed it without any sound reason) it had sent forth its volleys of abuse. It therefore labours unsuccessfully to prove that the Rebellion Losses' Indemnity Act was not an extraordinary measure, and that it was not intended for the indemnification of rebels. Those who read our previous article on this point will know how much faith to put in these assertions; for really they are little else.

Since then, on two or three occasions, it has taken occasion to indulge in vituperation against the party which it feels it has wronged, and which, therefore, by a law of human nature, it cannot forgive. Now we ask is this conduct befitting a journal occupying the position of the *Times*. It jumped to a conclusion upon an assertion of Earl Grey's relative in Canada. Before it has full information upon the matter in question, it endeavours, by violent lan-

guage, to prejudice the public mind against a party which was unable to make itself heard then, and when it finds its error, instead of retracting, it bolsters up its weak position by sophistry. The effect which these articles have had in Canada has been very great. The Canadians have been taught to look to the *Times* as an exponent of the feelings of the British people, and they felt that, to persons entertaining such opinions of, and such feelings toward them, they could not appeal with any chance of an impartial hearing. We quote extracts from two Montreal Conservative journals which will sufficiently attest this. The first is from the *Montreal Herald* of the 6th of June last:—

"If we could for a moment believe the London *Times* spoke the deliberate sentiments of the people of England, in the above paragraph, we should have no hesitation as to the course, which every man possessing one drop of British blood in his veins—one spark of British feeling in his bosom—would unhesitatingly and indignantly adopt. What, are we to be told, at this time of day, after all the sacrifices we have cheerfully made to maintain the honor of the Crown and the supremacy of the mother country, when attacked by an anti-national faction—the descendants of those who owe every political privilege they seek to abuse, to the courage and bravery of our ancestors,—who made them freemen against their wills—are we to be told that, because we will not consent to be taxed to pay the losses, incurred by those concquered rebels, that all we seek is the 'acquiescence of a faction and a race'—that we are mere greedy mercenaries, whose allegiance is dependant upon our pay! Let the British Government assume such a tone, and we should tell them to their faces—'we scorn alike your pay and your allegiance—your power may, for a time, restrain our limbs; but our minds shall be free; and, we will find means, in spite of your power, to emancipate ourselves, and our children, from so degrading a bondage.'"

The second is from the *Montreal Gazette* of the 11th of June:—

"We may be wrong, happy should we be to feel that we are so, but if the London *Times*, in the articles we recently laid before our readers, speaks the sentiments of the people of England, as certainly as we know it speaks the sentiments of Lord Elgin, of Lord Elgin's uncle-in-law, and the present ca-

binet of the Empire, then we do not hesitate to declare, that the loyalists of Canada will henceforth look upon their allegiance with a corresponding eye. It denounces—and he it remembered on authority from the Imperial Government—every man who took up arms in 1837, in defence of the Crown, as a kind of infrahuman villain, of course not only not entitled to respect, but deserving of every reprobation.

"The vast majority of the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of this country are held up to the world as a contemptible set of 'desperadoes,' a mere 'factious minority,' whose only ruling motives are the worst to be found in the human breast.

"In 1837 and 1838, the British Government appealed to these infamous men for support, and they gave life and property to defend it.

"If the British inhabitants fought for the ascendancy of a faction and a race' in 1837, what were the British Government and the British troops doing? If the rebels 'fought for free and equal institutions,' why were we called upon to oppose them?

"In the meantime, we request our readers carefully to ponder over the articles in the *Times*, and never to forget that the sentiments it expresses are the sentiments of the Grey part of the administration at home. When the Queen adopts them, by sanctioning the atrocious insult and robbery intended by the Rebellion Losses' Bill, they can judge at what value their character and services are held by the people of England, and act for the future accordingly."

Since then, the journals we have before mentioned have repeatedly hinted at the worthlessness of all colonies, and particularly of Canada. Upon this hint have the Annexationists spoken. They have been tutored to believe that Britain considers them a burden, and that that part of the constitution which gives certain prerogatives to the crown is a nullity. They seek in the proposed change to better their own material interests, to relieve Great Britain of a burden, and to obtain the benefits of a form of government, each part of which exists in reality as well as in name, and which they can therefore depend upon.

The Annexation Manifesto begins thus:—

"The number and magnitude of the evils that afflict our country, and the universal and increasing depression of

its material interests, call upon all persons animated by a sincere desire for its welfare to combine for the purposes of inquiry and preparation, with a view to the adoption of such remedies as a mature and dispassionate investigation may suggest.

"Belonging to all parties, origins and creeds, but yet agreed upon the advantage of co-operation for the performance of a common duty to ourselves and our country, growing out of a common necessity, we have consented, in view of a brighter and happier future, to merge in oblivion all past differences of whatever character, or attributable to whatever source. In appealing to our fellow-colonists to unite with us in this our most needful duty, we solemnly conjure them, as they desire a successful issue and the welfare of their country, to enter upon the task at this momentous crisis in the same fraternal spirit.

"The reversal of the ancient policy of Great Britain, whereby she withdrew from the colonies their wanted protection in her markets, has produced the most disastrous effects upon Canada. In surveying the actual condition of the country, what but ruin or rapid decay meets the eye! Our provincial government and civic corporations, embarrassed; our banking and other securities greatly depreciated; our mercantile and agricultural interests alike unprosperous; real estate scarcely saleable upon any terms; our unrivalled rivers, lakes and canals almost unused; whilst commerce abandons our shores; the circulating capital amassed under a more favourable system is dissipated, with none from any quarter to replace it. Thus, without available capital, unable to effect a loan with foreign States, or with the mother country, although offering security greatly superior to that which readily obtains money both from the United States and Great Britain, when other than colonists are the applicants;—crippled, therefore, and checked in the full career of private and public enterprise, this possession of the British Crown—our country—stands before the world in humiliating contrast with its immediate neighbours, exhibiting every symptom of a nation fast sinking to decay.

"With superabundant water power and cheap labour, especially in Lower Canada, we have yet no domestic manufactures; nor can the most sanguine, unless under altered circumstances, anticipate the home growth, or advent from foreign parts, of either capital or enterprise to embark in this great source of national wealth. Our institutions, unhappily, have not that in-

press of permanence which can alone impart security and inspire confidence, and the Canadian market is too limited to tempt the foreign capitalist.

"Whilst the adjoining States are covered with a net-work of thriving railways, Canada possesses but three lines, which, together, scarcely exceed 50 miles in length, and the stock in two of which is held at a depreciation of from 50 to 80 per cent.—a fatal symptom of the torpor overspreading the land.

"Our present form of provincial government is cumbrous, and so expensive as to be ill suited to the circumstances of the country; and the necessary reference it demands to a distant government, imperfectly acquainted with Canadian affairs, and somewhat indifferent to our interests, is anomalous and irksome. Yet, in the event of a rupture between two of the most powerful nations of the world, Canada would become the battle-field and the sufferer, however little her interests might be involved in the cause of quarrel or the issue of the contest."

Our readers will not require to be reminded that the produce of Canada has, by means of differential duties on foreign produce coming into competition with it, enjoyed a certain amount of protection in our markets. Their principal exports were wheat, flour, and timber; their competitors in the two former articles were the United States; in the latter, the people of the Baltic. For a number of years Lower Canada raised a surplus of wheat, which we imported. For the last fifteen years she has not done so; never raising more, generally less, than a sufficiency for her own consumption; and our supplies from Canada have come from the western portion of the province, formerly Upper Canada. The distance down the Lakes and river St. Lawrence to the seaboard, and the difficulties of the navigation, coupled with the restrictions of the Navigation Laws, have tended to make the freights paid by the Canadians to be very much higher than those paid by Americans slipping their produce at New York. Besides, during six months of the year, the St. Lawrence is closed with ice, while New York is an open harbour throughout the year. The lumber-merchants of Canada labour under the same disadvantage in respect to freights, and it has only been by means of the protection which we have afforded them, that they have been able success-

fully to compete with their rivals in the production and exportation of either of these, their almost only staple products. They are debarred by a duty of twenty per cent. from sharing in the markets of the United States; and thus hemmed in by natural difficulties on the one hand, and a high tariff on the other, the free-trade policy of Great Britain has proved a rude shock to their prosperity. Previous to the adoption and putting into effect of that policy, Canada, and especially the western portion of it, was in a more prosperous condition than the "Empire State" (as it is boastingly called) of New York. A report of a provincial governmental committee on statistics attests this in a conclusive manner, and the progress of that country in population and wealth for several years previous, would astonish many who pretend to be well versed in these matters. Such was their state then—the manifesto gives the present aspect of their affairs. Even when most prosperous, however, the difficulty of procuring capital for the purposes of internal improvement has evidently been felt as a serious evil. We cannot tell why it is that our capitalists would sooner lend their money to repudiating states than to our own colonists. They have, in the latter case, the guarantee afforded by imperial control, in the former, that of the promises of an over-speculating, and not over-scrupulous people. Certainly we believe government might guarantee the interest on all loans sanctioned by the approval of the colonial legislatures, and we believe such a course would have a most powerful effect in improving the condition of our colonists, and removing present difficulties. A Canadian writer in "Blackwood" inquires if the American capitalist could make railroads in Canada a profitable investment, why may not the English? If they could manufacture some articles there with advantage, why may not the Englishman? They might; but they seem so indifferent about the colony, and so ignorant of its resources, as not yet to have made the discovery.

The extent of the adhesion to the manifesto is not very great. Annexation associations have been formed in some three or four places only; besides Montreal, and we have not heard that any considerable numbers of members have been obtained. The most im-

portant step, after that of the people of Montreal, has been taken by the inhabitants of the county of Sherbrooke, the largest constituency in the eastern townships. These form a corner of the province, lying between the boundary line between Canada and the United States on the one side, and the French parishes on the banks of the Richelieu and St. Lawrence, on the other. They are inhabited principally by British and American settlers, who, during the rebellion, were foremost to rush to arms to fight against the French Canadians on the one side of them, and American sympathisers on the other. They, above all others, have felt themselves wronged by the late conduct of the imperial government, and are, in common with most of the other Canadian loyalists, in no wise obnoxious to the remarks of the *Times*. A majority of them are still, we believe, opposed to annexation. The county of Sherbrooke is represented by Mr. A. T. Galt, son of the author of that name, and local agent or commissioner of the British American Land Company, whose lands are situated in the townships. His reply to the address which was presented to him by 1200 of his constituents, is an able exposition of the annexation doctrines.

After a few preliminary remarks, he says :—

“ The complete revolution in our system of government, our commercial relations, and our position as a nation, to be effected by separation from Great Britain and annexation to the United States, renders this question one which ought to be approached with minds free from the bias of party feeling, and unprejudiced by the excitement which has for some time agitated the province. It is not a subject which can be made the party cry of a day, or which, like ordinary public measures, may afterwards be repealed by the authority that enacted it; but one, the adoption of which is final and irrevocable, involving not merely the alleviation of temporary distress, but the future weal or woe of a nation. Every citizen is called upon to make his voice heard, and the responsibility rests equally with those who withhold their opinion as with those who act.”

The present position of Canada is faithfully depicted in the Montreal address to the people of Canada. He combats the arguments of those

who represent the agitation as a crime, points out the fact that our colonial condition is of necessity not permanent or stable, and asserts that the statesmen of England seek to retain Canada only as long as Canadians desire it :—

“ And when the fulness of time is come (although the separation may cause a pang, still I doubt not the magnanimity of that nation which has been the herald of freedom to the whole world), when the North American provinces take their rank among nations, the mission of England on this continent is fulfilled. And she cannot but regard with pride the vast empire that will arise, built up by her children, speaking her language, governed by her laws, and associated with her by the closest ties of affection and interest. It will be a far nobler cause for pride in Great Britain to have educated such a vast nation, in the proper enjoyment of freedom, than to possess for ever the nominal control of the whole continent as discontented and suffering colonies.”

After a recapitulation of the evils enumerated in the address, he continues :—

“ Were it possible to attribute the present state of the province to temporary causes, which time might remove, it would be criminal to seek from the distress of the people the means of exciting their minds to desire a radical change; but the conviction has forced itself upon almost every thinking man in Canada, that our present evils are the result of a false political position, and that the cure for them must be sought in change.”

Then, speaking of the remedies proposed by the Ministerialists, Leaguers, and Annexationists, he says :—

“ To the opinions of the last party I subscribe, having the conviction that the other remedies proposed amount only to a postponement of the great question, and are not, therefore, so well calculated to meet the real wants of the country.”

“ Canada has now a population of a million and a half, with a territory admitting of its almost unlimited expansion—vast rivers, fertile plains, mineral treasures, and everything required to constitute a great country; but her population are divided, and her resources remain undeveloped. I ascribe this to her colonial position. *Nothing here is final*; our constitution is not our own, but the gift of the parent state,

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and no modification of it can take place without imperial sanction; our commerce is governed by those in whose councils we have no part; our most deliberate acts are subject to revision and disallowance without our consent; our legal decisions are open to reversal in England; the head of our government is chosen from men unacquainted with our position; our administration have to look not solely to the interest of Canada, but also to the views of the imperial government; even *our own funds cannot be disposed of without the express consent of the representative of imperial authority*; the struggle of mastery between our parties is embittered and prolonged by the appeal which lies to a distant country; and the rule, that the majority should govern, is liable at any moment to be set aside by the intervention of superior power invoked by the minority. Prosperity and such an unsettled state of things cannot exist together."

After stating that, when a country has attained the condition of Canada, it is essential for its advancement that it should be independent, and remarking on the exclusion of colonists from the diplomacy, the army, and the cabinet of the empire, and that these are walks of life that many would choose and ought to pursue, he thus continues:—

"Science, literature, and the fine arts, shun our country, as offering no adequate scope for their efforts. Debarred by their colonial state from sharing in the triumphs of imperial skill, industry, and valour, the Canadian colonists feel that they have no national glory to promote—no national pride to indulge; they find their energies cramped down to the management of the mere parish affairs; and they seek, by the rancour of their discussions, to obtain for them that importance which would be denied to their intrinsic merit.

"To make Canada great, there must be opened to her inhabitants those elements of emulation and pride which will call forth all their energies; the dissensions of her citizens must be terminated by abolishing distinctions of race; they must be made to feel that they form part of one great country, and that its destinies are entrusted to their guidance. Were it possible for Canada to become an integral part of the British empire, still, its position is such as to blend its interests more naturally with the United States, and to make the former connection less desirable. But knowing, as we do, the constitution of

Great Britain, and the varied interests which govern its legislation, it is not a question of choice whether we shall be incorporated with Great Britain or with the United States, but shall we remain a dependency of the former, or become an integral part of the latter empire?

"The permanent interests of Canada, its present state, and its future prospects, all point to the adoption of annexation; and unless it be the case, contrary to my belief, that we now possess all the means of development, as a people, that are essential for prosperity, we may expect to see the country languish, and latent discontent ever on the eve of breaking out, until our independence be acknowledged. A union with the United States will give Canada a place among nations; the accumulated wisdom of their legislators will become our own; we shall share in the triumph of their unparalleled progress; we shall reap the fruits of that political skill which has thus far shielded their institutions from harm; our interests will be watched over, and our industry protected and encouraged by their wise commercial policy; and, although no longer dependent on Great Britain, we shall feel that we have served her well in ensuring that harmony between the two empires which is now constantly in peril from conflicting interests.

"Such are the general views that induce me to desire the peaceable separation of Canada from Great Britain, and its annexation to the United States."

Here, then, we have set before us the evils of which the Annexationists complain—the good which they seek. This address, too, is not the work of an ultra-Tory—of one of that "faction" which is so bitterly spoken against. He argues the matter upon the grounds which are admitted as just by very many ultra-Liberals. And it may be as well here to remark upon the apparently very prevalent mistake, that this agitation is the work of Canadian Tories. Foremost upon the manifesto are the names of two prominent members of parliament who voted for the Rebellion Losses' Bill, and are staunch supporters of the present ministry. The Orangemen of Canada, too, are accused of aiding and abetting it; they have, through their deputy grand master, protested against it. The movement is confined to no party, but embraces persons of all political creeds.

The party is made up something after this manner:—A large number of American adventurers have from

time to time settled in Canada, for the purposes of trade and agriculture. Professing loyalty to the crown to ensure their own comfort, and sometimes their own safety, the majority of them have, nevertheless, secretly retained a love for the institutions under which they were born, and have desired to see them introduced into Canada. These men are Annexationists.

A considerable portion of the emigrants from the British Isles to Canada have been of the lower classes. Some among them had been taught in their youth extreme Radical, some of them Chartist, and many Repeal doctrines. These men have, some of them, been Canadian Liberals; but most among them who have become wealthy, finding it more fashionable, have become Conservatives. But as they came to Canada to seek their fortunes, and their loyalty is greater to their pocket than to their Queen, with the present commercial distress their love for British connection and British institutions have vanished, and they, too, are Annexationists, in all cases where the sweets of office have not stopped their complaints.

A section of the French Canadians, headed by Mr. Perrincau—who, during his exile, took English lessons in the schools of French and American Republicanism—are also determined Annexationists. The French priests are opposed to it. "Young Canada," as this party is called, are dealing out burning invectives against priestcraft. As the French Canadians become free from the thralldom of this blight upon their energies, we believe they will join the ranks of annexation, and the work of freeing them is begun. We believe that Mr. Lafontaine and his friends are at heart Republicans; but respect for the power of the priesthood, and a love for their *nationalité*, which they fear will be extinguished in a union with the States, and the sweets of office, which they hope long to hold under their present purely democratical form of government, make them withhold their support from the present movement.

A small body of the old and tried loyalists have been so soured by late events, that they, too, have joined a party which a few short months ago they would have looked upon with horror; and we doubt not that ere this they regret their rashness. These, then, are the Annexationists of Canada. Not-

withstanding the fact, that the party are as yet not strong, yet the stand which they have taken is so determined, the arguments which they adduce appeal so forcibly to their interests, that we must expect that it will increase, unless the evils which form the basis of these arguments are by some means checked.

Various remedies have been proposed; but those emanating from the people themselves deserve our first attention. The Canadian ministry have been straining every nerve to procure reciprocal free trade with the United States, and this, if obtained, would rob the Annexationists of their strongest weapons. Would it not be just, and would it be contrary to the provisions of any treaty, that the Imperial Government should treat with the United States on this point; and should, in case of the refusal of that country to grant this boon to our colonists, impose such a duty upon its products coming into competition with those of the colonists, as should repay the excess of cost to the latter by means of higher freights, and place them on an equal footing with the United States in our market?

The British American League, whose members are principally Conservatives, proposes to remedy the ills under which they suffer, by protection to home manufactures, the reduction of official salaries, and a union of the British American provinces. The protection which this body advocates is, as we understand it, based upon the same principles as those adopted by the Protection Association already alluded to. The salaries of all officials they complain of, as immensely disproportionate to the wealth and population of the province, and compare unfavourably with the cheap governments of the United States. These are matters for them to settle among themselves.

The Union of all the British American provinces is a subject which has already received a good deal of attention, and merit more. Before we consider the manner in which we believe this may be most beneficially carried into effect, we may refer to another reform which has not been mooted by the Canadians themselves, but has been mentioned in some of our contemporaries, and was a principal topic discussed a few years ago, in connection with the union, in some able letters, by the Hon. Joseph Howe, of Nova Scotia. It is the representation

of the colonies to the imperial parlia- ment. Let us glance briefly at these two measures. The union and imperial representation which are those with which the Imperial Parliament will have most to do.

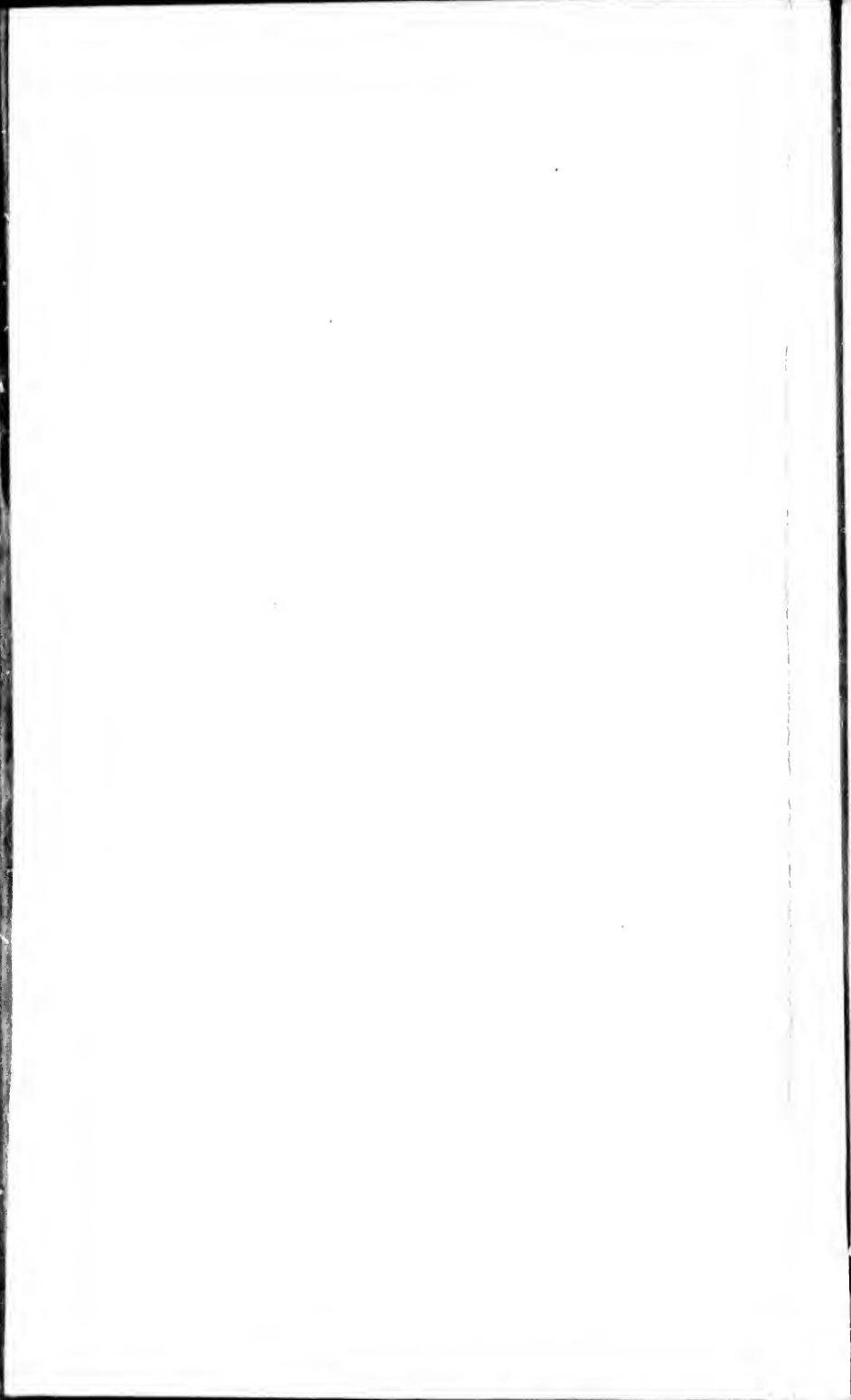
We deem it unnecessary in the present day to detail the project, and want of space prevents us from enumerating the very many advantages which would accrue to the colonies from a union. We take it for granted that it is well reflected upon in the subject, and all who will give it their consideration, will perceive those with- out our detailing, and that all will admit that it is a union in which the colonies are interested. But the manner in which it is to be granted is a matter of great moment. First, of what kind shall be the union, be it federal or legislative. To the latter of it objected, and we think with reasons that are well founded, with a population so widely scattered, and with many separate local interests, a policy to give unity and cohesiveness. An argument indeed in its favour is, that such a policy destroys Federalism and individuality. We believe that all the beneficial effects to be derived from this will be obtained in a proper federal union. In the federal legislature they must be determined, and Canada may be subdivided in such a way as to leave the mass of the English Canadians by themselves. There in their present state they deserve their cherished *unions*, no one will be hurt by it. Besides they are a step on a course of real reform. Young Canada has vowed destruction to priestcraft, and Old Canada has determined to root out the evils of the feudal tenure of lands. Let them have freedom to work out these progressive ends in the time and manner which may suit them best.

This federation must, we think, be formed to some extent upon the plan proposed by Mr. Rowback. Let Canada be divided into two or three provinces. The bulk four of the confederating ones would thus be narrowed, or the races not brought at all into contact. Let the other provinces remain as they are, and to each of these provinces give a local government, having control over all purely local interests. The form of these governments should be, as Mr. Rowback proposes, republican. We have given the colonists self-government, this we cannot retract. But we have given it to

them in a form unsuited to their circumstances, unfitted for their use, this we should rectify. The people are, with few exceptions, and these principally confined to Ireland and some parts of the British and some of the colonies, and some of their habits are distinctly aristocratic, in which respect they are not the same as they were when the Queen and some of their subjects in their habits were more democratic. They have the Queen, and some of their habits are distinctly aristocratic, in which respect they are not the same as they were when the Queen and some of their subjects in their habits were more democratic.

It is for our own sake, and for theirs, that we should give them a government better suited to their habits. The colonies are the same as they were when the Queen and some of their subjects in their habits were more democratic. They have the Queen, and some of their habits are distinctly aristocratic, in which respect they are not the same as they were when the Queen and some of their subjects in their habits were more democratic.

We are next to consider the present mode of representation by the Imperial Parliament. We fear that the objections to the practical operation of the scheme are too great to be overcome to the best purpose. There are not many gentlemen of sufficient fortunes in the colonies to permit them to undertake the duties of the representation without salaries. This would add to the numbers of the colonists on the one hand, and on the other tend to lower the standing of the colonial members in parliament. Again, the imposition of an appropriation of taxes to the Imperial Parliament according to the rule that taxation and representation go hand in hand, upon a point we, as yet, hardly know what direct taxation means, will be of itself, we fear, an insuperable obstacle. The few members which the colonists would be allowed to send to parliament, could expect to have little weight in the discussion of even colonial affairs, and would take but little interest in matters of purely imperial legislation. If these objections could be satisfactorily answered, all means shown by which these difficulties may be overcome, nothing would more rejoice us than to



see our fellow-countrymen, the colonists, take their places in the Imperial Parliament, as members of the common family there represented. The bonds of union would be more closely knit, the pathway to imperial honors would be opened up to colonial ambition; their interests would be more effectually watched over and protected, and we believe, that with this, and the other reforms we have mentioned, all sources of discontent would be effectually stopped. The distance which separates us is nothing in these days of steam-ships, the objection founded upon that we regard as of no weight; and shall be heartily glad if it can be shown us that the other objections are not more valid, and that the scheme is practicable. But, as a preliminary to all reforms, Lord Elgin must be removed. We think we have shown sufficient reasons.

If, then, this new constitution can be put in operation in our British American colonies, and the markets of the United States opened to them, or our own protected against that country in their favour, we believe the project of annexation will be nipped in the bud. The Canadians have much to fear in joining their destinies with those of the United States. The pro and anti-slavery parties seem on the eve of rending in sunder the union. The annexation of the Canadas as so much free soil, bringing such an access of strength to the free soil party, would hasten this event, and the Canadians might find themselves, as a first welcome, embroiled in a civil war. There are other reasons which should make them hesitate: elective judicaries, and the perpetual strife engendered in elections by universal suffrage, where a member of the mob professes equal rights with the wealthy landowner or merchant, and carries his candidate into office too, is not a state of things after which they should much sigh. They do not care to surrender their revenues derived from customs duties, or their unoccupied lands, and have recourse to direct taxation for all local purposes either.

We cannot, however, conceal from ourselves the fact, that the firmest bond which united us to this great colony is broken. We before quoted Mr. Abraham on this subject; our readers will pardon us for repeating words which have almost proved prophetic:—

“If you desire it, if it is your wish to

get rid of your wayward child in any way, you have but to persevere. It will take much to persuade British-born men—it will take much to persuade the descendants of those who followed the red-cross banner into banishment—it will take much to induce at least 600,000 persons, who cannot conveniently quit the country, to renounce their allegiance, and seek from an alien flag protection from the combined tyranny of ever hostile French, of Irish repealers, and of a few, a very few, I assure you, of degenerate Britons. But still it may be done, and if it will console any one, I can tell you that you have done more for it, in the last five weeks, than your enemies have done in the preceding five years. Persevere if you like, . . . insult us, misrepresent us, refuse us all sympathy, shut out all hope save one, and that not in you; persevere a little longer, and events will arise which will hurry on the most unwilling, and you will succeed at last, sooner, perhaps, than you expect. You will get rid of all your transatlantic colonies as completely and as honorably as Spain of hers.”

We have persevered, and we have partially succeeded. It has indeed been a hard struggle, but with many it is past. It was hard to yield up a sacrifice on the shrine of cold utilitarianism, all those feelings of loyalty which we had been taught, from our youth up, to regard as something sacred and holy; it was hard to wring from true hearts the honest pride they felt in Britain's greatness and renown, to check all the glowing sympathies which warmed them in the remembrance of the land of their fathers, of whose laurels they felt themselves the just inheritors. All this was hard to do. But wrong, and injustice, and insult, and misrepresentation, wilfully and maliciously repeated, will effect much more difficult things than this. The spell with them is dissipated, the bond of affection and of loyalty which bound them to Great Britain is broken. Their intellects are no longer blinded by passion or sentiment. The utilitarian doctrines in which British statesmen have of late so much rejoiced, have entered their souls, and they now stand free to use their unprejudiced intelligence, to seek the greatest amount of material good for themselves and their country. Let government beware that they seek it not effectually in separation from us, and annexation to the United States.

