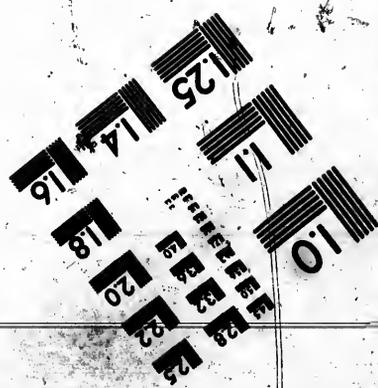
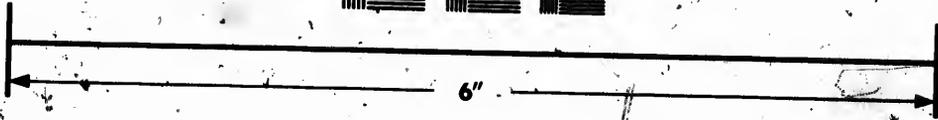
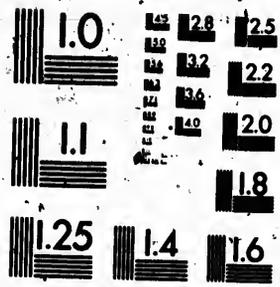


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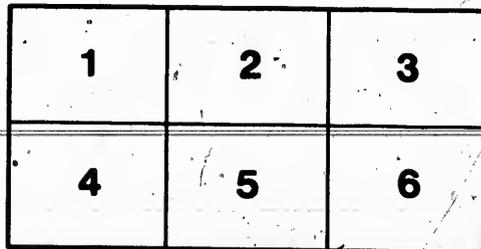
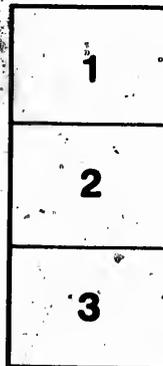
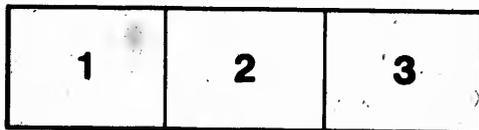
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READ AND PASS IT TO YOUR NEIGHBOUR.

S P E E C H

OF THE

HON. L. J. PAPINEAU,

AT THE

MEETING OF THE COUNTY

OF

MONTREAL,

ON THE

15TH MAY, 1837.

*Printed by order of the Permanent and Central Committee of the County
of Montreal.*

Montreal:

PRINTED BY LOUIS PERRAULT,

ST. THERESE STREET.

1837.

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S P E E C H

OF THE

HONBLE. LOUIS JOSEPH PAPINEAU,

at the MEETING of the COUNTY of MONTREAL, held at St. LAURENT, on the 15th of May, 1837, to take into consideration the atrocious attack of the British Ministry on the Rights and Liberties of the People of Lower Canada and adjoining Colonies.

LOW-CITIZENS:

We have assembled, under circumstances which, however painful, afford advantage of enabling you to distinguish your true, from your pretended, friends; those who are with you for an hour, from those who are always with you. We are at war with the old enemies of the country—the Governor, the Councils, the Judges, the majority of the other public functionaries, their instruments and tools, whom your Representatives have, long since denounced as forming a corrupt faction, inimical to the rights of the People, and prompted by interest alone to support a vicious system of Government. This is not alarm-

That faction, when left to itself, is powerless. It has the same disposition which it always had to injure, but it has no longer the means. It is always a mischievous beast, inclined to roar and to tear, but it can only roar, because you have clipped its claws and its fangs. (Cheers.) Times have changed with them: judge how they are changed. Some years ago, your old Representative, whom you have just chosen to preside at this Meeting, always faithful to your interests, served you in a lamentable manner. In 1810, when shortly after I entered into public life, a bad error cast the Representatives of the

Louis Roy Portelance, Esquire,
Chairman of the Meeting.

people into jail. Your Representatives have since driven away bad Governors. Formerly, the tyrant CRAIG was obliged to appear more wicked than he was, in order to strike terror, and to govern, and to shelter base courtiers, his accomplices, from the complaints of the Assembly. He failed to frighten. The people laughed at him, and at Royal Proclamations, at Pastoral Letters, and sermons out of place, extorted by surprise, and fulminated to frighten. To-day, in order to govern, in order to shelter base courtiers, his accomplices, from the punishment which the House of Assembly justly inflicted on them, the Governor is obliged to assume a lachrymose appearance, for the purpose of exciting pity, and to pretend to be better than he really is. He appears humble and friendly, in order to deceive. Honey on his lips, and gall in his heart, he has done more mischief by his artifices, than his predecessors by their violence. Yet the mischief is not consummated, though his artifices are exhausted. The publication of his instructions, which he had mutilated and misinterpreted; the publication of Reports, in which it is admitted that this trickery was necessary for him, in order that he might commence his administration with some chance of success, have removed the mask. He can buy a few traitors, but he cannot deceive patriots; and as the number of knaves for sale, and ready to be knocked down at auction,

cannot be very great in an honest country, they are not to be feared. The novel circumstance of which our everlasting enemies seek to take advantage is, that the British Parliament is opposed to us; that the Minister, disregarding the just complaints of the people, has feeling and prejudices only for corrupt officials; that he wishes to steal your money to pay your servants whom your Representatives have refused to pay, because in the opinion of that competent authority, they have been lazy, faithless and incapable; whom they wished to dismiss from your service, because of their evil-doing; who insolently remained with you against your will, and, when you refused them wages which they did not earn, combined with foreign thieves to rob you. This difficulty is great, but it is neither new nor insurmountable. The Americans gloriously beat this all-powerful Parliament some years ago. It is consoling to Freemen to look back to 1774; to applaud the virtuous efforts, and the complete success, which overcame an attack similar to that which is about being made against you. Its injustice has already obliged us to contend against this all-powerful Parliament, and our constitutional resistance has before now arrested it. The Minister shewed himself an oppressive tool in the hands of the official faction of Canada, in 1822, and the House of Commons shewed themselves to be the docile slaves of the Minister, by supporting, by a great majority, her attempt to unite the two provinces. MELBOURNE, the Minister, is equally the instrument of oppression which the same Official and Tory faction of Canada employs in its service; and the great majority of the Commons is again the servile crew which the Minister drives as he lists, on a colonial question of which they understand but little, and to which they attach no interest. The times to prove men are arrived. Such times are of great use to the people. They teach them to distinguish those who are fair-weather patriots, whom the first stormy day disperses; those who are patriots when no sacrifices are to be made, from those who are patriots in times of sacrifices; those whose only merit consists in crying "Huzzah! we are with the ma-

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jority, but if it does not succeed pre-quick, we shall keep aloof, and remain quiet;" from those who say—"In good and bad fortune we are for the people if they be ill-treated, we shall not keep aloof; we shall not remain quiet; we shall defend them at every risk; we shall contend for principles, and if these are violated, we will maintain them against all authority whatsoever, so long as our hearts beat—so long as our lips can proclaim the truth, give vent to complaint or scatter reproach. (Loud cheer.) You understand the importance of the subject which has called us together. We are not here to give the reins to a just indignation, to fiery appeals to vengeance and the passions, which would be only well justified. We are here to convene together familiarly, without reserve or concealment, without dissimulation or regard for perverse men or iniquitous measures; to occupy ourselves with our common interests; to calculate what is the extent of the evil which is attempted to be inflicted on us; who are its odious authors; what opposition we can offer; what punishment we ought to inflict upon them. The extent of the injury they wish to inflict upon us is the insult and contumely with which a persecuting government repels all and each of the reforms which you have demanded; it is to prepare for you a futurity worse than the past which has been insupportable. It is, in fine, to rob to plunder you of the fruit of your sweat of your labor, to keep in pay, and to render more insolent, your servants, against whom you have already but too much cause to complain. (Cries of "Tis true.") The English have, in all times, ever since they had a representative system of government, professed, and sealed with their blood, the doctrine that their Kings and Officers had no right to receive any other salary, any other supplies, than those which they had given, through their Representatives, their free consent. They have always believed that they were equally justified in drawing the sword against him who violated the law in endeavoring to break open the door of the house to rob them, and against those who violated the law in seeking to break open the doors of the *dépot* containing the public money, the keys of which they had en-

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ed to their Representatives. In this
 and legitimate defence of their prop
 erty, they have often hunted out of
 the Kingdom rulers who violated rights so
 dear. Sometimes they chopped off their
 heads. All this was for the establish-
 ment of a right which Lord JOHN RUS-
 SELL, at the instigation of Lord GOSFORD,
 sought to violate. History tells us that the
 British did well to hate their oppressors,
 as far as to imprison them, hunt them
 out of the country, and so forth.
 We should therefore
 well to hate our oppressors
 as far as to beseech them, at least for the
 sake of their own honour and our happi-
 ness, to set sail as soon as possible.
 The electors of this County have almost
 always well performed their duty. You ful-
 filled it, nearly 40 years ago, by choosing for
 your representative a man so firm and ho-
 nest as is our respectable Chairman, and
 who has not invariably, since that time, men
 like those now representing you,
 who resembled him. If error has some-
 times occurred; if candidates came to
 the hustings with protestations of devo-
 tion so plausible that you have been tempt-
 ed to take them at their word, and
 have discovered contradiction some-
 time later between their promises and
 their conduct, you have not been slow to
 set them right. You have seen that he
 drew near Governors, always drew
 near the people, because Governors
 all had the mania of placing them-
 selves in an unconstitutional opposition to
 the Assembly. They have always wish-
 ed to be masters when they are
 servants; to herd us and to drive us
 when they should follow us. Not one of
 them has ever come, not one of them will
 come, to take a lively interest in
 our welfare, but for the purpose of effec-
 tually advancing his own. They very
 often discover that the majority of the
 electors resemble them so strongly in
 respect, that it is not long before they
 become good friends, and make common
 cause against you and your Representa-
 tives. In this point of view, the last
 Governor is not better than those who pre-
 ceded him. The present Governor has re-
 minded all the evil with which the
 Ministry now threaten you, and which is
 more hideous than has ever before been
 experienced. He even demanded that

much greater should be inflicted on you,
 but the Minister does not fully second
 his ardour to injure you, and does
 not propose the solicited repeal of
 the 1st of Will. IV. There are men
 who formerly supported the cause of the
 country against all the other Governors,
 who have made war against them for
 much smaller faults, who now, deserters
 from the cause of the people, crouch at
 Lord Gosford's feet, and consider good
 in him what they considered bad in his pre-
 cessors. So long as there was nothing but
 his fine words and false promises, they
 might have been pardoned; but since his
 writings, more strong than his profes-
 sions, have come to light, people must
 have a dose of self-love as strong as
 their love of country is weak, not to re-
 cover from such a strange blindness.
 Other Governors have, like the present,
 violated the *deput* of the public revenue.
 They did so with some hesitation,
 through the vague, however distant fear
 of impeachment by the House of Com-
 mons. The present Governor labors to
 overthrow this last and feeble barrier to
 the rapacity of those who will, like him,
 leave their country, their family, their
 pleasures, for the love of you, say they;
 for the love of your money, say I. There
 will be no longer a curb to the shame-
 lessness with which Governors have al-
 most all exhibited themselves, as needy
 adventurers, by their impudently violating
 the law, and committing robbery, to pay
 themselves their own salaries. I know
 of no other country where a similar crime
 has been so long perpetrated with impu-
 nity. Public morality is outraged and destroy-
 ed, if honest men do not brand with their
 fixed and open contempt; do not iso-
 late by their determination to have no re-
 lation even of common civility with them;
 do not denounce as enemies of Canada,
 all those who, from the highest to the
 lowest, from the Governor to the Con-
 stable, will receive the public money in
 conformity with the disposition either of
 a British statute, or of any other author-
 ity than that of your Representatives.
 The money which Lord Gosford has tak-
 en; the money which he causes to be
 taken through Lord JOHN RUSSELL;
 the money which the latter does
 not permit him to take, although he has

asked to be so permitted, are all motives which (if you have had cause to hate Dalhousie and Aylmer) will trebly justify your hating Gosford; which if you have accused the former with sufficient unanimity, energy and perseverance, to see yourselves rid of them after long years of suffering, make it your duty to accuse the present Governor with sufficient unanimity, energy and perseverance, to rid yourselves of him without much delay. Long before now, indeed, he should have left the Province if there had been any honesty or truth in the declaration which he repeated to every one he met on his arrival, that if he should not acquire the confidence of the country; if he should not effect great reforms; if he should not re-establish contentment, he would not await the arrival of a frigate to set sail, but would throw himself into the first timber ship which would leave Quebec. Hope must be long lived with this man, if he imagine that the niggardly reforms which his flatterers report he has the good intention of trying, when he arouses from his long lethargy, will be such as to gain him great thanksgivings. We are aware, by the answers which Lord John Russell has given to our demands for reform of the positive evil he has done; the good that he meditates is still an impenetrable mystery or a gratuitous fiction.

You have demanded, in the proposition of 90,000 to 10,000, that the Legislative Council should be elective? No! replies Lord Gosford's echo; that the Executive Council be responsible to the Commons of the country! No! that a tribunal worthy of public confidence should take cognizance of the malversations of Judges and other prevaricating employes; No! that the usurpations of the British Parliament, by its acts of internal legislation for us, be repaired by the repeal of those acts; No! It would take me from this to to-morrow to detail in this way all your just demands, and all the refusals which hatred and intrigue have prepared for you, through the intervention of the most useless Commission that could have ever been imagined. Well! then—do all these unjust refusals change your determination to have those Reforms? No. Do they give the man who

has recommended these refusals title to your esteem—to your money? No. When he goes away, what then will he take with him? Our money? Yes. Our good opinion? No. He has long foreseen that such must be the issue of an administration which, in its first year, he already brought forth for you more bitter fruits, for itself more humiliations, than his odious predecessor had devoured during the whole time of his continuance in office. He has received them in hand from all parties, and from all shades of opinion. As to what concerns the people, he has allowed good laws, without number, to perish in the Legislative Council, without the slightest effort to save them. You have a knowledge of his lamentations, his bitter regrets, his unjust reproaches against your Representatives because they did not give your money to him, nor to the other officials, whom he did not consider deserving of it. No person could have more tender, more sensitive bowels of compassion, more exquisite sensibility for the cravings of the official horde, nor heart more steeled against the sufferings of the people. Is there a single man amongst us all who has any knowledge that the expression of the faintest regret, of the slightest reproach, escaped Lord Gosford's lips, at the unconstitutional refusal, by the Legislative Council, of the bill appropriating £40,000 for the advancement of primary education? No. A feeling of unbridled hate, brutal persecution, most brutified ignorance, saturate the skulls, ulcerate the hearts, of those who could resolve to shut the schools on 40,000 children assiduously in going there, and disposed to profit by them. Everlasting execration fall upon these detestable persecutors of the people who have committed this irreparable evil! Gosford and his associates are the confederates. Not one word of disapprobation did he express against the enormous injustice, which weighs not the luxuries of a few officials too highly remunerated, but on a whole people; and one of the first necessities of the industrious classes. On the contrary, an effort is made to palliate the atrocious misconduct, in the Commissioners' report in the big book, which will soon be known by a name already familiar—"the Book

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the three impostors." The Council, they, through fear that sufficient money would not remain in the chest for the payment of the arrears, and in consequence of some other defects in the law, not concur in that bill. This culpable approbation will find culpable approvers, to excuse it, will pretend that the Governor, out of respect for the independence of the Council, should not have inserted himself in causing that measure to be adopted. What servile adulation those who, inventing this futile and odious chicanery, do not protest against misplaced reproaches that the same allowed himself to make to the House of Assembly! Which of the two is constituted to be independent of the Governor, and which to shelter and to defend him? The Council was never instituted except to be moulded, ground, and operated, by the interest and whim of the moment of those in power, who looked it only on the express condition that it should be always obedient and subservient to their ends. The Council must be guided by an instinct which binds it to a certain set of actions, which the Governor that dragged it from nothingness foresees or dictate. When, therefore, a Governor would have said to those members:—"Your heart, if you have any, is so dry, that it says nothing in favor of the entire youth of this country. Let it so. But your masters' interest does not permit that you should expose them to the reproaches, to the shame which in the nineteenth century will disgrace them, if they appear, by the marking of their crouching dogs, to be opposed to education, to be the patrons of an ignorance more gross than that of the ninth century—of an ignorance equal to that of the greater number among you." This hint would have been nothing more than a gentle rebuke, less humiliating than the tortures which they must have endured whilst concurring to some law favorable to the Council, such as that of an annual appropriation of £40,000, as proposed by Sir Francis Burton, despite their previous refusal, or some very palpable concessions within the twenty-four hours, such as the emigrant tax, rejected once as unconstitutional, and adopted on the morrow, at the Minister's beck! How

little of a Canadian heart must the man have, no matter what may be his name, who could be the parasite and the Swiss of the *Chateaux*, commissioned to defend it, right or wrong, before and against all, so long as it should be temporarily occupied by Lord Gosford, in order to excuse his silence in regard to the School Bill; who could have read the apology which he made for the Council on that subject, and not admit, since that time at least, if he did not proclaim it aloud, that every day of that man's continuance in the country is an insult and a cruel scourge, to be delivered from which we cannot importune too loudly. Let others falsely flatter him, as he loves and treacherously drenches them, for the purpose of degrading them; you will never pardon him when you think that there are hundreds of children organized by providence to surpass him in talent and in knowledge, whom his callous indifference, his distraction from business, or his abandonment to pleasure, will have deprived of the benefits of instruction, because he did not know how, or did not wish, to move one step, or say one word, in order that the Council should give your, not his, money for the support of your schools. The Jury Bill; the Municipal Corporations Bill; the Bill to complete the Chambly Canal; in favor of which he would not give himself the trouble of writing a Message of pure form, for fear of allowing to slip out of the public chest some particle of your revenue, which he was determined that the British Parliament should purloin, and a multitude of other good laws, passed under bad Governors, have been rejected under this one, without his making the least effort to preserve them, or expressing the least regret at their loss. As for the humiliations which he devoured, is it necessary to call to mind the taunts and defiance which the "Rifle Corps" cast upon him, the philosophical quietude with which he can daily read and re-read, the names of the three hundred persons who were enrolled in this foolish and guilty association, a list with which they furnished him, to make a laughing-stock of him, inasmuch as he did nothing against any of them, and even against those who, bearing commissions as officers of Peace,

were so well prepared for War—the official mockery with which the Magistracy informed him that it set his proclamation at naught, inasmuch as there was no longer a "Rifle Corps," but a simple and innocent "British Legion"—the little touch of self-esteem which he felt, transiently, when he demanded the names of the magistrates who assisted at this solemn deliberation, followed as it was, a few days afterwards, by his reinstating them, with the most devoted humility, in the commission of the peace, thus proving that for them he would always have a heart overflowing with forgiveness of injuries, and of the innocent blood which they tyrannically had caused to be shed. Is it necessary to call to mind, that after having had the support of a numerous part of the members of the House of Assembly, who believed in the sincerity of his promises of reform; who, in the hope which he created and did not realize of seeing the composition of the two Councils improved, pluralities separated, and delinquent public functionaries punished before the meeting of the Provincial Parliament, were disposed to support him whilst waiting for constitutional reforms which they promised their electors to demand, and which they are not, I hope, (as represented no doubt falsely by Gipps the intriguer) disposed to abandon that last September—he lost that support? Is it necessary to call to mind that he is spurred on, by a man so shortsighted as to have induced him to coynoke the Parliament at that epoch, (whilst, according to his instructions, he was at liberty not to call it if he expected no success from such a proceeding,) with the assurance that the minority had become the majority, and that a great many others were ready to become weather-cocks, like him who could dress himself of the most exalted demagoguism to pass over to the most abject servility, and that there was no doubt but that he would have a session and money? The blind led the blind and both have fallen into the ditch. There was neither session nor money. He has thus exhibited greater lack of influence than any of his predecessors. Is it necessary to call to mind that he has put it out of his own power to effect, with any

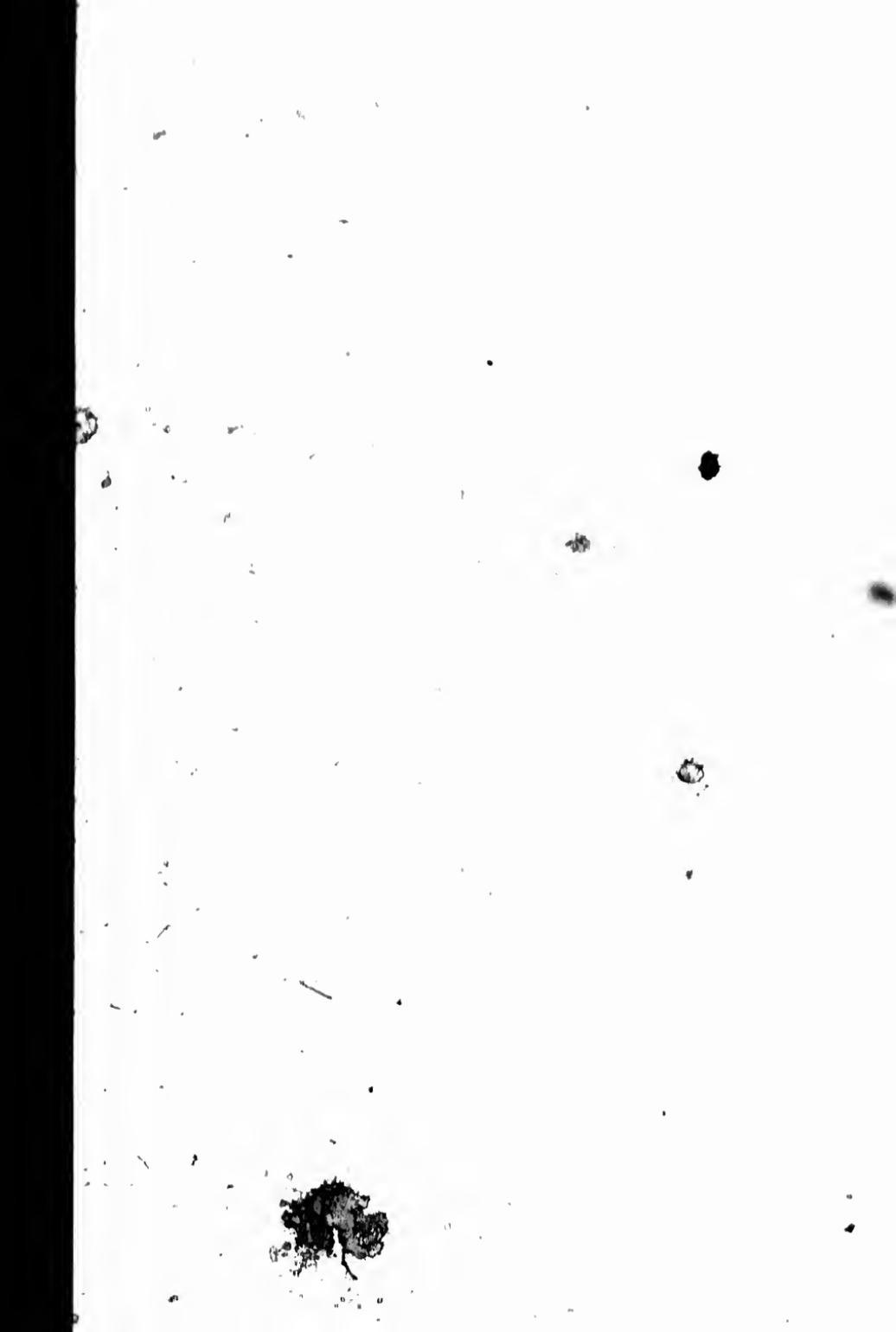
chance of success, any change in the composition of the Legislative Council which could entitle it to the confidence of the people? If he could be dazzled and seduced by nominating ambiguous at least, made before his details of justice and constitutional reform his contempt for constitutional principles in soliciting the interference of the Provincial Parliament, to plunder you of public revenue had become known, would have had some means of entering, of dragging into the House of Inevitable, some influential citizens. But that Lord Gosford's political principles are promulgated, whoever enters there at his nomination, must well understand that he goes there to support his doctrines. Were it not for that publicity, he could have said, like Lord Almer:—if you believe that an Executive Legislative Council be necessary for the return of peace and good government, go there, to add more weight to the demand when it shall be supported in the two Houses; any political arrangement possible is preferable to their continuing disunion. It is clear, if he dared avow that the political arrangement which would be most acceptable to this most liberal politician, would be that which would rid him of the House of Assembly altogether and forever, since he considers it just to strip it of its control of Revenue, without which it is less than nothing, less than he, and would have less influence over him, over his successors over the public servants, than he had in autumn over the deliberations of the Assembly. He knows that all the men of the greatest influence, with a permanent interest in the country, have signed petitions insisting on the dispensable necessity of rendering the Council elective. He cannot select any the majority but one who, for the sake of entering into a body already nullified by discredit and disfavor which it has incurred, would consent to abjure the engagements which he assumed for the country, and with the country. From that moment he would barter all his influence for the livery of the Council. He must then humble himself to make his elections, from the "Constitutional" mix-

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or from any other obscure minority, on whom he will drag out of the political torpor in which, far from public they have always slept, to instal them the Canadian peerage, that counter- of base alloy, of another age, which itself is worth but Let him, depend upon it— administration is at an end. His is gone by; another Governor is necessary, to pass away as fast as he, if he es to prop up the worm-eaten sys- to establish for himself a great and reputation, if he is desirous to re- struct that system anew, in accordance the wishes, the wants & the locality of continental Colonies bordering on the ed States—such as might bear a able comparison with the most per- structure of government that genius virtue have ever erected for the hap- of man in society. The European pial system must be remade and re- or misery, hatred & dissensions, are so the natural and constant result there- at all the Colonies have the most ur- motives to hasten the hour of their ration. Whoever says Colony, says ge and insolence for the governing; adation and penury for the govern- The United States cannot have nies. Their constitution provides rehand that a Territory, so soon as 60,000 souls, can constitute itself a free and independent State. It be- the master and absolute arbiter of own fate. It has not to fear the nom- n of officers set over it for a season, nrich themselves at full gallop, end wards to digest their enormous and quired gains three thousand miles off; licit the general government to inter- give to foreign monopolists the pub- ds, at one-third of the price at which ls them to resident citizens; to de- the local legislature of the right to ate all its local expenses, when and it understands best; to alter and to re- laws and local customs, without com- ending any thing about them, and to duce insecurity into the enjoyment of erty, and uncertainty into the admin- istration of justice. To declare war, to e peace, and to regulate commerce, general government, formed of dele- s from each separate State, decides

sovereignty. Apart from these limited attri- butes it has scarcely greater authority over the weakest of the States of the Union, than it has over the most powerful foreign empire. Whoever should settle in one of these sovereignties, cannot entertain, nay, nor imagine, the pretension insulting to the people of which he is about to form a part, that, because he comes from another coun- try, a difference of origin should entitle him to special privileges; that for his pro- tection it is necessary to change the in- stitutions which the immense majority of the native population desire, and a thou- and other extravagancies which Europe- ans spout in all the Colonies. This gov- ernment is so well regulated, that the thirteen provinces, all daunted and incess- antly quarrelling whilst they were Eng- lish, have extended over a territory four times as large as that which they then oc- cupied; have quintupled their population; doubled the number of the states, and formed twenty-six independant sovereig- nities, grouped around the general govern- ment, and which govern themselves with infinitely greater ease, harmony, concert, strength and prosperity, than they ever knew, or could have ever reached, had they remained in colonial ser- vitude and bondage. This Govern- ment is so well regulated, by the known and defined boundaries of the distinct and separate attributes of all the authori- ties, that an equal number of additional new states, an entire continent, could unite and confederate with it, without the least derangement of the uniform move- ments and continued progression of the entire whole. Successive secessions of one State, then of another, cannot cause an unnecessary addition, nor introduce a misplaced piece to injure those which move in a regular orbit, from which no- thing can force them to depart. The place of whoever will desire to enter into the Union is marked out beforehand; it is that of equality and fraternity with the freest institutions in the world (cheers). That union is seductive; cure at the present moment is humiliating. Should we, therefore, forthwith repudiate the one, and espouse the other? Softly! If this were the only arrangement that could re- establish peace in the country, yes, we should have recourse to it. If it be



clear, and well established, that Lord John Russell's determination is a fixed and settled plan, which he will carry out hereafter, unless we submit to all his demands; that the colonies are preserved, not for the reciprocal interests of the people, but for the sake of ministerial patronage and corruption, the history of the old plantations will re-commence with the same inevitable result. The Whig Ministers of William the Fourth do not desire this result, but they do not prepare it less than the Tory Ministers of George the Third, if they wish to give the tyrannical pretensions which the immortal authors of the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDANCE have sufficiently refuted, and which the sword of WASHINGTON appeared to have killed and destroyed, accompanied by circumstances sufficiently humiliating to the aristocratic pride of the British Parliament, to allow colonists to hope that an attempt would never have been made to revive them. It said that it would never tax the colonies for the purpose of creating a revenue; that it would never undertake to appropriate their revenue. Lord Gosford and Lord Russell have invited it to lie; to falsify its promises; and they have found men disposed to lie, and to forfeit their honor. It is true that they assured them that the same determination, if it was backed by a large majority, would seem to us to be wise; that if it were carried only by a small majority, it would appear to us foolish. It is always easy for a noble ministry, styled Whig, to have a point of reconciliation with a noble opposition called Tory. Amongst them it is but a question of a little more, or a little less, knavery, in the choice of means the most fit to restrict within the most narrow limits the pretensions of the people to share the exercise of power. The people of the Canadas, they will have said, go beyond the limits within which you and we would desire to restrain them. Allow us to commit one injustice against them; we will allow you to commit another against some other colony. This always strengthens the good principles of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, in favor of the friends which you and we alternately send thither to plunder them. Besides, there is no risk.

Our Commissioners tell us that we dare every thing against those strangers whom we have never well governed, consequently can never think well of, but who, in spite of all that, hate Americans much more than they hate and, in consequence of that antipathy will suffer every thing from us. I have no doubt of it. People in England have themselves by the foolish supposition we entertain the most violent prejudice against our nearest neighbours, and error is the principal cause of the error with which they embolden themselves to ill-treat us more and more violently. The American Government is the least expensive that it is possible to conceive and the best adapted of all to excite emulation of the most advantageous nature to the State. All the situations being elective, they are filled alone by the aristocracy of nature; that which Providence wishes to society for its happiness; aristocracy of virtue and of talent. Europe, and here, on the contrary, are filled by the unnatural aristocracy of birth, of wealth, of intriguing bases which hell or folly have imposed on society for its opprobrium or misfortune. The British Government, having refused us all the reforms which we solicited, it possess the same title to that support which we lavished on it when the country was invaded by our neighbours, as if it granted them? We were then told that our own peculiar laws were placed under the safeguard of British honor and power, and that all the attributes and privileges of a subject born in the Metropolitan State were ours as a common inheritance. To-day our laws are as if we are strangers in the land of our birth and those who come from beyond the sea, lay claim to political arrangements to protect them against wicked tyrants. All the art of the Commissioners had but one object—that of persuading that separation of races, by mentioning it with affectation on twenty occasions, when there was no occasion to do so; in making perceptible their predilections in favor of their European fellow-subjects, and their narrow antipathy against their Canadian fellow-subjects. Nothing in the conduct of the House of Assembly justified the assu-

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apprehension that it might be led to abuse
 power for the purpose of harassing the
 colony. This malignant and false im-
 pression, to which they have given so
 much weight sufficiently refutes itself,
 the simple fact that the Assembly
 which naturalized all the foreigners
 might come and settle in Canada,
 by this act of liberality, that it is
 capable of adopting the contradictory
 of throwing obstacles in the way of
 natural and rightful settlement of fel-
 low-subjects. Whoever comes to partici-
 pate our lot, and as our equal, is a
 friend, who will be welcomed, no matter
 the place of his birth may have
 been. Whoever comes arrogantly to decide
 what thinks fit, of our lot, and of our in-
 terests, and with blazoned pretensions of
 superiority, is an enemy, who will be un-
 welcome, no matter where he has been
 born. All this system of calumny against
 us is invented only for the sake of
 officials, and to prop up the vicious
 system which makes them so rich, the
 prince so poor; which is so favorable
 to their irresponsibility, and so injurious
 to free and certain action of the laws.
 Especially, when the Minister is seen attack-
 ing rudely, through favor, for them, the
 certain principles of public law; and
 in paying them he liberates them
 from all check, from all control on the
 part of the Representatives of the people,
 not a number of undeceived partizans
 upon a government which organizes
 anarchy and despotism? Resolutions ad-
 opted by so large a majority of the House
 of Commons subservient to the will of the
 Minister, are sufficient to induce me to
 think that that Government will never be
 favourable towards Canada unless the Radicals
 get into power; that henceforth Canada
 must not to degrade herself by demanding
 justice from it, but that she should prepare
 to secure justice for herself. But, some will
 say that the most odious of these Resolutions
 at which goes to deprive you of your
 rights is not yet passed—should we
 wait? Whether they do pass, or
 do not pass our course is the same. Both
 Resolutions, that of the cruel step-mo-

The time servers are now deprived of this
 resource. All the Resolutions—the most odi-
 cious—inclusive—are passed.—Eo.

ther, and that of the Colony, have proposed
 it—have demanded it, you will never re-
 pose confidence in them. The measure of
 their wrong is complete. It is consummated
 as far as it depended on them. They
 may be stopped. I, however, do not ex-
 pect they will. They have gone too far
 to draw back with a good grace. They
 will not draw back of their own accord.
 The English people watches and threaten-
 s them. Their generous sympathies
 burst forth in our favour. In the House
 of Commons, the elite of the most distin-
 guished talents in England have come
 forward with a hundred, nay a thousand
 times more eloquence than I possess, to
 hurl the bitterest indignation against the
 atrocious persecution which ministers pre-
 pared for you; to denounce in terms
 the most fitting to disgrace them in the eyes of
 all Europe, the inconsistent contradiction
 of their policy, which at the end of, and
 after ages of oppression against unfortun-
 ate Ireland, becomes liberal because Ire-
 land makes herself dreaded; which is so
 lowly and cringing towards Russia, which
 makes itself so dreaded, and which is so
 unjust, arrogant and scornful in regard to
 Canada, whom they do not fear. They
 feel the indignity with which we are ill-
 treated, as sensibly as we can do, and ad-
 vise us, with more boldness than I do, im-
 mediately to have recourse to resistance.
 They reproach us, if we have not recourse
 to it. A member of Parliament, a gentle-
 man of the greatest wealth, of the finest
 talents, of the soundest principles, of the
 most honourable devotion to the cause of
 the People, to the love of justice and to
 the liberty of Canada, exclaimed, in pre-
 sence of ministers:—"Yes, if you pre-
 tend to consummate your work of iniqui-
 ty, the Canadians are morally bound to
 resist you. Yes, if the blood flowed in
 their veins similar to that which produc-
 ed WASHINGTON, FRANKLIN and JER-
 FERSON, they would drive you from
 their Country, as you have been justly
 driven from the old Colonies." Meet-
 ings have been held in London, at which
 the People echoed these noble sentiments;
 these energetic invectives against the
 guilty ministers; this benevolent sym-
 pathy for your sufferings; these encouraging
 hints that it is our duty and our interest
 to repel violence by violence. It is, I

must say, neither fear nor scruple that induces me to tell you, that the hour is not yet come, when we ought to respond to this appeal. No! it is not fear. If it was necessary, the strength of the country, distant as she is from England, and bordering as she does, on the United States, could accomplish that object. Neither is it scruple. Whoever is familiar with the history of the just and glorious revolution of the UNITED STATES, sees such an unanimous agreement among the most enlightened and virtuous men of all countries in the world, who applaud the heroic and moral resistance which the Americans opposed to the usurpation of the British Parliament, which wished to rob them, and to appropriate their revenue, as it pretends today to do with us and ours, that if would in a manner be associating ourselves with the greatest and purest reputations of modern times, to march successfully in the line traced by the Patriots of '74. The situation of the two Countries is different; and our friends in England do not understand it when they believe us blameworthy, and an inferior race, if we do not at once resist. I know a little my country, in consequence of having studied her history, and from having been cast by circumstances for thirty years in all the most active engagements of public life, determined to perform my duty inflexibly whilst engaged therein, unconcerned, on my own account, whether I continue in it, or rather desirous to quit it, if the triumph of the people's rights afforded me a favorable opportunity. During that long space of time I have seen your Representatives assailed unceasingly, and without relaxation, in turn, by violence, calumnies, caresses or artifices of the Executive, and of a venal press, which it corrupted directly sometimes, always by preferences in printing, and often by bribes of those on whom it bestowed or to whom it promised honors or profit; yet I have always seen those Representatives come victorious out of each struggle; by each general election more and more purified and devoted to the popular interests. Public opinion is formed. The more you have seen them ill-treated, the more you have shewn your affection and zeal to take them under your protection. Whoever has detached himself from the majority of the Assembly,

has ended by espousing the passions & interests of officials whose corruption had established, whose punishment he urged. He has lost your confidence. The wave of Democracy has flown irresistible over a declivity, which becoming more and more rapid, will without violent effort overthrow the feeble barriers which you are raising to oppose it. Under the circumstances, ought we crush, or is it better to worry, a bad government, by constitutional resistance which it can which it should be made to experience in parliament? Certain of the success of future elections during many years to come, is it necessary violently to destroy the tree, with sticks and stones, on the first day in autumn, when every thing betokens the fall of the fruit on the second day? Those who commit robbery, which would justify, at the outset, extreme measures, have lost all moral influence in Canada. You have seen with what facility your Representatives have erased Stanley's insolent menaces. It is true that he recollects the circumstance that he vents his rage and projects vengeance. But his rage and his projects are powerless when he is not in office from which his treachery to all parties has probably for a long time excluded him. Nevertheless, he, or those in whom he can instil his prejudices and madness, will double their efforts against us, we should prepare ourselves to be ready to meet them wherever they wish to go. If they advance one step in the road of illegality and injustice, let us move forward one step equal and more rapid in that of resistance: They have advanced one step in their proceedings, we shall take two in ours. These will suffice for the moment. They will facilitate our efforts, by and by, if they should become necessary. (*Cheers.*) The sinners must be punished through that in which he sins. The government of English aristocrats hates you for ever. They must be paid in return. They hate you because they love despotism, and you love liberty because you ceased to send them loyal addresses, which you have replaced by remonstrances and protests against the misconduct of their servants in the midst of you. But all that which excites the persecutions of the government against us,

the enthusiastically expressed sym-
 ies of the English people in our favor.
 were weak because there were in the
 of us a numerous portion of our fel-
 citizens that erroneously believed that
 imperial government was more ene-
 ened, was less malevolent towards
 as more inclined to justice than the
 nment of the Colony, Soon they
 undeceived. The one and the other
 or every other consideration subordi-
 to that of anxiety for these officials.
 at you were waiting for reform, the
 nt administration called to the ma-
 ey men who insulted it; who dicta-
 to it; who frightened it by the support
 they afforded their "Riflemen"
 had they done any harm one day in
 would have been chastised on the
 day by the people of the Country.
 administration called also to that
 sion of the peacemen whose hands
 d with innocent blood, have not been
 shed by an acquittal from a petit
 nd who have seen all the civil and
 ary authorities combined to withdraw
 from the serious trial which they
 have undergone. It sent back to
 the Bench, a Judge whom drunk-
 e tumbled from it. It withdraws
 riminal prosecutions, which they
 have undergone, prevaricating pub-
 cationaries, whom it convicts of em-
 nent; whom it seems to have dis-
 with regret by suspending in their
 the due course of the law. How
 t dare indeed to punish severely a
 which itself committed under another
 As regards this Country it is the con-
 on of those administrations against
 you have unanimously complained:
 ministers its pernicious counsels
 been moae disastrous. It cannot
 demand your confidence, and your
 until it will have succeeded in
 ing from you an expression of re-
 ce for the protests which you have
 for ten years past, and for the libe-
 tions which you have made; un-
 will have admitted that you are
 d to erase your signatures, and to
 your Representatives who have
 faithful to the trust which you
 d in them. I believe I may
 e administration, in the name of
 nths of the electors, "let it come if

it dare," and make such extravagant pro-
 posals. (*Loud cheers.*) You know the evil
 which is intended, and its guilty authors.
 Let us bethink ourselves of the means of
 remedying that evil, and punishing its au-
 thors. Your oppressors insolently re-
 fuse you the reforms to which you
 are entitled. Let us combine more
 and more closely to harrass and
 counteract them in all their projects.
 They have assumed the mission of
 distressing the majority under the ly-
 ing pretence of protecting the minority.
 Let them continue the unconstitutional
 system of a minority government. Those
 of their toad-eaters who are not yet pur-
 chased, are on the eve of seeing, that
 there is no other motive for persisting in
 this absurdity than the filthy considera-
 tion of pecuniary emolument, and that
 they are incapable of any more elevated
 feeling. Gold is the God which they a-
 dore. Let us kill their God. We shall
 thereby convert them to a better religion.
 The reforms which we demand would
 diminish the expenses of government by
twenty thousand pounds a-year. This
 is the real objection which Ministers
 have against consenting to our demands.
 If they deprive their friends here of this
 revenue, fifty various colonies and pos-
 sessions will demand like reforms. Each
 of them separately would not cause a
 great diminution in the means of minist-
 erial influence—that is, corruption. But
 the reforms extended to all, would restore
 to the people millions of which the aris-
 tocracy rob them. Since they will
 not consent to a voluntary restitution,
 let them make a forced one. It is gree-
 diness that renders them insolent and
 guilty. Poverty will make them civil.
 We can very soon deprive them of more
 than twenty thousand pounds which they
 receive in excess, and when Ministers
 will perceive that we have taken back the
 substance, they will very soon cease to
 persecute us for the shadow. We must
 do good to ourselves, and to our friends,
 and inflict injury on our enemies. I
 should be far from invoking this maxim
 in private life. There we must pardon
 our enemies, and return good for evil.
 But a people must repel persecution; at
 all cost, at all hazard, and make it fatal
 to those who have recourse to it. (*Loud*

cheering). Two-thirds of the revenue of which we are about to be robbed, is composed of taxes which we pay each time we drink a glass of wine, or spirituous liquors, or a cup of tea with sugar. Our consumption of articles which are totally unnecessary, is greater than that of the iron which we use in building, or in clearing and cultivating our lands, or of the leather and cloth which we wear on our persons. One year with another, we have not exported sufficient wheat to pay for the wine and spirituous liquor which have been imported. This error is sufficient to impoverish us, and enrich our enemies. To reform effectually this frightful disorder, we need not the assistance of gentlemen. They are too often sensualists; more attached to their wine, and their luxuries, than to the interests of their country. In all countries it is the mass of the people, it is the middling and poorer classes, that furnish the revenue. It is the upper classes that devour it. It is by no means the twenty or thirty dollars paid by a small number of families rich either from industry, credit, or speculations, that swell the revenue. It is the one, two, or three dollars, which a hundred thousand heads of families voluntarily paid, when their Representatives could regulate the employment thereof in supporting Schools, improving the Country, and which they will soon cease to pay, when they are insulted and robbed.— From the pretension of the British Parliament to plunder you of £140,000 without your consent, will soon flow that of despoiling you of whatever the rapacity of governors may urge them to demand. If you admit that this interference can be tolerated, in the robbery of the smallest portion of your property, you admit that you will suffer it and the robbery of whatever portion soever thereof a Parliament, which has sworn on its faith and honor not to do any such thing, may determine to wrest from you. And since it is disposed to commit perjury at the beck of the ministry, what hope remains to us, that it will stop short at any excess to which the same authority may drive it? It gave you the Declaratory Act of 1778, by which it pledged itself not to appropriate your revenue. Through respect for

this principle, it gave you, some six years ago, the first of William the Fourth. Lord Gosford and Russell wish that should degrade, by contradicting, and by repealing these acts, *de facto*, according to the wish of Lord Russell, expressly by a law according to the ultra and tyrannical desire of Lord Gosford. They forget the deep disgrace which was imprinted on the forehead of George the Third's ministers when the Declaratory Act of 1778 was passed. The finest and strongest army that Europe yet sent to America, had just grounded its arms before simple American Militiamen unorganized and undisciplined: before good farmers, such as we still have, who know how to love their Country and shoot pigeons; who were strong only in the justice of their cause, but who were unacquainted with the first elements of military tactics. This formidable British army was commanded by General Burgoyne, a member of the House of Commons, who after having aided matters, by his vote and speeches, to prepare oppression for the Americans, lent his arm and his sword to complete it, and said, to crush them without any difficulty. Nothing was more insolent or more vulgar than the proclamation which he promulgated on his entry into the new territory, by which he allowed only a delay to its inhabitants to come in and lay down their arms before him, and to solicit pardon for their rebellion, or fall under the irresistible force which he demanded, or under the tomahawk and tomahawk of his Indian allies, who, he added, were too numerous for him to restrain their fury. After all this gasconading; after he had lost the half of his army, he himself surrendered his arms before the time expired which he had allowed for resistance, to those whom he menaced with such brutal ferocity. That was a day of rejoicing to the people; a day of triumph for their tyrants, who in their constitution passed the Act of 1778. Those tyrants now demand the violation of that Act, to double the humiliation of England by trying her on to acknowledge that it is not justice, but compulsion, that compels her to proclaim that charter of Colonial rights which she is now about to violate. (Loud cheers.) Is it then so paltry

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useless luxuries?—to refrain from
king liquors poisoned with a tax hence-
odious, since its effect is to render
contemptible if we pay it? What is
advice given to us by our friends who
so honorably defended us in Parlia-
? They have told ministers:—the
dians will find the means of punish-
ou. They will combine to diminish
trade and revenue. They will learn
low the example, as wise as honora-
furnished them by the Americans.
e denunciations are an advice found-
the knowledge they have of the ef-
which can be produced on all that
unds them. This was the proceeding
ed by the Americans ten years be-
ighting. They began well and they
ed well, under circumstances similar
se in which we are placed. We are
eginning. Well, we know not where
nd will stop. We therefore cannot
here Canada will pause. (*Increas-*
ing.) Combinations against the
of the metropolis; encour-
ent of the establishment of domestic
factures; praise-worthy habits of la-
nd of avoiding luxury commenced in
Thenceforward began the increase
public wealth; the means of em-
g, ten years afterwards, all that had
aved, all that had not been lavish-
wines and silks, which were unne-
y, in purchasing powder and can-
which they required. We may
that the metropolis, instructed
s example, will not reduce us to the
extremities. This is but a hope-
certainty. Without going so far,
example of industry and of econo-
useful to us in times of peace—it
ispensable to us in times of trouble.
ever may be the uncertain futurity
s reserved for us, the time is come
their first good examples of non-
mption are worthy of our imitation.
quires a degree of dogmatism and
try more than cynical, to perceive
ng but ridicule in the means of le-
ate defence which were so powerful
es past, and which enlightened co-
aries devoted to our cause, recom-
ns to adopt, which pushed forward
istry, urged by its covetousness of
people's property, & next cause them

to be dragged back by the indignation of
the English people who would not tolerate
the least loss of its gains, either through
respect of ministerial pride, or to add to
the too great influence and oppressive
power of the aristocracy, and which em-
boldened the colonists in that salutary re-
sistance they were far from fore-
seeing or desiring when they commenced
their organization of committees of cor-
respondence and non-consumption. There
are men who believe that protests and
non-consumption are insufficient, and that
circumstances demand more rigorous
measures. These are at least good
Englishmen; good Canadians; perhaps
better than we who are not ready as yet
to follow them. But those who endeav-
our to cast ridicule on the proposed mea-
sures as being too violent; who reject
them without proposing better, I cannot
help suspecting of having, either
through levity, ignorance, a mania of con-
tradiction, or through venality, doffed the
Canadian *capot gris*, (grey coat) to as-
sume the goldlaced livery of the Castle of
St. Lewis. Gentlemen, I see before me
citizens from every parish in the County.
I recognize there the solid, durable and
deserved influence, which has carried
every election. Weigh the reasons which
I give you; weigh those which other tried
friends will give you in support of the reso-
lutions which are about to be read to you,
and on which my conversation with you
is but a commentary. If you find them
good, if you adopt them, I know that
they will become, by your recommen-
dation, by your example, and by your ex-
planations, the rule of conduct for your
fellow-citizens. With the degree of action
which each day will supply for the state
of our affairs; with the means of increas-
ing that degree of action, according to the
new appearance they may assume; with
the inflexible and persevering resolution
to finish by obtaining justice, that is suf-
ficient for the object which we ought to
have in view—the obtaining of justice.
I believe that we should pledge ourselves
to discontinue the use of Wine, Brandy,
Rum, and other imported and duty-pay-
ing spirits. It will be found advantageous,
in a public and private point of view, to
abstain from these articles. At least let
those who think that they derive a bene-

fit from the use of spirits—let those who will use them, use those only which are manufactured in the country, rather than those which are introduced from abroad. You, farmers, in particular, would thereby promote your own interests. It is remarked, both by strangers and by the best farmers among you, that too large a portion of land is sown with wheat. That is owing to the circumstance that until late years, the smaller grains did not bring a price sufficiently high to defray the cost of raising them. Breweries and distilleries will give them that higher value. It would be much better to give them to cattle; but at least by selling them at a higher price, nearer the residence of each farmer within the County, the general advantage will be promoted. When the inferior description of grain bore no value, wheat was sown in land which was not naturally fit to produce it in large quantity, or was in bad order, because the season was too short to prepare it properly. There was a bad crop of wheat, where an excellent crop of rye, or of oats, could have been raised. Wheat being sown every where, the loss to the country, in a bad year, was immense. Rotation of crops is the best improvement to the land; affords a longer season for work, and supplies each spot of ground with the seed which agrees best with it. If one fail, another succeeds; and so much distress can never be experienced as if the whole failed at once. Let those who are desirous of bringing about this happy result, and make use of stimulating liquors, at least drink the whiskey distilled from their own grain in their own neighbourhood, in preference to those which come from abroad, which are often poisoned by injurious drugs that kill the body, and are now poisoned by a tax destructive to our liberties and disreputable to our honor. They diminish a revenue sullied by usurpation. They will be promoting their own interests—injuring the enemies of their country, and those who consent to receive the illegitimate price of their own slavery. (*Loud Cheers*). Some will exclaim:—but this is destroying trade. I answer, in the first place, that if commerce was inseparable from the triumph of our oppressors, inseparable from our degradation,

we should destroy commerce. But it is not the case. Our efforts can give it another and a better direction. They neither to destroy nor to diminish it. We will be spared on one useless or dangerous article, will be employed in a better purchase. That is all the difference. The trader will very soon accommodate himself to the taste of the customer. He will purchase those articles which you do not require; he will buy only those which you look for. Few are so foolish as hoard dollars for the stupid pleasure of looking at them and counting them. Let for the pleasure of wisely or foolishly spending them, profitably or unprofitably, Form parish associations. Make them as numerous as you can. Tell the storekeepers that you will give the preference to articles of Canadian or American manufacture. They will become the depots of our manufactures, and those of our neighbours, instead of those from beyond the seas. There will be some difference in the price and quality, and according to the taste and resources of the stores of merchants will be visited and their trouble and measuring will be repaid, and they will second you. Tell the tavern-keepers that in a short time (in order to allow them to dispose of the stock on hand of taxed liquors,) you will not go near them unless they sell in preference the Whiskey of the country. They will help you. Your support given to your house is all that suffices to make the others very soon do the same. As for sugar, Providence has declared itself in favor of this oppressed country, and has given us a large crop of that article, which will assist many poor people, and injure the revenue of the rich evil-doer, who wishes to live on stolen money. It is through vain boasting that I say it; the termination is too natural to have merit. I at once renounced the use of refined sugar, which was taxed, and purchased maple sugar for the use of my family. I have procured smuggled Tea, and I am acquainted with many persons who have done as much. I have written to the country ordering home-made linens and woollens, and I hope to have them soon enough to enable me to dispense with buying imported articles. I have been putting wine on my table, and have

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my friends:—If you can satis-
 yourself with pot luck, with water,
 Canadian cider or beer—accompanied by
 conversation full of indignation, if per-
 chance politics, either Whig or Tory,
 come in question; full of gaiety if the
 subject be light; the greatest variety we
 can find on times present or past, or what-
 ever comes into our heads; then come
 and dine with me—but no wine! (*A
 laugh, and a cry of "That's right."*)
 At first this departure from received us-
 ages was somewhat embarrassing, but I
 have already learned in eight days that
 we get accustomed to nothing easier than
 to stick to our resolution when we are
 convinced that we are acting well.
Cheers). To increase our flocks, that
 we may have more wool; our cattle to
 graze them; to manure the land; to tan
 more leather, and to have more mechan-
 ics to work up a greater quantity of pro-
 duce; to sow more flax, for the purpose
 of having more linen, and of usefully oc-
 cupying, during the long winter, our in-
 dustrious and handsome countrywomen,
 whilst they gaily sing at their loom, and
 are helping us to free the country from
 arbitrary taxation; all that can be very
 soon obtained in this country if those
 who are present will it. (*Cries of "aye,
 ay."*) In other countries, other men as
 good as we, but no better, will do as
 much. Let us not mind timid men,
 whom every novelty frightens; egotists,
 whom the lightest sacrifice appears im-
 practicable; frivolous men, who live but
 for their pleasures; or men sold to pow-
 er, who never distinguish between legiti-
 mate and illegitimate exercise of authori-
 ty: who are thankful when it gives
 them a kick behind, because it did not
 give it to them in front. We are not
 made to proceed with any of these men,
 or like them. Let us begin our Associa-
 tion. It will be stronger the second
 year than the first month, and more so every
 year. We are taken somewhat by sur-
 prise. We are not so well prepared to
 meet the revenue as the parties inter-
 ested are ready to plunder it. Honest
 men never suspect all that wicked men
 can do. The moment the Commission
 is reported because public, it must have
 been known that Ministers, after having
 made so inconsiderate a step, as that of

naming a Commission, the appointment
 of which was an insult to the Representa-
 tion of the country, would be bound to
 follow their most senseless recommenda-
 tions in order not to expose themselves to
 the sarcasms which their fantastical
 choice was adapted to provoke, if in con-
 sequence of the incoherence of the Com-
 missioners' ideas, and the ill-disguised
 disagreement which existed between
 them, the Minister should permit himself
 to drop a word of censure on them. All
 the refusals of reform recommended by
 the trio do not, therefore, surprise me.
 The spoliation of the public revenue, re-
 commended by men, two of whom are ig-
 norant, and the third, although instructed,
 appeared to all those who knew him as
 having the head a little cracked, is some-
 what unexpected. The consequence is,
 that at first there are many articles
 of necessity which cannot be procur-
 ed by smuggling, and which it will
 be necessary to procure by regu-
 lar importation. But smugglers
 will come to us in a few weeks. We will
 be under no necessity of going to them.
 American cotton, and leather, raw and
 manufactured; tea, coffee, tobacco, and a
 thousand different articles, French books,
 and German linens, will be found, if we
 will prefer them, on the counters of mer-
 chants, without having paid any custom-
 house duties. The smuggler knows more
 about it than we. Whilst he is occupying
 the attention of the custom-house officer in
 examining a bale of trifling value, in or-
 der to pay the duties, he will always find
 means to run several others behind his
 back without paying duty. The non-con-
 sumption of taxed products cannot be sud-
 den nor general, but if it becomes system-
 atic, and determined on, as our rights, our
 honor, and our interest demand, it will ex-
 tend gradually more and more, with suf-
 ficient rapidity to punish and humiliate
 our persecutors. You have for a great
 many years signed petitions to the King,
 to the Lords and to the Commons, in which,
 enumerating your past services for the de-
 fence of the province in time of war, you
 demanded security for your lives and your
 rights in time of peace. You have no
 more security for any thing whatsoever,
 the moment the custom-house opens, and
 is trading on your laws which you rebel, and

only in cases which quibblers may represent as unforeseen, such as the Tenures Act, but also in foreseen cases, in which it promised not to legislate. So long as these flagrant encroachments continue, no person, I hope, will ask you to sign petitions to authorities which not only have not listened to you, but which are about doubling their injustices. When they shall have spontaneously made some act of reparation, it will be time to enquire if we ought to give them a mark of confidence and respect, by asking any thing from them. Until then, there would be shame and degradation in presenting a petition to them. But there is another authority from which we can, with some just hope of success, make honest demands, without the fear of seeing them scornfully rejected. That is the Congress of the UNITED STATES. All the grain which is exported to that country is taxed on its entry there. This measure was not adopted against us in particular. It was adopted against all nations indiscriminately with a view of raising a very great revenue to pay the public debt which they had contracted, to resist twice the attacks of England. That public debt is paid, and the United States' government is almost the only independent government which enjoys the incalculable advantage of having no public debt. Last winter, our brother Reformers of Upper Canada prepared a petition to Congress, to demand that timber, grain, and other Canadian produce, might be carried thither duty free, to obtain a drawback of the duties which foreign merchandize paid at their ports when they will have been transferred to these provinces. Congress alone can accomplish the first of these measures. The second will require negotiations, which will have greater weight coming from a Republic which is feared, than from feeble Colonies which are trifled with. That petition has been presented and received. Unfortunately, there were but two or three days of the Session to run; it was too late to have any possible decision. Nevertheless, when some persons of influence have stated that they and other members of the American government, were well disposed to give such measures, 30 ft. cost 18 or 20 pence at present to send a bushel

of wheat to England. The merchant who purchases it, is therefore obliged to pay him who grows it 18 or 20 pence less, because the consumers are at such a distance from us. The towns and manufacturing factories in the United States have so rapidly increased of late years, that the land in their neighbourhood can no longer supply them. There are therefore mouths there, as well as in Europe, to eat our grain. What will it cost us to carry it to them? No more than three or four pence the bushel. If then there were no duty of fifteen pence per bushel at the American frontier, we should carry our wheat thither with our horses and batteaux, if we wished. Who would save these fifteen pence and those three or four pence of transport? The farmer who would wish to do it; the farmer who has all the trouble of growing the wheat. Who gains then now? The English merchant who carries it in his ship. It is the same thing with other grain, timber and other produce. With the exception of owners of European ships, we have all the greatest interest in having a neighbouring rather than a distant market, in which we might see the fruits of our labour. This good petition to Congress will be offered in a few days for your signatures, and for those of the other Counties in the Province. It is for so useful an object, that I will with pleasure be among the first to sign it—proud and as glad to address it to an authority from which I expect justice and kindness, as I would be ashamed to address it to those from whom I expect nothing but the same feeling. (*Loud Cheers.*) But obtain signatures to this petition; to form associations for the encouragement among us of new manufactures, which will enable the lakewarm to second us in our efforts to diminish the consumption of taxed articles; to collect intelligence, proper to give us information as to the choice of articles of which it would be useful to restrict the manufacture or the smuggling; to correspond with all the Counties, the neighbouring Provinces, England or elsewhere, every quarter where we shall meet by the path; with our brother Reformers and Radicals who do their just and liberal service; and who believe that the true interests are and the best way of all to prevent these encroachments to

(*Cheers.*) Will the Representatives of the Country ever be degraded to that humiliating degree as to vote money when they can no longer do so freely? when the official declaration of the Governor will be the set phrase: "Gentlemen, His Majesty expects from your liberality that you will give the ordinary supplies for the support of his excellent government," with a mental reservation, if you do not vote them, that they will be dragged from you. Let him who likes lend himself to this farce, dishonoring to the Comedian who will perform it with an air of sincerity and a tone of gravity, and to the trembling slaves who will witness it with an air of respect. The part is not what becomes the Representation of Canada; it is not what can be feared from it unless it will hereafter degenerate very much; unless it abjure the engagements which it has solemnly entered into since a number of years. Our revenue rifled by the British Parliament, the Representatives who, under the load of that usurpation, would vote a halfpenny to the Governor who invoked it, would become his accomplices and his instruments, to establish your slavery. It would be much better not to have any representation, than to have one which would deliberate on objects of legislation with the feeling that it was not free to say yes, or no, on any of the propositions which might be made in favor of interests adverse to those of its constituents. (*Loud Cheers.*) Those who have caused the misfortune of the country; who have exercised power so abusively as to have carried conviction to all minds that the removal of a few guilty men would be only a partial respite to the sufferings of society; that nothing but a change of system which would create a responsibility, without which successors in office would be perverted and soon become as criminal as those whom they replace—have had the insolence some times to say to Reformers:—"why do you not go elsewhere and enjoy institutions you find so good?" It is because we find them so good that we are determined to remain in the country to promote them for it. It is because the old English Colonies have enjoyed the rights to elect their Governors, their Legislative and Executive Councils, their Judges, their Magistrates, their Officers in civil and military, that the people are entitled to the same

extent of privileges when they shall desire it. It is because (even at the moment that the British ministry was lending us to violence which for ever destroys every feeling of esteem and confidence for me of its caste en masse,) one of the cabinet admitted that they should not persist obstinately in governing the country against the will of the majority, and that if it does persist in its course, it will be the duty of parliament to finish by yielding, that I entertain the hope, though feeble, that we possess the means of obtaining more than we have yet demanded and successively all that we shall ask. As long as that shall be the expectation of the great body of the people, we must restrain ourselves to measures analogous to the we adopt to-day. If ever that expectation be destroyed, circumstances will decide on those to which it will be then necessary to have recourse. But I rely much on you as on myself. The principles which have invariably guided me thirty years have only been strengthened by every new vexation against my country, and you and I shall cease to demand full and entire justice, good weight and measure, according to knowledge and will of the people; and drop by drop, in niggardly petty details which is sufficient for the capacity of good-will which all governors and ministers, from Lord North to the present time, have had for us. In public life, circumstances have placed me in opposition during 30 years, to the greater number of Governors, and in consequence to the numerable and insatiable hordes of interlopers and parasites who derive all their importance and ease from the minister's favors, because they discover no resources in themselves, or do not appreciate the value of the first of blessings, independence of mind and character. Hence spring violent and numerous political enemies. There is nothing to which a public man ought to be so indifferent, while he is sincere—he ought to be proud and rejoiced, rather than sorry, at the circumstance. And as far as I am concerned, I hope, however I should require correct myself in other respects, I shall live as my latest duty, in the possession of that political faith which I have never, in the course of my life, seen any man possess, but which I have never seen any man lose. (*Loud and long continued cheering.*)





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