

The Politician.

PERILOUS POSITION OF THE CANADAS.

The Times Newspaper used by the imbecile Whig Government to get them rid of Colonies which they feel themselves unfit to manage.

"The Times has undertaken the defence of the Government, and especially of Lord Elgin; but in this case the thunderer thunders in vain, as no one listens."—*Glasgow Examiner*, May 19, 1849.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE GLASGOW EXAMINER.

SIR,—I hope sincerely that it will prove to be as you indicate in your editorial article of to-day (that no one attends to the thunder of the Times), for if the Colonists could suppose the Times to be a true reflex of public opinion they must necessarily despise this country as devoid of all fixed principle, patriotic, moral, or political. Against the oppressors of the British Government in Ireland the Times thunders with a harshness for which no reason can be adduced, except that in the crushed circumstances of the Irish people their feelings may be outraged with impunity; and to be against the supporters of British principles and honor in Canada seems to be quite as much in the way of the Times as the mouthpiece of an insolent dictation which all must know the British population of North America will treat with the ridicule and defiance it deserves, come from where it may.

But the cruel injustice to Ireland, whose case called for the gravest consideration and deserved the greatest sympathy, found no echo in the public mind, and it was indeed a heartless plaud if it responded to the present French thunder of the Times against the noble British population of Upper Canada, whose distinction it is to be called "the noblest of Britain's offspring, because the likeliest to Britain herself." The British public is just, and, acting on the principle that "honesty is the best policy," will take the same view it did in 1837 of who those are on whom the British principles and monarchy can depend as their defenders; and if prepared to institute a comparison between that portion of her Majesty's subjects whose loyalty has been most tried and proved, and the Irish and chartists, it will not be to the disadvantage of the former, as impugning their motives, but it will be to acknowledge the truth that with both the chartists and the Irish will at least be found more manliness and true patriotism than the Whig Ministry and their newspaper tool can boast of. Let the chartists and Irish take courage by the experience of the Lower Canadian revolution. They, too, will have (unless they spurn it) the advocacy of the Times.

"Treason never prospers! what's the reason? Because when treason prospers 'tis not treason."

Of all the infamous acts of the Whigs never has any been more disgraceful than their present attempt, without a shadow of proof, to fasten the late outrages in Montreal on those whom they know well to be the only true friends of order and of British supremacy in Canada. The Whigs know that no other result of these Government insults, if persisted in, can reasonably be expected but the loss of those noble colonies. They know that the British population of the Canadas will never submit thus to be imposed on and insulted, but will with confidence leave it to history to decide whether it was Britons abroad or Britons at home that departed from British principles. In fact, the only chance now of those colonies remaining British seems to lie in the Queen having other than Whig advisers, when the British population of Canada come to lay bare their insulted feelings and recount their grievances at the foot of the throne. But how is it, I may be asked by persons less informed, that there is a majority in the Canadian Parliament for such an anti-British measure? I answer that the loyalist-liberals of Upper Canada have had to contend against what is the greatest practical drawback of colonies, not being able to obtain Church and College reform, because high churchmen are afraid to introduce a principle that might tend to subvert the Church Establishment at home, and so men tainted with the rebellion of 1837-38 were in numerous cases preferred at the late elections to loyalists, because the latter were churchmen. These members were not chosen because they were or had been rebels, but because the constituencies were determined to rid Upper Canada of Church and College monopolies. At the same time let it be remembered that when the present majority got elected, the Upper Canada constituencies were not told that their pockets were thus to be picked to pay the Lower Canadian disloyalists and conspirators of 1837 any more than we have been insulted by a proposal to indemnify Smith O'Brien and his confederates. It is, however, a great mistake to suppose that legitimate parties in politics (characterised simply by the difference of their views as to the internal interests of the colony) are yet formed or ever can be formed, while constitutional or church questions are left unsettled to sow dissensions among the Anglo-Saxon race. Indeed, as respects the impossibility of at present forming a truly British connection party, the position of Canada is not unlike that of Ireland. Her Majesty's Scottish subjects in Canada are dissatisfied from the high churchmen (famously known as the Family Compact, or Church and College faction), by the latter having ecclesiastical advantages which the former could not get, or would not take, just as the dissenters and loyal Roman

Catholics of Ireland are not able conscientiously to unite with the Conservatives in Ireland to form an overwhelming connection party of loyalists, however much as individuals they are friends and admirers of each other. In both countries the bane is the denial of all the subject's privileges to those who are prepared to do all the duties of the subject. Partial ecclesiastical distinctions in fact are the remote cause, and the heartburnings and party dissensions caused thereby are the proximate cause why the haters of British rule in Canada were led to believe in 1837 in the possibility of successful rebellion, and why the same thing occurred in Ireland in 1848; and if church favoritism is permitted to continue no great British connection party can ever be formed either in Ireland or in Canada, and I see the dismemberment, and even the breaking up, of the empire to be as certain as that effect follows cause. In these days of revolution it will take a crown, and not a church, party to govern the empire—yet the vital corruption here pointed out is the only thing against which the veracious Times does not thunder. Is it for fear of its church advertisements? or are the editors all Puseyites?

It were an endless job to undertake an exposure of all the misrepresentations, wilfully or ignorantly, made by the Times, so I shall confine myself to those contained in its vile, not to say villainous, articles of Thursday (17th), and, for clearness, I shall classify them under three heads—False Representations of the nature of the point at issue in Canada; False Representations of the feelings and character of the French in Canada; False Representations of the feelings and character of the British in Canada.

False Representations by the Times of the importance of the point at issue in Canada.

1st. The Times, in its ignorance, would laugh the matter down. "The British Parliament has not the smallest call to put its foot into the Canadian quarrel. If it chooses to enter into the particulars of Lord Elgin's administration, or of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, or any other colonial officer, it will probably find the subject at least as amusing as the Rajah of Sattara's claims." Now, I should know the feelings of the British population of Canada as well as any man either in or out of the province, and I will tell you that so much more serious a matter is this than the Times would make it, that the British population of Canada view it as a piece of more egregious folly on the part of the British Government than was the Boston Tea Tax. The arbitrary mode of this Rebel Indemnity Tax is in no degree less, (the money being equally taken without their consent), while the object to which this money is to be applied, is one to which honorable men never could consent, and as being in effect an admission of their having been in 1837 engaged in a dishonorable cause. Upper Canada will wait with confidence the result of their appeal from the Whig Ministry to the British throne; but never, be assured, will the British Canadians consent to be taxed to pay the French Canadians for their rebellion, nor will they even agree to the Imperial Parliament doing so. In fact, the feeling of the Loyalists of Canada is just that which Thomas Jefferson expressed to John Randolph, 25th August, 1775. (Am. Archives.)

"I am sincerely one of those who still wish for reunion with the parent country, and would rather be dependent on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any nation upon earth, or than on no nation. But I am one of those, too, who rather than submit to the rights of legislation for us assumed by the British Parliament, and which late experience has shown they will so cruelly exercise, would lend my hand to sink the whole island in the ocean."

2nd. But this writes the bullying Times (its contorted facts being evidently derived from the oblique Secretary of the Colonies):—"To pass such a bill is no stretch of liberty, no insult to royal authority or law. It is merely the settlement of existing and admitted claims by a regular process of adjudication. The British public will not moot the question whether the Colonial Legislature has a right to pass such an act, or whether Lord Elgin might properly allow his Cabinet to introduce it, and so give it a species of sanction."

"Has Canada, moreover, abused the liberties we have lately guaranteed her, or has she exceeded their just and proper range. Most certainly not."

I must leave it to people of that peculiar mental formation which Lord George Bentinck used to remark in Lord Grey's school, to understand how it happens to be no degradation to royalty to be made to eat the words it issued from the cannon's mouth (especially if these conveyed the meaning it intended and still professes to approve of), while all the time it is admitted that, in common humanity, this would be an insult amounting to a loss of honor, and therefore greater than life is worth. But well assured I am that the British public is not so stupid as not to be unable to distinguish between the mere organic power conferred by Britain on the Canadian parliament, and its right or duty as a British institution. A man possesses the power to cut his throat, but it were irrational that he should do so merely to show his power; and so the Canadian parliament has the power again to vote the Queen a nuisance, as the French Canadians did in 1837, and as they have now practically done by this Rebel Indemnity bill, by which supporters of the Crown in the day of trial are punished for their devotion to the cause of the British Government, a very plain way, as it appears to us, of repudiating royal authority in Canada.

False Representations by the Times of the Feelings and Character of the French in Canada.

I will yield to no man in my respect for and even admiration of the French Canadians, as individuals, nor would I blame, as unnatural or otherwise than as a thing impracticable, their unanimous aspirations at a "French nationality;" but, as the province must either be French or English, and as it can never be made French now that the English settlers far outnumber the habitants, it seems to me to be the greatest injustice to ourselves, and a species of the most refined cruelty to them, not to make Canada, above board and at once, English in every thing public, giving the French all the English liberty and every advantage which we claim for ourselves, but putting a stop to the absurdity of their expecting to be Frenchmen, even if their prejudices may believe this to be better for them. But the Times recklessly asserts, "The rebels of 1837 were patriotic and honorable men compared with their present opponents. The former fought for free and equal institutions; the latter for the ascendancy of a faction or a race." I really blush to think that any English writer could so pervert the truth, and then turn it against his country. No one doubts that the Lower Canadians were patriots, but their patriotism was French, not English. No one doubts that they were so far honorable as to be conscientious in their rebellion and in their preference for French as contrasted with English institutions. It was for the ascendancy of their race alone that they fought, and for this they would fight against the British Government to-morrow if they saw any chance of success; but as for the assertion that they fought for free and equal institutions, there is scarcely the shadow of a foundation for it, as the English colonists enjoyed no advantage under the constitution of 1793 that the French Canadians did not. And what alone could give the least excuse for this bold assertion is, that Lord John Russell in 1835 had got the assent of the Imperial Parliament to a suspension of the said constitution of the colony, the French Parliament of Quebec having so grossly insulted the British authority (as the Whigs then thought), as to prove Lower Canada unfit for British liberty, and incapable of British representative Government.

False Representations by the Times of the Feelings and Character of the British party.

1. The British party is alleged to be not only a vile but an insignificant oligarchy, no more in fact than the old "family compact," and yet, small though it be, it is represented as overawing the councils of the province, and frightening his Excellency out of his propriety, while, as desperadoes, its members are assumed as capable, if not guilty, of burning the Parliament House, &c. &c.

"In Canada, the men who call themselves the British party, and who had hitherto relied on the imperial support against the people of the colony, had no idea of so peaceful and constitutional a method. They took up a hostile position to the House they had themselves called into existence, and the people who had returned it. Throughout the province, and particularly at Montreal, they made it the object of bitter denunciation and reckless menace."

"In truth, the pretensions of these Tory desperadoes are such as are utterly inadmissible in this country and this age. In the face of a solemn treaty by which Englishmen and Frenchmen, *Tros Tyriusque*, are bound to live in unity and equality, Sir Allan McNab and his accomplices are conspiring to disfranchise, enslave, and crush not far from a million of her Majesty's peaceable subjects."

"In Canada we behold an oligarchy, which has long revelled in the plunder of a province, laboring to overawe a senate, to bully a governor, to paralyze a majority, and to degrade a people, merely that they may again monopolise office, and divide official booty."

Upon such rash and unsupported assertions the British public can never surely be duped by the Whigs into a belief that the British party and the family faction are convertible terms. If so sad a mistake were committed, many an innocent, because ignorant, man would hereafter have to regret having assisted, by means of insult and injury, in converting a British Province into a State of the American Republic against its own will. The British public will not, however, believe that if the Whigs and the Times had to meet the British party as an armed foe, they would trust to their being such a minority; for if so, how was the country saved to England in 1837 from the hostile and united grasp of Lord Elgin's friends and the American sympathisers? What is it these "Tory desperadoes" have done, except demanding, and by every means known to the constitution, insisting that the constituencies be appealed to before passing so unexpected and altogether so extraordinary an act as this Rebel Indemnity bill? Where could have been their advantage in this if they have not the country behind them? As I have shown at some length above, the present Parliament is no indication of the strength of parties. For my part, had I been in Canada I would certainly have been found among those whose representatives are supporters of the Rebel Indemnity bill. There was no constitutional question at stake, and the idea of an indemnity to the Lower Canadian rebels was never mooted at the general election, so I would certainly have voted (believing this the best British policy) for the men whom I thought able soonest to root out of Upper Canada all exclusive church and college establishments; and thus of course I would have the mortification now to feel myself misrepresented on the subject of this most odious

tax. The fact is that the British party or those who will turn out against the Indemnity Bill will, with very few exceptions, comprise all who turned out for the British Government in its hour of need. And what, let me ask, will be the feelings of these men, when they read in the Times the following character of them by the tool of the British ministry?

"Take it all in all, we do not hesitate to say that neither the Chartists nor the Irish exhibited such a complication of wickedness as the Canadian Tories. Our demagogues at home had at least some honorable pretences. They took up the cause of poverty and oppression. They sought liberty for those who, at least, had never enjoyed power. They imagined their side to be the majority, and, consistently with that belief, they asked for a perfect representative system. Both in England and in Ireland, a popular legislature was the immediate object of agitation."

"The rebels of 1837 were patriotic and honorable men compared with their present opponents. The former fought for free and equal institutions; the latter for the ascendancy of a faction and a race. The true rebels are those who, having provoked the rebellion of 1837, now show how unfit they ever were to govern by rebelling themselves the moment they cease to be paid for obedience."

EFFECTS OF THE LOSS OF CANADA.

If the crown and the public opinion were of the same mind as Lord Elgin and the Whigs, we must, of course, lose the Canadas forthwith; and it therefore becomes us to consider whether we are not losing anything essential to national existence. If we lose Canada, not to dwell on the altered prospects to our emigrants, and the reduction of employment to our manufacturers, shipowners, and sailors, where, I should like to ask Lord Grey, have we a supply of timber? It is well known that we could not be supplied with one half what we want from the Baltic, even if we could depend on the continued friendship of the northern powers, which our experience of 1808 warns us from relying on; and if I were in Canada, and Canada a State of the Union, I know that I would advocate an export duty on timber of at least ten dollars the load, for the United States require it all for themselves. Lord Grey might be impeached as having given away our only independent supply of an article essential to national existence, but all this will never recover for us an advantage which it is easy for us now to retain. The only mode of retaining Canada and our other colonies is, in my opinion, very simple, while at the same time I believe not only that there is but one course for us, but that we must act promptly, especially in the case of Canada. I am sorry to trespass at so great length on your columns, but I am anxious in conclusion to give my views of the steps at present necessary to be taken in colonial affairs, as I detailed them in a communication to the Secretary of the Colonies, pointing out the dangerous position of the Canadas, dated 11th ult.

"Nothing is more certain than that if the Church and College monopolies are not banished from British America the Anglo-Saxon population will remain dissatisfied, and gradually become disaffected; but, in the meantime, a more imminent danger has to be ward off, and the British Government may depend on all the royalists of 1837 and 1838 putting their shoulders to the wheel. The parties who will have the disgrace of losing the Colonies (if they be lost) can only be your lordship and Lord Elgin, by throwing obstacles in the only course left the British population to pursue. The only alternative left to the Loyal Colonists is to RETAIN UPPER CANADA BRITISH, since they cannot make United Canada British or loyal. They will be sure to petition the Home Government as follows, and if your Lordship and Mr Roebuck have not influence enough to get the prayer of the loyalists insultingly disregarded (as usual) the Colonies will be saved; otherwise, much against their will, they will be States of the American Republican Union immediately. The Anglo-Saxon Race will insist on the Union of the Canadas being broken up, the Island of Montreal and everything south of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence, as far down as Port St. Francis, including the eastern Townships, being incorporated with Upper Canada.

"Thus would the Canadas be temporarily saved, and by this course alone will time be got to reorganise our Colonial Empire by the national repudiation of Sir Robert Peel and his anti-British measure of 1846. Except with a view to the latter there is no use whatever in carrying the former reform; but, to leave no uncertainty what I mean by the latter, I shall here state the practical way in which the legislation of 1846 may be so qualified as to secure permanently our Colonial Empire. Let us at once prove our faith in Free Trade by making the Colonies so far integral parts of the British Empire by levying no duty on the sugar, corn, or other products of the Colonists, except on articles on which there is an excise duty in this country; and let us (in order to show our confidence in British manufacturing superiority, and to lead other nations to reciprocate with us to a reasonable extent) declare by the same act of Parliament that all foreign countries that will agree so to remodel their tariffs as not to charge us more on any article than 15 per cent on the British cost, shall stand on the same footing as the Colonies, and have their products received here free of all duty. And, as it is most reasonable that countries that will not agree even to such terms of reciprocal trade should have deducted from the price which their articles produce in this country a customs' duty in some degree equivalent to the taxes paid by British subjects producing the same articles, let us arrange that, on all