

**CONSIDERATIONS**  
**ON THE**  
**PAST, PRESENT & FUTURE CONDITION**  
**OF THE**  
**CANADAS.**

**BY HENRY TAYLOR.**

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**No. II.**

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C A N A D A S .

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CHAPTER IV.

*On the expediency of an application being made to the Home Government, or to the Imperial Parliament for the exclusive supply of the British West India Islands and Settlements, (to be granted to Great Britain, and to British North America,) of wheat, flour, bread stuffs &c. and salt provisions, whenever it shall be made evident to the British Government, that the Mother Country and the said North American Colonies are competent to furnish the full quantity of such supplies as are annually wanted for those West India Islands and Settlements.*

THE doctrine of free trade has of late years gained many adherents; and it is probable that some of our readers may startle at the term, "exclusive supply" stated above. We shall therefore offer some observations on the question of free trade, the limits by which it is necessarily bounded, and the peculiar circumstances which should serve to counteract its existence in the subject under our consideration.

tion. It may be true, as the celebrated author of the *Wealth of Nations* asserts, that “no port where free trade exists, can be found, that has not been enriched by it.” It is true that, by allowing foreign goods to come into the markets of a country where the same goods cannot be grown, made and sold, on as cheap terms as these foreign goods, that the consumers in those markets will be benefited by that free importation.

But, as regards the trade of supply to the West India Islands being left free, that trade (being confined to supplying them with provisions, can only serve to benefit them in one way; that is, by affording them a full supply of those provisions, for the consumption of the estates in those Islands. Their demand for those provisions therefore, must be limited, by the quantity required for their annual consumption.

The quantity of flour of all kinds and bread stuffs annually wanted for the West Indies, is said to amount to about twelve hundred thousand bushels of wheat.

Now provided they, the West India Islands, are annually supplied with this quantity, in such manner as suits them, it is of no consequence to them by whom it is supplied. Whether that supply be furnished as it now is, by British and Foreign vessels indiscriminately, or whether in future, it be furnished exclusively by British vessels only. The competition, in their markets would, (in the latter case,) instead of laying between Foreign and

British, then be, between the owners of the British vessels and cargoes, only. And besides the natural wish the planters and merchants in the West Indies must in some degree possess of giving a preference to their fellow subjects, there is one advantage which would accrue to them by being thus supplied exclusively by British and British North American vessels; The Americans in general expect and receive payment for these cargoes in bills or specie, whereas British and Colonial vessels, take payment in produce. And on this account, I have often heard that the West India Traders would much rather buy of British and Colonial vessels.

In reference to the advantage to consumers above agreed to, of free trade in the general, we have now to consider the limits by which this free trade must necessarily be bounded. It has been generally allowed that the vessels of many foreign nations can be sailed cheaper than British vessels can; this is the case I believe with several commercial nations in Europe, and particularly so, with American vessels. If therefore all the restrictions of the navigation act, were done away with, Great Britain would not be enabled to maintain that superiority at sea which her exalted position in the scale of nations and perhaps her very existence as a free nation requires, but if her power to do so be doubtful as respects a free trade with the other nations of Europe and with the States of America, how much less doubtful

would it be, if an entire free trade were to be granted in respect to her colonial system? It has been generally allowed that the Colonies of Great Britain have been the great source of her naval supremacy. In his defence of the navigation acts, "Protection," says Adam Smith "is of more importance to a nation than commerce." What security indeed, or advantage would there be for the latter without the former? It is evident therefore, that the free trade of Great Britain must be bounded by the limits of the security and protection, which her commerce demands and which it alone enables her to afford to her subjects, by the Navy it places at her command, But if this must be the limits of her free trade as respects Foreign Nations, they would appear to be both more just, fair and necessary, as respects her colonial trade. The expences of Colonial defence are in great part, borne by Great Britain and she has given up the power of levying taxes on many of them for the payment thereof. It is certainly, therefore, the least return the Colonies can make to the Parent State for the protection they receive from her, by sea and by land, that their trade should be employed as nurseries to furnish a part of those seamen, who produce that protection. This paramount duty of the Colonies to the parent state is therefore consonant with their highest interests, and when she and her British North American Colonies, can actually prove their capacity to furnish the quantity of

supplies annually required for the West India Islands and settlements there, and that *on terms equally cheap* as they can be supplied by foreign nations, there can be no doubt it is the true interest of the West Indians, to be supplied by British vessels alone.

As therefore, it is not proposed to make the application for the *exclusive* supply until it can be proved, to the satisfaction of the British Government, that the Parent State, and the North American Colonies are entirely competent to furnish the full quantity of supplies annually required, I conceive the question of free trade, as respects the West Indies, will be entirely got over independently of the above argument of raising a nursery of seamen for our navy ; and we have now only, to enquire how, and what species of act of the Imperial Parliament should be passed, that will have the effect of enabling the British North American Provinces to furnish their part of the required supplies in the most speedy manner ; and which act shall, at the same time, offer the least inconvenience to the foreign nations who will thereby be deprived of the privilege hitherto granted them, of furnishing a part of those supplies. With respect to the articles of flour, bread stuffs and biscuit, I believe the two Provinces are even now nearly competent to afford the supply required. During my residence in London, (between the years 1829 and 34 I was informed by an eminent Canada merchant in that city, that nigh one million of

bushels of wheat had been imported from the Canadas in one of those years, and that a loss was suffered on it. Thus in that year, the Canadas felt short only 200,000 bushels of the annual supply required for the West Indies. And nigh 200,000 barrels of flour being equal to 1,00,000 bushels wheat are expected from Upper Canada this year.

During my stay in Toronto an editor of one of the public prints there, who had good means of information of the statistics of the Upper Province, published a statement of the annual produce of its wheat. He estimated the number of farms at 40,000, and allowed them to produce 300 bushels each on an average. This estimate would give twelve millions of bushels, as the annual produce of wheat in Upper Canada. In order however to be within the mark, we shall deduct one third from the above estimate, which will leave eight million bushels, and allowing nearly the same quantity to be used for sowing an acre, as is used in England near half a million bushels would be required for seed, and allowing two barrels flour for each man, woman and child per year, and estimating the population at 400,000 souls would take up 800,000 barrels flour, being equal to four million bushels' wheat which would thus leave three and a half millions of bushels as the surplus produce of wheat, of the whole Province, ready for manufacture, into flour or biscuit for exportation.

It would appear then, that at the present time the surplus produce of Upper Canada alone, is sufficient for the supply of the West Indies with more than the quantity of wheat annually wanted by them, and though Lower Canada has of late years had none to export, it is hoped if the plan to be proposed for introducing the modern agriculture be adopted by Government she will export also.

On the entire quantity of wheat shipt to England from this country, there was, as I have stated above, to have been informed in London, a loss sustained. A great part of this Canadian wheat is, I understand, made into biscuit in that city, and shipt to the West India Plantations, for the supply of the estates there. If the same wheat were manufactured into biscuit in the Canadas under the encouragement of the act of the Imperial Parliament before mentioned, the freight and charges of the wheat from hence to England, would be saved, and the biscuit landed so much cheaper in the West Indies. If this act of the Imperial Parliament were made *prospective*, that is to come into force and effect as soon as it should be made evident to the Government that the Mother Country, and the North American Provinces were competent to supply the West Indies with the full, or nearly the full, quantity of flour, bread stuffs and provisions annually required by them; there can be no doubt that sufficient capital from the old country, if required, would be em-

barked in the erection of sufficient mills, bake-houses, &c. to grind and manufacture the full quantity required of these articles.

Much cattle and pork could also be raised on the offal of those mills and manufactures. The great addition this would give to the trade and business of both Provinces is self evident; further it is to be hoped, that ere many years pass away, a proper canal navigation will be opened from the Lakes of the Upper Province to this city; there is reason to expect that by that time, also either a channel will be cut through the Bay of Verte, thus connecting the Gulf of St. Lawrence with the Bay of Fundy, or that the projected rail-road from Quebec to some part in the Bay of Fundy will be completed. In chapter II treating on the Union of the two Provinces, I have endeavoured to shew the advantages that would result to the Upper Province, by the opening of this canal navigation whereby depots of Upper Canadian produce, might be formed in the Bay of Fundy, from whence they could be reshipped at all seasons of the year to the West Indies or other ports, on account of the owners by their agents there.

There is every probability that a fair remunerating price, would be afforded by this West India Trade to the agriculturists, mill owners, &c. of the two Provinces. The surplus produce of the Upper Province; (and if a proper system of agriculture be established as recommended in

our first chapter) probably the Lower Province also, will be increasing every year. And from the rapid manner in which the countries calculated for the growth of wheat are annually settling in the Western States of the Union, there is every probability that wheat will in a few years be produced there, to a much greater extent than at present, and the price fall accordingly.

It would therefore appear to be natural, fair and wise, that, as soon as it can be proved to the British Government and Parliament, that the Mother Country and these British North American Colonies, can actually furnish the entire amount of the supplies required for our own West India Islands and Settlements, that the prospective act of Parliament above mentioned, should then come into operation granting them the entire, and exclusive supply of those markets. An act of this kind we have said above is *natural*, because, to give a preference to her own subjects of Great Britain and of the British North American Colonies, in her own markets certainly it is so as we shall now endeavour to show.

In private life, a merchant being in want of a certain quantity of goods, meeting with two dealers who offer him that quantity for sale, exactly of the same quality and price, the one dealer being a stranger to him (the merchant) and the other a particular friend he would naturally give his friend the preference. So with equal reason, one would imagine, colonies under the same government

would wish to give the preference to sister colonies, and as this preference is not asked for except in the case of the full supply of goods being shipped to them which they annually require therefore it is *perfectly fair* with regard to those *West India Colonies* that the demand of exclusive supply should be made, on those conditions.

That it is wise on the part of the British Government to promote in this manner, the advancement of her North American Dominions, when she can do so without violating the justice and regard she owes to her West India possessions I trust will presently appear. We hope we have clearly shown, in the foregoing pages of this chapter, that as to the national consideration of an act of Parliament of the kind we have proposed, tending to create a Nursery for British Seamen the wisdom of thus fostering the trade and Navigation of the British North American Colonies is sufficiently apparent. We shall at present therefore confine ourselves to the commercial and other political advantages that would accrue to Great Britain by the advancement of these colonies by this measure.

In what may be fairly called the unbridled licentiousness of some commercial and political theorists of late years, it has been among others suggested, that it would be better for Great Britain to give up and abandon her Canadian Colonies; suggestions of this kind have even found their way into what ought to be the most

solemnly deliberative assemblies in the world the Imperial Legislature of Great Britain,

It would really appear that these theorists, finding their country (Great Britain) in possession of ships colonies and commerce almost to a surfeit; have forgotten or not thought it worth their while to consider by what means or by what gradual steps she became possessed of these acquisitions. Was it not in great measure by her Colonial trade and by her Colonial and Navigation systems; and have we not a right to reason from past experience, that the abandonment of her colonies would produce the opposite effect the downfall of that commercial and political power? Give up the Canadas? do these theorists know what sort of a country they are proposing to give up, will they not be a little surprised when I inform them, that in 80 years from this time the population of the Canadas, will possibly amount to near sixteen millions of souls?

The Island of Great Britain, including England Scotland and Wales, is near 500 miles long by 120 to 300 miles broad their population being at present nearly 16 millions. The two Canadas contain at present about 1000 miles in length by 1 to 200 broad, of lands in a state of settlement, more or less.

In course of time the Canadas will therefore be able to maintain a population equal to that of Great Britain at present. The trade of the Canadas is accordingly increasing, in a rapid manner, and its

population doubling now naturally, in about twenty years its trade will continue to increase. Is this then a country to be lightly given up, with its trade increasing in this ratio ?

It has been said by these theorists that the British Trade to the United States has been greater since the American Independence than it was during the time they were Colonies of Great Britain. That the trade is greater, there is no doubt, but this is to be accounted for by the natural and casual increase of their population; and that they would have equally increased had they remained in the colonial state, is proved by the fact, that the British North American Colonies do actually double in equal, or perhaps a less number of years than the United States.

Again since the independence of that country, a great part of the Union has been, and is, continually endeavouring to compete with Great Britain in her manufactories; and they are encouraged in so doing by their Congress levying as heavy duties therein as they find they can do. And it is probably owing to the encouragement which higher duties would give to smuggling through the British Provinces, that still higher duties are not laid on. Again British Goods sent to the United States, are I believe, mostly carried there in American vessels, whereas the continually increasing trade to the colonies as long as they are so, will be in British.

Therefore while the immensely increasing

trade of the British Colonies will furnish nurseries of our seamen; the trade to the United States is furnishing these nurseries for her own.

Thus we see the cause that is producing the great increase that has taken place in the Canadas for the demand for British Goods. This demand is never to be estimated by that of past years, because the population of the country, doubling naturally in from twenty to twenty five years must produce an annual increase as long as land is sufficiently cheap, and taxation sufficiently moderate to offer no check to that natural increase of population. Having thus, we trust, sufficiently pointed out the folly of these theories of abandoning our Colonies, and hoping confidently that sounder principles of political wisdom will henceforth prevail, and more especially as the natural feelings of the Mother Country to the Colonies is consonant with them, we now proceed to consider some of the commercial and political advantages that would result to Great Britain, by greater attention to the advancement of her North American Colonies, ~~and more particularly.~~ by the adoption of the measure we have proposed for securing to them *the exclusive supply of our own West India Settlements.*

It is certainly singular, that notwithstanding the Canadas are admirably calculated for the growth of all kinds of provisions required for those Settlements, yet the trade to them is carried on in a very limited degree. The ports in the Gulf of

St. Lawrence, no doubt ship a portion of their fish there, but the cargoes of flour and provisions sent from Montreal or Quebec, except the last one or two years, when an unprecedented failure of crops had taken place over all the United States, are generally inconsiderable: one cause of this, may be owing to the navigation of the St. Lawrence being closed so many months in the year but the chief cause, I presume, is owing to the great competition met with from foreign vessels in those Islands. The ships from the United States to these markets are enabled to make up cargoes there of such variety of assortments that although they may suffer a loss on their flour, &c. the other more valuable articles make up the loss.

It therefore happens, that although there is what is called a protecting duty of five shillings per barrel on flour in foreign vessels, yet from the cause just mentioned, that duty affords no protection at all to vessels from British North America.

These I presume to be the chief causes, why the West India trade is not more gone into from these Provinces, and that the surplus wheat or flour of the Canadas is generally shipt home to Great Britain, and I believe frequently sold at a loss.

The first cause the navigation of the St. Lawrence being closed so many months, will I trust be obviated by the opening of the intended channel through the Bay of Verte into the Bay of Fundy which will thus be connected with the

Gulf of St. Lawrence, and by which means a depot for Canadian produce of all kinds may be formed in some port in the Bay of Fundy, from which vessels can proceed at all times of the year to the West Indies or other ports. Should the opening of this channel, however not go on immediately, it is to be hoped that the Rail-road so long talked of, from Quebec to St. Andrews or St. Johns in the Bay of Fundy, will be immediately determined on by Government both on account of forming a rapid means of conveyance of the mails, troops, &c. from the Parent State and also to afford to the products of the Upper Province the advantages of a sea port which is now becoming indispensable to her.

In the confident hope then, that one or other of these valuable objects will be effected, we have to consider the advantages which would accrue to these Provinces and the Parent State, by the enactment of the act of parliament before stated, by which they will be enabled to prepare conjointly with the Parent State, sufficient supplies of flour, biscuit and provisions for *the annual demand* of the West India Settlements.\*

There cannot be a doubt that should such a prospective act of the Imperial Parliament be passed, that sufficient capital would be embarked

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\* The other cause we have mentioned above, namely : The great competition met with from foreign vessels is one that promises to be of increasing consequence, and injury, to the trade of these Provinces, for vessels from the continent of Europe have begun of late years to ship quantities of flour and biscuit, thence to our West India Islands.

in the erection of mills, baking houses, &c. to produce the quantity of flour and biscuit required. When that shall be made evident to the British Government, the exclusive supply would then immediately take place. The freight and charges on the wheat when sent (as now the greatest part is) to Great Britain, would thus be saved ; and it is highly probable a fair remunerating price would by this Colonial West India trade be obtained by our farmers, millers and merchants for a great part of the surplus produce of the Canadas. This good effect would cause a favorable reaction on their agriculture, and I believe there is nothing that would tend more to excite a spirit of industry, at least in the Upper Province and tend more to sooth the party asperities of the times.

The advantages which would accrue to the Parent State by the act of parliament in question, we have before endeavoured to prove ; a valuable nursery for our own seamen, would probably be formed, and she would also have the satisfactoin, by thus contributing to the welfare of the Canadas, of employing a large share of the dormant capital of her merchants and of finding employment for many of her redundant population.

We have now to consider the bearings of the measure we have proposed, namely the enacting of a prospective act of the Imperial Parliament, to enable the British North American Provinces with the aid of the Parent State, to raise sufficient supplies and thereby to obtain the exclusive trade of

supply to our West India Settlements; we have now, I say, to consider the bearing of this measure, as respects the privilege hitherto granted to foreign nations to participate in that trade of supply.

Only two objections, that I am aware of, have been made to our obtaining the exclusive supply of our Islands; the first is, that the interests of the West India planters would oppose the measure: but trusting that the terms on which *alone* we seek to obtain the passing of the act, and the other arguments on the subject we have adduced, will duly satisfy the West India planters, and remove their opposition to the measure, we pass on to the second objection which is, that the Americans would close their ports (in consequence of this act of parliament) to the British North American Provinces, and to vessels from the West Indies.

This measure was indeed adopted by them on a former occasion, when the British West India Islands were closed against their vessels. And on their proposing to negotiate with the British Government on this subject, Mr. Canning, who perhaps was the only Minister of Great Britain who was well versed in the proper mode of negotiating with the American Government, refused to open any negotiation with them at all on the subject, while their ports remained closed against our colonial vessels; he stated, as his reason, that the government and management of those colonies, was to be considered so entirely

free from all foreign control, that he could not negotiate at all respecting them while any thing like a coercive measure on their part existed.

And it is certainly clear, that foreign nations can have no fair and reasonable right whatever to complain of the British Government forgiving their own subjects and colonies the preference in trade, whenever they shall consider it proper and practicable so to do.

If any further arguments were required to justify their conduct on so doing, we might perhaps ask whether the late conduct of the American nation has deserved any privilege or favor at their hands?

A considerable part of a nation, holding nigh a fourth of her own population in abject slavery presumes to tell the Canadian people, that they are under the yoke of a despotic government, Did they not know well that the recent changes in the Government of the Lower Province, are intended to protect every respectable and reasonable man in it, from the very species of Government (the Government of the mob,) which, from all we can learn, prevails almost as much in the United States as it did in France during the revolution of 1789, did they not know this, every respectable man in Canada could tell them so.

There are two species of liberty, the true and the spurious. There is no inhabitant perhaps in the Canadas that does not prize the first, that does not in fact wear it near his "heart's core," but

he equally detests the other, that spurious and false one, and that is precisely what we consider would be the kind of liberty that Americans would confer on us were their institutions received into this country—Oh true and sacred liberty, oh darling attribute of the British Constitution alone.

How is thy virtuous pure and virgin fame,  
Debased by the harlot that assumes thy name.

On this pretence of conferring these blessings upon us, have our bordering neighbours received and cherished the foolish beings who have vainly endeavoured to create disaffection and rebellion in the Canadas.

On these pretences they have all along the lines of these Provinces, subscribed generally for enabling these refugees and *hunters* to invade our country, and if these had been endowed with either courage or capacity they, might have been formidable. These absurd attempts also have been repeated notwithstanding they have had undoubted proofs that their intended blessings were detested by almost the entire population, proving beyond a doubt that the chief motives of those “Sympathizers” were plunder and malice.

This nefarious breach of neutrality is now attempted to be got over by ascribing it to “delusion;” and in reality, it appears from their history that Americans are subject to this disease of the mind. There is an account in a publication which lately fell into my hands of a species of “delusion” which lasted some time in that country. It is

therein stated that many of the children in a certain town there were affected with so singular an excitement that they were considered to have been operated upon by "witchcraft". The disorder increased, the children became quite mischievous and unmanageable and finally, several persons were taken up, indicted, tried, and some of them actually put to death on a charge of exercising this witchcraft on the children. But when time had removed this strong "delusion" from the eyes of the juries who sat on these trials, they sadly confessed it and lamented the deaths of the innocent victims they had unjustly condemned.

Now as long as these Jonathans confine their "delusions" to their own country, we have nothing to do with them, but when they dare to transport them with themselves over to Canada, let them remember that Canadians have strong feelings and stronger memories, and that the day of retribution of these attacks, though it may be long delayed, will possibly be finally hurled upon them, and their properties with tenfold remuneration.

Thus far we have continued this subject, to shew that at least the *amiable* sympathizers of Oswego and Rochester, of which latter City we are told six hundred of the citizens actually had a meeting and resolved to apply to their Legislature to pass a law that no man should be prevented from working on a Sunday, and for why do you think gentle reader? Why, because said these

men of Rochester, by compelling a man not to work on a Sunday you "compel him also to believe there is a God."

So much for *Christian* Rochester: We have also to add to our list the mighty sympathizing "*Buffalo.*" *She*, no doubt even more than the two former cities has *great* claims on the British Nation and Government to allow them also to empty their extensive flour stores and mills into our West India markets.

As we trust then to have shown that the portion of the American Nation bordering upon the Canadas has not deserved any privilege or favor at our hands.

We have now to enquire whether the remaining part of that nation, and their general government have any stronger claims.

It is understood in the present civilised state of the world when differences exist between nations previously being in a state of peace and amity, that these differences should be attempted to be removed by negotiation. This is so universally the case that I believe modern history produces no instance to the contrary. It therefore must be part of the law of nations, and the honour of each is concerned in the observance of it. But if the honour of a nation is forfeited by open and avowed hostility without this previous negotiation, it is equally or more so, if this hostility is secret and disavowed; now although there may not be positive certainty that the head of the general government

of America has done so, there is *that* positive proof, that those under him, have, by a criminal negligence in not setting sufficient guards over the public armouries to protect them from the depredation of the refugees and sympathizers, mainly assisted them in the invasion of these Provinces.

It is impossible for any fair and impartial man to believe that if the general government had it really at heart to put an effective stop to this sympathizing, that they could not have done it. What would they have done if bodies of men from Canada or Great Britain had invaded their country with an intention of subverting their Government either by the aid of the Indians or the southern slaves (and the desire for abolition is perhaps not too weak to suppose such a case.) Would the general government, not have immediately called upon the militia of the country, to maintain the national honour in this case, and to have repelled the invaders.\* But *that* national honour was equally at stake in one case as the other, as far as respects foreign nations. By promptly calling on the militia of the Atlantic States they might have preserved that honour; by not doing so, or taking other efficient steps, they have lost it, and must sink degraded in the eyes of other nations at least, to the rank of a weak and impotent Government, unable to maintain the customary relations of

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\* This has just now been proved by the sudden vote of congress for raising 50,000 men on the subject of the disputed boundary.

national society, and thus evincing a radical defect in the constitution of their country.

We think therefore we have proved that the whole American Nation does not deserve any privilege or favour from the Parent State, who is bound to consider insults and injuries thus heaped upon her colonies, as offered to herself.

But it may be said, the American Government would, as a retaliatory measure for the act of parliament we have been proposing, close their ports against British North American and West India vessels. As I observed before, they had resorted to this measure when our West India Islands were last closed against their vessels. I, at that time, resided in Nova Scotia, and I do not remember that its trade suffered much from this measure of the Americans, but certainly the advantage of the exclusive trade to the West Indies, then possessed by Nova Scotia, greatly overbalanced it; and as I have observed in the foregoing pages of this chapter, that as soon as the Committee of Trade of Nova Scotia proved to the British Government, that the Eastern Provinces were able to furnish and ship to the West Indies the full amount of fish required by them annually, they then obtained the exclusive supply; so, also, there would appear to be equal reason that the Canadas, when they can prove the same fact, with regard to flour, biscuit and provisions, should obtain the same exclusive privilege for these articles.

Again, with respect to the inconvenience which the West Indies would suffer from this retaliatory measure of the Americans: as we do not seek the enactment of the act of parliament, (at least its going into operation,) until we are quite competent to supply the West India Settlements, they, the West India Settlements, will then have but little occasion to send vessels to the States, and the inconvenience to them will be inconsiderable.

Allowing, however, that the effects of this retaliatory measure should be greater than we have considered it, still the great object we have before mentioned, of producing by this exclusive trade, a great nursery for our seamen, would appear to be *alone* sufficient to outweigh all considerations of a mercantile nature.

It is well known, that many of our seamen, in time of peace, have resorted to the United States for that employment they could not always find in our own colonies. The effects of this were felt during the last American war, when, I believe, some of our seamen were frequently found in the ships of the enemy. If then, this can be prevented, it offers a fair argument in favour of the measure we are contemplating.\*

From the statements and arguments we have thus at length (which perhaps the importance of

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\* In a work soon to be published by Captain Marryatt, (the celebrated writer,) on the States of America, he states his opinion, that there are nigh 30,000 British seamen at this moment employed in the American merchant-service.

the subject will justify) laid before our readers, we trust to have made it appear :

1st. That it is perfectly fair and natural, that the Parent State and the British North American Provinces, should have the privilege of the exclusive supply of our own West India Islands, *when* they can be proved competent to furnish those supplies without detriment to the West India interests.

2d. That the West Indians should and would prefer that mode of supply on those conditions.

3d. That Great Britain is interested, both in a commercial and political point of view, in passing the prospective act of parliament, stated and advocated in this chapter, as well calculated to produce nurseries to her seamen, and also of preventing them from resorting to foreign nations.

4th. That foreign nations can have no fair nor reasonable right to complain of Great Britain, for giving to her own Colonies the preference, whenever she conceives it proper and politic so to do ; and we shall conclude this head, with observing, that as there will probably be some interval of time between the passing of this prospective act of parliament, and its going into actual operation, it will render the act more convenient to those foreign nations, by giving them time to place the capitals they had embarked in our West India trade, into other channels.

I now leave the consideration of this subject to the intelligent part of the agricultural and con-

mercial bodies in both Provinces, not doubting that the proposal I have presumed to make, for obtaining the entire supply of our West India markets, if approved of by them, will be matured and perfected by their judgment and decision, into proper applications to the British Government on this subject. It was chiefly, by my observing with regret, that the surplus produce of wheat of these Provinces has often been shipped to Great Britain at a loss, that I was led to bring the subject before the Legislature of the Upper Province, to engage it to use its influence in obtaining a branch of trade for that Province, which it ought naturally to possess, and as I have stated in the foregoing pages, the annually increasing surplus produce of this country and the adjoining States, will probably render it imperiously necessary, that some measure of the kind we have proposed must be effected for protecting the trade and agriculture of these Provinces.

We now conclude this chapter, trusting we have proved that the agriculture, trade and navigation of *past years* in these Provinces, might have been much augmented, had an act of the British Parliament of a prospective nature been passed, for the purposes we have now proposed. That the *present* time, (when peace and security is returning,) should be employed in endeavouring to obtain the enactment of measures which shall advance the agriculture, trade and navigation of these Provinces; and which, I verily believe, will

by promoting the successful application of their inhabitants to the pursuits of industry, not only prove a most potent antidote to the idle and baneful efforts, which have so long been employed to disturb their peace, but will also effectively advance their *future* happiness and prosperity.

## CHAPTER V.

*A consideration of a Representative Union of all the British North American Provinces and the Parent State, by representatives chosen by the separate Legislatures of each Province, to sit in the Imperial Parliament, as an efficient means of securing the permanent Union of those Colonies with Great Britain and their ultimate advancement.*

In the fifth page of our preface I have stated that about the year 1822, in an article I then published in the *Montreal Herald*, "I first mentioned the idea to the public of the necessity that would probably arise for a representative union of these North American Colonies with the Parent State," and I engaged to resume the subject at a future period, and I have also stated in the preface what took place between Mr. Joseph Hume, M. P. and myself on this important subject, to which I beg leave to refer the reader.

During the 16 years which have elapsed since the above mentioned year, the very serious events which have lately taken place in these Provinces have all in my opinion been gradually proving the necessity of a closer union with the Parent State, and I have now to redeem the pledge I then gave on this important subject.

And in order to introduce the subject properly to the reader's attention and in proof of its importance, I shall first make some extracts from previous writers of eminence on this subject, in Great Britain; and following them up with such observations as they present, I shall then present the plan of such representation as has appeared to me most practicably suited for these Provinces, supported by the arguments which in my humble opinion may serve to call the public attention, and that of the British Government to the formation of this Union, as an efficient means of securing their permanent connection with Great Britain.

The first writer we shall quote is Governor Pownal, some account of whom is given by Mr. Chisholm, of this city, in his well written and meritorious work entitled, *Observations on the Rights of the British Colonies to Representation in the British Parliament.*

“Of the advocates (he says of this salutary and constitutional measure) the first and best was Governor Pownal no common man, one who had served his country in the colonies, both in a civil and military capacity long and faithfully, and who almost on every occasion, both foresaw and foretold the result of that fatal policy adopted in his time with respect to the Colonies.”

The governor's scheme was as follows in his own words, “It is therefore the duty of those who govern us to carry forward this state of things to the weaving of this load into our system, that Great

Britain may be no more considered as the kingdom of this Isle only with many appendages of provinces, colonies, settlements and other extraneous parts, but a *Grand Marine Dominion consisting of our Possessions in the Atlantic and in America united into one Empire, in one centre where the seat of Government is.*"

"If it should be thought difficult and hazardous to extend the legislative rights, privileges and preeminences, the true imperium of Government, to wheresoever the dominion of the same extends, the administration must be content to go on in this ptolemaic system of policy as long as the various centers and systems shall preserve their due order and subordination, or to speak in a more apposite idea, if we would keep the bases of this realm confined to this Island, while we extend the superstructure, by extending our dominions, we shall invert the pyramid (as Sir William Temple expresses it) and must in time subvert the Government itself. If we choose to follow the example of the Romans, we must expect to follow their fate; would statesmen on the other hand doubt the predetermined modes which artificial systems prescribed, would they dare to look for truth in the nature of things, they would soon adopt what is right, as founded upon fact. They would be naturally led into the true system of government, by following with the powers of the state, where the actual and real powers of the system of things lead to. They would see that by

the various and actual inter-connections of the different parts of the British Dominions, throughout the Atlantic and in America, by the inter-communication and reciprocation of their alternate wants and supplies, by the combination and subordination of their several interests and powers by the circulation of their commerce, revolving in an orbit which hath Great Britain for its center; that there doth exist in fact, in nature a real union and incorporation of all these parts of the British Dominions, an actual system of dominion, which wants only to be avowed and actuated by the real spirit in which it moves and has its being; by that spirit from which the British Government hath arisen to what it is; by the spirit of extending the basis of its representative legislature, through all the parts to wheresoever the rights, interest or power of its dominions extend, so as to form (I cannot too often inculcate the idea,) *a grand Marine Dominion, consisting of our possessions in the Atlantic and in America united into one Empire, in one centre where the seat of Government is.*"

So far we have given Governor Pownal's opinion on this great subject, and we have to remark on his first and second paragraphs, that he has there struck out a very strong and impressive argument in favour of the Union of the Colonies with Great Britain "A grand marine Dominion consisting of our possessions in the Atlantic and in America, united into one Empire, in one center where the seat of Government is."

The conclusion he draws at in subsequent parts of his discourse it is true, was meant to apply to the system of laws and trade as then relating to all the old colonies; and although the same extent of evil effects might not ensue from them with respect to the present North American Colonies, still, the same argument will serve to prove that much good will result to both Colonies and Parent State, from a Union, and that the evils foretold by Governor Pownal may be prevented thereby from arising in future.

The opinion of so respectable a person as Governor Pownal appears to have been, is of much weight in favour of the Union of the Colonies that still remain to Great Britain, yet as the principle, his plan of union, is based upon, appears to be that the Colonies, after being united to the British Parliament are then to be subject to Taxation by it, and as that principle is diametrically opposed to the plan of Union, I have all along contemplated as the one most suitable to, and consistent with the present provincial constitution and indeed with the capabilities of these Provinces, and as we shall shortly introduce this plan to the reader's consideration, ~~and~~ we shall defer our observations on the principle of this taxation to that period.

We shall now extract from the profound author of the "Wealth of Nations," Adam Smith, a part of his opinions on the Union of the Colonies by representation in the parliament of Great Britain. This great author is thus described by his bio-

grapher Dugald Stewart, "He has not only extended the boundaries of science, but enlightened and reformed the commercial policy of Europe." It is true it has been said, "that the practical experience of modern times has corrected and modified some of the theoretical positions, of this great economist," but I have little doubt that by far the greater part of the profound commercial truths he has developed, will never be controverted, but that, being founded on the nature of things, they will derive confirmation from increasing experience; and in the well merited praise of his system of political economy, I beg leave here to quote the remark made by Lord Kenyon at a trial which came before him in the King's Bench; several extracts were made by the counsellor in the case, from works on political economy written since Mr. Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. His Lordship said, he had read Adam Smith's work and he had read all the works on that subject, since his time, and that he found them all Adam Smith, hashed up.

We now proceed to the extract from this great work.

"Towards the declension of the Roman Republic, says Mr. Smith, the Allies of Rome who had borne the principal burden of defending the State and extending the Empire, demanded to be admitted to all the privileges of Roman citizens; upon being refused, the social war broke out. During the course of that war, Rome granted those privi-

leges to the greater part of them, one by one, and in proportion as they detached themselves from the general Confederacy.”

The Parliament of Great Britain, insists upon taxing the Colonies, and they refuse to be taxed by a parliament in whom they are not represented. If to each colony which would detach itself from the general confederacy Great Britain should allow such a number of Representatives, as suited the proportion of what it contributed to the public revenue of the Empire, in consequence of its being subjected to the same taxes, and in compensation admitted to the same freedom of trade with its fellow subjects at home; the number of its representatives to be augmented as the proportion of its contributions might afterwards augment; a new method of acquiring importance, a new and more dazzling object of ambition would be presented to the leading men of each Colony. Instead of peddling for the little prizes which are to be found in what may be called the paltry raffle of a colony faction, they might then hope from the presumption which men naturally have in their own ability and good fortune, to draw some of the great prizes which sometimes come from the whole of the great state lottery of British politics. Unless this, or some other, method is fallen upon, and there seems to be none more obvious than this of preserving the importance and of gratifying the ambition of the leading men in America, it is not very probable that they will ever volun-

tarily submit to us, and we ought to consider that the blood which must be shed in forcing them to do so is, every drop of it the blood, either of those who are, or of those whom we wish to have for our fellow citizens. They are very weak who flatter themselves, that in this state to which things are come, our Colonies will be easily conquered by force alone. The persons who now govern the resolutions of what they call their Continental Congress, feel in themselves at this moment a degree of importance which perhaps the greatest subjects in Europe scarce feel. From shopkeepers, tradesmen and attorneys, they are become Statesmen and Legislators, and are employed in contriving a new form of government for an extensive Empire which they flatter themselves will become, and which indeed seems very likely to become one of the greatest and most formidable that ever was in the world. Five hundred different people perhaps, who in different ways act immediately under the continental congress, and five hundred thousand perhaps, who act under those five hundred, all feel in the same manner a proportionable rise in their own importance. Almost every individual of the governing party in America fills, at present, in his own fancy, a station superior, not only to what he had ever filled before but to what he had ever expected to fill, and unless some new object of ambition is presented either to him or to his leaders, if he has the ordinary spirit of a man, he will die in defence of that station.

It is a remark of the President Hanault, that we now read with pleasure, the account of many transactions of the Ligue, which when they happened were not considered as very important pieces of news, but every man then says he, fancied himself of some importance and the innumerable memoirs which came down to us from those times were, the greatest part of them written by people who took pleasure in recording and magnifying events, in which they flattered themselves they had been considerable actors. How obstinately the city of Paris on that occasion defended itself, and what a dreadful famine it supported, rather than submit to the best, and afterwards the most beloved of all the French kings, is well known. The greatest part of the citizens or those who governed the greatest part of them, fought in defence of their own importance, which they foresaw was to be at an end, whenever the ancient Government should be re-established. Our colonies unless they can be induced to consent to a Union, are very likely to defend themselves against the best of all mother countries as obstinately as the city of Paris did against one of the best of kings.

“The idea of representation was unknown in ancient times. When the people of one state were admitted to the right of citizenship in another, they had no other means of exercising their right but by coming in a body to vote and deliberate with the people of that other state.”

The admission of the greater part of the inha-

bitants of Italy to the privileges of Roman citizens, completely ruined the Roman Republic. It was no longer possible to distinguish between who was and who was not, a Roman citizens. No tribe could know its own numbers, a rabble of any kind could be introduced into the assemblies of the people, could drive out the real citizens, and decide upon the affairs of the Republic as if they themselves had been such. But though America were to send fifty or sixty new representatives to parliament, the doorkeeper of the House of Commons could not find any great difficulty in distinguishing who was and who was not a member. Though the Roman constitution therefore, was necessarily ruined, by the union of Rome with the allied states of Italy, there is not the least probability that the British Constitution would be hurt by the Union of Great Britain with her colonies. *That Constitution on the contrary would be completed by it, and seems to be imperfect without it. The assembly which deliberates and decides concerning the affairs of every part of the Empire, in order to be properly informed, ought certainly to have Representatives from every part of it.* That this Union however could be easily effectuated, or that difficulties and great difficulties might not occur in the execution, I do not pretend, I have yet heard of none however which appeared insurmountable. The principal perhaps arise not from the nature of things, but from the prejudices and opinions of the people both of this and the other side of the Atlantic.

We on this side of the water are afraid least the multitude of American representatives, should overturn the balance of the constitution and increase too much, either the influence of the crown on the one hand, or the force of the democracy on the other. But if the number of American representatives were to be in proportion to the produce of American taxation, the number of people to be managed would increase in proportion to the means of managing them, and the means of managing to the number of people to be managed. The monarchical and demœcratical parts of the constitution after the union would stand exactly in the same degree of relative force with regard to one another as they had done before.

The people on the other side of the water are afraid, that their distance from the seat of empire might expose them to many oppressions. But their representatives in parliament, of which the number ought from the first to be considerable, would easily be able to protect them from all oppression. The distance could not much weaken the dependency of the representative upon the constituent, and the former would still feel that he owed his seat in parliament, and all the consequence which he derived from it, to the good will of the latter. It would be the interest of the former therefore to cultivate that good will by complaining, with all the authority of a member of parliament, of any outrage which any civil or military officer might be guilty of in that remote

part of the Empire. The distance of America from the seat of Government besides, the natives of that country might flatter themselves, with some appearance of reason too, would not be of very long continuance. Such has hitherto been the rapid progress in that country in wealth, population and improvement, that in the course of little more than a century, perhaps the produce of the American might exceed that of the British taxation. The seat of empire would then naturally remove itself to that part of the Empire which contributed most to the general defence and support of the whole.

Such were the opinions in favor of, and the high authority conferred on the scheme of representative union of Great Britain with her former and present colonies in North America by Mr. Smith, a Union which, had it been adopted in due time would very probably have prevented the separation of the present States of America from the Parent Country.

I have however to repeat the same observation with respect to this great author that I stated with respect to Governor Pownal's plan of Union at the close of my observations on the extract from it, namely that the idea of taxation of the colonies after the Union by the Parliament of Great Britain is diametrically opposite to the plan of Union I have formed and which will shortly be laid before my readers. The Colonies are already subject to taxation by the Provincial Legislatures and I feel

persuaded that no plan of Union by which they would also become liable to a second taxation by the Parent State, would be acquiesced in by these countries.

The observations of Mr. Smith in the first and third paragraph which we have quoted are admirably calculated to shew the utility of representative union in an extensive Empire inasmuch as we conceive it may be fairly inferred that had the allies of Rome when admitted by her as Roman citizens, been duly represented by deputies sent from each state to sit in the Roman Senate or National Council, we say it may be fairly inferred in that case that the Roman Empire instead of being ruined by her allies would probably have endured for numerous ages longer than she did.

Mr. Chisholm, in the work I have above mentioned has therein quoted the objections of the celebrated Edmund Burke to this Union of the Colonies with the British Parliament, and has, I think, very well answered and refuted these objections, independently even of the newly acquired accession of steam power in crossing the Atlantic, which it seems Mr. Chisholm had predicted in his work, and has now the satisfaction of seeing those predictions pretty nigh realized.

In corroboration of the idea mentioned above respecting the probably greater duration of the Roman Empire, had it possessed the discovery of representation we shall now mention instances of some countries which have derived solid advantages and durability therefrom.

Ancient Greece itself, is almost a sufficient proof of this, and had she had the foresight to have prevented the fatal influence of Macedon in her National compact and to have preserved her National virtues, she might perhaps have descended in her former glory to the present day.

The Germanic Diet, and more particularly the united Provinces and the Swiss Cantons, are strong proofs of the capacities of Union in preserving the liberties of Nations even when surrounded by powerful and despotic Nations. The United Provinces in the midst of every difficulty, became at one time one of the greatest commercial countries in the old World, and have even sometimes been able to dispute the Trident of the ocean with Great Britain.

England herself affords a brilliant example of the strength and power of representative Union. In her fertile land of liberty this species of union has been with some exceptions gradually improving since the completion of the Heptarchy by our renowned Alfred, up to the recent establishment of Parliamentary reform, by which she proved the fact that her glorious Constitution is competent to purify itself from all corruptions. And it is devoutly to be hoped that the prosperous acquisition of this reform, may not destroy that moderation for which the British Nation in her political character has been so conspicuous, and that she will soon perceive that the extension of representative Union, to all her Colonies, in a manner

adapted to their circumstances, must not only promote their peace, security and prosperity in a degree hitherto unknown, but eventually consolidate the power of her Empire.

Scotland, by the great advances she has made since her Union with England, in Agriculture and in several branches of manufacture and in commerce, is a proof of the advantages of Union by representation. The industrious spirit, the mechanical talent, the enterprising and inventive genius of the Scotch might perhaps have otherwise lain dormant for ages.

Ireland, though last, will not be the least who will reap advantage from her representative Union with England. She is sufficiently represented there by able advocates of her interests and fair demands. And she now probably requires little more than an efficient and wise code of poor Laws to introduce peace and security into her country ; and the advantageous employment of her labour and talents by British capital will then no doubt ensue, and produce a new career for her agriculture, manufactures and commerce.

The United States may certainly be considered as having presented to the World a prominent instance of the advantages of representative Union ; although it must be confessed that the rise and gradual increase of late years of a most licentious spirit among that people both in their domestic concerns and most especially in the late treatment of these provinces by a part of her population, gives

strong indications to believe, that unless they retrace their steps, by the enactment of wise and salutary laws for the accomplishment of that end, some disastrous events must ensue in that country proving that even liberty itself, the greatest gift of Heaven, may be abused, and if not preserved within the bounds of reason, moderation and religion, may produce the misery or ruin as well as the welfare and prosperity of a nation.

Trusting now to have briefly shown that the several countries above mentioned and the extracts we have quoted form a combined and powerful evidence in favor of representative Union, I shall now beg leave to conclude this part of the subject with an observation on that part of Mr. Chisholm's work which treats on the "National and constitutional right of the colonies to representation in the Imperial Parliament." These rights are treated in a very elaborate manner and the author appears to be much concerned that the right of representative union has been so long opposed and denied to the colonies. But it is consoling to observe that in the discussion which took place on Mr. Hume's motion in August 1831, in the House of Commons, it appears to have been conceded by all parties in the house that the objections which had been offered by Burke and others, to this great measure, are now cancelled and done away with. By the passing of the late reform bill, the colonies having been deprived of their former Parliamentary advocates, namely those gentlemen who were greatly

interested in the Colonies, but had lost their seats by that bill, it was therefore the opinion of the parties in the House above mentioned that the Colonies should be somehow or other represented in Parliament. The question therefore is fairly open to be laid before it.

I shall now present to the reader the most interesting part of Mr. Hume's speech on this subject so important to these Provinces, and his scheme of representation as stated in the reports of the house.

*House of Commons, August 16, 1831.*

On the motion for going into a Committee on the reform bill, Mr. Hume rose to submit an important motion to the house. Every one was aware of the great importance of the colonial interests; and those who were acquainted with the nature, extent, population, and wealth of the Colonies, naturally inquired whether they were not entitled to representatives in Parliament. The population of British India amounted to eighty or ninety millions of souls, and its wealth and commerce were infinite. There were besides thirty-four colonies including the Canadas, containing a large population and most extensive resources. He asked the house why so important a part of the King's Dominions as the Colonies—important both as regards their population and their riches,—should not come within the reach of so important a change as that now contemplated in the constitution of that house. It was a clear proposition, as he conceived that

every British interest ought to be represented in that House according to its population and prosperity, and why were not the Colonies to be put in a situation in which they might participate in the power conceded to other portions of his Majesty's Dominions? By the common law of the land every Englishman who expatriated himself to one of the Colonies of this country, carried with him all the rights and privileges of an Englishman, subject only to the changes which the local circumstances of the colony in which he resided rendered necessary. The internal regulations of the colonies were placed under the control of the king in council, until the colonies assumed such a position as to enable the inhabitants to manage their own affairs. The house however had never divested itself of the right to manage the external interests of those Colonies which had Local Legislatures, or to regulate their commercial arrangements either with the mother State or with other Countries. Every person was aware of the immense importance of the Colonies, which naturally divided themselves into distinct classes. The British possessions in India formed one peculiar class, held under a particular tenure, the second class consisted of the Crown Colonies, under the Government of the King in Council, and having no local Legislature, and the third and most important class consisted of those Colonies which had a Legislative assembly for their internal Government. He begged the house to keep in mind the distinc-

tion which he drew between these separate classes, as the proposition he was about to submit was in some degree governed by the distinction. He conceived that the Crown Colonies should have the same privileges as other colonies, and have Assemblies to legislate for their internal regulation. It was sufficient for him now to state that this privilege was denied to nine colonies which were known as the Crown Colonies, Upper and Lower Canada, however, and fourteen of the West India Islands had Legislative Assemblies to tax and regulate those Colonies. This then was an obvious distinction, and on which depended the difference he proposed to make in the extent of the Representation. He proposed to give a more extensive representation to those Colonies which had no legislatures but were governed by the king in council, and at the same time he did not intend that the colonies which had local Legislatures should be wholly unrepresented in the Imperial Parliament. By the Statute 18 George III. Chap. 12, the British Legislature was prevented from interfering with the internal affairs of the colonies which obtained local Legislatures, but power was reserved by the same act to make such regulations as should seem expedient with regard to the commerce of the Colonies however much these regulations might affect the interests of one or all of these colonies. It was therefore in the power of the British Legislature to reduce any one or all of these Colonies to beggary, or greatly to promote

their prosperity, a power of immense importance to the whole of the colonial interests. What he now proposed was to give the Colonies a partial representation, such a representation as would place a person in that House capable of stating the grievances, and of giving information on questions which perhaps effected the existence of them as Colonies of this country. In looking to the state of mis-government into which the colonies had fallen, more appeared to have taken place from the ignorance of the House and the country, as to the real interests of the Colonies, than from any design to pass laws which would produce evil consequences—(hear, hear.) It was important that the House should be placed in a situation in which the best information might be obtained with regard to the Colonies, if it were only to avoid the recurrence of those evils which the British Legislature had before inadvertantly and unadvisedly fallen into. He conceived that such an alteration would place England in a much better relative situation as regards its Colonies. Twenty-five millions were now paid annually by this country for the support of its civil and military establishments (putting out of view the sum paid for the interest and management of the debt;) and of that enormous sum raised out of the taxes of this country, how large a portion arose from the expenses entailed on the country by its Colonies? either as regarded the financial view which the question presented, or the rights of the Colonists as English subjects, he

submitted that this subject was most important, and deserving of the most serious consideration. Hitherto a large portion of British subjects resident in the Colonies were deprived of any legitimate mode of laying their wants and wishes before that House. It was true some Gentlemen connected with the Colonies found their way into the House. But one of the greatest and most striking objections to the Reform Bill had been that, when it came into operation, the same means would not exist for enabling Gentlemen connected with the Colonies to obtain seats; and a large portion, if not the whole, of the Colonies would be left without any legitimate mode of conveying their wishes or wants to the Imperial Legislature—(Hear, from the Opposition.) He (Mr. H.) did not mean to say that even after the Bill came into operation, some Gentlemen connected with the Colonies might not obtain seats for populous places in the United Kingdom, but that was a very different thing from having a Member for each of the Colonies, or a number of the Colonies united, who would sit as the representative of the Colonial population, and be ready at all times to state the wishes of his constituents, and suggest any propositions which he deemed calculated to increase the wealth and happiness of that colony with which he was connected. With a view of preventing the evils which would arise from a great increase of the number of Representatives, he proposed to limit the number to the lowest extent, by which the

purposes of representation would be fairly answered. He did not wish to add to the present number of Representatives, but according to the plan proposed by Ministers, there would be 32 Members fewer than there was at present. The number he proposed to add to the House for the Colonies would make little difference in the relative proportion of the numbers. Members who looked at different interests with a partial eye would probably take a different view of the subject from that which he (Mr. H.) did. Some Gentlemen may conceive that British India should be considered above all things, and others would prefer the interests of the West India Colonies; whilst some would advocate the claims of Ceylon, or the Cape of Good Hope, and consider them paramount. He begged to be understood not as proposing what was free from all objections, but only as approximating to what he believed would give satisfaction. It would be obvious to every one who heard him, that, to make the Colonies really useful to the mother country, they should be on the best possible terms; the Colonies should derive some advantage from the mother country, all reasonable ground for complaint should be removed, and they should be treated in every respect as adopted children—(cheers.) If this system of policy was pursued it would render the Colonies tenfold more valuable, and they would feel more satisfied with their situation, even where the policy of the mother country obliged her to

limit the means of their prosperity. However anxious Gentlemen might be to preserve the relative proportion of Members between England, Ireland and Scotland, he was sure none would be so niggardly as to say that a few Members for the Colonies would derange the proportion to an injurious degree; more especially as the three countries were equally benefitted by the Colonies. His proposal was that the Colonies should be represented in that House by nineteen Members, which he proposed to divide in this way:—

	Members.
British India, . . . . .	4
The Crown Colonies, . . . . .	8
British America, . . . . .	3
The West India Colonies, . . . . .	3
The Islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alder- ney and Sark, . . . . .	1
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Total, . . . . .	19

With respect to the West Indies, he proposed to give to	Members.
Jamaica, . . . . .	1
Barbadoes, Grenada, St. Vincent, and Tobago, . . . . .	1
Montserrat, St. Nevis, St. Kitt's, and Tortola, . . . . .	1
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In all, . . . . . 3  
which he submitted was as small a number as could possibly be given to the West India Colo-

nies—(hear, hear.)—There was another group of Islands under the British government and influence, and lying contiguous to our own shores, the inhabitants of which, although British subjects, had always been treated as foreigners—he alluded to the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark, which had no representative assemblies, but were governed by the King in Council. To this group of islands he proposed to give one representative; and if this was done he thought the population of those islands might feel they were Englishmen, what it was not possible they could have heretofore done—(hear, hear.) He felt that nineteen Members was a large number to propose to add at once to the representative body in that House; but when Members looked to the magnitude of the interests those Members were to represent, he hoped they would not consider that he proposed too much. From returns which he held in his hand, as to the population and trade of the colonies, he would state some details on which his plan of Colonial representation was in a great degree founded. British North America contained nine hundred and eleven thousand inhabitants, of which two hundred and twenty nine thousand were freemen. At present the exports from the British North American Colonies exceed two million five hundred thousand pounds per annum—(hear,) and the imports were upwards of one million one hundred thousand pounds. From this statement the House would see the importance of those colonies—(hear, hear.)

Mr. Hume then gave a statement of the population and trade of the West India Colonies, Gibraltar, Malta, Cape of Good Hope and Australia, and British India, which it is not interesting to us to state; he then goes on to observe: "The next consideration was, the mode in which it was proposed that those representatives should be elected. Now what he (Mr. H.) meant to propose was, that every man entitled to set upon Juries in India, should also be entitled to vote for a representative.

As to the West India Islands he said he saw little or no difficulty on the mode of election for them, as the inhabitants chiefly possessed the power of electing persons to manage the internal affairs of the respective Islands. He then observed. "That the truth was, if the Government hoped to keep British America, they must resort to some such measure as that he proposed; for this he was convinced, was the only way to put an end to the bickerings which were constantly going on, and to attach the Colonies to the mother country. He had a petition, signed by ten thousand persons of the Canadas, complaining of grievances; and, if they had representatives, such a petition, he believed, never would have been called for. To the Canadas, with the adjoining islands, he proposed to give three members. To Lower Canada, which contained a population of four hundred and twenty-three thousand, he would give one member; to Upper Canada, which contained, according to returns on the table, one

hundred and eighty-nine thousand inhabitants, but according to recent information, two hundred and sixty-five thousand, he would also give one ; and to New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, Newfoundland, and Bermudas, with a population of three hundred thousand persons, he would give a third member. The mode of election was to be the same as that he proposed for the West India Islands. Upper and Lower Canada should return one member each ; and the islands should choose delegates to elect their representative. One point yet remained, and that was how were they to find their way to the House—(Laughter.) He had three ways in view, and he would leave it to the House to select that which they thought the best. The first was that they should be elected for three years, and hold their seats for that period, whether there was a new Parliament or not. The second was that the sitting Members should continue to hold his seat till the return of the writ was made to the new Parliament.—(Laughter.) He did not consider such a topic a subject for laughter. The ex-Secretary of the Admiralty may laugh ; but—(Mr. Croker—I did not laugh.) It was possible there were errors in his calculations ; but he thought that it could not be denied that, considering the distance of the places and the complicity of the details, he might be excused for making some errors. The third plan was that, on the commencement of a new Parliament, no Member should sit till the

new Members were returned to the House. There could be no great evil in that, because they could be returned for the West Indies in six months, and for British India in a year. He thanked the House for the attention they had paid to him. The subject was one of great importance; and he thought Colonies, in order to be of service to the mother country, ought to be placed in a situation which would induce them to co-operate with it. If the subject were submitted to a Committee, he was quite sure they would find no difficulty in preparing a Bill which would meet with the general views of the country, and afford means to the Colonies of laying their grievances before the House. One objection to the measure was, that the Colonies already had legislative bodies of their own selection; but it ought to be remembered that these legislative assemblies could legislate only on internal affairs, while the most important part of the business was that legislation which applied to their commerce, and which was made by the mother country without their interference. For these reasons he thought they were entitled to representation. He had no intention, however, of dividing the House on the question. All he wanted was to lay the details before the House, and leave them for future consideration and discussion. The Hon. Member concluded by moving "That it be an instruction to the Committee to make a provision for the return to this House of members to represent certain Colonies and foreign possessions of his Majesty."

Such was the effort then made by Mr. Hume to produce a Colonial representation of the British Parliament, and which as will appear by the following speeches of which I give extracts, that even the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at that time Lord Althorp, and also several eminent members of the House did not only approve of the measure but gave Mr. Hume great credit for bringing it forward; and these Provinces have to lament that he should have suffered himself to have been so far led away by the representations of certain weak and disloyal characters in this country as to have prevented him from following up this valuable measure in a future session of the Parliament. By the subsequent conduct of those men in plunging the Provinces into rebellion and its disastrous consequences, he has good reason to repent his connection with them, and as a just retribution for the encouragement he certainly gave them by his "Domination letter it is to be hoped he will ere long retrace his steps, and endeavour once more to effect the passing of the measure for representative Union by the Imperial Parliament; by this means he will be able to atone for the evils he is (by a great part of the loyal population of these provinces) considered to have brought on them; and will promote their peace and security, by a measure the best of all calculated so to do of any that can be desired, namely the rendering them an integral part of the British Empire.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he had

no intention of following his Hon. friend through all his details, because, it must appear clear to every Hon. Member, that it would be improper particularly at the present moment, to introduce such a clause into the Bill—(hear.) In fact he could hardly believe his Hon. friend serious in attempting to introduce a new system into the Bill, after they had been sitting upwards of a month on it in Committee—(hear.) When the Hon. Member spoke of the importance of the Colonies, and the claims they had to the protection and support of the mother country, he agreed in every word that he had said, but, even from the Hon. Member's own showing, it would be inexpedient to introduce a new and complicated measure into one which, God knows, was complicated enough—(hear, hear.) They had sat already a month in Committee, and if they were to adopt the principle of his Hon. friend, there would be no end to the business. He was sure his Hon. friend had not brought it forward with any injurious intention, but, looking at its complicacy and the discussion to which it might lead, he could not conceive any one of a more hostile tendency. He would not, therefore, enter into any discussion, because if the subject was to be taken up at all, it ought to have a separate discussion. He would only appeal to the House whether such an addition to the Bill would not obstruct its progress, and discussion on it only delay the House from going into Committee?—(Hear.)

Sir John Malcolm said he would not follow the Hon. Member for Middlesex through the detail of his Speech, but he must confess he thought the Hon. Gentleman had made out a case in favour of his motion. It was necessary that there should be a species of representation for India and the Colonies, of which they were of necessity deprived by the Bill. He need not urge to the House the reasonableness of having in it men conversant with the manners and habits of the people of those distant parts of the world connected with this country. It could not be denied that the operation of the measure would remove that facility by which the Colonies had been hitherto represented, and this seemed to be felt by the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself. For his (Sir John Malcolm's,) own part, he certainly should support the proposition of the Hon. Member for Middlesex, but without pledging himself to any part of the detail into which the Hon. Member entered. He trusted that his Majesty's Government would give their serious attention to the subject, and propose some expedient to meet the difficulty created by the Reform Bill, with respect to a want of Colonial representation—(hear.) He apprehended that when the Bill was passed, Government would direct its attention to that great question, the subject of India, and he should endeavour to bring to that discussion, a mind free from prejudice. Upon that subject he would not now enter: nor would he detain the House longer, knowing there was

an anxious desire to go into the Committee on the Reform Bill.—(Hear.)

Sir C. Wetherell said that the attention of the House was now called to a subject as important as any which had come under its discussion. The opinion of Mr. Burke had been quoted to show that he was unfavourable to the Colonists having direct representatives in that house. A more able man, one with more information, and a great desire to benefit his country, could not be found. Now what did Mr. Burke in effect state? Why, according to the abstract principle upon which the House of Commons was then constituted, the Colonies ought to have representatives, but practically he felt it a great difficulty to overcome. But Mr. Burke was speaking of the existing Constitution of the Country—[Hear, hear.] And if the Constitution was to be torn up in the way the Bill contemplated, the difficulty in having representatives for the Colonies under the new Constitution was not insuperable—[Hear, hear.] Mr. Burke's objection was, because it was contrary to existing things, *rebus extantibus*. But there was no longer any thing in such an objection, because the Bill had removed the cause of it. What was done with the Colonies, he begged to enquire? Were they not taxed? Certainly not in the same way that the House of Commons had attempted to tax America. Nevertheless he could contend that the Colonies were subject to a taxation. The trade was regulated, the import and export duties were imposed

by the Legislature. It might not be pleasant to awaken a reminiscence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, otherwise he would ask the Noble Lord what was the regulation of duty on American timber and Cape wine, but a species of taxation on the Colonies?—[Hear and a laugh.] This country, it could not be denied, internally and externally, directly and indirectly, did levy monies on the Colonies. When there was about to be a reduction of thirty-three members of that House—for which, by-the-bye, the noble Lord had given no satisfactory reason—when the Bill excluded all the Members for the Colonies, who had an indirect mode of gaining admission to that House, without their being any mode substituted for the omission thus created, he thought that the motion of the Hon. Member for Middlesex was one of great importance. For although the Bill created Members for Brighton, and Chelmsford, and Greenwich, yet it left unrepresented the Continent of India, the West India Islands, and Canada—[Hear.] The vast population of India, the property there at stake—the West India possessions, with all its valuable interests, and Canada, were all to be disregarded, in order that the interests of those who catch white bait at Greenwich may be attended to, as well as the interests of those who go down to Cheltenham or Brighton for their health.—[Laughter.] The promoters of the Bill had shut out all access to that House for those who represented the large Colonial possessions belong-

ing to this country, in order that they might rear up a miserable interest, not a thousandth part so important to the kingdom. But the new Constitution was going to pieces from its magnitude. Every day opened a page of levity and folly, of injustice and unfairness, of inconsistency and weakness, in the measure.—The principle adopted by the Romans in their conquest was to receive in their Senate the Representatives of the conquered Colonies. He proceeded to argue that the Colonies being deprived of the access they formerly had to representation in this Legislature, ought to have some new avenue thrown open to them.

Sir Charles Forbes rose simply to express his cordial approval of the Hon. Member for Middlesex, for the representation which was enjoyed by the Colonists under the present system of returning Members to Parliament being about to be taken away from them by the Reform Bill, which he wished, and hoped, and believed, would not pass into a law, he was quite satisfied that the interests of those highly important and valuable possessions of England, the Colonies, ought not to be overlooked.

Sir George Murray said that he felt extremely glad to find such attention had been paid by the House to the proposal of the Member for Middlesex, and also that the important observations with which the Hon. Member had introduced his motion, had received so full a consideration. It had

certainly appeared to him, during the long debates which had taken place on the Reform Bill, that the House had altogether forgotten that the British Empire did not entirely consist of the immediate islands of Great Britain and Ireland, but that it partly consisted of some highly important and valuable possessions in the East and West Indies, and other parts of the globe; of the importance of these possessions he was always, however, fully impressed; and he must take leave to express the satisfaction with which he had heard the Hon. Member for Middlesex express his opinions, as he had feared, from the general tenor of the Hon. Member's arguments in the House, that he did not entertain any high estimate of the value of the Colonies. It had been clearly and incontrovertibly shown by that Hon. Member, and by the Hon. Member for Taunton, that the virtual representation at present enjoyed in their House, under the present mode of election, by the Colonists, would be utterly and completely taken away from them by the measure now undergoing consideration; and that when the Reform Bill had passed into a law, the House would be found to be composed entirely of Members who would be returned to support local interests alone, thus depriving the Colonists entirely of that virtual representation which had been found to be so beneficial to them. He rose, therefore, merely to express his conviction of the necessity Ministers or that House would be under either of adopting or modifying the plans

of the Hon. Member for Middlesex, or of taking the idea suggested by the Hon. Member for Taunton into their serious consideration, with a view to remedy the great and important evil which would result to the Colonists. The Noble Lord (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) opposite, on various occasions, when Hon. Members who were otherwise friendly to the Bill had got up to make amendment or to suggest any improvement in its details, had observed that such a proceeding evinced a desire on their part to defeat the Bill. Now, he would not admit this to be the fact, with respect to the proposal before the House, for both the Hon. Member for Middlesex and Taunton were direct and warm supporters of the Bill, and not its enemies. It was surely the duty of Ministers, if the Bill must pass into a law, to endeavour to make it as beneficial as possible to the country ; and he would venture to predict, that when all those places which were to be furnished with Representatives had received their allotted portion of influence in that House, it would be found that the Bill, so far from giving representatives to those particular interests of the country, which those vast and complicated interests required, actually deprived many of them, and those too most important ones, of the virtual representation they now enjoyed.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he was averse to the measure as it would impede the Reform Bill—it ought to form a separate measure.

The motion was then put and negatived.

It thus appears from the speeches of many eminent members of the House of Commons, that they not only approved of the measure of a Representative Union of the British North American Colonies with Great Britain; but that from the changes effected in the House of Commons of the Imperial Parliament by the late Reform Bill; that such a measure was actually necessary. The coast then is completely clear for the question and measure, to be again brought before them, and I have little or no doubt that if that were properly done this great measure would be carried.

I have now only to present to my readers the plan of Representative Union with the Imperial Parliament which, I believe, would answer the purpose, and is alone consistent with the present condition of these Provinces. It is first to be observed, that all the plans we have extracted from the works named in the foregoing pages namely Adam Smith, and Governor Pownall appear to be based on the Idea of a representation of the people of the Colonies, (by Members deputed to the Imperial Parliament,) in no wise different from those sent to it by the people of Great Britain. The same entire representation was also contemplated by Mr. Hume in the motion on the subject above stated; these Colonial Representatives then having a right to vote on all questions of taxation of the people of England, the North American Colonies would also be subject to taxation by the Imperial Parliament.

Now all the North American Colonies are by the Constitution of each Province subject to taxation by their own separate Legislatures. Each of these Legislatures is perfectly competent to de-

termine the quantity of this taxation, and the mode and time of levying it which is most consonant with the indispensable necessities of the Government, and with the will and capacities of the people to pay it. There is no necessity whatsoever therefore, to subject these Colonies to a second taxation by another Parliament. And as the people of each Colony enjoy the right of choosing their own Colonial Representatives in their House of Assembly and thereby give their consent to the Colonial taxation, so likewise, there is no necessity that the Representatives who shall be deputed to sit in the Imperial Parliament should be chosen by the people at large. It will therefore I conceive be perfectly sufficient, that these Representatives in the Imperial Parliament be chosen by the separate Legislature of each Colony. By this means I conceive, men of the deepest stakes in the welfare of these countries, and of the most eminent characters for integrity, Intelligence and ability will be more likely to be chosen. All that these Provinces want in the way of Representation, may, I conceive be thus completely acquired. All they want is to have men perfectly acquainted with the Interests of their respective Colonies to maintain those Interests with zeal judgment and ability in the House of Commons of the Imperial Parliament. But especially, I conceive this Representative Union must be so modified and managed, that while the Colonial Legislatures are allowed to send such Representatives, that at same time this Representation shall be of such a nature as shall not render these Colonies subject to a second taxation by the Imperial Parliament. Because, I do not conceive a taxation of this kind would ever meet the wishes of, or be agreed to by the

people of these Colonies. The Imperial Parliament cannot possibly, be equally well acquainted with the capabilities or inclination of the people of these Colonies to bear taxation as the Legislatures of each Colony are, and the involving them in subjection to taxation by the Imperial Parliament would probably produce a fruitful source of dissatisfaction and discontent. To steer clear therefore of this subjection to a second taxation is a great object of the following :

*Principles of the Representative Union of British North America with Great Britain.*

1st Principle.—That it is highly necessary for the future peace, security and welfare of these Provinces, that they should be empowered by Her Majesty's Government, to send a certain number of proper persons to represent those interests in the Imperial Parliament.

2d. That this necessity of representation has been already advocated in that Parliament, and it was therein agreed to on all sides, on the discussion of this question on the 16th August, 1831, that, as the Colonies would be deprived of virtual representation in the House of Commons by the Reform Bill, that a Representative Union ought to be forthwith granted to them.

3d. The necessity of such Representative Union has also, it is conceived, been further proved by the late disastrous events which have taken place recently in two of the principal North American Provinces, the two Canadas.

4th. That the existence and suppression by force of arms of three rebellions in the two Provinces, and the numerous invasions in consequence thereof by neighbouring States, which they have suffered and repelled, appear to confirm the fact, that if Great Britain intends to preserve her possession of, and dominion over the North American Colonies, she must form such a Representative Union with them as shall render them entirely integral parts of the British Empire.

5th. That it is therefore now proposed for the consideration of the

public and the Imperial Government, that one representative shall be sent by the Legislative Council, and one other representative by the House of Assembly of each British North American Province, or such number of representatives as shall hereafter be determined on, to sit as representatives thereof in the House of Commons of the Imperial Parliament.

6th. That these representatives shall be instructed by the Colonial Legislatures, and have a right to bring before the Imperial Parliament, statements of such grievances as may be deemed by them to exist in any Province, also to bring forward any measure they may judge advantageous to the security, trade, navigation, and other interests and political relations of these Provinces, and to make such motions and resolutions thereon, as they shall deem proper, and to have the right to vote in favour of the same in the Imperial Parliament.

7th. That considering that the people of the British North American Colonies are already subject to taxation by their own Colonial Legislatures; therefore the representatives of the Colonial Legislatures in the Imperial Parliament shall not have the right of bringing forward any motion *for the future general taxation of those Colonies by the Imperial Legislature*. But should any case occur, such as the extension of any right of trade, or the granting of any new privileges of any kind to the North American Colonies, whereby it should be deemed just and proper that some additional tax or duty should be in consequence of such extension of trade and commerce, levied on these branches of trade, the representatives of each Colony shall in that case be authorised to consent to and vote for such tax or duties as may be requisite for obtaining the said extension of commerce from the Imperial Parliament.

8th. That whereas on the seventh principle, above stated, the people of British North America do claim their constitutional rights and privilege to be subject to taxation *solely by their respective Colonial Legislatures*; so also the said people of British North America, do not claim or expect that their said representatives in the Imperial Parliament shall have the right to vote in

any question or motion of taxation of the people of Great Britain by the Imperial Parliament.

9th. That the said people of British North America feeling it just necessary and proper, that they should have henceforth the most adequate means of bringing before the Imperial Legislature any causes of grievances or complaint that may hereafter occur in the said British North America, and also to have the means of duly advocating therein the interests and advancement of these Provinces, do claim the right for their said representatives to bring forward before the said Imperial Legislature any such complaints or grievances, or interests for legislative decision upon; and also the said people do claim for their said representatives in the Imperial Parliament, the rights and all the freedom of speech and debate usually practised and enjoyed by all or any other members of the said Parliament, on all questions or motions touching or relating to the aforesaid matters; and also on all occasions in any session of the said Parliament, wherein any question, motion, or resolution shall be brought forward by *any* member of the said Parliament, any way relating to the interests, welfare, or advancement, or in any way appertaining to the said North American Provinces; and also the said people do claim for their said representatives, the right to vote freely on all such occasions, according to their free will and judgment.

The aforesaid nine enumerated principles then, are those on which we conceive such a Representative Union may be founded, as shall at once give to these Provinces the most adequate means to bring forward all subjects concerning their Interests, peace, security, welfare and advancement and to advocate and maintain the same in the Imperial Legislature. At the same time this mode of Union will according to the 7th and 8th Principles prevent for ever the collision of the Parent State with her said Provinces, on the important subject of their general taxation which will thereby be left entirely in the power of the several Colo-

nial Legislatures according to the Constitution granted to the said provinces.

With respect to the appointment or deputation of an equal number of representatives from the two branches of each Legislature as per principle the fifth; any difference of opinion that may arise between the members of any particular Province can have no bad effect, as on every subject relating to the Colonies, brought before the Imperial Parliament a committee will doubtless be formed by the House, consisting probably of all the Representatives of the North American Provinces. In this committee thus formed in the House of Commons, every individual member will bring forward and support his own measures and arguments, which will be then decided on by the votes of the Majority of that committee, and their reports brought before the Hon. House of Commons to be again discussed, and if sanctioned, finally sent to the other Branches of the Imperial Legislature for their discussion.

Thus a truly constitutional *Colonial Federal Assembly* will be formed in the *very heart of the Imperial Legislature* for the full and fair discussion of every subject relating to any and all of the North American Provinces, and the measures the committee may determine on will then also be put to the test of the united wisdom and justice of the Imperial Legislature.

We trust to have produced in the course of the foregoing pages sufficient opinions and arguments to prove the necessity of a Representative Union of these Colonies with the Parent State. The foundation upon which we have placed this Union, as stated in the principles enumerated, is indeed materially different from any former plan of Union

advocated in Parliament, but as the design in making this difference is, as shown in the 7th and 8th principles, to avoid any collision with the Imperial Parliament on account of the taxation of these Provinces we have great hopes that the said Parliament, in consideration of the Constitution of these Provinces already established, will acquiesce in the principles of Union above enumerated, more especially as by the 8th principle the right of voting on any question or motion of the taxation of the People of Great Britain is not claimed.

It is possible however, that the Imperial Parliament, wishing to profit by the knowledge and abilities of the Colonial Representatives may allow them to debate on all questions whatever, which come before the House, even concerning the taxation of the People of England, solely restricting them from voting thereon.

We have, therefore, now to present this important plan to the consideration of the public. We conceive it will greatly tend to the peace, security and advancement of these Provinces in every branch of prosperity. We conceive the late events in both the Provinces of Canada prove the necessity of this Union, and we believe the rapidly increasing population of all the North American Colonies will render this measure indispensable. The sooner then we can obtain its advantages, the better and the wiser. Should any future and serious differences occur in the several Branches of the Legislature of any North American Colony, whereby the public peace or business should become obstructed, an efficient *safety valve* will thus be formed, by the right and privilege of deputing representatives to the Imperial Parliament, where these differences and difficulties may

be speedily discussed and terminated, and where it is highly probable the Colonial Representatives will find it their Interest to combine all their zeal and talents for the general and individual advancement of the Provinces of British North America.

I now conclude this important chapter, believing and hoping, that the *past and present* evils which have so long afflicted these Provinces, may be happily terminated by the Union proposed in it, and offering my ardent prayer to the all wise disposer of the destinies of countries; that He will bestow his blessing on that Union, and enable it to produce the *future* peace, prosperity, and happiness of these North American Provinces.

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