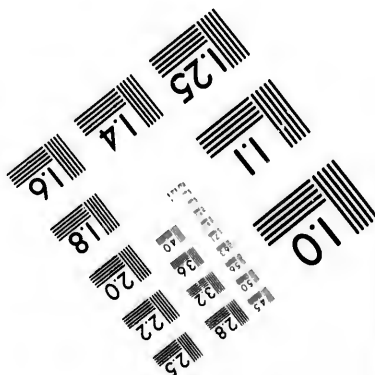
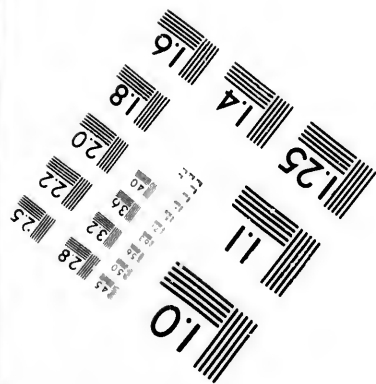
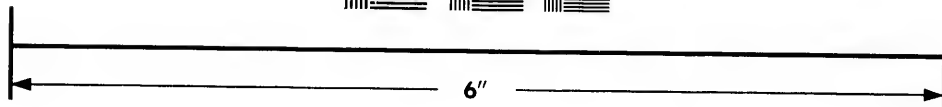
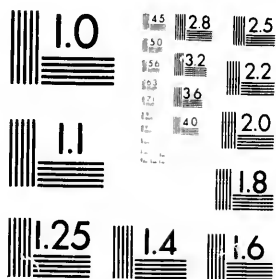


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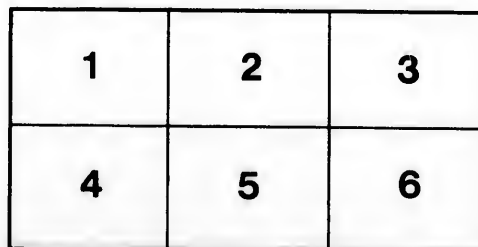
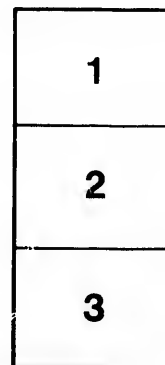
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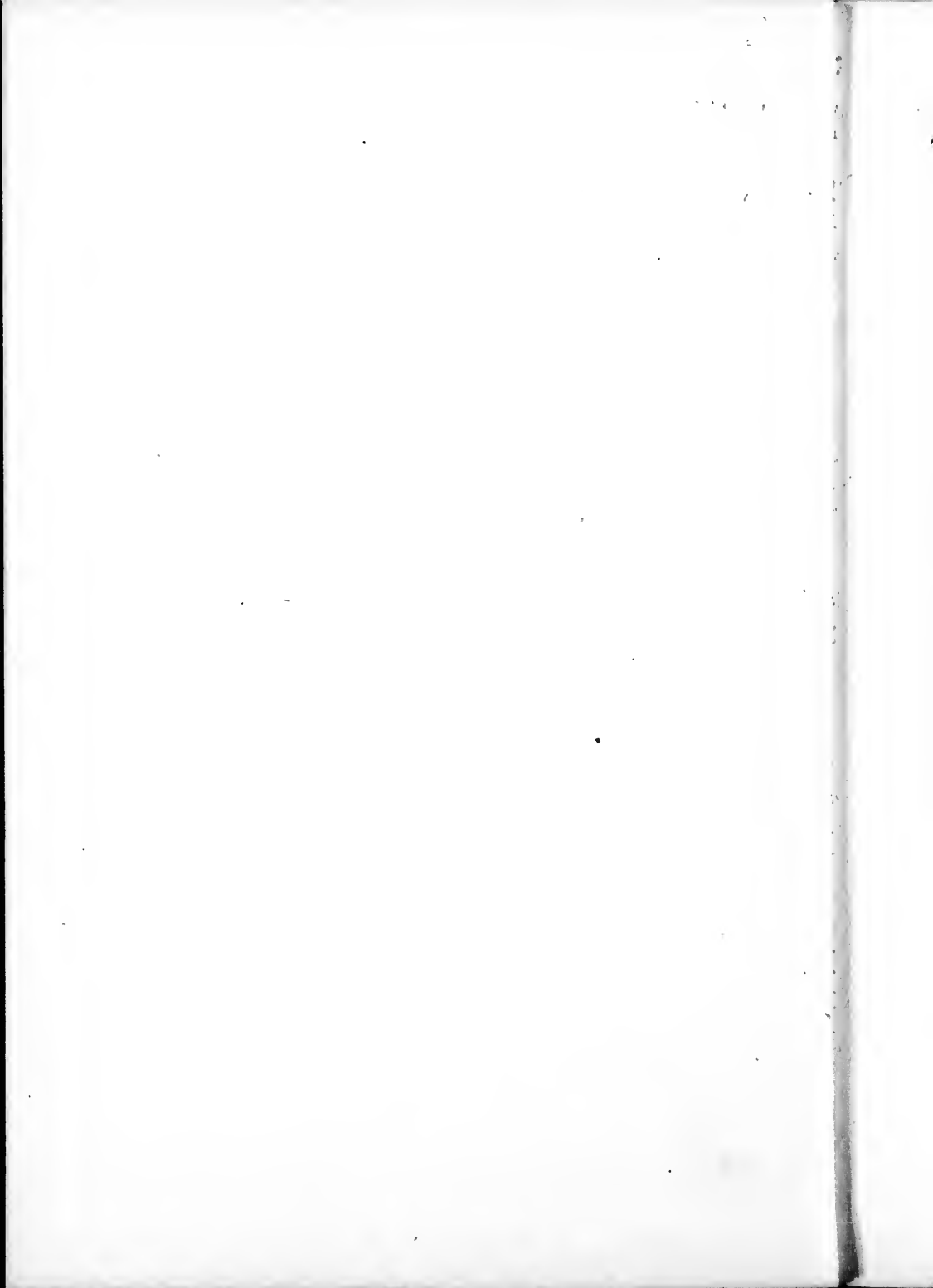
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THE AFTER-MATH OF A REVOLUTION

BY

GEORGE STERLING RYERSON, M.D.

*Member of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Deputy Surgeon-General of the Militia of
Canada, President of the United Empire Loyalists Association
of Ontario, Canada.*

BEING THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS AS PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS ASSOCIATION, DELIVERED
NOVEMBER 12TH, 1896.

TORONTO:
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THE AFTER-MATH OF A REVOLUTION.

DR. RYERSON'S ADDRESS

*ON ACCEPTING THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED EMPIRE
LOYALISTS ASSOCIATION OF ONTARIO,
NOVEMBER 12th, 1896.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The honor which you have done me in electing me to this position is one of which any Canadian may be proud, for not only is it an honorable distinction to be the official head of so important an historical society as ours, but it is especially so in succession to our first president, the late Honorable John Beverley Robinson, of whose services we were able to avail ourselves for so short a time when he was called hence. He was a man in praise of whom I need say but little. His eminent public services, his amiable and manly character are familiar to everyone. He is regretted as much as he was esteemed. He was a Loyalist and a Canadian whose name will live in the history of our country beside that of his distinguished father.

In forming this association, may it not be well for us to pause a moment to consider who and what manner of men were the Loyalists whom we to-day represent, what were the principles for which they suffered and lost, and for which they

risked hearth and home and all that men hold dear, what are the results of the contest in which they were engaged, what the fruits of their self-sacrifice for principle and the future of the heritage they have left to all Canadians?

For more than a hundred years the United Empire Loyalists have been the subject of misrepresentation, of ridicule, of abuse, of calumny, by men who professed to write the history of the American Revolution. They have been represented as the "dregs of society," as social outcasts, as "fiends in human form opposed to all human liberty" and "the agents of tyrants and oppressors." Yet what are the facts—and I am glad to be able to go to an American source for them.* I rejoice that at last a sense of justice is awakening in the breasts of American writers, and that they are beginning to recognize that foul slanders have been written of as honorable a body of men as the world has ever seen, and that there are two sides to the dispute which could fairly be taken while allowing men to remain good citizens. Surely "Great is truth, it will prevail," even after a century of concealment and perversion.

I desire above all things to be fair, and therefore I am prepared to accept the statement that the Loyalists were men of all classes morally and socially, as in all other great movements, but we have the statement of Ellis† that "Among those most frank and fearless in the avowal of loyalty, and who suffered the severest penalties, were men of the noblest character and highest position;" and that of Tyler: "If, for example, we consider the point with reference to cultivation and refinement, it may seem a significant fact that among the members of the Loyalist party are to be found the names of a great multitude of the graduates of our colonial colleges." And further, he says: "To anyone at all familiar with the history of colonial New England, that list of men, denounced to exile and loss of pro-

* "The Party of the Loyalists in the American Revolution." By M. C. Tyler. *The American Historical Review*, October, 1895.

† "The Loyalists and Their Fortunes." By George E. Ellis, D.D., in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, p. 185, *et seq.*

erty on account of their opinions, will read like the bead-roll of the oldest and noblest families concerned in the founding and upbuilding of New England civilization ; and of the whole body of the Loyalists throughout the thirteen colonies it must be said that it contained, as one of its ablest antagonists long after admitted, more than a third of influential characters—that is, a very considerable portion of the customary chiefs in each community.”

It must not be supposed that the Loyalists were all of one class, and that the best, socially speaking, but the well-to-do composed the larger proportion. The officials and their relations formed, as might be naturally expected, no inconsiderable element. Another large class were the military and naval officers and soldiers. Next were those who represented the commercial element in the community, the capitalists and landed proprietors who, having much to lose and nothing to gain from a disturbed condition of the country, were, in large numbers, opposed to the change of government and the unsettled state of affairs which the war occasioned. “Still another class of Loyalists was made up of people of professional training and occupation—clergymen, lawyers, teachers, doctors—a clear majority of whom seem to have been set against the Revolution.” It may be said, generally speaking, that a large majority of those who may be described as conservative people—people opposed to change—of all classes of society, mechanics, tradesmen, farmers and others, were Loyalists. The Loyalists “seem to have been not a profligate party, nor an unprincipled party, nor a reckless or even a light-minded one, but, on the contrary, to have had among them a very considerable portion of the most refined, thoughtful and conscientious people in the colonies. . . . If they were not actually a majority of the American people, as they themselves claimed to be, and as some careful scholars now think they were, they did at least constitute a huge minority of the American people ; they formed a section of colonial society too important on the score of mere numbers to be set down as a handful of obstructionists, while in any rightful estimate of

personal value they seem to deserve the consideration which conscientious and cultivated people of one party never ask in vain from similar people of the opposite party, at least after the issues of the controversy have closed." Thus writes Mr. Tyler. It is unfortunate that men of his calibre were not in control one hundred years ago. How much bitterness, bloodshed and misery would have been saved? The war of 1812 might never have taken place, and the English race on this continent permanently alienated and divided.

This brings me to speak of the issues of the contest. It is the opinion of some writers* that the seeds of secession had long been sown in New England by the Puritans, as distinguished from the Pilgrims, whose descendants were, for the most part, loyal at this time. This may be true, but, at any rate, for many years before the Revolution a war of argument was going on. All sorts of questions were discussed, constitutional, legal, ethical, political, for it must be remembered that the first great colony of the world was growing up, and during the upbuilding many problems new to the world were being worked out, that new conditions were presenting themselves to be dealt with by legislators, and that rules applicable to older societies were found difficult to apply and even dangerous to put in practice. Mr. Tyler puts it well when he states that the questions may be reduced to two: "first, the question of what was lawful under the constitution of the British Empire; and secondly, of what was expedient under the existing circumstances of the colonies." The main contention was that the British Parliament could not tax the colonists lawfully without violation of the constitutional maxim, "No taxation without representation."

To read some of the so-called histories of American origin one would suppose that the colonists had been subjected to a joke like that imposed by Alva upon the Low Countries, that the physical endurance of the people had reached its utmost

* "The Loyalists of America and their Times." By Egerton Ryerson, D. D., LL. D. Toronto, 1880.

limit and that rebellion not unnaturally ensued. Nothing could be further from the truth. The questions were purely political as between the American Tory party and the American Whigs, as between the Loyalists and the Secessionists.

But to return, were not the American colonies represented in the three estates of the realm in Parliament assembled? The Loyalists believed that they were represented in the Commons as a part of the commons of the British Empire. It is true that they did not elect their representatives. Neither at that period did such cities as Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool! Very few people in England had votes at that time. Yet they did not break out into open rebellion. They were satisfied to amend the constitution by constitutional methods. The question was one of constitutional law, and in the opinion of Mr. Horace Gray, an eminent American jurist, "a careful examination of the question compels this conclusion, that there was at least reasonable ground for holding, as a mere matter of law, that the British Parliament had power to bind the colonies." "As a matter of abstract right," says Sir William Vernon-Harcourt,* "the Mother Country has never parted with the claim of ultimate supreme authority for the Imperial Legislature. If it did so, it would dissolve the Imperial tie and convert the colonies into foreign and independent states." I might quote many authorities in support of this view did time permit. The claim of the Loyalist party on this score may be fairly stated to be a reasonable one, and not one to justify a rebellion.

Now as to the second question, that of expediency under the existing circumstances in the colonies. The Secessionists' statement of the case was this: "If Parliament, to which we send no members, may tax us threepence a pound on tea, it may, if it please, tax us a shilling, and what security have we, once conceding this right, that we shall not be taxed excessively in other things? What security have we from oppression?" To

* "Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies." By Alpheus Todd. London, 1894.

this the Loyalists answered: "Are you not arguing before the fact? Are you not arguing simply against the possibility of the abuse of this power? What reason have you for supposing that Parliament will abuse its power? Do you not suppose that this, as all others, will be examined by the House of Commons in the light of common-sense and justice? The Imperial Parliament has not overstepped its powers nor is it likely to do so." But there was a small but determined set of men who would listen to no reason. They had other objects in view. From the first the Americans professed loyalty; the first Continental Congress professed devoted loyalty to the King. Benjamin Franklin said in March, 1775, that he had never heard a word in favor of Independence. Boucher states that Washington said to him in May, 1775, "that if ever I heard of his joining in such measures I had leave to set him down for everything wicked." On the 6th of July, 1775, Congress made a declaration: "Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the Empire, we assure them that we do not mean to dissolve the union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain." As late as January, 1776, the Assembly of New Hampshire disavowed any intention of "aiming at independence." Suddenly the majority of the Whigs turned around, threw off the mask and declared for Separation, which up to that time they had vehemently repudiated.

I need not follow what happened. Suffice it for my argument to say that the cause of separation was purely political, and that the separation could readily have been avoided had Congress adopted Galloway's plan of Home Rule or Confederation. It is startling to learn that it was only defeated by a vote of six colonies to five, and even more astonishing to learn that although Galloway's plan was regularly introduced into Congress, debated and voted on, yet all reference to it has been swept from the Journals of Congress. "Could it have been adopted in Congress and outside," says Tyler, "the disrup-

tion of the British Empire would certainly have been averted, while the thirteen English colonies would have remained English colonies without ceasing to be free." But a vigorous and unscrupulous minority of the American people preferred to settle a political question by an appeal to arms. The Right of Rebellion was declared and enforced. The majority were driven into a position from which they could not retire but with which they did not sympathize.

In the language of the time the Secessionists were "patriots," the Loyalists unpatriotic "obstructionists." The doctrine of the Right of Rebellion of the subject against the State and of the individual against the law was triumphantly asserted. We will examine a little later what the fruits of this kind of philosophy are in our own day in the American Republic and whither this doctrine is tending. But before proceeding to this inquiry let us bring back to our memories a recollection of the immediate effects of this fratricidal and patricidal war upon our forefathers. It was followed by wholesale expatriation, confiscation of property, mental and physical suffering almost impossible to realize to-day. Picture to yourselves fathers and brothers and sons torn from their families, lucky if they were not murdered under their own roof; families driven into exile subjected to the insults of a fanatic mob, deprived even of clothing and the bare necessities of life, unable to obtain employment or to hire help, harassed in every way that the malignant vengeance of a successful and ungenerous enemy could suggest, ostracized and forced to make a long, painful, weary and heart-breaking journey of weeks' or months' duration to what was then a great unknown wilderness to the northward, for Upper Canada was entirely uninhabited by white men at that time, while through the unbroken forests roamed the scalp-hunting Indian and countless wild animals. Is it any wonder that many died of hardship and exposure? Is it remarkable that their descendants should treasure as their dearest possessions their relics of those days, and that they should teach their children's children to love the grand old flag for which their forefathers suffered so much, and beneath whose

fold they preferred liberty and suffering rather than ignoble comfort beneath the shade of a flag which was to them the emblem of rebellion and injustice? If there is a British power to-day on this North American continent, it is because of the harshness, the cruelty, the fanaticism of the Secessionists of 1775. Had the moderation and conciliatory methods adopted in 1865 been used in 1783 there might have been no Loyalist out-wandering, no British Canada; as it is, owing to the short-sightedness of the fathers of the American Republic and the deeply rooted love of British institutions by the Loyalists, Canada is here and will remain as an integral portion of the British Empire. We have abundant reason to thank God for it.

If further evidence in justification of the personal character and argumentative position of the Loyalists were wanted, nothing could be written more conclusive than Mr. Tyler's own conclusions. He says: "First, it is an error to represent the Tories of the American Revolution as a mere party of negation and obstruction. They did not deny, they did not obstruct; but they had positive political ideas, as well as precise measures of creative statesmanship, to offer their fellow-colonists in the place of their ideas and measures to which they made objection, and which they would have kept from prevailing if they could,

"Secondly, it is an error to represent the Tories of the American Revolution as a party opposed to any reform in the relations of the colonists with the Mother Country, or the extension of human rights and liberties elsewhere. . . . They frankly declared that the constitutional relations of the colonies with the Mother Country were in a crude state, were unsatisfactory, were in need of being carefully revised and reconstructed. There was a substantial agreement among all Americans that there was a wrong, that there was a danger, that there should be a reform. . . . It was as to the method and the process that the Americans broke asunder.

"Thirdly, it is an error to represent the Tories of our Revolution as composed of Americans lacking in love for their native country or zeal for its liberty, or in willingness to labor or

fight, or even die, for what they conceived to be its interests. . . . Those Americans who failed in their honest and sacrificial championship of measures which would have given us political reform and political safety, but without civil war and without an angry disruption of the English-speaking race, cannot be justly regarded as having been, either in doctrine or in purpose or in act, an unpatriotic party."

Can a more complete refutation of the slanders on the Loyalists be possible?

Having thus shortly noticed what were the immediate effects of the Revolutionary war upon the fortunes of the Loyalists, let us consider from facts adduced by the United States census and congressional and other State papers, what is to-day the effect of the doctrine of force and the resort to arms in the settlement of private and public controversies.

The tenth annual report of the Commissioner of Labor of the United States (1894) throws much light on the relations of capital and labor in that country. It shows that the huge trusts, combines and monopolies are making a mockery of Republican institutions. Men may be born equal in the United States, but they don't stay so. A painful feature of the strikes and lockouts is the resort to force, attended in many instances by serious loss of life and destruction of property. But did not the Revolution teach Americans that if your neighbor does not agree with you, you may shoot him, confiscate his property, and injure him to the utmost of your ability? Why then should Americans complain of the latter-day application of their own theories and practices? Now as to the strikes. From January 1st, 1881, to June 30th, 1894, there were 14,389 strikes, involving 69,166 establishments, while 3,714,231 employees were thrown out of work; add to these 6,067 lockouts. The number of strikes has gradually risen from 2,928 in 1881, to 5,154 for the *first six months* of 1894, and the number of employees from 129,521 to 482,063 for the same period. The bill of loss to employees and employers is as follows: wage loss of employees, \$163,807,657; assistance to employees by labor organizations, \$10,914,406; loss of employers, \$82,589,786; lockouts, wage loss of employees, \$26,685,516; assistance to employees by

other labor organizations, \$2,524,298; loss of employers, \$12,235,451. So that there has been lost directly as the result of strikes and lockouts, not to mention the indirect losses, in the United States in thirteen and a half years, the enormous sum of \$298,757,112, a loss which exceeds the net debt of the Dominion of Canada by \$50,000,000. I do not propose to weary you with the details of these strikes, but it will contribute to the understanding of the social situation in the United States if I refer to a few facts relating to the Chicago strike of 1894. The loss to the railroads in property destroyed and incidental expenses was \$685,308, in earnings \$4,678,916; loss of wages of employees, \$1,339,143; number shot and fatally wounded, 12; troops and police required to suppress riot, 14,186. I might also refer to the Homestead, Brooklyn and Buffalo riots, but time will not permit. From the facts adduced, it will be seen that the relations of capital and labor are of the most unsatisfactory character across the line, and that the right of rebellion is being asserted. Now, contrast the relations of capital and labor in Canada. In five years, to 1893, there were but 35 strikes, involving less than 5,000 persons. There have been no armed strikes and no bloodshed. The Canadian workingman is, in general, a sober, law-abiding, industrious person, who, while firmly holding to what he considers to be his just rights, is not minded to burn, kill and destroy those who do not see as he does, but is willing to submit his grievances to a properly constituted board of arbitration and conciliation, believing rightly that his fellow-citizens and fellow-subjects will do him justice.

It may possibly be that the American is not as law-abiding as the Canadian because he is not really prosperous. I find it stated in the *Arena*, page 49, 1892: "In 1890 the figures for New York were twenty-three thousand eight hundred and ninety-five evictions, while the grand total for Ireland was only a little in excess of five thousand. . . . Evictions in New York City simply mean that there is in the heart of America's money-centre a poverty as appalling, as hopeless, as degrading, as exists in any civilized community on earth.

From September 1st, 1891, to August 31st, 1892, the evictions had increased to twenty-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty." There were one hundred and forty-eight thousand outcasts, yet within a few blocks on or near Fifth Avenue no less than two hundred millionaires reside whose aggregate wealth reaches the astounding total of \$30,000,000,000. We have thus the contrast of the very rich and the wretchedly poor. But the country population is very little better off. Extra Census Bulletin No. 3 states, "We have now on file in Washington, as the result of their labor (2,500 clerks), the abstracts of about nine million mortgages." There are a little over twelve million families in the Republic. Comment is unnecessary. "These figures are not pleasant to contemplate," says the *Arena*. "They are disquieting as they are suggestive, and the apprehensions of those who study them will not be lessened because they are taken from sources which are official and conservative." (Page 207.) The census does nothing with chattel mortgages. On page 204 we read: "Let us now look at some suggestive figures published in Census Bulletins Nos. 3, 16, 20, 22. The number of mortgages on real estate in five States in force, January 1st, 1890, are given as follows:

Illinois.....	297,247	mortgages, aggregating	\$384,299,150 00
Iowa.....	252,539	" "	199,774,171 00
Missouri.....	192,028	" "	214,609,772 00
Kansas.....	298,880	" "	243,141,826 00
Nebraska.....	155,377	" "	132,902,322 00
	1,196,071		\$1,174,732,241 00"

Do you wonder that repudiation is seriously proposed and that political charlatans have millions of followers?

The *Arena* (New York) says: "The rich and the poor are further apart than ever. Labor to-day is poorer paid than ever before; more discontent exists, more men in despair. If a change is not soon devised trouble must come." There has recently been fought a great battle across the line which was largely a social or class fight. It ended in the defeat of the west and south. They will be heard from again, for the late

election is but the first round of the struggle against the monopolies and combines. "The fight of the people of the United States will some day be against the money lords, and, while the time has been deferred, the revolution has not been averted."

Every voter for Bryan was a discontented and dissatisfied man. The Revolution taught the people that it is right to assert with arms in hand principles which cannot otherwise be maintained. If it is right for bodies of men to murder, why should not individuals commit murder also? It would seem to be so, for according to the *Chicago Tribune*, they murdered, in the United States, 3,567 in 1889, 4,290 in 1890, 5,906 in 1891, and 6,792 in 1892. In 1890, of the 4,290 murders only 102 were brought to legal execution, while 126 were lynched. In 1891 there were 195 lynchings, and in 1892, 236. There has never been a case of lynching in the Dominion of Canada. We are a law-abiding people, and leave the administration of justice to the officials charged with its execution, well knowing that justice will be done, for our judges are not elected.

But the great exemplar of the Right of Rebellion was shown to the world in 1861, when certain of the Southern States believing in States' Rights determined to separate from the North because they could not agree upon a great question of public policy. It was then held by the New England and some other States that these rights did not extend so far as separation, and we were treated to the interesting sight of the descendants of the secessionists of 1775 opposing the secessionists of 1861. The "patriots" were the Unionists, the Secessionists were the "rebels," whereas formerly the Secessionists were the patriots, and the Unionists were the rebels. It matters so much whose ox is gored.

The Unionists were this time successful and their leaders have become deified; the Unionists of 1775 were unsuccessful, and they, their leaders, and their families have been cast into outer darkness for all generations to come by the rebels of 1775. The seed sown in 1775 has yielded a bloody crop. How long before the next after-crop will be mown?

We, safe under the British flag, removed from the coming strife, can regard with calmness, if not with indifference, the working of the yeast. Will the coming rebellion dissolve the Union, for or against which a million of men lost their lives? Is not a disruption of the South and West probable? How long will their people endure the tyranny of combines and trusts while hemmed in beyond hope of escape by an impassable tariff wall?

From the facts adduced my conclusions are:

1. That the American War of the Revolution was a war between political parties.

2. That it could have been settled without bloodshed by the adoption of Galloway's plan of Home Rule, which was in substance the plan upon which the Canadian provinces were confederated nearly a century later.

3. That the majority was driven by an active and unscrupulous minority into a position from which it could not retire, and with which it did not sympathize.

4. That the American Revolution taught the doctrine of the Right of Rebellion of the subject against the State, and of the individual against the law.

5. That the logical consequences of this pernicious doctrine have been the great rebellion of 1861, the Homestead riots, the Chicago riots, the Buffalo and Brooklyn riots, and other armed strikes in which citizens were shot down, and individually, the carrying of arms, numberless murders and lynchings.

6. That application of the principle of the Right of Rebellion of political parties, and of resistance to law by force of arms, will eventually disrupt this North American republic, as it has those of South America.

In conclusion, let me say that it is difficult to overestimate the influence upon public sentiment of the Canadian people of the example of unswerving loyalty, of steadfast devotion to principle, of tenacity of purpose, of the fathers of British Canada. To them is due the fact that we have a British power on this continent; from us is required that we preserve inviolate the principles for which they suffered. We should aspire not merely to

record their deeds, their sufferings and their loyalty, but we should hold their example ever before the youth of the country as a practical lesson in patriotism and endurance under trial, and thence derive from a glorious and honorable past, lessons for the upbuilding of a great and prosperous future. It is no inconsiderable heritage we, in common with all Canadians, have received. A fair and smiling land stretching from ocean to ocean, fertile plain and valley alternating with rugged mountain rich with earth's hidden treasures, lakes and streams of vast extent alive with finny wealth—these and other sources of national strength have come to us as the result of the faithfulness of our forefathers. But beyond and besides these physical advantages we have inherited the precious privilege of citizenship in the British Empire, a share in Britain's glorious past, a fellowship in her literature, a kinship with her people, and a right to call the true and royal lady who sits upon her throne, Our Queen. We, the descendants of the men and women who risked and lost their all that they might live under the broad folds of the Union Jack, that they might enjoy civil and religious liberty and the blessings of British citizenship, humbly return thanks to Almighty God that He has been pleased to spare that great and good woman to her subjects to reign over them in righteousness, truth and justice for sixty years. May God save the Queen.

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