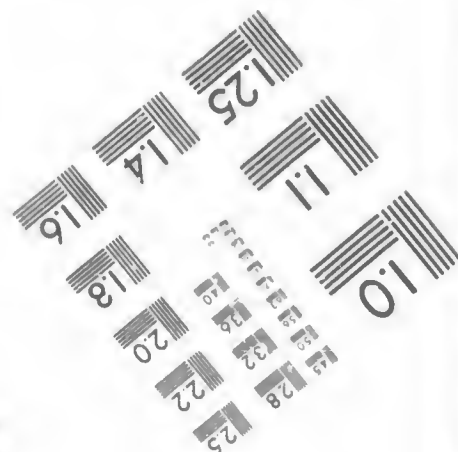
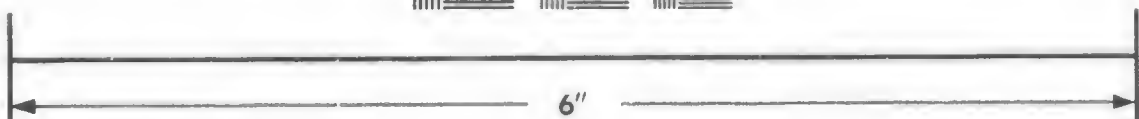
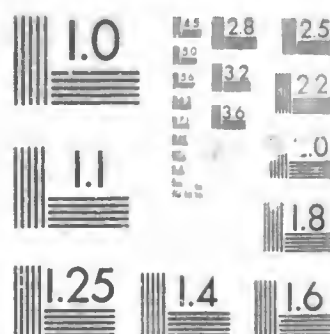


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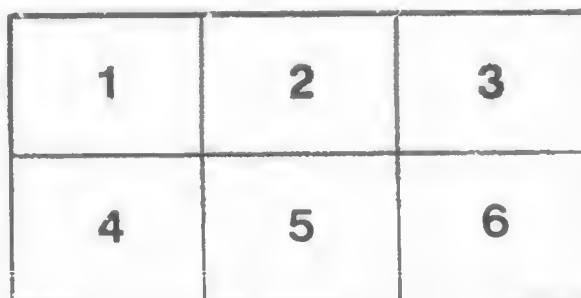
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CANADA, AND CORN-LAWS,

OR

NO CORN-LAWS, NO CANADA.

BY

ROBERT GOURLAY, Esq.,

NOW

ROBERT FLEMING GOURLAY.

"We should look to that great area cultivated by our countrymen in our colonial possessions in North America—a country to which we are united by the closest relationship—a country to find constant employment for our surplus labourers—a country which looks to England with feelings of affection—a country which offers a market for our manufactured goods—a country subject to no hostile tariff—which supports our shipping—which improves the condition of our fellow countrymen—a country which we may hold with signal benefit to ourselves, but in which we cannot maintain our supremacy unless we are cemented to her by the closest bonds of affection as well as interest."

LORD STANLEY (now the EARL OF DERBY), *in the House of Commons.*

EDINBURGH:
JAMES WOOD, 88 PRINCES STREET.

MDCCCLII.

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JUN 18 1935

Bamby Hall, Norfolk, 30th October 1852.

Dear Sir—Your invitation to dinner at Cupar,* on the 26th inst., only reached me last night.

I object to your publishing in the invitation card that there should be '*no limit to swill*,' when, in these days of reform, *temperance* takes very properly an important position. It is a *virtue* by which all may benefit, and from an old and experienced man like you, the *sons and grandsons* of your '*old friends*' should receive a better lesson !!

The man whom you call the bravest of *Rebels* might, under changed circumstances, have been the bravest of *Patriots*; on such slender grounds do these characters depend. He is now, as he formerly was, one of the leaders of the councils of Canada as a member of a county by *their almost universal suffrage*. *Parliament* and his opinions and acts are receiving the support of the people of Canada, even in opposition to the Government agents.

I advise you to send him a copy of the printed paper I have received, with your letter and mine, that he may see how he has been denominated by you and estimated by me; or, if you will send me back a copy of *this letter*, and one or two of the printed papers, I will send them to Canada to William Lyon Mackenzie, Esq., M.P., Montreal, Canada.—I remain, yours obediently,

JOSEPH HUME.

Robert Gourlay, Esq.

* Being at Cupar on business, and obliged to be off immediately after dinner, I wrote and had printed the following card:—

" DINNER PARTY.

" Mr Gourlay, with best wishes to all, begs leave to invite his old friends, their sons and grandsons, to dine with him in the Tontine Hotel this day, at three o'clock.

" Himself in the chair—
Jock or Jock's son croupier;
No limit to swill—
Each paying his own bill.

" Cupar, October 26, 1852.

" Thinking that this piece of good humour would sweeten my printed correspondence with Mr Hume, I put a copy, along with that, in the same cover to him."

90 Princes Street, Edinburgh, Nov. 17, 1852.

Mr Gourlay presents his compliments to Mr Hume, and, along with this, sends him back, as desired, a copy of his letter.

Mr Hume misconceives Mr Gourlay's object in publishing that there should be '*no limit to skill*.' That was to indicate reliance on the good sense and gentlemanly conduct of his old friends—their sons and grandsons,—believing them superior to the swinish multitude who must be bound by pledges to forego God's benefits.

Mr Hume errs more seriously as to the '*bravest of rebels*,' seeing that his principle would have cheered Catiline, Guy Fawkes, and Thistlewood, to the eternal discomfiture of economy.

Mr Gourlay has this day received a second letter from Mr Mackenzie since he was seated in the parliament of United Canada, acknowledging receipt of the printed paper, which Mr Hume advises should be sent to him; and which, in fact, was sent not only to him, but to Lord Elgin, and dozens of the Legislature. Denominated, as he has been by Mr Gourlay, Mackenzie writes in the most respectful manner, and it is to be hoped that he is sensible of his flagrant crimes, which may God pardon.

PETITION AND CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Right Honourable the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled,

The PETITION of ROBERT FLEMING GOURLAY,

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

That your Petitioner has owned lands in Upper Canada, now Canada West, the last forty-three years.

That his lands were purchased from the Colonial Government more than fifty years ago, in confidence that the richness of the soil, conjoined with the excellence of the situation, would ensure profit. That, nevertheless, from a variety of causes, these lands have yielded nothing, and would not sell for a fifth part of the price which wild land in the State of New York would bring, neither better in quality nor situation.

That, at this moment, the British Government may, simply by legislation, not only enhance the value of Colonial land but benefit the nation at large, viz., by imposing a fixed duty, say of 1s. a bushel, on corn imported from the United States of America, while that from British America was received duty free.

That your Petitioner, through a long life, has been friendly to free trade and hostile to corn-laws, but he distinguishes between free trade and folly; particularly now that the United States Government refuses to reciprocate with the Government of this country.

That, with free trade guaranteed to British North America, and duties imposed on imports from the United States, an immense increase of trade with Canada would ensue, to the advantage of our shipping. Canals made

4

with British capital would be sustained without burdening Colonial land; a large revenue would be raised, so as to admit of many taxes, which press on the British cultivator, being abandoned, while the home consumer of corn would be constantly supplied at steady and moderate prices.

Your Petitioner, therefore, entreats that these premises may be fairly considered, and opportunity afforded him personally to prove what is here above advanced.

And he will ever pray.

ROB. F. GOURLAY.

90 *Princes Street, Edinburgh,*
July 23, 1851.

CORRESPONDENCE.

No. 1. 90 *Princes Street, Edinburgh, July 23, 1851.*

Mr Gourlay presents his compliments to the Earl of Derby. Should the accompanying petition tally with his Lordship's opinions, Mr Gourlay will be glad to have it presented to the House of Peers; otherwise, he begs that it may be returned to him in course.

(*Not-replied to, nor returned.*)

No. 2.

90 *Princes Street, Edinburgh,*
July 23, 1851.

Sir—Some three years ago I read in a Montrose newspaper an excellent letter addressed to you by your father.* That, together

* To the Right Honourable WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, M.P.

Fasque, 6th June 1848.

My dear son William—Last evening I had read to me the speech you delivered in the House of Commons on Friday last in favour of the repeal of the Navigation Laws. I think your facts are fairly stated, but your conclusions drawn from them I cannot admit to be generally just in principle or well founded. It appears to me that in your attempt to justify and defend a general principle founded on the modern notions of Free Trade,—which implies a desire to concede existing rights, because it is in the present day called liberal to do so,—you work yourself into a labyrinth, from which you can only escape by the undue sacrifice of certain

with assurance of your being well versed in colonial affairs, induces me to offer you the accompanying petition for perusal. (The same as that printed above, but addressed to the Honourable the

rights and privileges which are possessed by and belong to us, and for which, if given up, I cannot discover that we are to receive in return any due and just consideration. Hitherto the discussion of these interests has been confined to national treaties, and these founded on reciprocity, where there was a *quid pro quo*, to be the principle that an equitable consideration was conceded to us in lieu of it; but you propose to abandon rights which have been proved by experience to be natural, and nationally important and valuable. When the Governments of two countries meet to decide these interesting subjects, the one proposes to the other to relinquish certain branches of their trade by laying them open under treaty, with the understanding that those with whom they treat possess similar advantages which they are to relinquish. Thus, let us suppose that the United States propose, that if we will consent to admit the produce of the Brazils or of France to be imported into this country in American bottoms, subject only to such conditions as are required when these importations are made in British bottoms, to make to us in return similar concessions in favour of British shipping employed in carry- g on a similar trade between the Brazils and France and the ports of the United States. Here there is a clear principle of reciprocity adopted, a *quid pro quo*, which, being acted upon, draws nearer and into closer intercourse and connexion those countries that agree to make such concessions to each other, and is therefore likely to prove for their mutual benefit; but such concessions can only be special, and founded on treaty—they cannot, without the risk of great sacrifices, be admitted or acted upon under such general principles and practice as you propose to adopt. Thus, for instance, we have very extensive Colonies and foreign possessions (many of them earned at the cost of British blood and treasure, and thus considered to be achieved by conquest, though now, I lament to think, likely to be rendered valueless to us by the present measures of our rulers), with which an intimate and constant intercourse is maintained and carried on in British shipping, productive of important advantages to Britain and British ship-owners. If I understand you right, you propose to lay open this carrying trade to the shipping of other countries—for instance, to the United States. Now, it does happen that the United States possess neither colonies nor foreign possessions, and, therefore, have no such privileges to offer to us in return or to concede; it therefore follows there can be no reciprocity in such a course of conduct, no *quid pro quo*, but all the advantages, whatever they may be, are to be given up by us without a consideration. You contend that, in such a case, our colonists having a choice of conveyances, some of them, perhaps, on lower terms than by British shipping, are willing to adopt them, and would reap the advantage. If this principle is to be recognised and acted upon, do you not at once lay the axe to the root of the tree out of which have grown the sources of our commerce, our wealth, and our maritime greatness? By laying them open, you propose to abandon to others the sources which support the superiority we have hitherto possessed in our ships, our colonies, and commerce, the sources of envy and jealousy to other countries. You say that, if you do so, in return we shall confer advantages on our colonies; as, for instance, you suppose a German ship carries emigrants from Germany to Australia, and on her arrival there the colonists should have the power of loading their wool, or other produce, and through such a foreign channel conveying it to a British market. If such a concession were to be made, the benefit to the colonist would only be incidental and unimportant. But whilst the transport of their produce is restricted to British shipping, the certainty of their finding employment secures the necessary supply on which the colonist may depend; but if laid equally open to the foreigner, who, with such competition, can have no dependence on finding employment—thus between the two stools, whilst you propose to benefit the colonist, you risk his being left without the means of sending his wool to market. But this is only a secondary consideration. We have, at a great expense, established and settled our colonies; we have given them privileges,

Commons.) Should your opinions tally with mine, expressed in the petition, I shall be glad to have it presented to the House of Commons. Otherwise, be so good as to return it me.—Your obedient servant,

ROB. F. GOURLAY.

The Right Hon. Sir William Gladstone.

(Not replied to—miscarried.)

protection, and admission to our markets of consumption for their produce on conditions advantageous to them—concessions all calculated to promote a union and intercourse alike beneficial to both, but which, under your propositions, are to be abandoned and thrown open to the world,—whilst that world, caring only for itself, makes no optional contribution in return towards raising our enormous revenue—defraying or providing for our sources of taxation, local and general—or supporting our systems, institutions, our habits of industry, labour, expenditure, and consumption. These are wholly local, and depend upon ourselves; whilst you propose, with a hand of vast and liberal profusion, to lay open every source we possess, or advantage we enjoy, to the free and open competition of others, who, as far as I can discover, while we are to part with substantial good, have nothing to give or even to offer to us in return. If I understand you right, you are also disposed to lay open our coasting trade to the foreigner, which, certainly, in many instances, would be not only gratuitous, but without a pretence to reciprocity. The principle of reciprocity might be urged by the United States, if she proposed to us to admit British shipping to participate in carrying on their coasting trade, provided the same privilege were conceded by us to American shipping in the coasting trade of the United Kingdom. If such an uncalled for, unnatural, and inconvenient concession, with a sacrifice of local feeling, was to be made, I can discover no serious advantage it would be productive of to the interests of either, whilst it would be found to prove a source of great jealousy and risk of misunderstanding. But come nearer home, and let us suppose that the excess of shipping belonging to the ports of Hamburg and Bremen, built and fitted equally well with British shipping, though at a much lower cost, navigated and provisioned on more favourable terms, and now spread over the ocean and advantageously employed in the commerce of the world, which seems rather a favourite object of yours—I say that if these bottoms from the opposite coast were to be employed in our coasting trade—let us suppose that great branch of it carrying the supply of coals from Newcastle and its neighbourhood to supply the consumption of fuel by near two millions of our population residing in London and its vicinity, employing many hundred sail of British ships, and many thousands of British seamen—suppose this trade laid equally open to the shipping of Hamburg and Bremen, what have they to give us in return? I answer nothing, literally nothing; for they have neither coast nor coasting trade of any kind or description. Yet in this mania of liberality you with others appear disposed to make such vast and uncalled for sacrifices. You may say that what we give up is to be occupied by others, and that the general trade and commerce of the world is to be extended and increased by it. That may be true, but the concessions and sacrifices are to be *ours*—the gains and advantages are to be given to others, whilst this country, raised to power and eminence by the advantages of situation united with well regulated liberality in our intercourse with others, but with a due regard to our own interests, supported by the wisdom of our laws and institutions, has gained a pre-eminence in the affairs of the world which these newfangled doctrines and theories are calculated to undermine, and ultimately to break down and overthrow, but which I would fain hope, by hastening a change of both men and measures, may be preserved to us unchanged.

These novel theories and dangerous experiments, with which our legislation now teems, bring to my recollection a favourite toast of a very old and respected

No. 3.

90 Princes Street, Edinburgh,
August 2, 1851.

Sir—Some three years ago I read in a Montrose newspaper a letter addressed by you to your son William, so full of good sense that I kept the slip. A fortnight back I sent him a petition to present to the House of Commons, but what has become of it I know not, having received no acknowledgment, nor seen any thing of it in newspapers. I accompany this with a duplicate begging of you to peruse the same, and should you see proper, send it to your son with remarks. Excuse this liberty, and believe me respectfully yours,

ROB. F. GOURLAY.

— Gladstone, Esq., Fasque.

No. 4.

Hagley, Stourbridge, August 8, 1851.

Sir—Your letter of August 2d. intended apparently for Sir John Gladstone, has been transmitted by him to me.

The petition to which you refer in it as transmitted to me sometime ago did not reach my hands, or I would have presented it to the House of Commons. I would have done the like with the duplicate, according to your wish, had it come to me in time, but you are probably aware that the prorogation of Parliament stood for yesterday.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. GLADSTONE.

R. F. Gourlay, Esq.

but a too liberal friend of mine, now no more, Mr Thomas Booth, a well known merchant in Liverpool. His toast was, 'May the world be our country, and doing good our religion,'—sentiments beautiful in the abstract, but totally incapable of application to the conduct and habits of mankind in their relations with each other. But in the proposed mode of recasting and literalizing our Navigation Laws I think I see an attempt to introduce and act upon such impracticable doctrines. God, in his wisdom, instilled into the breast of man self-preservation as the first law in his nature, but our rulers in the present day seem disposed to give it only the second place. Once lay open our colonial possession and coasting trade to the shipping and seamen of other powers, I ask where is your boasted nursery that has hitherto manned your navy and protected your shores? If they are to be laid open, and passed into the hands of foreigners, who, in place of being our friends, may prove to be our inveterate enemies, and if we shall thus be cultivating and promoting the means and engines for our future destruction, what then is to become of your justly boasted wooden walls?

You are aware that I am at present confined by indisposition, and that I dictate this letter from my bed by the pen of a third party. I am conscious you will find it abounds with errors and imperfections, yet, notwithstanding, now in my eighty-fourth year, as a last duty and perhaps tribute to the interests of my country, I give it to the public, and send it for that purpose to the columns of the *Montrose Standard*, from whence it may perhaps find its way to more general circulation.—I ever am, your affectionate Father,

(Signed) JOHN GLADSTONE.

No. 5.

90 Princes Street, Edinburgh,
August 12, 1851.

Sir—I have received your letter of 8th instant, acknowledging receipt of my petition, and as my object was to register my wish, as a proprietor of Canada land, it will please me to have it presented when Parliament next meets; and at same time to have it stated by him who presents it, that in case the prayer of the petition was not granted, then Government ought to liberate North American colonies. Oblige me with two lines saying if you will attend to this.—Your obedient servant,

ROB. F. GOURLAY.

The Right Honourable Sir William Gladstone.

No. 6.

Hagley, August 13, 1851.

Sir—I have received your letter of the 12th, and I beg to acquaint you in reply that members of the House of Commons when presenting petitions are precluded by the rules of the House from making observations upon them.—I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. GLADSTONE.

I ought to add that I do not concur in the opinion that the duty for which you pray ought to be imposed.

R. F. Gourlay, Esq.

No. 7.

March 20, 1852.

My Lord—The accompanying petition was put under cover and dispatched to your Lordship last July, but not acknowledged. It was soon after announced in newspapers that your Lordship was in ill health, which may have caused this. May I now beg that your Lordship will present it to the House of Lords.—I have the honour to be your Lordship's obedient servant,

ROB. F. GOURLAY,

90 Princes Street, Edinburgh.

The Earl of Derby.

No. 8.

March 22, 1852

Sir John—This is accompanied with a petition to the House of Commons, and correspondence on the subject. (*Correspondence with Sir William Gladstone.*) A similar petition to the Lords was sent two days ago to the Earl of Derby, with whom I should be glad could you communicate as to it, and should my presence be required in London to explain farther, I beg to say that, with two days' notice, I shall wait on you there.—I have the honour to be, Sir John, your very obedient servant,

ROB. F. GOURLAY,

90 Princes Street, Edinburgh.

The Right Hon. Sir John Pakington.

No. 9.

Downing Street, March 22, 1852.

Sir—I am directed by the Earl of Derby to acknowledge receipt of your letter, inclosing a petition to be presented to the House of Lords.

His Lordship requests that you will place it in the hands of some other person to present.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. P. TALBOT.

To Robert Gourlay, Esq.

No. 10.

*90 Princes Street, Edinburgh,
April 5, 1852.*

My Lord—Presenting my petition, which your Lordship caused to be returned to me, was of little consequence; its chief object being to make my opinions known to your Lordship.

I presume that Sir John Pakington communicated with you on the subject, and that you noted what was said by me last year to Sir William Gladstone, viz., that if the prayer of my petition was not granted, *British North America should be liberated*.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's obedient servant.

ROB. F. GOURLAY.

The Earl of Derby.

No. 11.

*90 Princes Street Edinburgh,
June 19, 1852.*

My dear Chief-Justice—This is accompanied with a Petition to the House of Lords: first sent to the Earl of Derby, and lately returned with desire that I should 'place it in the hands of some other person to present.'

Do with it as you see fit: present it or not.

I have caused the Petition to be printed, together with correspondence on the subject; and all is inclosed herewith.—Ever truly yours,

ROB. F. GOURLAY.

Lord Campbell.

No. 12.

*90 Princes Street, Edinburgh,
June 19, 1852.*

Sir William—Probably you have no recollection of a Petition sent to you last year, with my request that you would present it to the House of Commons.

This is accompanied with a duplicate, which you may present or not as you please;—also, with a printed copy of the Petition and correspondence on the subject.—I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,

ROB. F. GOURLAY.

Sir William Gladstone.

No. 13.

90 *Princes Street, Edinburgh,*
June 19, 1852.

Mr Gourlay presents his compliments to the Earl of Derby :
 having had printed a correspondence with his Lordship, &c.,
 begs leave to enclose a copy for perusal.

No. 14.

90 *Princes Street, Edinburgh,*
June 19, 1852.

Mr Gourlay presents his compliments to Sir John Pakington :
 —encloses a printed correspondence regarding Canada, &c.,
 which he thinks Sir John may wish to peruse.

No. 15.

June 23, 1852.

Dear Gourlay—I do not think that any good could arise from
 presenting your Petition to the House of Lords.—Yours truly,

CAMPBELL.

Rob. F. Gourlay, Esq.

No. 16.

90 *Princes Street, Edinburgh,*
June 26, 1852.

Sir—Only yesterday was I apprized of an error in addressing
 you as Sir William Gladstone. It was of little consequence,
 as I believe all my letters but one reached you.

In my last, dated 19th instant, I said you might present an
 accompanying petition to the House of Commons or not; but
 since then I have seen reason for having it put on record, and
 now trouble you with a copy, begging that it may be presented
 forthwith.

Two lines assuring me that you have complied with my re-
 quest will oblige.—Your obedient servant,

ROB. F. GOURLAY.

The Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, June 29.

Mr Gladstone presented a petition from Mr R. Gourlay, who
 stated that he was friendly to free trade, but prayed for the reim-
 position of a duty of 8s. on corn imported from America, with a
 view to enhance the value of land in Canada.—[Extracted from
 the *Edinburgh Advertiser* of 2d July 1852.]

90 *Princes Street, Edinburgh, Nov. 13, 1852.*

Mr Gourlay presents his compliments to Sir John Pakington : and begs that the accompanying petition (the same as presented last session, by Mr Gladstone) may be presented to the House of Commons with earliest convenience.

90 *Princes Street, Edinburgh, Nov. 18, 1852.*

‘ LET US DO OUR DUTY, AND FEAR NOT.’

These words, my Lord, were spoken, some twenty years ago, by the great man for whom the nation this day mourns ; and well it would be if all of us acted on his principle, regardless of popular clamour, or party interests.

It is not for me to advise your Lordship, but I request that the accompanying petition (the same as printed above) may be presented to the House of Lords, with the earliest convenience, either by your Lordship or any other Peer to whom it may be handed.—Most respectfully, your Lordship's obedient and very humble servant,

ROD. F. GOURLAY.

The Earl of Derby.

90 *Princes Street, Edinburgh, July 13, 1852.*

Mr Gourlay presents his compliments to the Earl of Derby, accompanies this with a pamphlet in the press, and begs to know if his Lordship has any objection to its being addressed to him.

There are also enclosed Addresses to the Electors of Fife. In Parliament Mr Gourlay would advocate what he has prayed for, and maintain that it is of vital import to the empire.

TO THE ELECTORS OF FIFE.

90 *Princes Street, Edinburgh, July 14, 1852.*

Gentlemen—This is preceded by my petition written a year ago, and correspondence regarding it.

That correspondence will satisfy you that my petition was not to be flung aside because of the neglect or indifference of any one ; and the report of its being presented to the House of Commons by Mr Gladstone, extracted from the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, is a good specimen of such errors as often influence the public mind. From that report the impression would be that the sole object of the petition was to enhance the value of land in Canada, which no doubt was one object, but a small one indeed when considered along with the many other objects :—objects big with consequences to the British empire and the best hopes of humanity.

The value of my land in Canada, and damage to it by mis-government, undoubtedly is ground sufficient for petitioning the Imperial Parliament; but when compared with the objects in question, sink to insignificance; and you will observe my prayer for opportunity personally to prove what is advanced. In other words, I wished for no decision till opportunity was granted me to explain at full length.

Gentlemen, I now solicit the third time to be sent by you to Parliament; and, there, I flatter myself that my experiences for the last-thirty-five years in colonial affairs may be made available.

The love of power—patronage—vanity, have never actuated me in soliciting your confidence. My whole life has been devoted to matters of the highest national import; and in my several addresses—1832—1847—and now, you will see these constantly set forth.

I lay before you in the Appendix, a selection from my printed records, of which I have eight volumes to refer to more particularly when occasion requires. What I have now extracted regard questions which of late have engrossed public attention—Corn Laws, Free Trade, and Colonial Reform.

Let us take them in order:—

Under the letters (A) and (B) you will see my opinions as to Corn Laws in the years 1814 and 1815. The Corn Bill of 1814 was first petitioned for by the Bath and West of England Agricultural Society, of which I was a member. This proceeding, so foreign to the purpose of our institution, induced me to withdraw my name from the society; and after doing so, I exposed its mischievous deed in a placard. The society, indignant, passed a vote of expulsion against me for this; while, in fact, it was I who expelled the society, and I have ever since gloried in my act.

Under (K) you will find a letter to my friend Lord Campbell, advising a fixed duty of 1s. per bushel on imports from America, saving Quebec, &c.; and here let me remark, that a fixed duty in no way interferes with free trade, as did the sliding scale, which was every way mischievous—checking foreign cultivation, while at sametime it caused continual uncertainty at home.

Four months after writing to Lord Campbell, I was on my passage to England; and, on landing, heard that Corn Laws were entirely set aside—all but a duty of 1s. per bushel.

Gentlemen, Sir Robert Peel has been honoured for this, but not by me. To me the unqualified repeal of Corn Laws has ever appeared unprincipled, unfeeling, and unjust. In fact, that repeal took from British cultivators many millions of money, as unfairly as would highway robbery; and it was the less excusable, as a simple act, to enable rents payable in money to be regulated by the price of corn, would have made all right.

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