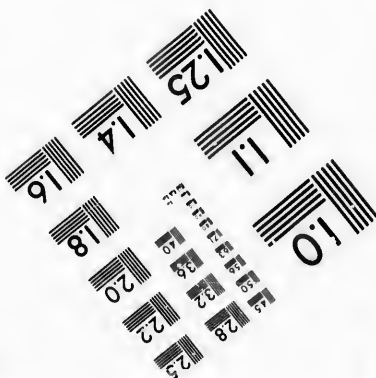
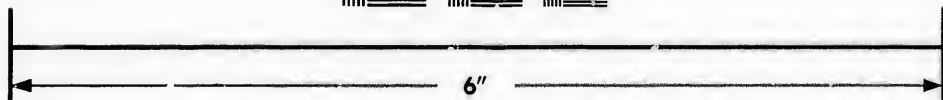
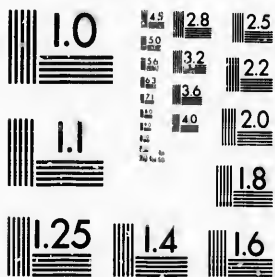


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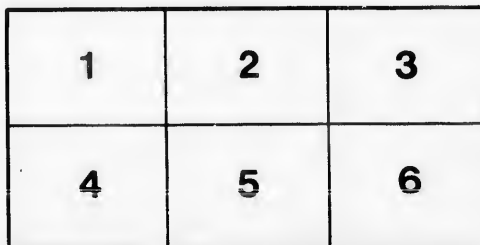
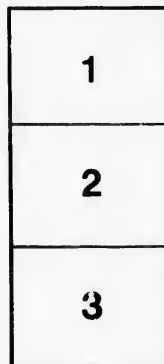
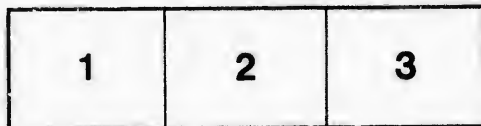
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AN ADDRESS

TO

THE PEOPLE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

BY A BRITISH CANADIAN LOYALIST

CANADA WEST

1849.

*The Hon<sup>ble</sup> William Jay Esq*

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TO THE INHABITANTS  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

I desire by these, and every endearing appellation, that may designate the ties which ought to bind us to each other, to entreat your serious attention to the present unhappy position of this Province.

In 1837-8 an unnatural rebellion broke out in Upper and Lower Canada, which produced the greatest misery in many of their counties, causing the death of thousands and involving the whole population in difficulties and privations.

In Upper Canada, the rebellion was put down by the zeal and exertions of the loyalists, who compose the great majority of the people, without any assistance from the military; but in the Lower Provinces; where those attached to the Mother Country were fewer in number than the insurgents, it became necessary to call in the aid of Her Majesty's troops to suppress the insurrection.

Soon after the two Provinces were restored to a state of tranquility, they were united under one legislature, and what has been termed *Responsible Government* conferred on them. From the operation of these two measures, and the unwise policy of the Colonial Office, the LOYAL inhabitants of the United Province of Canada who suppressed the rebellion, find them-

selves under the government of the very men by whom it was promoted, and are called upon to tax themselves to pay their enemies for the losses caused by their rebellion against the Queen.

Mr. LaFontaine, who was deeply implicated in promoting the insurrection, and who was compelled to fly to escape punishment, is at this moment absolute master of the Provincial Government. He may at times condescend to consult his timid colleague, Mr. Baldwin, who was nearly as much concerned as himself in the rebellion, but it is only for the purpose of apprising him that such and such a measure must be adopted. In return he allows Mr Baldwin to pass through the legislature such of his selfish plans as may enable him to gratify his supporters, provided they do not extend to Lower Canada, unless indeed, as is too often the case, they should be more for the benefit of that section of the province than the other.

Here the principle is laid down and in actual operation which Lord Stanley merely imagines. The Prime Minister of Canada, which contains more than a million and-a-half of inhabitants, advises the Governor General in every question, and that advice must be implicitly followed. He has the control of the Local House of Assembly—he directs the Governor General in every matter that comes before him, when he thinks it worth his while to interfere. No government measure of any moment can be introduced into the legislature without his consent—he dictates the appointments to the Legislative Council, so that the Executive Government and Crown itself centre in one man. It is on account of all this, which is daily most painfully before them, that very many conservatives in their distress have brought themselves to solicit a second Elective Legislative Chamber, as some check upon the democratic despotism under which they are suffering, for it has become an office to register the acts of Mr. LaFontaine.



Conceive that, from a strange concatenation of events, W. Smith O'Brien, the pardoned traitor, were in a few years to become not merely Prime Minister, but the Dictator of Great Britain and Ireland—that his will was in every thing to be followed, and that among other measures, he made the Parliament of Lords and Commons, holding the Queen a cypher, to pass an Act conferring on himself and his brother rebels, high honors and rewards—the rewards to be paid out of taxes imposed on those who crushed his rebellion and preserved the country from anarchy and destruction. Conceive all this, and you will have a tolerable idea of what the Loyal Canadians are now enduring.

When the Indemnity Bill was introduced by Mr. LaFontaine, the loyalists took courage—the measure was so monstrous, so utterly subversive of all social order, such a direct insult to the Crown and Empire, that they trusted the Imperial Government would take the alarm and come to their assistance. Though disappointed in this natural expectation, they still believed that an Appeal against such an iniquitous measure would meet with immediate favour, and that the Act would be disallowed. That Appeal has been made to the Queen's Government, and this measure, brought in by traitors for the avowed purpose of rewarding rebels, has been confirmed by the British Legislature.

It is true the Government has qualified their approbation of the Act and stultified themselves, by declaring in the teeth of its enactments, that it is not intended to pay rebels, and they have compelled the Colonial Government to make the same profession, and to trample on all their acts and speeches while the question was under discussion, for at that time they sought not to conceal their nefarious purposes. But this is not enough, nor is it doing justice to the loyalists who saved Canada in the day of peril. They

feel with Lord Lyndhurst, who says in his powerful and incontrovertible speech, "that this Bill for compensating rebels is a mischievous measure and insulting to the Government of the Empire"—and they further feel that it is a direct insult on themselves, and that from the present Government of England they are to receive no redress.

Thus the present irritation and agitation must continue, for how can it subside while we are compelled to pay taxes to reward those, who slaughtered our fathers, our sons and our brothers, robbed our dwellings and then burnt them to the ground? Under feelings excited by such acts of atrocity, there is no peace for Canada—a majority in Parliament cannot make black white, or alter the moral nature of things. The same ministry who have supported this wicked Law, and advised Her Majesty against its disallowance, may soon think it their duty to shoot down the loyal men of Canada for extinguishing the rebellion—for this is the next step to the rewarding of rebels. What kind of policy produces such melancholy results can be best explained by Lord Grey who has adopted it. He is one of those restless and ill conditioned men, who are found to acquire power when a nation is decaying to destruction. His talent, and in this view it is not to be despised, is wonderfully calculated to break down and destroy, but totally helpless in attempting to build up.

Under such circumstances it can surprise no one that British bosoms in Canada are filled with intense indignation at the treatment they have received, and that they are beginning to entertain suggestions which have hitherto been held in abhorrence.

Grateful to the many friends who supported their cause in both Houses of Parliament, they are still disposed to bear on the hope that these friends will soon obtain the power of redressing their grievances, and of returning to that policy which has raised the

British Empire to its present powerful eminence, and from which eminence, the present Ministry by their insane departure, are like spirits of evil zealously dragging her down.

The Indemnity Bill, though the most irritating and offensive, is not the only grievance under which Canada is labouring. The commercial distress and depression in every department of industry which now prevail, are without a parallel in the history of the colony, and unless some remedies be shortly applied, universal prostration and bankruptcy are to be apprehended.

The decline of the prosperity of Canada, I believe may be fairly ascribed to the adoption of wild theories in the management of public affairs, instead of adhering to principles which have been long attended with successful results, and have therefore the sanction of experience.

How far free trade might be carried out with advantage, were all nations to give it free course, no one can clearly pronounce—perhaps the benefit on the whole would be in favour of the British Empire, because of her various possessions, productions, capital, enterprise and knowledge.

Let it, however, be remarked, that the epithet *free* applied to trade is a solecism. There never can be such a thing as free trade taken in its absolute or general sense. It is true we can cut away monopolies, and this Great Britain has been gradually doing. The East India and the China trade have been opened. Again, treaties of reciprocity have been adopted, by which greater freedom of trade has been admitted with particular nations with mutual advantage—but there is a natural limit to free trade which never can be removed. The power of production is greater than the power of purchasing; thus, the Cotton Lords of England, from their extensive ma-

chinery and command of capital, could easily make cotton goods for all the world. But, will all the world purchase? Certainly not—nations manufacture for themselves. Thus Germany, France, Switzerland, Russia and North America encourage home industry, and are gradually supplying their own wants in many branches which used to be supplied from England. This limit was not perceived during the French revolutionary war, nor for many years after: but it has increased rapidly during the last twenty years, and for the last ten years has been at times very sensibly felt, in the frequent gluts, as they have been called, and cry of over-trading. For, as foreign manufactures prosper, they require less and less from England; and had not the population in Europe and America increased rapidly throughout the same period, England would have felt the diminution of her manufactured exports alarmingly decreasing: but, though growing wants from increase of people, frequent disturbances and agitations in Europe, the intervention of wars and other casualties, &c., have as yet combined to keep the exports up, and even occasionally to increase them, the limit will soon tell of a gradual diminution. Hence the cry in England for free trade, and the opening of new markets. Now, this will be found a delusion; the first cry was, "destroy all monopolies at home"—this has been done: the cry now is, "destroy monopolies abroad." But, will this be done? or, can it be done? It requires the consent of other governments; but, will they listen to our selfish applications? Where the population is great, it is better for the government to employ the people at some disadvantage than to allow them to be idle, for this will cost infinitely more, and at the same time make them vicious. To keep population in healthy employment, is often a result of protecting duties, although it is seldom they

are imposed for this purpose, being more often imposed for the protection of the few, or for the sake of revenue.

All the nations of Europe and the United States protect the industry of their people, and with few exceptions, they act wisely—they are bound by the highest obligations to protect their own people in preference to the stranger. This we know to be a heresy among those who have adopted the heartless maxim of Mammon, to buy cheap and to sell dear—a maxim which may be considered the very essence of selfishness, and like all other principles from the same school, is as false as it is wicked. The Manchester worshippers of this principle, by which they are ruining your honor and prosperity, are frequently declaiming on their riches and the power of their machinery; but, set against this the thousands of lives which they sacrifice by their incessant labour and miserable wages, and the still greater number of those whom they throw upon the poor lists, and all the wealth acquired by these avaricious wasters of life, health and strength, would not equal one tenth of the increased expense which they occasion to the nation, by doubling, nay tripling the poor rates. True commerce rests on a far nobler principle than buying cheap and selling dear—it connects nations together by supplying their mutual wants and interests, and by increasing their mutual wealth and happiness—it makes different countries necessary to one another from the variety of their facilities and dispositions, and the productions of their soils. The world, considered from an elevated point of view, is nothing but an immense laboratory, in which every one labours for all, though every individual appears to be only occupied with himself, and in which all concur in a manner more or less direct in producing what is necessary for each. And it is remarkable, that those individuals or nations who are the least dis-

posed to industry, or who from their selfishness are the most indifferent to the welfare of others, become the weakest and the most wretched. Hence, the difference of soil, of climate, of manners and dispositions of various nations, appear to have been established in order to unite them more kindly together in multiplying their relations—and hence again, true commerce is liberal not mercenary.

Had the mischievous paradoxes of what is called political economy a branch of knowledge, which seems with a very few trifling exceptions to have gone back since the publication of Smith's *Wealth of Nations* been confined to the closet, they might have been made a source of merriment rather than of complaint; but when we find them adopted as rules of government, and teaching among other sophisms, that trade should be entirely free and allowed to find its level as water, and that Great Britain would be much better shorn of her colonies, which are a burthen without profit, and thus leading to the most mischievous blunders in legislation, it is time to expose their wickedness and folly. Now, what would Great Britain be without her ships, colonies and commerce? What have the colonies made her? The centre of the civilization of the whole world. Foreign nations, however remote and barbarous, derive light and heat from her industry, enterprise and knowledge. Her colonies have called forth her skill and energies, and enabled her to embrace in her gigantic grasp the circle of the globe—and by their means she has become the emperium of universal commerce—through them she sends letters, science and the arts to hundreds of millions whom she has united in one common bond of allegiance.

By establishing colonies in every quarter of the world, she has fulfilled one of the noblest and most beneficial purposes of a great nation. She has peopled uninhabited regions — brought savage tribes

within the pale of order and law, and taught them to feel the dignity of their nature and the energy of their minds. By her colonies she provides for the redundancy of her population, and presents to meritorious enterprise and industry the means and opportunity of successful exertion.

Moreover her colonies have enabled Great Britain to form, at intermediate points, links of communication between the remotest lands to which commerce can extend, and to impart to all the vast benefits of her industry, skill, talents and knowledge.

The vast possessions of the British Empire, present a boundless theatre, offering infinite opportunities for the exercise of the most enlightened policy.

What, it may be asked, has Britain done with so much power? Rather ask, to what nation does Europe, the world, owe its liberty?

Did she not stand alone the safeguard of nations, and meet with increasing courage the united efforts of all Europe and America, when directed by the consummate talents of the Emperor Napoleon. Never was a contest seemingly so unequal maintained, and never in the annals of time was such a glorious triumph acquired by any people. But, could she have done all this without ships, colonies and commerce, and made exertions so truly gigantic and sacrifices so lofty? Next to the moral courage of her people and the justice of her cause, we discover her strength, activity and power in her insular situation—in her commanding position, and above all in her Forty Colonies which prevent the possibility of shutting her out from any quarter.

In her colonies, which are like so many planets surrounding her as their sun, or like so many limbs keeping up a perpetual communication with the heart by which mutual strength and energy are conveyed, she presents the most magnificent and formidable empire that the world has ever beheld.

Deprive her of her ships, colonies and commeree, and the sun of her glory is set, and from being the most powerful nation in the world, she will sink into an equality with Sweden and Denmark. And are you prepared to desert any longer a policy which has enabled Great Britain to become the first among the nations of the earth, for the crude theories of dreaming economists, and the selfish and hypocritical opinions of such deceivers as Bright and Cobden, or of that hoary dealer in sedition, Mr. Hume — which have already been attended with so many disastrous consequences to you and your country, prostrating the most extensive and valuable interests, and spreading ruin and poverty through the land.

Remember that Great Britain has already lost one Empire in America, and she is now threatened with the loss of another, which possesses the elements of greater power than any other portion of the American continent.

The vast extent of the British possessions in North America is little known, estimated or understood in the Mother Country; nevertheless, they have a sea-board far more extensive than any other nation in the world, and which embraces the most profitable fisheries on the globe. They likewise possess inexhaustible mines of coal, iron, copper and various other minerals, and an extent of fertile soil capable of sustaining an immense population. Moreover, they enfilade and virtually command the whole coast of North America from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico. To this sea-board add the ship navigation of the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, which from canals is at length complete, and we have five thousand miles of inland coast. Now these colonies are so intimately connected, that to lose Canada is to lose them all, nay, it is to lose all footing in North America—and in a few years afterwards England is deprived of Quebec with its glorious associations, indeed



she would not possess a single port or inch of land in North America or the West Indies. We are not so ignorant of the apathy of the free-traders, as to believe that they would regard such a result, but there is one aspect which may compel their attention. These vast colonies in passing from Great Britain, must of necessity pass to the United States;—at present the commerce between the two countries is very considerable, but much increased through Canada, which is separated from the United States by a boundary line of many hundred miles and in some places imaginary. Hence a general intercourse cannot be prevented, and thus English goods are easily introduced. But give Canada away and the entrance to America becomes hermetically sealed—high tariffs amounting to prohibitions would instantly be imposed on all British exports by the American Congress, and instead of the commerce between the two countries increasing, as it is now doing, it would fearfully diminish. It would even be the policy of the United States to encourage domestic manufactures in these their new accessions, and to enable them to work up their natural productions. And the climate being severe, and abundance of coal within reach, by proper encouragement there might arise Manchesters, Birmingham and Sheffields on the banks of the St. Lawrence. What I state is by no means imaginary, but would naturally follow the annexation of the British North American possessions to the United States; and thus the Manchester worthies would have to deplore the loss of perhaps three fourths of the exports they had been accustomed to send to America.

But this declaration must come to a close, and I trust I have said enough to convince you that free trade and colonies are incompatible—and I may add that free trade is a delusion in such a country as Great Britain, which has to raise a revenue of upwards of fifty millions per annum. Fortunately what

we claim is as much your interest as ours ;—we claim on the part of the government, a return to her former policy of moderate protection, and that the colonies be not treated as foreign nations. Nor will such return be difficult. Let the various sources from which this vast revenue is derived, be so adjusted as to give a reasonable protection to British and Colonial interests, which may be done and yet allow freedom of trade to the utmost extent that is consistent with the safety of the empire and the welfare of the people.

The colonies have an undoubted right to be considered as integral parts of the British Empire, and should be cherished as her own counties, and such an arrangement of the tariff should be made as to give a just preference to their produce in the British markets. Such a limited advantage, whilst it gave satisfaction, would be far more than repaid by the asylum which this country will for ages afford to your redundant population, and the increasing value of the commodities it would consume. Five or six shillings per quarter on foreign wheat, and perfect freedom to all that is shipped from the St. Lawrence, is but a small boon, and would yet give satisfaction and be gratefully acknowledged, and revive the depressed trade of this great colony. Let not this declaration disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow subjects in any part of the empire, I assure them that British Canadians have no desire to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted, on the contrary, their earnest prayer is that it may be perpetual.

A BRITISH CANADIAN LOYALIST.

