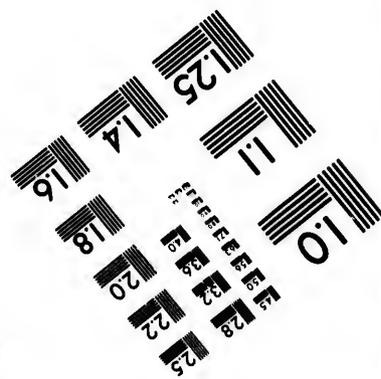
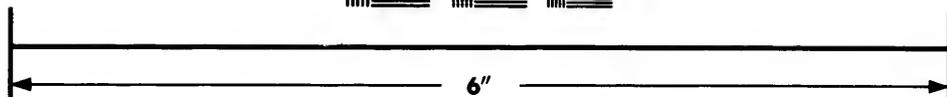
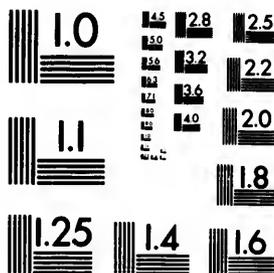


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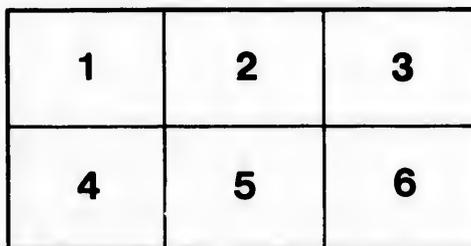
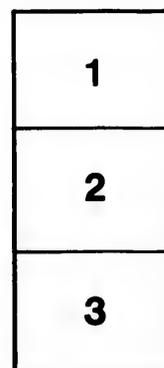
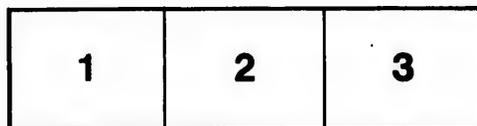
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No 6. - John Neilson Esq^r Quebec
with Mr. Robert H. Maitland's
instruments
London 1st April 1838.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

DISTURBANCES IN CANADA.

BY MONTAGUE GORE, ESQ.

LONDON:

SAUNDERS AND OTLEY, CONDUIT STREET.

1838.

LONDON:
IBOTSON AND PALMER, PRINTERS,
SAVOY STREET, STRAND.

OBSERVATIONS, &c.

THE present state of Canada cannot fail deeply to interest every Englishman to whom the honour and welfare of his country are dear. It is now no time to consider whether, abstractedly speaking, colonial possessions are or are not beneficial to the mother country; motives of a higher order than those of interest—considerations of justice, of equity, of respect for the flag of England, of regard for the supremacy of the law—render it the imperative duty of every Briton to aid, to the utmost of his power, in crushing rebellion. What man who entertains a sincere regard for the fair fame of his native country—what Englishman, who reveres the monarchy of this realm, and that un-

rivalled constitution under which we have so long flourished, and which has rendered us the envy of surrounding nations—will hesitate as to the course which ought to be pursued, when rebels are in arms against his sovereign, when the majesty of British law is openly reviled, and the rightful supremacy of the mother country over her colonies is set at naught and defied?

There may be grievances in Canada that ought to be redressed. There may be defects in the constitution of that country which it is desirable should be remedied; there may be deficiencies in it which it would be politic to supply; but it would be the very acmé of folly—it would be to read history backwards, and to disregard the lessons—the dearly-bought lessons of past experience,—if we should imagine that any concessions at the present moment, that any reforms at the present crisis, could be productive of aught save ruin and disgrace.—“*Quid in rebus civilibus,*” said Lord Bacon, “*maximè prodest? Audacia. Quid secundum? Audacia. Quid tertium? Audacia;*” —a remark which is at least perfectly true in

times of civil tumult, when the history of all ages and of all countries proves that vigour and decision are the sole safe and sound policy. "Rightly to choose the time of yielding" is a maxim of importance in more senses than one. A prudent, a sagacious, and provident minister, will anticipate the rational wishes of the people, and enhance the value of reform by the promptness with which he concedes it. But when those measures which he might have conceded to policy and wisdom, are demanded by violence and faction, there is no course left but bold and determined resistance. Concession, under such circumstances, instead of assuaging the violence of faction, only adds fresh fuel to its bitterness; and the very measures which, at other times, might be regarded with gratitude, are, when extorted by force, received with no other feelings than those of contempt.

No impartial person will now venture to deny that there were, in the reign of Charles the First, many and crying evils which demanded redress. There was a time, when the civil war might, in all probability, have been prevented by timely

reform. But having, in the first instance, refused compliance with demands that were just and reasonable, that unfortunate sovereign afterwards fell into the opposite error of supposing that the flames of civil discord, when once kindled, could be extinguished by concession.

If, in 1638, when Charles the First was at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, he had struck a vigorous blow, he would have preserved his crown and his life; but he wasted his time in the discussion of terms with men whom no terms would, at that period, have satisfied;—when, again, after the battle of Edgehill, his affairs appeared prosperous; when nothing but promptness and resolution was requisite to ensure success; he sacrificed by his irresolution all the advantages which he had gained. Thus, too, in the French Revolution;—if we grant that there was much corruption in the court—that the government was too arbitrary—that the privileges of the noblesse were injurious to the community at large,—who can now doubt that when the torch of civil discord had been once lighted, it was worse than idle

to attempt to stay the evil by moderate councils—that firmness and vigour were then sound policy—and that if the government had acted with becoming energy and spirit, France would have been saved from the scenes of blood and misery that ensued, and Europe from the horrors and sufferings of a long and sanguinary warfare. Louis the Sixteenth, as Mr. Burke observed, sent for his confessor, when Henry the Fourth would have called for his war-horse. Seventy thousand emigrants fled from the country, when a few hundred resolute men might have saved the monarchy ;—“ If La Fayette,” remarks Mr. Alison in his admirable history, “ having vanquished the Jacobins in the Champ de Mars, had marched against their club, and been vigorously supported, the reign of terror would have been prevented. Five hundred horse would have enabled the Swiss Guard to have saved the throne on the 10th of August, and subdued an insurrection which deluged the country with blood ;—one-tenth part of the emigrants who fled from France, if properly headed and disciplined, would have been suffi-

“cient to have curbed the fury of the populace,
“crushed the ambition of the reckless, and pre-
“vented the Reign of Terror.”

The demands of M. Papineau and his followers tend to nothing short of the establishment of a republic, and the severance of the colony from the mother-country. The construction of the Legislative Council is, no doubt, open to many objections. The original intention of Mr. Pitt was to have made the right of sitting in the council hereditary; but this he was obliged to abandon, as from the improvidence and recklessness of the inhabitants of French descent, it would have become (unless it had been confined to the British) a complete burlesque on hereditary nobility. If it had been possible; if the state of society in Canada had admitted of the construction of an hereditary council; it would no doubt have been far preferable to one, the members of which are appointed for life. But in politics we must look to, not the greatest abstract, but the greatest possible, good; and surely it would be the height of absurdity—because the Legislative Council is faulty in its

construction—not to attempt to amend or modify it—but to sweep it away *in toto*, and substitute in its stead one of a diametrically contrary character. M. Papineau and his party openly declare that nothing will satisfy them short of the introduction of the principle of popular election into its construction. “Any partial reform,” says the petition of the House of Assembly to the king, “any partial reform, which shall stop short of the introduction of the elective principle, will be altogether insufficient; and will, as leaving the inherent vice untouched, bring back the same evils and the same collisions;”—they thus expressly and explicitly declare that nothing will satisfy them short of a change in the fundamental principles of the constitution; a change, the inevitable result of which would be the establishment of a republic in that country; and the substitution of the despotic authority of M. Papineau and his faction for the mild and paternal sway of the British government. It is in order to preserve the loyal inhabitants of the province from this despotism; it is to ensure to them the privileges of the British constitution;

it is to protect their property from confiscation, that the British government is now bound by every principle of justice, of equity, of humanity, to suppress, with unflinching hand, the present disturbances.

When the Quebec Government Bill was first introduced in 1791, an elective legislative council was warmly demanded by Mr. Fox. It was in reply to his suggestions that Mr. Burke described, with his usual eloquence and force, the evils that had resulted to the colonies of France from the introduction of similar measures and principles to those which were then, as at present, represented as so desirable in Canada. "Let this constitution," he said, "be examined by its practical effects in the French West India colonies. These, notwithstanding three disastrous wars, were most happy and flourishing till they heard of the rights of man. As soon as this system arrived amongst them, Pandora's box, replete with every mortal evil, seemed to fly open, hell itself to yawn, and every demon of mischief to overspread the face of the earth. Blacks rose against whites,

"whites against blacks, and each against one
 "another, in murderous hostility ; subordination
 "was destroyed, the bonds of society torn
 "asunder, and every man seemed to thirst
 "for the blood of his neighbour." Such were
 the blessed effects of the triumph of liberal
 principles in the French colonies ; and shall we
 repay the loyalty of the British inhabitants of
 Canada by consigning them to the tender mer-
 cies of a faction, who seek to establish there a
 system, from which could not fail to flow similar
 disastrous results ?

The United States are often referred to for
 evidence of the advantages that result from
 republican government. There, we are ex-
 ultingly told, is no *balance of powers*, no
 Upper House, no nobility ; but the popular will,
 the will of the majority, rules supreme and para-
 mount.

There are, however, in the United States
 many circumstances which tend materially to
 modify the evils that have elsewhere been found
 inseparable from such a form of government.
 Previous to their separation from England, their

internal government was in many respects republican. They had thus become habituated, and, as it were, trained to republicanism, whilst the mother-country protected them from its evils and excesses.

The absence of central administration—the necessity of employing the town and country magistrates to execute the supreme decisions of the majority—the townships, counties, and municipal bodies, which act as breakwaters against the tide of popular excitement—the influence of lawyers on American society,—all these causes are pointed out by De Tocqueville, as being antidotes to the evils that would otherwise result from the tyranny of the majority; but, if it were not for the absence of the central administration, “liberty,” he remarks, “would soon be banished from the new world.” “Si le pouvoir qui dirige les sociétés Américaines jôignait au droit de tout commander la faculté et l’habitude de tout exécuter par lui-même; si, après avoir établi les principes généraux du gouvernement, il pénétrait dans les détails de l’application, et qu’après avoir réglé les grands intérêts du

“ pays, il pût descendre jusqu’à la limite des
 “ intérêts individuels, la liberté serait bientôt
 “ bannie du nouveau monde.”

And after all, what is the real condition of the United States? What are the advantages they enjoy, which should induce us to promote the establishment of a republican government in Canada, in preference to that which at present prevails there? When a great legislator of antiquity was asked, what he considered the most perfect form of government, “ That,” he replied, “ where an injury done to the meanest individual is an insult to the whole community;” but precisely the reverse of this appears to be the character of the American constitution, which gives no security whatever to individuals against the dictatorial sway of the majority. “ Lorsqu’un homme ou un parti
 “ souffre d’une injustice aux Etats-Unis, à qui
 “ voulez-vous qu’il s’adresse? a l’opinion publique? c’est elle qui forme la majorité; au
 “ corps législatif? il représente la majorité, et
 “ lui obéit aveuglement; au pouvoir exécutif?
 “ il est nommé par la majorité et lui sert d’in-

“ strument passif; à la force publique? la
 “ force publique n’est autre chose que la ma-
 “ jorité sous les armes; au jury? le jury c’est la
 “ majorité revêtue du droit de prononcer des
 “ arrêts: les juges eux-mêmes dans certains
 “ états sont élus par la majorité. Quelque
 “ inique ou deraisonnable que soit la mesure qui
 “ vous frappe, il faut donc vous y mettre.” *

How different this from the constitution of Great Britain, which affords protection, and awards equal justice, to every subject of the crown—the lowest as well as the highest! How different this state of things from that which hitherto, beneath the fostering influence of Great Britain, has prevailed in Canada! And shall we suffer a republican faction, composed of men who veil their ambitious views under the mask of liberty, and who profane her sacred name by using it to advance their wicked and revolutionary projects, to impose on the loyal, honest, high-minded subjects of the Queen of England a constitution which would subject them, in an aggravated form, to all the evils so forcibly de-

* De Tocqueville, vol. ii. p. 246.

scribed by De Tocqueville as existing in the United States ?

The House of Assembly, in their petition, also demand the repeal of the act and the revocation of the charter under which the British North American Land Company is incorporated, and the resumption of the lands sold to them. It does seem surprising that in the nineteenth century, any men should be found bold and daring enough to make such a proposition, which strikes at the root of all property, and which would, if conceded, shake to their foundation the pillars of society. What ! shall the British Parliament be asked, after having encouraged individuals to purchase lands in Canada ; after having held out to them the protection of an Act of Parliament ; after having granted them a charter ; to break its solemnly-plighted faith ; to cancel its own solemn acts ; to resume the lands it has granted, and thus to reduce to penury and ruin the unfortunate individuals who have rashly trusted to the honour of the British government and the good faith of the British legislature ! I trust there is not an

Englishman, of whatever party in politics, whose mind does not revolt at the idea of such monstrous oppression ! Let this demand be granted, and the foundations of all titles to property would be subverted ; the public faith of England would become the laughing-stock of the nations of the earth ; and her character would sustain deep, indelible, and just disgrace. Rather than tolerate such injustice the last shilling of English money must be spent. The energetic declaration of Lord Chatham, “ that he would sell the “ very shirt on his back, rather than submit to “ disgrace,” will, I trust, on this occasion, find a responsive echo in every British heart ; and better, far better would it be that England should perish, and her very name be blotted out of existence, than that she should survive her honour !

Attempts have been made to enlist the feelings of Englishmen in favour of the Papineau faction, by comparing their proceedings to the struggles which the Commons of this country have at times maintained against the crown, and to the contest between the United States and the mother-country. But where shall we find

the parallel? The contests between the Commons and the Crown in this country have always been defended on the ground that they were in behalf of some constitutional privilege, or to redress some flagrant act of oppression. But what constitutional privilege of the Canadians has been infringed? What law has been broken? What principle of the constitution has been violated? What act of injustice has been committed?

The majority of the House of Assembly think that an elective council is desirable; that the executive council ought to be responsible to the representatives of the people; that the charter of the Canada Company should be revoked; and that the various other measures should be adopted which they represent as essential to the prosperity of the colony. But we may challenge them to point out any principle of the constitution as having been broken; any illegal outrage as having been committed by it; any breach of contract as having taken place on its part.

What was the language of the great men who brought about the revolution of 1688?

Did they indulge in abstract speculations and utopian dreams about forms of government? Did they justify their resistance to King James on the ground that he had refused to consent to some ideal whim, or fanciful nostrum of political quackery and imposture? On the contrary, as if desirous to prevent their conduct from being rashly quoted in future times, as a precedent for such plans and projects as those of the Papineau faction, they studiously point to *direct, palpable* acts of oppression, as the justification of their conduct. The words of their great vote were, "That King James the Second, having *endeavored to subvert the constitution* of this kingdom, by *breaking the original contract* between king and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, *having violated the fundamental laws*, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." But the resistance the Papineau party in Canada is intended not to prevent, but to enforce an infringement of the constitution. For what greater infringement could be pro-

posed—what more flagrant instance of “ *an endeavour to subvert the constitution* ” could be produced—what more glaring attempt “ *to violate fundamental laws* ” can be conceived, than the demand for an elective legislative council, in the stead of one, the members of which are appointed for life ;—than the desire to render the executive council responsible to the representatives of the colony, instead of to the government of the mother-country,—and the request, the monstrous, unjust, iniquitous request, that the charters granted by the imperial parliament should be revoked ?

Nor can any parallel be found between the present resistance of the Canadians and that of the United States. The latter took up arms because they were taxed by the British parliament, although their own governments had displayed no remissness in contributing to the public charges. “ It should be considered,” said Governor Bernard,” that the American governments themselves have, in the prosecution of “ the late war, contracted very large debts, “ which it will take many years to pay off; and

“ in the mean time occasion very burdensome “ taxes for that purpose only.” It was not surprising, therefore, that the resentment of America should be provoked, if, at the very moment when she was largely contributing to the public charges, and had actually contracted very large debts, an attempt was, for the first time, made by the mother-country to tax her. But it must require the very height of refinement to trace the most distant resemblance between their conduct and that of the insurgents in Canada. It is true that they allege that the government had seized on and appropriated revenues over which they claimed no control. But why did it do so, but because it was compelled by the House of Assembly? The United States had expressed no desire for speculative changes in their form of government. They had contributed largely to the public charges, and had incurred heavy debts to support them ; but the House of Assembly in Canada refused to vote the necessary supplies for the ordinary business of government.

The supremacy of England over Canada will

hardly be called in question by any man who dispassionately considers the history of that colony. Our right to Canada is threefold: the right of conquest, the right derived from the cession of it by France in 1763, and uninterrupted possession ever since. No country ever possessed a stronger title.

In the discussions on the American war, the supreme right of the mother-country over her colonies was not called in question by the most zealous friends and champions of America. Mr. Burke, in his speech on American Taxation, in 1774, whilst deprecating in strong language the conduct of the British government, admitted, in the fullest extent, the supremacy of the mother-country. "The Parliament of Great Britain," he said, "sits at the head of her extensive empire in two capacities: one, as the local legislature of this island, providing for all things at home, immediately, and by no other instrument than the executive power; the other, and what I think her nobler capacity, is what I call her *imperial character*; in which, as though from the throne of heaven, she super-

“ intends all the several inferior legislatures, and
“ guides and controls them all without annihilat-
“ ing any. As all these provincial legislatures
“ are only co-ordinate to each other, they ought
“ all to be subordinate to her; else they can nei-
“ ther preserve mutual peace, nor hope for mu-
“ tual justice, nor effectually afford mutual assist-
“ ance. It is necessary to coerce the negligent,
“ to restrain the violent, and to aid the weak and
“ deficient, by the overruling plenitude of her
“ power. She is never to intrude into the place of
“ the others, whilst they are equal to the common
“ ends of their institution. But in order to enable
“ Parliament to answer all these ends of provident
“ and beneficent superintendence, her powers
“ must be boundless. The gentlemen who think
“ the powers of Parliament limited, may please
“ themselves to talk of requisitions. But suppose
“ the requisitions are not obeyed? What! shall
“ there be no reserved power in the empire to
“ supply a deficiency which may weaken, divide,
“ and dissipate the whole? We are engaged in
“ war—the Secretary of State calls upon the co-
“ lonies to contribute—some would do it; I

“ think most would cheerfully furnish whatever
 “ is demanded—one or two, suppose, hang back,
 “ and saving themselves, let the stress of the
 “ draft lie on the others—surely it is proper,
 “ that some authority might legally say, ‘Tax
 “ yourselves for the common supply, or Parlia-
 “ ment will do it for you.’ This backwardness
 “ was, as I am told, actually the case of Penn-
 “ sylvania for some short time towards the be-
 “ ginning of the last war, owing to some internal
 “ dissensions in the colony. But whether the
 “ fact were so or otherwise, the case is equally
 “ to be provided for by a competent sovereign
 “ power. But then this ought to be no ordinary
 “ power; nor ever used in the first instance.
 “ This is what I meant, when I have said, at
 “ various times, that I consider the power of
 “ taxing in Parliament as an instrument of em-
 “ pire, and not as a means of supply.”

I have quoted this passage at length, because
 I know not where the rights of the mother
 country over the colonies are so ably and clearly
 defined. But if the supremacy of the mother-
 country is not an empty name, what becomes of

the claims of the House of Assembly to have the executive council responsible to them? Such a claim is plainly incompatible with the supremacy of Great Britain.

The executive council have no powers beyond that of giving advice to the governor, when called upon by him to do so. In the document called "The King's Instructions," it is declared, that the governor is "to communicate to the " executive council such and so many of our " instructions wherein their advice is mentioned " to be requisite, and likewise all such others " from time to time *as you shall find convenient* for our service to be imparted to " them."

It is thus left open to the governor to act without consulting the council; the responsibility rests, as it ought to rest, with him; he is the lieutenant of the King, and open to impeachment for improper conduct. What an anomaly would it present, to have an executive council responsible to the House of Assembly; whilst the governor, whom this council are to advise, should be responsible to the King! So absurd

and ridiculous an idea surely cannot be for a moment entertained by any rational statesman.

Of what use would it be to render the executive council responsible, unless its powers were enlarged? By the constitution, as it now stands, the governor is not bound to consult the executive council; he may adopt any measures he thinks fit, without asking their opinion; and even in direct opposition to it. How idle then to require the *responsibility* of a body which is totally destitute of *power*; and what a phantom—what a quiddity is this one of the alleged grievances, on account of which wicked and designing men have ventured to convulse the colony; and to shake off the sway of the parent state!

Lord Chatham always maintained the rights of supremacy in the mother-country. In his speech in 1777, whilst he declared that the Americans were entitled “to enjoy every fundamental right in their property, and every original substantial liberty, which Devonshire or Surrey, or the county I live in, or any other

“ county in England can claim ;” he adds, “ re-
“ serving always, *as the sacred right of the*
“ *mother-country, the due constitutional de-*
“ *pendency of the colonies.*” Again, in his
speech, when moving an address in consequence
of General Burgoyne’s surrender, “ he declared
“ himself *an avowed enemy to American inde-*
“ *pendency.* He was a Whig; and though he
“ utterly, from his heart, abhorred the system
“ of government endeavoured to be carried into
“ execution in America, he as earnestly and
“ zealously contended for Whig government,
“ and a Whig connexion between both coun-
“ tries, *founded in a constitutional dependence*
and subordination.”

Regarding as I do, with veneration, in com-
mon with every true-hearted Briton, the me-
mory of this great statesman, whose name is in-
separably identified with the honour, the glory,
the liberties, of England; revering him no less
as the undaunted champion of constitutional in-
dependence at home, than as the assertor of the
rights and interests of the country abroad;—I
rejoice at being able to quote his great authority

in favour of the supremacy of the parent-state ;—an authority of the more weight in consequence of the energetic part he took in denouncing what he conceived to be the real wrongs and grievances of America.

In the last great act of his life, when he closed his career of patriotism by a death brought on by his zeal in behalf of his country ;—in that last glorious stage of his exertions to benefit mankind, which has canonized and sanctified his name in the eyes of every admirer of public spirit and public virtue ; how warmly did he denounce the idea of abandoning the sovereignty of America !—as though he was anxious, before he sunk into the grave, to guard against the possibility of his name being adduced in support of those wild and revolutionary ideas which were as alien, as true liberty was dear, to his breast.

“ My lords,” he said, “ I rejoice that the
 “ grave has not closed upon me ; that I am still
 “ alive to lift up my voice against the dismem-
 “ berment of this ancient and most noble mo-
 “ narchy ! Pressed down as I am by the hand
 “ of infirmity, I am little able to assist my coun-

“ try in this most perilous conjuncture ; but, my
 “ Lords, while I have sense and memory, I will
 “ never consent to deprive the royal offspring of
 “ the House of Brunswick, the heirs of the
 “ Princess Sophia, of their just inheritance.
 “ Where is the man that will dare to advise such
 “ a measure? I wage war,” he
 continued, “ with no man, or set of men. I wish
 “ for none of their employments, nor would I
 “ co-operate with men who still persist in unre-
 “ tracted error ; or who, instead of acting on a
 “ firm, decisive line of conduct, *halt between*
 “ *two opinions, when there is no middle path.*”

But to compare the struggle between the
 United States and the mother-country to the pre-
 sent disturbances in Canada!—what is it but
 to insult and vilify the memory of those great
 men who took part in that contest? It would
 be useless now to enter into any discussion as to
 the merits of that contest ; but, however differ-
 ing in opinion as to the expediency or justice of
 the course pursued by the Americans, all men
 must admit that there were in the conduct of the
 United States many noble and redeeming traits.

Surely, it is to calumniate the name and profane the ashes of Washington,—a man in whose breast glowed the purest flame of patriotism ; and whose ambition to serve mankind was equalled only by the most perfect disinterestedness as regarded himself—to compare the cause of which he was the champion, the leader, and the ornament, to that of M. Papineau and his faction. It behoves all those who venerate true liberty, to disavow all connexion with men who defile her holy temple, and who call on their deluded followers to fall down and worship the idol of clay which they have set up, in the stead of her real image.

It is not merely the fate of Canada that depends on the present contest. The interest of England throughout the globe—the cause of constitutional monarchy at home, is dependent on its issue. Let us teach a great lesson to the enemies of Britain, whether foreign or domestic ! Let the British government prove to the world, by the energy with which it puts down rebellion in the colonies, its determination to uphold the monarchy and the institutions of the state at

home! Let us show to those who may cherish in their breasts designs inimical to the laws and constitution of the realm, that we have hearts resolved and hands prepared to put down treason whenever and wherever it rears its guilty head! —Let us prove to those who may chance to fancy that the power of England is on the wane, or that the spirit of her sons is extinct, that the British lion slumbered, but was not dead! Let not doubt, with its palsying breath, come across the councils of the state at this momentous crisis! There are moments in the existence of states—and the present is most assuredly one—when to hesitate is to perish! Let not posterity hear that in the first year of the reign of our youthful Queen; ere the sound of the acclamations that hailed her accession had died upon the ear; her crown was stripped of one of its brightest jewels through the apathy or folly of her counsellors!

Our exertions must be upon a scale commensurate with the greatness of our empire, and the reputation we have hitherto enjoyed. The very brilliancy of our former glory would only render

more striking any reverse we might now sustain. There is much truth in Algernon Sydney's remark—"He who builds a city, and does not intend it should increase, commits as great an absurdity as if he should desire that his child might ever continue under the same weakness in which he was born. *If it does not grow, it must repine and perish, for in this world nothing is permanent; that which does not grow better will grow worse.*" We are become too exalted; we occupy too lofty a station in the eyes of Europe and the world, to suffer any abatement of our renown with impunity.

After having waged successful war against one of the greatest masters of the art of war that ever trod on battle-field; after having overthrown the mightiest military empire the world ever beheld; and having been regarded as the umpire of the destinies of Europe;—possessed, as we are, of an extent of territory equal to that over which Rome held dominion in her meridian power, and which realizes the Spanish boast that the sun never set on their empire;—it would

not only be pregnant with disgrace and ignominy to our character, but would be fatal to our very existence as a nation, if we allowed ourselves to be bearded by a faction in Canada! The ministers will, I hope, avoid the miserable policy, which has so often heretofore proved destructive to our interests, of sending out our soldiers by dribblets. "We forget," says Colonel Pasley, in his work on Military Policy, when speaking of our revolted colonies in North America, "the grand causes of the success; *the feeble and temporizing half-measures employed by our government*; "the smallness of the force sent." Already much valuable time has been lost. Aware, as they must have been, of the spirit of disaffection existing in the colony; it is much to be regretted that government did not send last autumn a sufficient force to overcome and controul the turbulent. Had they done so, the present disturbances would never have ensued. There is now but one course left to them by which to redeem their past errors—let them send out, as soon as the season will permit, such an

overpowering force as shall at once put down the present insurrection, and convince those who have taken part in it of the inutility of contending against our authority. Humanity and sound policy alike point to this as the line of conduct which ought to be pursued. By a vigorous exhibition of our strength at the present moment, we may prevent the shedding of oceans of blood hereafter ; a few thousand pounds expended with judgment now, will save us from a contest that might add millions to our national debt ; an active campaign of a few months may prevent a war of many years.

Nor will any misconceived notions of lenity be allowed, I trust, to avert the punishments that ought to fall on the guilty leaders and instigators of the revolt ; an example should be made of the principal rebels, and the just vengeance of the laws be inflicted on them. But their deluded followers I would address in the language of a great statesman of the present day : “ Still
“ we intend to do you justice—still, notwithstanding we derive from your menaces a fresh
“ source of strength—although by your threats

“ you arm us with fresh means of arousing
 “ public opinion on our side— and, although by
 “ your unfounded accusations, accusations which
 “ in the end will recoil on yourselves, and give
 “ us the strength to disregard your vaunting,
 “ you induce a fresh conviction of your injustice
 “ and intemperance—we are determined to go
 “ on unflinchingly in the course we have set out
 “ on; and, by removing all fair ground for
 “ complaint, take from you even the pretence
 “ for asserting that her Majesty’s colonial sub-
 “ jects do not receive from the British Govern-
 “ ment that consideration and attention to which
 “ they are entitled.”*

By such a line of policy—by punishing the
 guilty as they merit, and at the same time re-
 dressing whatever real grievances may exist,
 Canada may yet be saved to this country. And,
 let me add, that not merely for the sake of the
 more wealthy capitalists who are connected with
 that colony—not merely for the sake of the
 owners of large estates; but for that of the
 numberless small land-owners, who are scattered

* Sir Robert Peel’s Speech, 1835.

over that country; of the industrious emigrants, who have gone forth from our shores to people its deserts, are we bound to put a stop to the machinations of those demagogues, whose traitorous machinations would blight the fruits of their industry.

No less than five hundred thousand British colonists are now located in Canada—five hundred thousand subjects, be it remembered, of the British crown, whose lives, liberties, and properties, the British government is bound to protect. They have a *right* to this protection; it is not a question of expediency, but of justice. Protection is the return which every subject of the British crown has a right to, whether high or low, whether resident in Middlesex or in Canada, in return for his allegiance. These settlers have no desire to shake off the yoke of the mother-country; at the present crisis they have come forward with noble and gallant devotion to peril their lives and fortunes in support of the British government. Who can read the accounts that have recently arrived from that country? Who can peruse the addresses and

resolutions of the colonists, glowing, as they do, with the most animated loyalty? Who can hear of the exertions which, in the midst of this inclement season, they are making to expedite and facilitate the movements of the Queen's troops—the promptness and readiness with which they have enrolled themselves in defence of law and order, and not feel that they have a right to demand the most prompt and efficacious assistance in their noble struggle? Deep, indelible disgrace, would attach to England if she neglected to succour these her loyal, her bold, her attached children,—who proffer their best exertions, their fortunes, and their lives, to maintain and uphold her interests and power?

Our fellow-subjects in other and distant climes have come forward with a zeal and spirit above all praise at this interesting crisis; they have exhibited proud and convincing evidence, that, though far distant from our shores, their hearts are true to the cause of England. The inhabitants of New Brunswick have voluntarily offered their services to the governor. They publicly declare “their firm and unshaken

“loyalty to her Majesty,” and “their firm determination to resist by every means in their power any dismemberment of the British empire, of which this meeting is *proud to consider this province an integral part.*” With humanity equal to their loyalty, they resolve that “to lessen the pang which the brave soldier may experience in parting from his wife and children, we agree to contribute towards their comfort, to raise a fund for the relief of the wives and children of the soldiers of this garrison, whose husbands and fathers have been, or shall be, under the necessity of leaving them behind when they march to uphold and support the authority of our beloved sovereign, and to preserve the integrity of the British empire;” and the account concludes by stating that “three cheers were given for our gracious Sovereign Lady, the Virgin Victoria, and the business closed with many rapturous rounds of loud and enthusiastic shouts, testifying one universal sentiment of genuine loyalty and patriotism.”

Let us imitate the patriotic zeal and loyal

energy of these our fellow-subjects. Let us rally round the standard of our Sovereign Lady, the Virgin Victoria, and endeavour to rival—surpass we cannot—the loyalty and patriotism of her distant subjects. What man, in whose veins flows one drop of real British blood, will be found wanting at such a crisis? Let each and all contribute in their several capacities to uphold the honour of their country; thus shall rebellion soon be crushed, the integrity of the empire be maintained, and the honour of England, which is dearer than his life-blood to every patriot, be preserved free from sully or reproach.

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