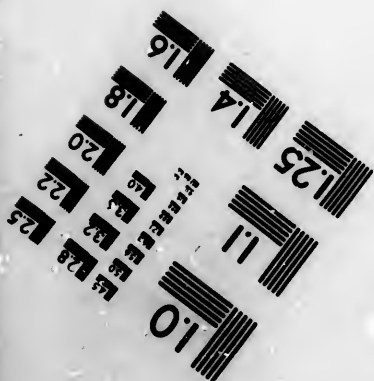
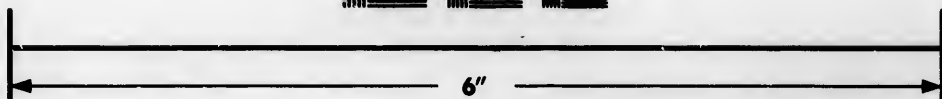


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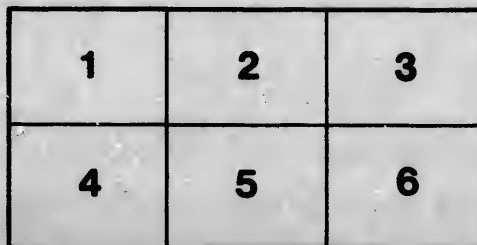
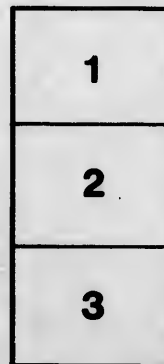
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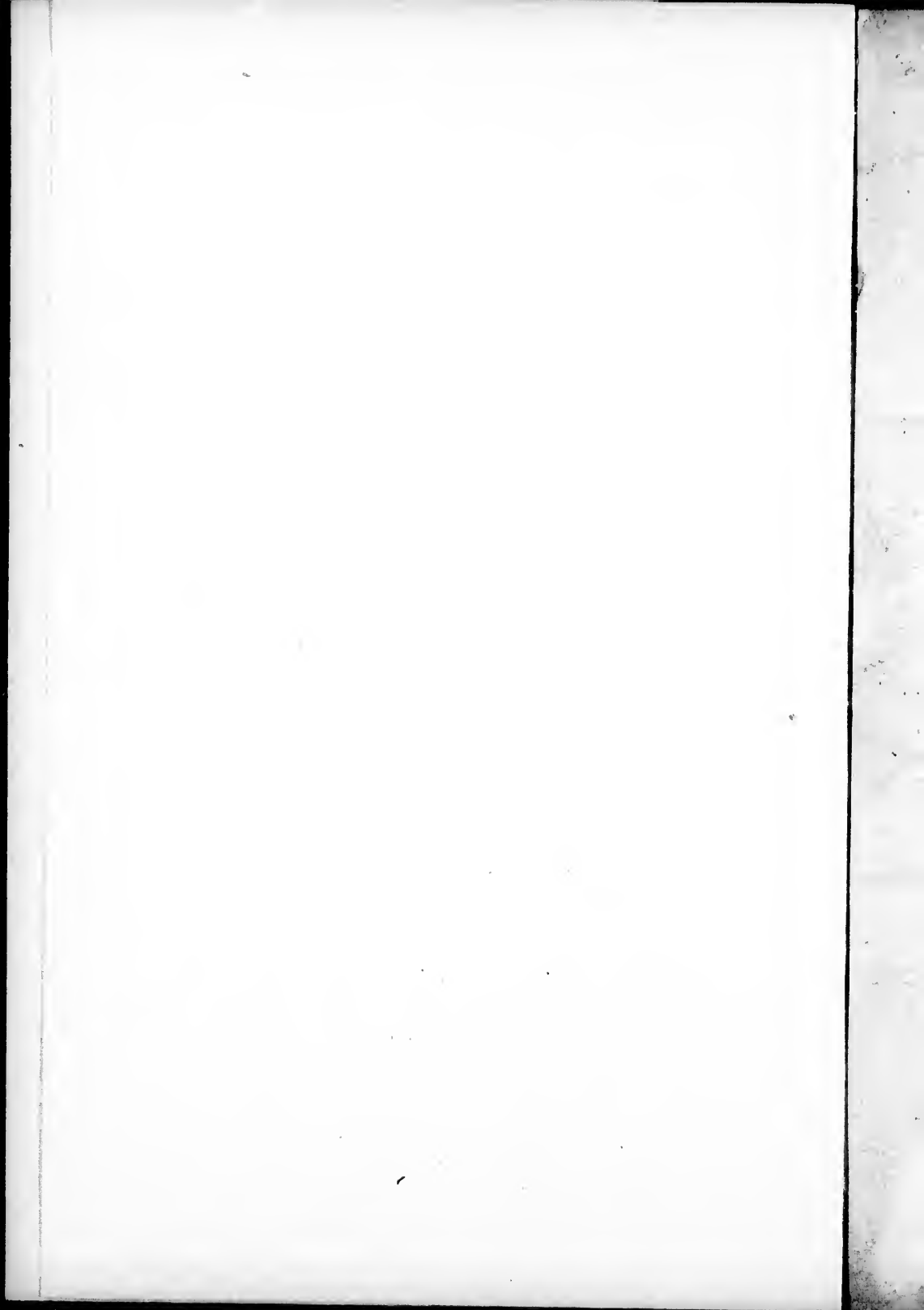
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CANADA.

S P E E C H

OF

E. S. CAYLEY, ESQ. M.P.

ON THE DEBATE

ON BRINGING IN A BILL "TO MAKE TEMPORARY
PROVISION FOR THE GOVERNMENT
OF LOWER CANADA."

WEDNESDAY, 17TH JANUARY, 1838.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY PERMISSION OF THE
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1838.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 17. 1838.

CANADA.

Mr. CAYLEY. — Notwithstanding the Honourable Member who has just sat down, at the outset of his speech, proposed to limit himself to the question immediately before the House, and to award neither praise nor blame to any of the parties concerned in Canadian transactions, I was quite sure he would deviate from the course he had laid down. In the present anxious state of the public mind, and of the House, at this moment, on the subject of the affairs of Canada, it is not only not surprising that we should not confine ourselves in the debate to the immediate question at issue, but it is right that we should be permitted to go into a more general line of argument, both with respect to the conduct of the colony itself, and to the policy which has been pursued by the parent country towards it. I am one of those who entertain an opinion different from that which has been expressed both by the extreme party, on this side of the House, and by those who, in general, oppose her Majesty's Government, on the other side. Little weight can be attached to my individual opinion; but seeing the condemnation attempted to be cast upon her Majesty's Government, by some Honourable Members on this side, and the faint praise awarded to them from the other, I feel it to be my duty, as a Member totally unconnected with the Government, and as one who has gone into the subject anxiously, dispassionately, and with a determination to do justice to all parties, to offer them the humble tribute of my thanks and approbation for the course they have pursued.

Sir, the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Ward) who addressed the House last but one, seemed to think that nothing had been done for the colony of Lower Canada by the Governments of this country; that her Majesty's present Ministers had, like their predecessors, before 1828, done nothing to redress the grievances of the colony in question. Nothing can be further from the fact. Previous to 1828, in Canada as well as at home, but especially in Ireland, it is notorious that jobbing, exclusiveness, and favouritism prevailed; the discontent on account of which had gained such a head in the Canadas, as to give rise to the committee of 1828,—a committee which entered into the merits of all the alleged grievances with the greatest assiduity and fairness, and whose Report gained for the members of the committee a high tribute of commendation even from the House of Assembly in Lower Canada.

My Noble Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department entered, last night, into a most comprehensive, just, and generous history of what had been done for this colony. My Noble Friend referred to the King's proclamation of 1763, promising the newly-acquired colony equal rights with British subjects at home; to the further privileges of the Act of Parliament of 1774; and, lastly, to the Constitution of 1791. Concessions were granted to Canada at a time when they were refused at home; when they were refused to Ireland, although her complaints were loud, and the grievances under which she laboured pressed heavily upon her. The French Canadians, by the Constitution of 1791, were left in peaceable possession of their own religion and their own ecclesiastical revenues; all the advantages of the English criminal law were bestowed upon them, while their civil laws, out of pure respect to their prejudices, remained the same. How different was Ireland treated, which was both stronger and nearer home! In consequence of the great complaints

made by the colony previous to 1828, a committee was granted, and justly granted, to inquire into the complaints of the Canadians; but what concessions, at that time, had been made at home? Had the people of this country obtained the removal of the various grievances under which they laboured? Had we, at that time, when the committee was granted, obtained either the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, Catholic Emancipation, or the Reform Bill? The Canadians, then, at least, have had equal justice, if not much more. The Honourable Member for Bridport (Mr. Warburton) says, that every body agrees that the Canadians have now great grievances to complain of. No such thing. Every body knows that they had great grievances previous to 1828. What I contend for, and of which there is irrefragable evidence, is, that the committee of 1828 entered into the inquiry, and made its Report, with the full intention of doing justice to the colony, and that the various Governments of this country, since then, have endeavoured to carry into effect the recommendations of that committee. These recommendations have been carried into effect in Upper Canada; and have only failed of success in Lower Canada, because selfish popular leaders have conjured up an entirely new set of grievances, so as to obstruct the removal of the old ones. The House of Assembly in Lower Canada has itself to blame for any delay in the redress of real grievances.

The Honourable Member for Kilkenny said, last night, "Conciliate, — do not shed blood." No human being can be more averse to the shedding of blood than I am; but, on the very score of humanity, the measures now pursuing by her Majesty's Ministers must be carried out. If the colony were set free from the mother country, at this moment, in the present temper of the parties there, and with all the acerbity of feeling between the races, which has been wickedly fostered and encouraged, the inevitable

consequence would be, on the showing of the parties themselves, wholesale confiscation and a war of extermination. The people in Upper Canada are altogether in favour of the continuance of British connection. The late elections incontestably prove this. It was the main question on which the elections turned. In Lower Canada, although nearly two thirds of the population is of French extraction, the shares held in canals, railroads, banks, and other public investments, are nine tenths in the hands of British settlers; whilst nineteen twentieths of the maritime commerce of the colony is also in the hands of the British. In fact, I believe there is only one instance of a commercial house being carried on by French Canadians; and even though that is nominally in the hands of French Canadians, I understand that a considerable proportion of the capital is British. Is all this property, which has been embarked on the faith and in full confidence of the protection of the British Crown, to be placed at the disposal of a party which claims a right to every thing in the colony which has been granted by the Government at home? The people of this country are too just to allow it.

And here I may be permitted to observe, how very different was the tone and temper, as well as the language employed by the Honourable Member for Kilkenny, last night, from that which was used by him upon a former occasion, when he addressed the House upon this subject. The secret of this change is, I believe, to be found in the fact, that the feeling of the country has lately been unequivocally declared upon the question at issue between the Canadas and the mother country; and that feeling has been found to be directly adverse to the opinions of the Honourable Member. The recent meetings which have been called together, by persons favourable to Mr. Papi-neau's party, have been a signal failure; and the present language and tone of

those of them who have seats in this House is a proof of it. It would appear that those Honourable Gentlemen had exhausted the whole vocabulary of abuse on former occasions. What was their language as well in this House, three weeks ago, as at the Crown and Anchor Tavern the other day? Certainly it was not that which was taken last night in this House. The tone of last night appeared to be deprecatory and almost one of apology. Hitherto a species of vaunting and vaunting, and an assertion (in which "the wish, perhaps, was father to the thought") that the whole of the Canadian population would resist the mother country, characterised their speeches. Now, the Honourable Member for Killenny has fallen back so far as to designate this outbreak as the work of a few factious demagogues. The truth is, these Gentlemen have endeavoured to excite the people upon this subject, in which they have not merely failed, but found themselves in a miserable, insignificant, and (I use the term not offensively) a contemptible minority. A meeting held lately at Leeds gives pretty significant symptoms on this subject. One of the Honourable Members for Leeds (I do not mean the Honourable Member connected with the leading journal of that place, in which appeared, lately, a very able and temperate essay on Canada; from the conclusion of which, however, I totally differ), I mean the Honourable Baronet (Sir W. Molesworth), had put forth a manifesto to his constituents, as a sort of feeler to ascertain their sentiments on the part he took at the commencement of the Session, in support of the Honourable Member for Finsbury (Mr. Wakley's) triple amendment to the address. No reply, I believe, was given to this manifesto, until, a week or two ago, a meeting was summoned at Leeds, intended, as I understand, as an answer to the manifesto, to which the Honourable Baronet was invited, as well as the Honourable Member for Westminster (Mr. Leader);

both of whom had been very active in Canadian affairs. Neither of the Honourable Members, it is true, had found time to attend; but what was the response the Honourable Baronet's constituents gave to the summons? I am given to understand that not one of them attended. Does this show much sympathy, on the part of his populous constituency, in the conduct of the Honourable Baronet on questions which have lately been before Parliament, and of which that on Canada has been so conspicuous? And what was the language held in the speeches of those who addressed the meeting? One of the speakers was understood to have said, "That it was absurd, in these days, to appeal to any other mode of effecting a redress of grievances than physical force. If you cannot afford fire-arms," he continued, "carry swords, or spears, or daggers; and, if these are wanting, the torch is a ready means, when applied to the houses of your masters, to carry terror into the ranks of all who oppose you." In a civilised country (thank God!) there can be but one opinion on language like this: and this is what the Honourable Member for Kilkenny calls the people of England being with him!

And now, Sir, a few words on the conduct of her Majesty's present Government in the transactions which have lately occurred in Canada. I have read all the despatches which have lately been laid before us, with no other disposition than to find the truth, and no other wish than to be able to take my humble share in dispensing justice to all the parties engaged in these transactions; and I do not hesitate to avow my conviction that the impartial inference to be drawn from the correspondence between Lord Glenelg and Lord Gosford is, that, keeping in view his conciliatory mission, there was every inclination and determination on the part of Lord Gosford to protect life and property in Lower Canada, as well as every necessary preparation to secure that protection. The Noble Lord the

Member for Cornwall (Lord Eliot) says, the Government have jeopardised the colony. And the Right Honourable Baronet the Member for Tamworth (Sir R. Peel) insinuated, that there had been neglect on the part of Lord Glenelg in sending out military force to Canada. But what is the fact, as we gather from the despatches which I hold in my hand? That Lord Glenelg, in the beginning of the year, so early as March, took steps to increase the military force in Lower Canada. He writes to Sir Colin Campbell to send as many of the troops under his command to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, or Prince Edward's Island, as Lord Gosford might require of him. Of course Lord Glenelg did not wish Lord Gosford, whose office was to pacify and conciliate, to make any conspicuous demonstration of military force. The Right Honourable Baronet (Sir R. Peel), however, says, that "Lord Gosford had no objection to demonstrate." What, then, was the meaning of Lord Gosford's refusal to the application of a large body of men in Quebec to enrol themselves as a volunteer corps, and this even so late as October? The conduct of Lord Gosford, taking the whole of the proceedings of the last year into consideration, shows that his intentions were to attain his ends by moral influence rather than by any demonstration of physical force; and the whole tenour of the despatches shows that this policy in relation to Canada was also approved by Lord Glenelg, as well as Sir John Colborne, Sir Francis Head, and Sir John Harvey. What was the language held by Sir Francis Head in answer to an application from Sir J. Colborne for a supply of troops from Upper Canada, October 31. ? He sends him the whole of his troops from the seat of Government, not excepting his own sentry, and his letter proceeds to say, —

This province is, as far as my experience goes, more loyal and more tranquil than any part of England; however, this does not matter to Mr. McKenzie, provided he can get up a few sets of

violent resolutions, which you know, very well, are easily effected.

Now, what I desire to do is, completely to upset Mr. Papineau, so far as Upper Canada is concerned, by proving to the people in England that this province requires no troops at all, and consequently that it is *perfectly tranquil*.

I consider that this evidence will be of immense importance, as it at once shows the conduct of Lower Canada to be factious; whereas, could it, under colour of a few radical meetings here, be asserted that the *two* provinces were on the brink of revolution, it would, as you know, be argued as an excuse for granting the demands of Mr. Papineau. I consider it of immense importance, practically, to show to the Canadas that loyalty produces tranquillity, and that disloyalty not only brings troops into the province, but also involves it in civil war.

To attain the object I have long had in view, I deemed it advisable not to retain, either for myself or for the stores, the few men we have been accustomed to require; for I felt I could not completely throw myself, as I wished to do, on the inhabitants of the province, so long as there remained troops in the garrison.

Sir John Colborne, in reply, says, "Your determination of liberating the 24th regiment will produce the best effect. Sir Colin Campbell will act on a similar principle." Sir J. Harvey writes to Lord Glenelg from New Brunswick, stating the ardent loyalty of that province, and that he could spare all the regulars and a large force of militia for the protection of Lower Canada. With the knowledge of these facts of the loyalty of the Upper and Lower provinces, and that not only the regular military could be spared from them, but also a large force of militia and volunteers, how can Lord Gosford be charged with inattention to the safety of Lower Canada, when he had been making preparations almost the whole year, in conjunction with the Commander-in-chief, Sir J. Colborne, so to distribute the forces as to enable them to act efficiently whenever the urgency of the circumstances demanded it?

Sir, the policy of her Majesty's advisers was not that of an early and gratuitous appeal to military power; it was one of a totally opposite nature, namely, to redress real grievances, and to act in good faith,

in strict accordance with the Report of the Committee of 1828. To concede all the reasonable demands of the Canadians, to act in a spirit of justice and conciliation, have been the means employed to produce content. Some Honourable Gentlemen, I know, are disposed to quarrel with this persevering effort to conciliate on the part of her Majesty's Government. But, Sir, even if a conciliatory system were not sanctioned by dictates of the soundest morality and justice, in this instance, at least, according to the evidence before us, it would have been recommended by the coldest maxims of a Machiavellian policy. The enemies of the Queen's Government have put themselves in the wrong; whilst the Government, by never deviating from the path of justice and conciliation until rebellion forced them into arms, have become morally strengthened for any unfortunate contest that may ensue. And here it is that I differ both with Honourable Gentlemen opposite and with the friends of Mr. Papineau's party in this House. From all the documents on the subject, to which I have had access, it appears to my mind that Lord Gosford has exactly pursued that course, both with respect to a perseverance in conciliatory measures and an efficient redress of grievances, as well as in the distribution of the military force, which he ought to have pursued, had he foreseen from the commencement what has actually occurred.

With reference to the magistrates and the militia officers who were removed from the commission, it was impossible that Lord Gosford could act in any other way than he did — it was impossible that they could be longer permitted to remain in the Queen's service, attending and taking part, as they did, at meetings where sedition and treason were openly avowed, and disobeying, as they did, the Governor's orders to publish his proclamation. These officers subsequently attended at the meetings which followed their dismissal by the Governor, and

were there re-elected by the people, in defiance of the civil authority. It was after the dismissal of these officers, and after these meetings had taken place, that the outrages occurred. Certain parties had become amenable to the law: when the Queen's authorities attempted to seize some of the leaders and instigators of certain treasonable proceedings, and had succeeded in that object, they were, on their return, met by a large armed band, by whom they were attacked, and their prisoners forcibly rescued; and it was only when the civil power was thus set at nought that the military were called out. It was said, last evening, that the Government had acted improperly, knowing the discontented state of Lower Canada, in not having there a sufficient force to suppress the insurrection on its first appearance. I, however, am not prepared to admit that the military force in Canada was insufficient. The only proof that has been offered in favour of that opinion is, that in one attempt that was made by the Queen's troops, under Colonel Gore, upon St. Denis, bad weather, wretched roads, and a circuitous route, to avoid some village in possession of the rebels, — these and other circumstances combined to render a retreat an act of expediency as well as of humanity. But is this isolated fact sufficient to prove that the forces were insufficient in Lower Canada? Was our force sufficient at first to quell the Bristol riots? In the manufacturing districts, in the neighbourhood of which I live, it is no uncommon circumstance for the military in any given locality to find itself, at first, unequal to the suppression of a popular outbreak, and after some reconnoitring, they prudently await the arrival of a reinforcement. No later than the other day, at the fire at the Royal Exchange, great danger was contemplated by the pressure of the assembled populace on the building. The guard at the Bank came to assist; it was found insufficient; a reinforcement was sent for from t' e Tower. This addition proved

unequal to keep back the multitude ; and it was only after the arrival of a second reinforcement that anything like order could be maintained. But would any one infer from thence that there were not troops sufficient in London, or in England, for the purpose of security and protection ? The result of every affair in which the Queen's troops have been engaged, since the affair of St. Denis, has fully proved that sufficient troops were in the colony to meet the emergency. In none of the despatches from Lord Gosford is any complaint made of the insufficiency of the military force in those colonies ; on the contrary, Sir John Colborne, at an early period, expresses the strongest confidence that with the troops then under his command, or at his disposal, he should be enabled to put down any insurrectionary movement that might occur in consequence of the violence of the popular leaders and the seditious meetings which were held. And Sir John Colborne's distribution of his troops appears to me to merit the highest commendation. And taking the whole circumstances of Lower Canada into the account, — considering the complicated crisis which had arrived, the impossibility of any satisfactory arrangement on rational grounds, in consequence of the impracticability of the parties, — if one may dare so to say, this outbreak might seem almost providential ; because, by starting, as it were, afresh, with more practicable materials, and with late experience before the eyes of the Canadians, we may hope to establish a really satisfactory state of things on the new foundation. The utmost attempt to conciliate and to do justice had been shown, and had been repudiated by the popular leaders : not by the colonists themselves, as a body ; for I look upon the late proceedings in the colony to have been the work of ambitious leaders, who at last stimulated their deluded victims to raise the standard of revolt.

Is it not true, Sir, that those men who called themselves the popular leaders

in Lower Canada did not seem to know where to stop in their demands? All that they had asked and obtained, instead of satisfying them, but produced new demands, until it was obvious that the object sought to be obtained was not so much the redress of grievances as the fulfilment of their own ambitious designs, — their own personal aggrandisement, — which were connected with a separation from the mother country. Even the grievance which is now the most loudly complained of, when examined, in equity, amounts to nothing, and is one of their own making. The Crown gave up its revenues, in 1831, to the House of Assembly, in the full understanding that they were to grant a Civil List for the payment of the judges and the other necessary officers of Government. The moment they got the revenues they refused to pay the judges, and have refused for three or four years. It was impossible this could go on. The supplies were stopped for no grievance which could be remedied by the Constitution, but in order to effect a change in the Constitution itself. The crown revenues would have been quite sufficient for this Civil List; and therefore no money was really taken out of the pockets of the colonists for these just, and absolutely necessary, payments. We had only done justice, while the House of Assembly had virtually broken faith with the Crown. What a different case is this from that of the United Colonies, to which allusion has so frequently been made, and which called for those memorable words of Lord Chatham, — “I rejoice that America has resisted.” That was for taxation levied by the mother country for its own benefit; this, a revenue appropriated by the mother country towards a just and necessary colonial payment,—a revenue which did not come out of the pockets of the people.

I repeat, Sir, since the appointment of the committee of 1828, there has been a steady disposition, on the part of every Government, to improve the condition of the people of Lower Canada; and the

people of that colony expressed their approbation of, and confidence in, the labours of that committee. My Noble Friend, last night, quoted the terms in which they spoke of that committee. They described the Report as one of high liberality and profound wisdom. The House of Assembly, on two repeated occasions, — in 1828 and 1831, — in addresses to the Crown, prayed that “the Constitution, as established by law, might be transmitted, unimpaired, to posterity;” and, as I before stated, it has been the continuous effort of each successive Government, since 1828, to carry out the recommendations contained in that Report. Such having been the feeling of Canada at that time, what has taken place since then to justify the measures of the popular leaders? I cannot believe that the redress of grievances is the real object that a party has in view, when the greater the disposition to conciliate that is evinced on the part of the Government, and the more the redress of grievances is effected, the louder become the complaints of the leaders of that party. Sir, in my opinion, the real grievance of the popular agitators in Lower Canada is, a jealousy of the rapid immigration which has, of late years, taken place into the Canadas from Great Britain. By means of this great augmentation of British settlers, a speedy extinction, they think, is threatened to that selfish influence which they now exercise over the happy and thriving, though easily deluded, habitans of Lower Canada. And their own words even justify this interpretation. Not long ago, the *Minerve* newspaper (the leading journal of the Papineau party in Montreal, and, I believe, at one time edited by M. Viger, the agent of the House of Assembly in this country in 1833), contains the following passages:—

It may be seen, according to this, that there exist here two parties, of opposite interests and manners, — the Canadians and the English. These first, born Frenchmen, have the habits and characters of such. They have inherited from their fathers a hatred to the English.

Again:—

We repeat it, an immediate separation from England is the only means of preserving our nationality. Some time hence, when emigration shall have made our adversaries our equals in number, more daring and less generous, they will deprive us of our liberties. Believe me, this is the fate reserved for us, if we do not hasten to make ourselves independent.

The following extract from a speech of M. Rodier, a Member of the House of Assembly, also confirms this view:—

If I present to you so melancholy a picture of the condition of this country, I have to encourage the hope, that we may yet preserve our nationality, and avoid those future calamities, by opposing a barrier to this torrent of immigration.

Mr. Papineau's views are made pretty evident by the following short extract from a very long address of his to the electors of West Ward of Montreal, published after his last election to the Assembly:—

Your enemies are not numerous enough to injure you: you are sufficiently numerous to injure them. Break all connection in business and interest with those who separate their affections and interests from yours. . . . Let those who are so presumptuous as to prefer their own opinions, learn, that, whatsoever be their titles to favours from the Administration, they have no claims to the confidence of the people.

Presumptuous enough to prefer their own thoughts! And these are republicans, too! A pretty consummation for freedom and free principles to have arrived at, when republicanism on one side of the western world proclaims there shall be a continuation of the unrighteous system of negro slavery,—in other words, no liberty of person; and, on the other side, not even liberty of thought and will! If this be the *ultimatum* of liberal principles, I can only say, God protect us, at home, in the full possession of that really practical liberty afforded us by our happy Constitution! These extracts show the spirit which animates these popular leaders. What is the fact, even with that which was the great and most crying evil in Canada up to 1828, namely, the almost ex-

clusive appointment of British and placemen to the Legislative Council? Why, that (according to Lord Gosford's despatches) the Council now consists, practically, of thirteen of British, and eighteen of French extraction. But I do not believe that the people of Canada, as a body, are favourable to the views of the Papineau party, notwithstanding what has been said to the contrary at a recent meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern. I am persuaded, that the people of Canada, taking it as a whole, so far from wishing a separation, are warmly attached to the Government of this country. The real grievance, I believe, of the leaders of the party I have described, is, the rapid increase, within the last few years, of British emigrants, and the growing strength of the British settlers. This is the true cause of complaint, I suspect, on the part of the popular leaders; and it is obvious why it should be so, for it threatens, at no distant day, a severe blow at their personal ambition. But this is a cause of complaint in which I feel confident the body of the people, even of French extraction, will not join, at the risk of losing the blessings they now enjoy. The Honourable Baronet the Member for Leeds acknowledged, the other day, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, what those blessings were. He said, he admitted that the mass of the population of the French Canadians were "well fed, well clothed, well housed, and little taxed;" but, he added, the people will not be satisfied with these alone. I differ entirely with the Honourable Baronet, and tell him he will find no people on earth possessed of blessings like these, who will run the chance of losing them for any other blessings he can promise them. A high and impartial authority from the United States, and one not mixed up with political parties, Professor Silliman, one of the highest statistical and scientific authorities in the United States, thus speaks of the condition of the people in Lower Canada, after a personal examination:—

It is questionable whether any conquered country was ever better treated by its conquerors than Canada; the people were left in complete possession of their religion, and revenues to support it — of their property, laws, customs, and manners; and even the defence of their country is without expense to them. . . . It would seem as if the trouble and expense of government was taken off their hands, and as if they were left to enjoy their own domestic comforts without a drawback. Such is, certainly, the appearance of the population; and it is doubtful whether our own favoured communities are, politically, more happy.

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Lower Canada is a fine country, and will hereafter become populous and powerful, especially as the British and Anglo-American population shall flow in more extensively, and impart more vigour and activity to the community.

After such testimony as this, I cannot bring myself to the belief, that the Canadians are really suffering under the rule of Great Britain, or that we are guilty of the gross acts of injustice and illiberality which are laid at our door; and, in consequence, I have little confidence in the patriotism of those who, under such circumstances, would excite a happy people to acts of rebellion; exciting them, too, through their worst prejudices, and a hatred of the British race.

It has been argued that the most prudent step, on the part of the Government, would be at once to adopt measures for dissolving the connection which exists between the mother country and the colony. If the time had really arrived for effecting the separation, then I fully concur with the Honourable Member for Bridport (Mr. Warburton), that the object of the Government ought to be to effect it in such a way as would secure for this country all the advantages to be derived from a friendly intercourse with the new state. But when I consider that even in Lower Canada the British settlers are at least one third of the entire population, comprising almost an entirety of the enterprise and commercial wealth of the colony; when I consider that the population of Upper Canada is almost ex-

clusively of British origin; and when it is ascertained from statistical documents, emanating from the colony, that the population in the two Canadas are in the following proportions, —

Lower Canada.

French origin	-	390,000
British origin	-	210,000

600,000

Upper Canada.

375,000

of which, probably, at least 350,000 are of British extraction; thus constituting a majority of 150,000 of British over French settlers, taking Canada as a whole; and when I consider that this majority of 150,000 British settlers in the two Canadas (for in reference to a separation they cannot be taken apart), in addition to a great mass of the French Canadians, are favourable to a continuance, most anxious for the continuance, of the connection with Great Britain, — I am bound to affirm that the time for separation has not yet arrived. If, in 1763, when Lower Canada first became a British colony, — its people had then said, "You have conquered us from France, but we wish not to be governed by you; we wish to be independent;" what, in strict justice and right, ought to have been the answer of Great Britain? "We do not wish to govern you against your wishes; but you occupy a position which, if seized by a force hostile to Great Britain, may afford great facilities for the annoyance of the United Colonies to the south of the St. Lawrence. If you could prove to us that you were strong enough to protect yourselves from foreign aggressors, and could really form a strong and permanent independent Government, — then, if in a body you demanded emancipation, we would grant it you." But the French Canadians never dreamt of making such an application, nor were they in a condition to have had it granted, being only 60,000 at the time of our acquiring the colony, in 1763. Since that period other elements of consideration have grown up. It is no longer

a French but a British colony: British, by extent of population; British, by extent of enterprise and wealth. And to yield to a factious demand for separation, without reference to the interests of the British settlers, would be the height of baseness, injustice, and bad faith, on the part of the mother country.

Sir, I entertain a strong opinion as to the general policy to be pursued in regard to these North American colonies. A balance of power (and here I entirely also agree with the Member who last spoke) is wanted on that great continent, to the great and growing power of the United States. Here is the opportunity of forming that balance. Let the colonies be united by some sort of periodical intercourse of representatives from each, to meet at Quebec on matters of trade and commerce, or any subject of common interest to them all, under the auspices of one Governor General; then would they be trained and educated to a feeling of dependence on each other, and to the ultimate desire of confederation when the just period of separation had arrived. Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, the smaller islands, and Newfoundland, would then form an important and extensive territory, with a population in energy and numbers sufficient to sustain that balance of power in the western world which is so much to be desired. And I trust that the Bill now proposed by my Noble Friend, and the mission of Lord Durham, while they secure the truest freedom and the amplest justice in all respects, and to all parties in Canada, — for in the dispensation of liberty I can draw no distinction between Canada and Britain, — will tend to foster and keep alive that ultimate view to which I have now referred.



