

ENGLAND

IN THE

WESTERN HEMISPHERE:

THE

UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

[FROM THE PORTFOLIO of March 1st, 1844.]

BY

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—THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

“Remember, Sir, that Canada must neither be lost, nor given away.”—*William IV.* 1835.*

“I would rather give up the Canadas than run the hazard of a war.”—*British Negotiator of 1841.*

“THE Security of a State,” says a Roman Historian, “lies not in Armies and Fleets, but in FRIENDS;” if so, the highest Characters in a State are those which enable it to secure Friendship—these Characters are Integrity and Sense. It must at once be harmless and wise; being so it will add the Respect of Nations around to good Conduct within; herein live Strength and Security.

It is with States as with Individuals. The highest possession of private Men is Friendship. For this do we prize Good-fame, Honour, and Character. These are of the highest Value, although Tribunals are instituted to prevent Injuries from Enemies. Over Nations there is no such Tribunal; therefore, to be of good Repute, is even of more Value than for individual Men, since on it depends not only the Estimation of their Fellows, but Immunity from Assault or Protection against it. In their Character lies, therefore, at once their best Possession, and their very Existence.

A wise People being the object of unfriendly Feelings would apply itself to change them by its Care—an unwise People will suffer them by its Negligence to grow, and by its Passion it will confirm them. It is not in Epochs of Strife, when Results are committed to the Arbitrement of the Sword, or the Solution of Chance, that

* Parting words, addressed to Sir F. Head.

this Care can be exerted and this Wisdom displayed; it is in the periods of calm and dispassionate Life that by the Feelings cultivated among Men, those Powers are called into being, which in the day of Trial decide on the Fate of Nations, and the Causes brought into Action, which hasten or retard, prevent or necessitate such a Contingency.

A Nation may convert Friends into Foes, though prosecuting no dishonest or ambitious Schemes, but merely by Ignorance, Self-sufficiency, or improper Conduct. It may, even where its own Feelings are most friendly, thus blindly produce for itself the Consequences of dishonest Will, and unjustly establish for itself a bad Repute. In such Case, being ignorant of what it ought to do, it will be ignorant of what it has done—of the Friendships it has lost, and of the Passions it has aroused. When the Knowledge of the Change is by Events forced upon it, it will not think of rectifying its Course, but of punishing those it has changed and misled; and its Awakening will but confirm the Evils engendered by its Torpor. It is in the Hope of contributing to avert such Consequences from England, that we now endeavour to present the Picture of our Relations with America.

The struggle between England and the United Colonies was preceded on the American Continent by one with France. This was concluded by the Treaty of Versailles of 1763, that by the Treaty of Paris of 1783. The Treaty of 1763, gave Canada, &c. to Britain. The Treaty of 1783 made New England, &c. independent. The People of New England assisted Britain in the War concluded in 1763. The people of Canada assisted Britain in the War concluded in 1783. Without the Affection of New England, in 1763, we should not have gained Canada. Without the Affection of the Canadians, in 1783, British

Supremacy would have been out-rooted from America, and the entire Region, with its vast Dimensions, its inexhaustible agricultural, mineral, manufacturing and maritime Resources, become the Seat of a transatlantic Power, whose Influence, not England only, but Europe itself, might soon have had to feel and to deplore.

It was our Successes against France in America, in 1763 (to which contributed greatly our Transatlantic Possessions) that gave to us the secure Possession of India, and established our maritime Supremacy on the Ocean. Through that Success, however, or rather its Misuse, were these Colonies lost to us. Haughtiness engendered by Confidence in our own Strength, led to contempt of their Rights; they were first alienated and then driven to Revolt. On the other hand, France, taught Humility by reverses, and awakened by their very loss, to a Sense of the importance of Transatlantic Possessions, encouraged those Discontents of our Subjects, and finally assumed the open Patronage of their Revolt assisting with her Arms.

Towards our newly-acquired Canadian Subjects of French origin, our Conduct was different. To them we manifested the Respect which we had lost for our own Subjects who had assisted us in acquiring these new Territories. We were further induced to deal tenderly with them, out of Consideration for France, whose Offspring they were, and who had, in the Treaty of Surrender, stipulated the preservation of their internal Liberties, their local Customs and Religion. To these favouring Circumstances must be added the Character of the first Governor, General Murray, who was fully aware of the Danger of allowing a French and English feeling, to arise, and who, while acting on this Conviction, established this Dogma as the Basis of our Canadian Policy at Home. Thus did England righteously abstain from all Interference with Canadian Cus-

toms, while she felt no such Restraint in legislating for her own Emigrants, and the Result was a growth of Affection for England in the French Transatlantic Race, and a growth of Animosity against her in the British. But this was not all—the French Canadians had experienced from their Government, while subject to it, treatment similar to that which the British Colonists afterwards received from us. The Position of both the European Governments towards the two Races, French and British, in America, was thus the Counterpart of each other, with this difference, that the hardier Spirits of New England, exasperated against their own Country, applied not to a Foreign Government, but conceived the bold Design of a Colonial Independence; whilst among the French Canadians, neither such Ambition had taken root, nor were the means to it within their reach. The Disaffection engendered by French Colonial Government, was tranquilly transmuted into Affection for the Government to whose lot they had fallen by Conquest, but who had respected their Prejudices as well as their Rights, and had oppressed them neither by Violence nor by Law. However, though France did not acquire for herself the British Colonies, she succeeded in severing them from England, and thus placed against England an opposing Weight in the Western Hemisphere, where otherwise she would have stood pre-eminent and alone, swaying it from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Circle; and with all that in the United States is now withdrawn from her, or placed against her—united to her Strength, and contributing to her Greatness.

What a Lesson for the past, what a Warning for the future is here presented! What an Exemplification of the common tendency of the two great Governments of Europe, equally exhibiting Characters the reverse of those by which Nations are raised to Power, or are worthy of

being so. Each State losing the Attachment of those of its own Issue; then, each regaining Power by the Animosity which the ill Deeds of its Opponent had aroused within itself—England strong in America by the Affection of the French Population—France possessing there the Means of injuring England, by the Regard and Confidence of the British. Well might the wise Man of Arabia exclaim, “*The Dominion of the Earth is the Patrimony of the Blaneless.*” *

Coming into the Possession of the French Colonies, after losing our own, the former Frontier between the English and French Colonies became now the Frontier of England and the United States. This Frontier stretched to the Southward of the great fresh-water Lakes. The English Government, endeavouring to make up for former Wrongs, generously surrendered the Southern Shores of the Lakes, and the Frontier Line was drawn through their Centres, so as to give to the United States, equally with England, the benefit of those inland water Communications. This, at that Time, was the important Matter to settle; and England in settling it was generous without being wise, † for minor Points were left open. These, regarded with perfect Indifference at the Time, gradually

* On the Evacuation of Dunkerque, a Frenchman asked an Englishman when they would come back? The other replied—“*When the measure of your iniquity shall have exceeded ours.*”

† This Lake and River Frontier was settled not only for the Lakes running East and West, but also for the Frontier running South, which was to be through the Centre of the Mississippi. This line we have totally surrendered, and the British Frontier now nowhere approaches within 150 miles of that River. The whole of Michigan was in like manner given up.

assumed Importance by the successive failure of Attempts at Adjustment. The Treaty of Paris, and subsequently in a more formal Manner the Treaty of Ghent, specified Means of Settlement, which in the year 1827, were had recourse to. A Convention between the United States and England was then signed, by which both Parties bound themselves to submit absolutely their Differences to the Decision of an Arbitrator. The King of Holland was the Arbitrator so selected, and on the 10th of January, 1831, he did render his Award, by which all those Differences were closed. This Adjustment was broken without the Knowledge of Parliament of its Existence, or Consent to its Abrogation. Hereupon commenced a Series of Measures involving Collisions upon the Border, Animosities between the two People, Differences between the Governments, keeping suspended over the Provinces, the Sense of mutual Alarm, and Fears of a general War.

Restoration of Harmony was the professed Object and supposed Effect of the Ashburton Treaty, but the sudden Appearance of an hitherto unknown Source of Quarrel upon the Western Extremity of the Line, has shewn this to be a Delusion.

The Feelings of the Canadians have also undergone a Change. This loyal People has been engaged in Rebellion; and the present Condition of Canada is at once painful and alarming.

These Changes, without and within, deserve our most serious Consideration both as to the Facts and Causes.

The United Colonies after coming to a Revolt, and declaring War against the Mother Country, might, on the Achievement of their Independence, be supposed to be animated by deadly Hatred towards England. The People of this Country, judging by what they now see in the United States, and through their own present

Feelings, assume this to be a Truth too manifest to be denied, and too natural to be questioned; yet, in this they gravely—cruelly err. In the Achievement of their Independence the Measure of the Hopes of the Colonists had been filled up, and the rancour of their Animosity assauged.

To the United States, Victory did not bring Contempt; in England, Defeat did not engender Bitterness; the Child, successful, deposed its Anger; the Parent, unfortunate, surrendered her Pride. With consentaneous Spirit, each responded to the Advances of the other, each recognized that their reciprocal Prosperity no less depended on their common Harmony when living under separate Governments, than when they owed Allegiance to the same Crown. Strife had indeed been bitter, as in a family Quarrel; but the Peace was not a cold and bitter Relinquishment of Struggle, as between stranger People, but in like manner partook of the Warmth of a family Reconciliation. And being the first People that had triumphed over Britain, there was no People on Earth that had a more exalted Idea of her Power, or a more tender Regard for her Character.

The powerful Assistance received during the War of Independence from France, might naturally have called forth Gratitude and Affection to that Country, and nothing can more clearly establish the Reality and Extent of their Affection for England than the Absence of such Feelings. Their Sentiments were brought on this Subject to the rudest Test in the long War between England and France. They did not seize the Opportunity of humbling the Mother Country, nor of repaying to her Enemy their former Obligations, notwithstanding the Bond of Opinion and of Republican Forms that seemed to unite them. And when a Difference arose between them and

England on distinct Grounds, which ended in War—even then did they not join themselves in Aim and Object with their continental Allies. Their very naval Victories above all other things tending to render the War one of national Exultation, prevented not a deep Feeling of Regret from pervading the Union, because of the Injury these very Successes brought upon England. The New England States, (of which the State of Maine is one) even met in Convention at Harford, in Connecticut, to take Measures to prevent the Prosecution of the War, not foreseeing its Consequences and dreading its fatal Issue, they resolved to stop the Supplies, to compel the United States to desist from being a Party therein; and it was seriously proposed, failing to obtain this, to separate themselves from the Union, and to replace themselves under the British Crown;—the Danger of England was their Dread not their Opportunity.

Pass five-and-twenty Years,* and what a Contrast! The Fall of England is their Dream, her Weakness their Opportunity.

Let us now turn to the other Side of the Frontier. The Inhabitants of North America, whom we received as a Consequence of the Victory of Quebec, were not of British Origin, but of the Race opposed to England in Europe; their Sympathies and their Associations were as much opposed to England as the People of the United Colonies were united to her. So soon as they became our

* When all these Sympathies were renewed so late as the Year 1827, by the Visit of Lafayette, not a Thought was breathed injurious to England. Then the only Difference with England was the North-Eastern Boundary, it had however, not yet borne its bitter Fruits, and it was on the Point of being closed by a Convention, which was then negotiating, and concluded in September.

Subjects they attached themselves to us, and when our own Subjects were driven to revolt, they remained faithful. When France took up Arms against us, their Loyalty was unshaken, and when our former Colonies, in conjunction with France, invaded our Territories, and offered to them Republican Freedom, they refused the Boon, resisted the Aggression, proclaimed their Gratitude and Loyalty to the British Crown, and proved it by their heroic and almost unsupported Efforts in the Field, by which they preserved Canada to Britain. Thus were the Americans our Friends, and a portion of the New Englanders such Friends, as to be ready to break their own Federation if that were necessary to preserve England from Injury. Thus were our French Subjects attached, and so attached, as to arm almost *en masse* to preserve and assert our Supremacy. What a glorious Position was this; and here, if ever, was the Truth of the Words of Sallust exemplified, that the Strength of a State lies in its Friends.

We have said what the Canadiaus did in 1812 for England. In 1837 their Forces were arrayed, their Antipathy aroused against England. In 1844, the Canadian Population has been brought by the Acts of the English Government, within and without, to as ripe a State for Insurrection as the People of the United States to ripeness for Assault.

To the Estrangement of the New England States, commencing with Maine, we have been reconciled as to an Accident in which we had no Part; we have accounted for it by *the Fact* of Boundary Differences, without referring it to the *Cause* of these Differences—that is, the improper Conduct of the Negotiation. But compare the Feelings of the New Englanders in 1812, and those which they at present entertain, and see what a Loss we have incurred. Were the Infection confined to these States alone, how much would that Change be to be de-

plored, and what a Lesson respecting the value to a Nation of Diplomatic Knowledge and Supervision. These States are the most powerful of the Union—they were the Source and Seat of Affection for England, and Alliance with her. They have given us a Channing. While they excel in commercial Enterprise, and in manufacturing Industry, they are pre-eminent in scientific and literary Attainment. They abhor Slavery. Of all People on Earth they are the most like the English, as they were the most attached to them. In a word they are English. And this is the People now become the Seat, Centre, and Source of the bitterest Animosity against Britain!

The Extent of this Change, and of the Participation of the other States, in the Sentiments of Maine, were revealed in 1837, when along the whole Frontier, from Lake Champlain to Lake Michigan, an armed Organization appeared ready, on the first favourable Chance, to pour into Canada; and in 1837 and 1838, the British Provinces, both in Winter and Summer, were subjected to formidable Invasions.

In 1838, considerable Forces were sent out from England, to put down the Rebellion in Upper Canada, to maintain Tranquillity in Lower Canada, and to resist the organized Incursions from the United States. By this Augmentation, the British Troops in North America were carried to 12,000 Men above the Number stationed in those Provinces during the War with the United States,* and local Bodies and Volunteers were also enrolled, making a total Amount of 23,000 Men, of which about 15,000 were British, and the others officered by British.

The English Government simultaneously took, in re-

* During that War there were only 4,000 British Troops in North America.

spect to the United States, a Position of Menace which inspired a Dread of Consequences.

The great Augmentation of Military Force, the apparently firm Language of the Government, and a short Time afterwards, the Threat of sending out a Squadron of ten Sail of the Line, had the Effect of repressing the growing Irritation in the United States, and for a Time of suppressing the Hopes and Spirit of Aggression, or at least the Manifestation of it. One of the Incidents producing this Effect, was the Destruction of the *Caroline*; but in Consequence of the Manner in which the English Government dealt with that Matter, it became the Source of new Rancour on the one Side, and of additional Humiliation on the other. The United States Government was involved in Steps far more injurious, and more determinately hostile, than any thing they had previously attempted; and though the Seizure of *M'Leod* did not bring War, it placed the American Government and People in a Position from which they could not voluntarily recede, and placed England under a Ban, which, while not removed, could not be forgotten. America had dealt through her Judicatures with the executive Government of Great Britain. The Court of a subordinate State had declared the Act of the British Government to be Felony, while it asserted and enforced its Right to try and therefore to punish. Palliated or explained in any Way, it was impossible that the general Feeling towards England throughout the Union should not have been deeply tinctured with this historic Event. The Wound opened in England's Side was now so deep, and endangered such vital Parts, that it suggested the habit of Secresy to those who inflicted it, or who sought to profit by it. Designs were suggested that were not for the Day, and Joy was inspired which was increased by the Suppression. Now came to be felt

not in the Breasts of a few but of many, the memorable Words of a late President—"Canada shall be ours by Compact." And the words, "Canadian Land Scrip," and "Hunter's Lodges," indicate at once the Aim and the Sacrifice—the first being the Whet to their Appetite, the second the Earnest of their Zeal.

In these latter Times great Convulsions have been prepared by apparently the most contemptible Means. In the French Revolution, in its consequent Wars, and in all the Commotions of Europe, since the Peace, secret Associations have played the most distinguished Part; Doctrines on Government, Schemes for Conquest, Antipathies of Religion and Race, have been the Elements of these silently infecting Processes. There is no People of Europe that has not been thus polluted, and scarcely any Power that has not been endangered, if not destroyed. They present in the States where they have Strength, Weapons, ready-made to the Hands of any foreign Government that is unscrupulous enough to turn them to account:—as formerly by the French Directory in Germany and Italy, and in our Times by Russia in Germany, Italy, Turkey, France, and England, at Home, and in her southern European Possessions, as in those in Asia and America. These Considerations connect by their character the recent Associations in the United States with the general Sources of Convulsion throughout Europe, and in their probable Results with the general Scheme by which Europe and the World are agitated and menaced.

Therefore it is not only as an important Illustration of the special and local Question with which we are now dealing, that these Transatlantic Associations deserve our Study and our Care. We will commence with the "Hunter's Lodges," instituted to insurrectionize Canada, out of

which a new Association has recently sprung, prompted by the Agitation in Ireland.

The "Hunter's Lodges" were established in May, 1838. Each inferior Lodge to consist of from 20 to 70 Members, presided by a "Chief Hunter;" 20 or 30 of these form the next Lodge, presided by a "Grand Hunter;" 20 or 30 of these form a Lodge presided by a "Grand Leader:" these are elected into the Council of "Eagles," and over these there is a Grand Master, entitled "Sasenen."* The Sasenen to correspond with the President of the United States; the Grand Eagles with the Presidents of the different States, and so downwards.

Every Member to be provided with a Rifle or Musquet, a Sword, a Dagger, and to have ready 40 Cartridges. A Contribution is required from each, varying from 1 to 50 Dollars a-year.

The Association is divided into Three Branches—Political, Military, and Financial.

The Contributions are used to support Newspapers and Publications; to pay emissary Lecturers, &c.; their Operations are not confined to the United States, nor to the American Continents, but extend to England and the Continent.

In the beginning of 1841, the "Hunter's Lodges" were rated as follows, in a Statement which appeared at Montreal.

"Massachusetts, 89 lodges; Rhode Island, 15; Connecticut, 68; Maine 99; Vermont, 107; New York, 283; Michigan, 54; Wisconsin, 7; Illinois, 21; Indiana, 14; Ohio, 86; Pennsylvania, 49; Kentucky, 11; Virginia, 21; Maryland, 16; Delaware, 2; New Jersey, 17; Missouri, 39; Iowa, 3; Louisiana, 11; New Hampshire, 78; Lower Canada, nearly the whole of the French population are organized in lodges; Upper Canada, 84. There are a few lodges in New Brunswick, a few scattered in other parts. The number of lodges in the States not mentioned may

* Title derived from Hassan Saba, Chief of the Assassins.

amount to from 50 to 100. The number of members, if taken at the minimum, may be fairly calculated at 80,000 able-bodied men, and there are not fewer than 120,000 voters in the association. The funds, donations, extra contributions, and a rigid economy, in 1839-40, and part of 1841, had so much increased as to save above 300,000 dollars as a reserve."

The Objects of the Association are exposed in the Oath administered to the Members.

" I swear to do my utmost to promote Republican institutions and ideas throughout the world ; to cherish them, to defend them, and especially to devote myself to the propagation, protection and defence of these institutions in North America. I pledge my life, my property, and my honour to the Association. I bind myself to its interests ; and I promise, until death, that I will attack, combat, and help to destroy, by all means that my superior may think proper, every power or authorities of Royal origin upon this continent, and especially never to rest till the British tyrants cease to have any possession or footing whatever in North America. So help me, God !"

From the above quoted Statement we extract the following.

" We are often asked who is the Grand Sasenen, who are the Grand Eagles ? It is really impossible to state this positively ; but the actual chairman of the committee of foreign affairs of Congress (Caleb Cushing), in one of his late lectures at Springfield, Massachusetts, states 'that it is the *duty of every American to co-operate for the expulsion of British influence and authority from that continent.*'"

The following names are in like manner mentioned, Mr. Smith, of St. Alban's, M. C. for Vermont ; Gov. Fairfield, of Maine ; Gov. Mason, of Michigan ; Gen. Bratish, Col. Thomas, the Hon. Senator Williams, Lieut. Gov. Bradish, of New York ; Gen. Clark.

The following Statement is of Interest especially as taken in Connexion with the public Manifestation in favour of the *Patriots*, by the Russian Governor of New Archangelic,

and the Enrolments in the United States by Russian Agents.

“ We are often asked, if Russia or any other foreign power encouraged the Canadian rebels and the American sympathisers ;—to give a positive answer would be rather a difficult task, but one thing we know, that 50,000 dollars, 5000 rifles, some cannon, and a large amount of ammunition, and provisions were offered through a foreign agent, by two foreign mercantile houses in New York or Philadelphia. This we know to be a fact. We could tell something more on this point, but as Her Majesty’s Government did not think fit to divulge any facts, so it is our duty not to do so.”

Canada not having been wrested from us, we are disposed to treat lightly this Conspiracy,* but be it remembered that we took Means to avert the Danger. The Number of Troops sent, and the Greatness of the Expense incurred, display how great that Danger was, as the Necessity for sending them marks the Contrast of our present with our former Hold over our transatlantic Possessions. In 1812, 4000 British Troops defended Canada against an open War, 16,000 in 1838 were judged requisite to keep it tranquil and shelter it from Bandits.

The increased Military Force in Canada had allayed our Fears, while the Evil was disguised only. The administrative Experiments, which apparently were Concessions to the predominating Doctrines, concentrated the Attention of the Provincials within. These were the two Constitutions given,—the one by Lord Falkland to Nova Scotia, the other by Lord Sydenham to the two Canadas. By these Means the Minds of Men were for a Time carried away from Questions affecting the international Position of America and England, to parish

* A Member of the late Cabinet being reproached with neglecting to take Measures to prevent the Outbreak said, “ We could not get a hundred pounds to prevent an Insurrection, we can get millions to put it down.”

and Parliamentary Squabbles, and concentrated on the rival Candidates upon the Hustings.

While the Canadas were awaiting the Results which the Working of the new Constitutions were to present, the English Government (a new Administration having come into Power,) conceived the Idea, *that it would be advisable to terminate the diplomatic Differences between the two Governments.* Having taken this Resolution, it became a Question only of ascertaining the Minimum of required Concession. Such a Step, by the very Adoption, involved a serious Change in the Character of England, and in the Dispositions of the United States, and it becomes us to pause upon this Event, not estimating it by our present Thoughts, but considering first what the Duties are of Governors and of Nations, that we may both perceive the Departure from the Path of Duty and of Honour, and appreciate its Consequences. This Transaction is, moreover of grave Importance in a secondary Degree, for Concession could not be made save at a Cost, and the Price required on the present Occasion were Rights and Laws, and therein the Affections and the Loyalty of distinct Sections of our own Subjects.

The Negotiator selected, had neither of the two primary Qualifications indispensable for such an Office. He did not belong to the Diplomatic Body. He was not versed in the Negotiation.* Lord Ashburton was the Man of Station in England, the most intimately connected with America, having Property there, and known Dispositions, which, to a *British* Government, must have marked him as the Man most specially disqualified for such a Negotiation. In the Selection alone did it therefore

* No Step could be taken not injurious, in this Transaction, while the Acts of their Predecessor had not been repudiated, and the Convention of 1827, with its Corollary, the Award of the King of Holland restored.

appear that the Aim of the British Government was not to settle the Difference, but to conciliate the Americans; and so strong was this Desire, that there was a Breaking down of all Habits of Office,* and all Restraint of Decorum,† to effect this Purpose.

By the Appointment of such a Plenipotentiary, and the Transfer of the Negotiation to Washington, the Question was surrendered, and the English Government could take no Position.

Lord Ashburton successfully accomplished his Mission which was not a diplomatic Negotiation, but a commercial Bargain. He went to establish the Scale between British Indifference and American Desires, and he gave freely, what was valued little. The Result was Demonstration of public Satisfaction—in Great Britain, because Harmony was restored—in America, because England had been overreached.

In this Production, to which it is improper to apply the Term “Treaty,” the Boundary Differences are the Matter to be settled, and other Matters are introduced (as explained afterwards) in order that the Boundary Settlement might be *obtained*. These extraneous Matters were then introduced for the Satisfaction of the United States. But the Boundary is nevertheless not settled. The North-eastern Boundary is wholly ceded: for Eng-

* It is a standing Rule of British Diplomacy, that no Person employed at a Foreign Court shall have any pecuniary Interest in that Country. The Person on the present Occasion selected, had a deep pecuniary Stake in America—as large, if not larger than any American Citizen! The Barings have a larger Capital afloat under the American Flag, than the Astors, or any Merchant in the United States. There are nearly thirty Places in America called after him and his Family.

† As subsequently exhibited by Lord Ashburton’s Speech in Faneuil Hall, “The Cradle of Independence.”

land, to use the Words of an American Statesman —“yielded the whole Claim, as she had purchased back the Portions she retained.”* The North-western (the Oregon) is not touched. There was at the Time little Excitement in America on the Subject of the Oregon, and consequently no Alarm in England. The English Government had not then and there the Plea for Surrender that it had to the North-east; and by leaving unsettled the Oregon Question, it conceded all that the United States sought—an available Ground of future Difference.

The United States surrendered not one Subject—England surrendered Thousands; and these not of those that had been faithless to her—had taken Part in Insurrection or had invited foreign Domination, but who belonged to that very Portion of her French Population that had abstained from all Taint of Rebellion in the late Transactions, and who were therefore the Stronghold of British as opposed to American Ascendancy — of Monarchical as opposed to Republican Principles.

This Cruelty inflicted on that faithful Portion of the Acadians, carries Conviction to the Heart of our whole Canadian Population of the Righteousness of their Opposition to England, sanctifying to them Rebellion against a Government equally ready to sacrifice their Rights to an internal Faction, or to abandon them to a foreign Foe.

By the Extradition Clause, a Blow was struck at the Population the most devoted hitherto to England—the Men of Colour. Their Attachment to England was stronger than even the Ties of Patriotism or of Loyalty—they had the Character of Men only by British Law.—

* By Surrenders not within the Grounds of Difference,—Money, —Commercial Facilities,—Communication and Water-ways.

Now, England abandoned her own Position, abrogated her own Laws, for the mere Purpose of surrendering them to gratify by her Subserviency her Enemy. What must be the Effect of such an Act upon their Estimate of us, whom they revered? This is the Reply we give to their Admiration, this the Return we make for their Devotion. The First of August Celebration* will henceforward be desecrated in their Eyes, and the Flag of England will no longer be raised at this Festival as the Labarum of Freedom.

Frontier Differences are of a Character the most dangerous above all others to leave unsettled. The establishment of the Landmark is the point of Departure for all Right. The leaving of it unsettled removes alike Harmony and Law. In this case the Delay of Settlement exasperates only one of the two Parties, and the increased Energy thereby furnished to *the one Government*, leads to its increase of Pressure on the other. But this hastens not a Settlement: for the Field of Interests between the two People is infinite. The more the Spirit of Aggression is encouraged, the thirstier will it grow; and the more that Sacrifice is made to attain Adjustment, the more implacable will be rendered the Passions that are at Work, and insatiable the Ambition that has been awakened.

“There is hardly a boy who drives a Jersey waggon from Florida to Penobscot who is not conversant with every leading point connected with the disputed territory, who is not anxious and ardent in respect to it; and there is in England scarcely one man, whether in Parliament or out of it, in the Cabinet or out of it, who either heeds or knows much about the matter, until he is committed to false acts, and is therefore interested in misrepresenting the facts, and in confusing the public mind.”

* The Anniversary of the Emancipation Act.

These Words appeared in the Columns of a Daily Paper, at the time of the Mission of Lord Ashburton; and they are explanatory of that subsequent so-called Settlement which he effected.

It may be well to exhibit, as contrasting the Spirit and Means of Action of the two People, the Difference of their Mode of Selection of Negotiators. The Negotiator on the part of the United States, that had to deal with Lord Ashburton was Mr. Webster. The Transaction seemed entirely to originate on the part of the English Government. The English Government itself thought it did so. The Transaction originated in the United States. But the United States Government did not embarrass themselves with needless Cloaks and Forms, and on the contrary were able, because they understood the Subject better, and because they understood the People of England, who did not understand them, to dispense with embarrassing Forms, and to approach the Subject where they were least suspected. The ostentatious Embassy of Lord Ashburton was the Child of the unobtrusive and private Visit of Mr. Webster. He came in no official Character, and nevertheless he was selected by one State of the Union, Massachusetts, and amply supplied with Funds for this his private Visit to Britain. He was selected after having made one of the most intemperate and menacing Speeches against England ever delivered in an American Congress,—declaring that the Time would come when America would take Possession of the Territory she claimed, without asking England's Leave or waiting for her Consent. The Boldness of the Step taken in sending Mr. Webster to England, was a Subject of Surprise and Comment in America, and when he was asked how he could dare to go to England, after what he had said in Congress, his Reply was—“*I know the elder Branch.*” And what Evi-

dence was immediately afforded of the accuracy of his Judgment, in those fulsome Compliments that were bandied about, accepted from him and heaped upon him by a discarded Whig and an expectant Tory Minister! This too at Oxford, where one would have supposed the least of Sympathy for American public Institutions or private Character; where above all we might expect to find a Reservoir of British Feeling, raised high and kept tranquil, not flowing idly or uselessly down into the vulgar Channels of Politics and Faction.

Upon this follows the English ambassadorial Expedition. The Plenipotentiary is not selected for having made Speeches in Parliament, menacing to America—he is not selected because all his Sympathies and Feelings are English, and hostile to the United States—he is not selected because he is deeply versed and warmly interested in the Settlement of this Question, to the Honour and Profit of England; and, yet, for any Terms of Parity between the Cases, of Equality between the Negotiators, this at the very least was requisite. He was selected for Reasons the very reverse,—that his Feelings were American, and not English—that he was agreeable to the American, and not to the English Nation. He goes forth, and in the Arena of this Contest, he meets the very Man that had been sent to England. We require to know nothing of the Contents of the Treaty; we have enough in the Character of the Nations here revealed, and in the selection of the Men. We further now know that the Weakness of England was greater even than the Americans had anticipated. The Results of the Negotiation were then necessarily such as to be hailed with Exultation by the United States; and that Exultation we may expect to find accepted as a Source of Congratulation and Satisfaction by the English Nation.

The Demonstrations of Joy which hailed the Ashburton

Treaty in the United States, which might have awakened the English Government to a Sense of its Infatuation, were accepted by it as a Proof of its Intelligence, and put forward by it as an Evidence of its Success. Yet the English Minister in the same Breath taunted the Americans with the "useless Swamp" which they had obtained, and assigned the Dangers of a War as the Reason of the Concession! The Ashburton Treaty produced a Lull. It required Time to digest. It required Time for the Americans to familiarize themselves with the vast projects to which such a Triumph invited—Extension of Dominion northward—England's aboriginal Act to be blotted out—Texas to be annexed—Mexico broken and gradually incorporated—the English Possessions in the West Indies to fall with her maritime Supremacy. These were the Vistas opened up by the Ashburton Treaty; and soon followed Indications that their Mind was made up, in the Stride made across the Rocky Mountains, to the occupation of the Oregon, simultaneously with another Grasp southward to gather in the Texas.

The growing Feeling of Ill-will to England in the United States, has exhibited itself in a Restoration of the "Hunter Lodge" Organization already described, but on which is now engrafted a bitterer Spirit, and to which is given a wider Scope. We must, however, before touching on this Matter glance at the Subdivisions of Opinion throughout the United States.

We have been in the Habit of curiously inquiring into these Divisions, anxious to discover them, and disposed to exaggerate them. The first is on the Subject of Slavery, producing Hatred of the White and Black Population, and the Separation into hostile Bodies of the Northern and Southern States. From this we anticipate a weakening of the Union by the Fact of the Division, and an Alliance with ourselves of the Blacks, of the

Men of Colour, the Partizans of Emancipation. Secondly, there is the Question of the Tariff, producing Antagonism within, and Dissensions in the Federation ; on this we reckon as an Element of Weakness for them, and as rendering friendly to ourselves one of the Parties in the Debate, and the Portion of the Union that is opposed to the Tariff. Thirdly—the Incorporation of Texas ; we look upon the Division respecting that Question, as again a Source of Weakness internal and external, as involving the United States with Mexico—Weakness again by connecting with ourselves those Portions of the Union that are opposed to the Incorporation, especially the Northern States, who fear the Preponderance it would give to the Slave-holding Portion of the Union.

Now we shall have to shew, that in each of these Sections, the previous Good-will towards England has failed to counteract the growing Exasperation, which, like Aaron's Rod, has swallowed up the other Vipers;* so that while we have been dwelling upon the Differences of the Americans, as relieving us from Apprehension, we have effaced these Differences by our Acts ; and we have sub-ministered to the United States new Elements of Concord and of Action, when their internal Bonds of Union were escaping from them, and when, but for this Object of external Ambition and Passion thus furnished, it would have become more and more separated within, both by *State* and *Opinion* Differences, and the general Government less and less capable to use the Powers of the Executive for any external Purpose. Nay, more than this,—the very Subjects of Difference, and the Bones of Con-

* During the last Summer, when the Excitement in Ireland was at its Height, on the Arrivals from England, the Population of New York rushed to the Quays in the expectation of Intelligence of an Outbreak ; with equal avidity were sought the News from China, &c.

tion, have been converted by the Diplomatic Acts of England into Bonds of Union. The United States' Citizens have, on the matter of Slavery, been brought to a point of Concord as against England, in the Matter of the "Eliza." The Alarm of the Northern Provinces at the Annexation of Texas, because of the internal Effects, has been changed into a Concurrence in that Annexation, by the Prospects that are now opened for Annexation of Provinces upon the North, in the Prosecution of which Design they will require the Assistance and the Co-operation of the Southern States. The Question of the Texas, hitherto a Wedge driven into the Body of the United States, becomes now the Pivot upon which its Action turns.

Nor is it only that we have to deplore the loss of the Good-will of these once Fellow Citizens, nor is it only that before us is the melancholy Fact, that Dispositions unfavourable to England are spread throughout the Union—that an Eye of Covetousness is cast upon our Possessions—that Exultation is spread by the Knowledge of Disaffection in our Possessions in Europe, and in Asia, as well as in America—that the Foes of England are looked upon as the Friends of America, and that this People has its Mind attached with Interest to every Scheme of Disorganisation or Convulsion which the World presents; but it is, that throughout this People there is established positive Organization to carry into Operation by a popular and revolutionary Executive, these Designs of Aggression, these Projects of Convulsion as directed upon us from without, and raised up against us from within. The "Hunters' Lodges" are now revived as "REPEAL ASSOCIATIONS." These are in active operation, in the following chief towns, Boston, Albany, New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Cleaveland, Buffalo, Rochester, Charlestown, Detroit, the Savannah, Toledo, Newark, and

minor Places, to the Number at present of 160. Congresses are fixed for two Periods in every Year for Delegates from all Parts of the Union.

This Organization extends, it will be observed by the Names that we have quoted, to the Portions of the Union that have hitherto stood the most opposed in their Opinions and Projects, such as the Northern and the Southern, the Eastern and Western States: it is to be found equally at New Orleans, as at Buffalo, and equally enlists the Sympathies of the Carolina Planter and the New England Manufacturer.

At Cleaveland in Ohio the Congress met in October last, and among others the following Resolutions were passed.

“ That a similar Combination be formed throughout all British America, viz. Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward’s Island, and Canada.”

“ That the Line of Conduct to be pursued, should be regulated by Instructions from Ireland.”

“ That when the internal Condition of the United Kingdom has become so perilous and menacing as to render it either indispensable or desirable to withdraw all British Troops from foreign Service, the whole united Repealers of America should act in Concert together, to create a Diversion in favour of Ireland, or root out for ever the British Sway from the American Shores.”

Let any Man now look at this Question, not through the Medium of his Passions, but with a cool and dispassionate Judgment—making the Case his own; let him consider what would the Relations or the Prospects of Harmony be between England and France, if similar Organizations were spread throughout England, directed against France; if the Field of Agitation and the Road

to Distinction for the senatorial Declaimer, or the Chartist Itinerant, or the Corn Law Repealer had become *foreign Policy*, mixing up all these Sources of Agitation with Schemes of Aggression and the Violence of international Hatred,—would the English Language contain terms capable of describing the Miscreants that Englishmen had become? If the reviling of a foreign Government, and the Expressions of Abhorrence poured forth on a stranger People, not (as we have known them formerly in England,) called forth by Acts that merited such Terms or directed against a People prosecuting guilty Designs,—must not such a Nation have become, in the Language of Channing, “a Robber-State, that has left far behind the Models of Iniquity that have descended to us from past Ages”! Here is a Case of malignant Conspiracy,—moved by Vehemence of Passion,—linked by Confederacy in Crime.

An Organization of such Character, with such Aims, that has thus so rapidly sprung up amongst our Neighbours in America, endangering by its disordered Efforts, as well as by its organized Influence, the harmony of our Frontier, the security of our Provinces, as well as the Relations of the two Governments, is a Danger for England as clear and more threatening than would be that of an open and avowed Invasion. When the Provinces of England were in 1812 invaded by the United States, that Invasion was repelled by our North American Subjects. Have we not then to expect from them now a similar Resistance to the present Attack, not less injurious for them or for us? This Attack they could repel without Bloodshed, without Danger, without Suffering, without long Travail, or Night-watching, without departure from Home or abandonment of Fields and Harvests. It was to be resisted by the mere Expression of the Thoughts that are in their Minds,

if these Thoughts are true and loyal. Do we find, as corresponding with the Picture of the former Period—these perfidious and abominable Schemes, met by Expressions of Abhorrence, and belied by Declarations of Loyalty? Do we find an Association formed to frustrate the evil Effects, and to expose the dishonest Means? Nothing of the kind—less than nothing; for through these our very Dependencies spreads the same Contagion, justifying it by Concurrence, strengthening it by Co-operation. To the North of the Canadian line, a consentaneous Spirit has displayed itself in a similar Organization, which as “Hunter’s Lodges,” or “Repeal Associations,” has spread to the subjoined Provinces and Places.

New Brunswick.*—Fredericton, St. John, Miramichi.

Nova Scotia.—Halifax, Picton, Truro.

Prince Edward’s Island.—Charlotte Town.

Newfoundland.—St. John’s.

Canada.—Quebec, Montreal, Bytown, Prescott, Brockville, Belleville, Kingston, Toronto, Thorold, Hamilton, London, Guelph.

It was not the French Canadians alone, who, in the late War with the United States, were loyal to England. *Nova Scotia* and *New Brunswick* had been peopled by the Emigration, from the United Colonies, of those who rather than renounce their Allegiance, fled their Homes, abandoned their all, and surrendering Possessions and Wealth, came to establish themselves in uncultivated Wastes, exposed to the greatest Hardships and Privations. This they did out of Affection for their native Country.

In these Provinces, then, had remained alive the brightest Flame of Devotion, and of Attachment, and at

* In 1838, the two Chambers the same day voted by Acclamation £50,000 and £10,000. for the Defence of Canada. In 1843, the Brunswickers were sending money to the Repeal Association.

the Celebration of the Birthday of George the Third, on the 4th of June, they outdid in the Expressions of Zeal and Enthusiasm, the Anniversary of the Americans of the 4th of July.

On the material Interests of these two Provinces we had now dealt the heaviest Blows—on the one by the change in the Timber Duties,* on the other by the Abandonment of the Fisheries.†

The remaining Population of our North American Colonies are composed of the *Acadians*, of French origin, *British Emigrants*, the *coloured Population*, and the *Indians*. The *Acadians* have been betrayed by the Ashburton Treaty;—the *coloured Population* outraged by the Extradition Clause;—the *Canadian Population* generally converted into a factious Organization against England, by

* In as far as the Timber Duties were changed, the Interests of England were not consulted; they were changed just to such an extent as to injure New Brunswick, without opening to England the Timber Trade of the World, so as merely to transfer the Traffic to the Baltic, and the benefit to *Russia*.

† We have placed the Inhabitants of Nova Scotia in this Predicament, that they are less favoured upon our own Shores, than the Americans. While the Traffic is transferred to the Americans to the increase of their Navy and Profits, our own Subjects emigrate, and become United States' Subjects, in order that they may benefit by the richness of their own Coast, from which they are debarred under the British Flag.

With respect to the Fisheries of Newfoundland, the Evil is not confined to the single Colony, but to our whole North American Colonies, and our Home Trade. We first surrendered these Rights to the French, which the Americans have stepped in to share in common, the English being excluded, the Americans taking their Ground upon the Rights descending to them as British Subjects previous to the year 1778.

the Union of the two Provinces;—the British Subjects have indeed Attachment to the Mother Country, but it operates only in factious Opposition to their Canadian fellow Citizens;—the Indians, who so recently as 1837, came over from the United States' territory for the Defence of the British, have been alienated by the Acts affecting their Lands in Upper Canada; finally, the Population of Irish, who had in like Manner united themselves from whatever Country or of whatever Faith, in Defence of British Supremacy, (and for this end many Irishmen came from the United States,) are now of course enrolled under the Banner of Repeal.* Amongst the British Population there are other subdivisions, *Scotch Presbyterians*, *Military*, and *Roman Catholics*. The Scotch have their peculiar cause of Grievance in the Church Reserve Question, which places them as no longer upon an Establishment. The Military† are disgusted by the Dis-

* There is an Exception to be made in favour of some of the Orangemen, and perhaps the Suspension of the Assent of the Governor to the Bill for their Suppression may have reference to this. The present Governor of Canada is a man whose every act must have meaning.

† The Case of Capt. Drew is sufficiently notorious, and though the Government has granted a tardy Recompense, he is still under the ban of Piracy in the Courts of the United States. Sir Allan McNab, as has been publicly stated in this Country, would be in Danger, if he followed the direct Road to attend to his Parliamentary Duties, of being seized and hung as a Felon. Some fifty Men engaged in the fresh-water Navigation were obliged to abandon their Employment from Danger of being caught by the Americans. A more flagrant Instance, if not of our Shame, at least of our Ingratitude and Infatuation, is to be found in the Case of Colonel Fitzgibbon. At his own Cost and Risk he armed himself and his Family, and a few Adherents to defend Toronto, and it was this

grace that has been attached to, and the Punishment inflicted upon, those Officers who served against the United States, many of whom have stood by name marked as Felons in the Courts of the United States. The Roman Catholics have been as a body the most obedient in the Colony; their Clergy, who hitherto had abstained from all Share in Agitation, are now, through Causes wholly independent of Canada, but emanating from nearer home, gradually drawn into the vortex of Sedition now connected with Repeal. Thus, whereas formerly from separate Causes each branch of the Population was attached to England, now has a separate Alienation of each been effected, and a general chilling of the Affections of the whole. The Connection with the Mother Country, except where it is taken as a Symbol of Faction, is a matter of cold Indifference, while there are Portions of the Community, and these the most active, vehemently engaged in projects of Dismemberment.

The following Table will present at a glance the Contrast of our past and present Position—

THE UNITED STATES.	
1811-12.	1837.
<i>The New Englanders</i> taking Steps to stop the Supplies of their own Government to arrest the War against England.	Organizing in every District to invade our North American Colonies.

Step that saved Western Canada. He received from successive Parliaments a vote of 5000 acres of Land. This Vote was successively vetoed by the Home Government. While this Man is consigned to comparative Penury, the Leaders of the Rebellion were seated, until their late removal, in the posts of Profit and Honour. It is needless to repeat the Case of McLeod. That Name conveys at once the Sense of the most utter Indignity that one Nation can inflict or endure.

NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES.

1812.

Canadians organized to the Amount of 80,000 Men to resist the American Invasion.

1837.

Engaged in a Rebellion against Great Britain.

1837.

Coloured Population arming to defend England. (American Schooner, *Anne*.)

1844.

Exasperated against Great Britain. (Surrender of Nelson Hackett. *Ashburton Treaty*.)

1837.

Irish Population,—Orange-men, Catholics—Corkmen, Connaught Men, united to maintain English Supremacy.

1844.

United in Repeal Associations from Labrador to Mississippi (excepting the Orangemen).

1837.

Acadians faithful while the other Population of French Origin were rebellious.

1844.

Given over to the Americans.

1778.

New Brunswick, alienated by
Nova Scotia,
Newfoundland,

1844.

Timber Duties.
Coast Fisheries surrendered to the Americans.
Sea Fisheries surrendered to the French and Americans.

To the List of Adhesions to the Hunter Repeal Association, must be added the British Subjects in the United States (Irish), who, on the Canadian Rebellion, were all on our Side, and who are now enlisted to a Man—*Purple* and *Green*, equally against us.

This Repeal Association, which in Ireland means—of the *Legislative Union*, across the Atlantic means—Seve-

rance of the Empire. The Adoption of the ambiguous Term, seduces in the first Instance our Transatlantic Subjects, by not feeling its full Import, and the deepened Sense it gains in America, will, through that same ambiguity be reverberated back to Ireland and Britain.

In the United States, at the first Period referred to in this Table, there was a general Estimation of England, and a Disunion between themselves because of England. At the present Period there is a universal Hatred of us becoming the Bond of Union among themselves.

In the North American Colonies, there was in the first Period a separate Attachment to Great Britain, of all the Portions, Sections, Colours, and Races, and thus resulted among themselves Union and Strength. Now, there is separate Animosity of each against England, leading to at once a factious Disunion within, and a general Association with America, and general Animosity against England.

To these Evils two Remedies have been applied,—the Constitutions within, and the Ashburton Treaty. Three Years have sufficed to shew the Canadians, that the Remedy they had embraced was but an Ixion's Cloud, and two Years to dispel from us the Illusions of restored international Harmony.

Here is a Question of a difference between two States—one Powerful, and the other Weak. It is not the Powerful one that is instant and vehement—grasping in Disposition, and outrageous in Speech. It is not the Weak one that is mild and deprecatory, and that imploringly appeals to “cognate Race,” and “common Ancestry,” &c. The parts are reversed, the strong Government deprecates—the weak one threatens—the first deprecates in vain, the last threatens with success. It is England that yields—and yields to Menace what she had not conceded

to Argument. And herein lies the whole Difference. The original Dispute, and the subsequent Exasperation depends entirely on the Knowledge of the United States, of England's physical Strength and intellectual Weakness. Mr. Kenneth Rayner, of South Carolina, an important Member of the Senate, thus described the relative Position of the two Countries.

“ Suppose we should be precipitated into a war with England—what would be our condition? Our army reduced to a handful, and they in the swamps of Florida, held at bay by the savage. Our navy consisting of but a few frigates, and still fewer ships, and they unfit for service. Our fortifications unmanned and decaying for want of repairs. Without barracks, without ordnance, without munitions of war; and what is still worse than all these, with an empty Treasury and no means of supplying it. With twenty thousand veterans on our Northern border, England would invade our territory and lay our frontiers in ruins. With a fleet of steam ships, she would ravage our coasts, and lay our cities in ashes. By throwing a few regiments of her manumitted West India slave troops upon our Southern coast, she would excite a domestic insurrection. Her machinations would soon reach the sixty thousand Indian warriors that are congregated on our Western border, whose yell would resound from the Mississippi to the Alleghanies. This Indian population is already restless and discontented. With a lingering eye they look back upon the deserted graves of their fathers; and with feelings exasperated and almost goaded into madness, by the infliction of their accumulated wrongs, they are prepared for a sudden outbreak, whenever there is the least prospect of success. Thus hemmed in on all sides—on the North, on the West, on the Eastern and Southern coasts—what would be our situation? . . . In the mean time, what would become of our commerce, which is extending itself into every part of the world? Exposed to the power and rapacity of our enemies, our little navy

would be shattered to pieces, and our commerce driven from the ocean!"*

And is this Picture drawn and overcharged to justify some base Project of Surrender? By no means. It occurs in a Speech in which is to be found the following Passage—

“ Sir, this is no northern question—no sectional question—but a great national question, involving national honour and national rights. And if force does become necessary to vindicate the national character, we of the South, as well as the North, will not only pour out our revenue, but we will pour out our blood.”

This Speaker calls himself the Advocate of Peace. So in the recent Debates in Congress do the most vehement Speakers call themselves the Advocates of Peace; so in England Lord Brougham was the Advocate of Peace. Sir

* “ ‘ Troubles with England.’ ”—The attentive observer of recent events will not be surprised that we express our opinion that the course of events on our Northern and Eastern border is tending rapidly and surely to a serious rupture, and probably a *war* between the United States and Great Britain! This opinion has not been lightly or hastily formed; we shall be grateful if the future prove it mistaken—but unfounded it cannot be.

“ That we are totally unprepared for a war with the most formidable naval power on the globe—that England would sweep our commerce from the seas, burn our sea-ports, ravage our borders, slaughter thousands of our people, and probably send the flame of fierce insurrection through our Southern States before we could commence the fight in earnest, are obvious enough. That we should eventually vindicate our national fame, drive the enemy from our territory, and probably retaliate upon them some of the evils they had inflicted upon us is very probable. But would this be worth its cost of one hundred thousand lives, five hundred millions worth of property, and the loss of half a century in the cause of virtue, happiness, and social order? We think not.”—From the *New Yorker*.

R. Peel was the Advocate of Peace. They are on all sides, the Advocates of Peace. Of course, they all mean same thing; —the Americans—that they should take; the Englishmen—that they should not be hindered. “Let us pour forth our Blood,” “Let us surrender Canada,” imply the same Christian Spirit, and Political Foresight.

At the Time that Sir R. Peel justified the Ashburton Treaty, on the Dread of War, our whole Power was available to bring to bear upon America, she had no Means whatever of Resistance; so that England might have dictated her own Terms, and nothing less than an Attempt to dismember the United States, or to subject the Federation to Tribute, Indignity, or the like, *could have produced War*.

There were two Questions then pending—the one the Invasion of British Territory by American Citizens, the other the Boundary.

As to the first, England, in taking Measures against the United States, would not only have been justified in the eyes of the World, but in their own; they were ashamed of their Act, startled at its Impudence, and fearful of its Consequences. That Matter had to be settled, by doing what ought successively to have been done from 1838 downwards; that is, by calling the United States to account for these Invasions, requiring the Expenses which they had occasioned to be refunded, and Atonement to be made for the Measures taken against our Officers. Thus dealt with, this Matter presented no Difficulty—thus dealt with, all other Difficulties were at once removed.

As to the Boundary, there could be no Question of War on the Part of England, except a defensive one. The Matter was in her Hand, the simple Indication that she knew that it was so, sufficed at once to settle the vapouring of the United States, and to re-awaken the Loyalty and Patriotism of our North American Subjects;

no Force was wanted to support such a Decision—alone it was a Host.

Here is a Claim made by the United States for Territory, which Britain *never had surrendered*. Britain has admitted the Discussion of the Right, but has held the Territory. It is not a Difference arising from undefined Limits between ancient Kingdoms. No Portion of the States became Independent *except by the positive Surrender of Great Britain*. The Territory claimed by the United States on the Ground of doubtful British Cession, had previously been Britain's without dispute, and she had asserted and maintained throughout its extent Jurisdiction and Military Occupation.*

The Parties then submitted to an Arbitration, and England had notified to the Arbitrator its Acceptance of the Award, by which she gave up to the Americans two-thirds of what they claimed. The United States relinquished the Award; they of course lost the Benefit, and moreover broke the Compact which bound them to an absolute Submission to the Decision of the Arbiter. They had no longer a Shadow of Claim; and if they had, England could proceed to no new Arbitration. That Act of the United States placed England in the full Possession of the Territory *de jure* which she held *de facto*.

This was the Position that had to be taken up by the new Administration, this was their Duty; and they possessed overwhelming Means to support that Decision against any attempt to invalidate it, which could only have been by an Army crossing our Frontier from the

* The Infractions upon this Point in recent Times have been unavowed as international Acts, they were but private Communications from the then Foreign Minister. It was for the Government that came into Power to disavow them, as they had disavowed the reasonings of the same Functionary upon the Right of Search.

United States. Having taken this Ground, then, England might have suffered the Settlement to be made according to the Award of 1831. So her Moderation would have been appreciated, and it would have been known that in her were united Strength and Liberality, and knowing and asserting her own Rights, she yet knew how to prize and secure the Affection of her Neighbours. This Question thus settled, all the others were settled, and all Wounds closed.

But the Right was abandoned, the Opportunity neglected, and the Consequence is, that the Hatred which by alternate Irritation and Provocation we had aroused, is converted into Contempt. With the common Transatlantic Speech, Expressions are interwoven to be compared only to those which, in Europe, we apply to the Turkish Power. These have grown not out of *Weakness* that could be trampled on with Impunity but—*Strength!* “The Pear is ripe in the East.” “Mahometanism must be driven from the Soil of Europe.” “The Crescent wanes before the Cross.” It is these crushing Sentences that have leagued the European Powers with the Enemy of Turkey to effect its Fall. These Words will bring on Europe and Asia wider Devastation than the Hordes of Moguls and Huns. Yet why should these Words have found Favour? Turkey has not, like England, given Cause for Animosity; she has embittered no Nation by commercial Competition, exasperated none by struggle for political Pre-eminence; she has oppressed no World with maritime Preponderance, and neither did she sign perfidious Treaties against friendly Governments, nor assault innocent People, to set up Pretenders, to sell Drugs, or depose Ameer. She has made no craven Surrender of Territory, Subjects, or Rights, where she apprehended Resistance, nor cowardly Assault where she reckoned on Impunity.

“When the Fruit is ripe it will fall of itself.” “The Eagle will pluck out the Eyes of the Lion and Unicorn.”

“ Monarchy, like Masonry, must be driven from the Western Hemisphere.” Such Expressions are now current in the Transatlantic Continent, and they will find kindly Reception, and awaken responsive Echoes in the Continent of the East. And when they have brought for England such Consequences as she herself has mainly contributed to bring upon Turkey—when she finds herself exhausted by an objectless War, torn by Insurrection, and disposed of by a Protocol, then may she learn, too late, that there is no Strength so great as to be able to dispense with Honour and subvert Justice; and that no Nation is strong that has deprived itself of Friends. Then shall we discover what the Riches are which we have been treasuring up against the evil Day, when, knowing not how to *merit* Friendship, we sought to extort it by Assault, and to purchase it by Concession.*

Let it be here clearly understood that, when we speak of Dishonesty, it is heedlessness of Guilt and Transgression that we mean. There has been no Design or Object of Englishmen in any of the Crimes that their Government has committed; they are indeed guilty as if they had cherished Design; but it is not that Guilt which we charge upon them. By the absence of Design against their Neighbours, they are destitute of Craft and Cunning; by confidence in their own Strength they have lost Watchfulness. Neither, therefore, of the Causes that lead to a Nation's Care, and thereby to its Knowledge, are in action for them; and, moreover, living in an Island, and not having

* Declaration of Simla, 1st Oct. 1838, announcing that we were to invade a Foreign State, “*to substitute a friendly for an unfriendly Power on our North-west Frontier.*”

Declaration in the House of Lords, by the Mover of the Vote of Thanks to Lord Ashburton. “Not the Madawaska Settlement, but the whole Territory in dispute; aye, Canada itself, and the whole of our North American Possessions *would he give up sooner than incur the GUILT of a War with America.*”

before them an arbitrary Frontier, presenting either the Thought of Danger, or the Desire of Acquisition, they have ceased to understand the Feelings of other Nations otherwise situated, or the Estimate they form of England, or the Schemes into which they may enter, either under a supposed Necessity of counteracting her Ambition, or in the Hope of profiting by her Weakness. All that is addressed to Englishmen upon such Subjects are as Sounds to the Deaf, and as Colours to the Blind.

The Citizen of the United States is, on the other Hand, aroused to Watchfulness, and impelled to Knowledge alike by his Dread of the Power of England, were it exerted, and by the Desire of Gain, of which England's negligence opens to him the Hope. The United States Citizen has gradually attained to this Science; he has marched from Surprise to Surprise by our Admission of groundless Pretensions; he has gone on from Discovery to Discovery in the illimitable Field of English Pusillanimity, until he has involved himself in Schemes of Robbery, Conspiracy, and Insurrection. So committed, he has seriously to apply himself to find the Means by which England's false Security shall be prolonged, and her Vengeance effectually counteracted, should it ever be aroused. To spy out throughout the World the Infirmities and the Dangers of Britain, becomes his Task, and proves his Patriotism. We have given the Oaths sworn by one Body, and formal Resolutions passed by Another, pledging them to the Invasion of the British Territories, and to the Uprooting of the British Power from the neighbouring Soil. They cannot pause in such a Course; they must be busy no less on the Continent of Europe* than at Home and in Canada; they

* The Labours of Americans and their German and French paid Writers, to vituperate England through the Continental Press, are well-known, and though this Action was originally directed to the

must watch and foment the Progress of Repeal in Ireland, of Chartism and Corn-law Agitation in England, and thus draw within the Sphere of this Agitation the Elements of Confusion that foment in every State.*

Thus very reasonable Grounds present themselves for anticipating such Weakening of England's Power in America and Europe, as to make the Scheme appear no longer absurd. They may justly expect that the Vexations, Distractions, and Irritation into which England will be plunged, will call away the Attention of Government and People from all external Questions whatever, to their internal Difficulties and Animosities; and thus being effectually blinded to the Sources whence their Danger flows, every Effort they make will only increase it. But above all, will they seek the Assistance of, and offer their Co-operation to, the known Enemy of England in Europe, Asia, and America; and the Czar may soon receive in one of his Camps of Parade,† Deputations from Hunters' Lodges and from Repeal Associations, to be there brought into Fraternity with discontented Applicants from Italy, Greece, Turkey, Germany, Scandinavia, and India, to take Counsel respecting their Grievances, and to magnify in concert one common Liberator.

Nor are the Promoters of this Scheme a Knot of foolish Reasoners or raving Bedlamites. Men of Weight and Importance are not ashamed to belong to the Association,

Right of Search Question, it will soon extend to Repeal, interpreting that Word in the American Sense.

* The recent Attempt of the Americans at Canton, to embroil us with the Chinese, is an indication of their Alertness at the remotest Points to act in concert on this System.

† At Voynozenk the Deputies from Servia met the Republicans from Italy coming on the same Errand, to confide their Hopes, and entrust their Plans to the faithful Ear of the Emperor, and to receive his Directions.

and the Question is a rising one in the Union. Members of the Senate—Men holding responsible Offices, and even the nearest Relatives of the President are actually engaged in this Agitation.* And such is the estimate of its Effects by those opposed to its Object, that the Person most likely to fill the President's Chair at the next Vacancy, recently used these Words to an English Traveller, "Should I be elected, I shall have before me an almost Herculean Task—that of preventing a War between your Country and Mine."

We have already stated that in the Union, in the Course of the year 1841, the Hunter Lodges could dispose of a hundred and twenty thousand Voters. Thus may we expect to see the Adoption of its Views become a Condition of a Presidential Election. Through the European and Continental Questions therewith interwoven, may an Impulse from America in like Manner act on the Fluctuations of Majorities, and influence the Executive of a Ministry in England and in France.

"Can the Ministry stand?" "This," says the Hamburg correspondent of the *Chronicle*, "is a question which is viewed with great interest throughout Germany—not that the affairs of Ireland absorb it. They are considered as matter of internal interest only. But the great question of free trade comes too close home to the German's pocket. It would require but a very short period to knock the "Zollverein" on the head, dissolve the confederacy altogether, or force it to a general reduction of duties, which would make Germany the very best customer that Great Britain could desire. It is with this view that a change of ministry in England is regarded with interest, and such is the opinion of all journals throughout Germany, that are not known to be, or strongly suspected of being, under the influence of Russian gold."†

* Sympathizing deeply with the Wrongs of Ireland, he (Mr. Tyler) was bound in Justice to say that he was chiefly moved by Hatred—unextinguishable Hatred to England."

† It may not be in the Recollection of the Reader that the Zollverein—a commercial and financial Bond that places inferior

Such are the Consequences of the Growth of Division within States, and of the Overthrow of the Laws, that, defining their Rights, regulate their Relations the one with the other; each Man ceasing to belong to his Country, and enlisting in a Party—these internationally array themselves against each other in frantic Struggle, and present to Craft larger chances of Profit, with smaller Means than ever has been presented by the Folly or Corruption of any preceding Age. In the present Case, the common Bond, uniting Repealer and Free Trader* in England, Free Trader on the Continent and Repealer in America, is strong in France and the United States through Hatred for England; it is strong in England not through Hatred against these Nations, but by our factious Associations with the Enemies of our Country. Thus one aggregate Question is to be made out of Corn-Law Abolition, Repeal, Texian-Canadian Annexation, Oregon Settlement, Slave Trade, Right of Search, and into this one all overshadowing Cloud is to be drawn up every noxious Exhalation of Ambition, of Agitation within, of Aggression around—to fall back upon the Earth in Hurricanes that will Sweep its fairest Provinces, and in Lightning that will shiver its

and small States under the Dependence of a great one, and which was therefore a Measure not to be suffered by an upright Government, took place while this very Ministry was in Power; not only so, but that Ministry made itself even the Advocates of the Zollverein—scoffed at those who pointed out the Consequences, and in the House of Commons declared, through the Mouths of Lord Palmerston and Mr. Powlett Thompson, that it would prove beneficial for England. So much for *the Acts* of the late Government—so much for their Sense or Honesty.

* Advocating, as we do, the Restoration of England's Constitution, which involves Local Administration and Direct Taxes—Denouncing Parliamentary Usurpation, whether as to Legislation or Finance—we desire Repeal and Free Trade more ardently and amply than the factious Advocates of these Measures.

loftiest Structures. The Thunderbolt forged from this Mass of Ill-will and Passion, who shall grasp but the Eagle of the Czar? What other Spirit is there to govern such a Storm?—What other Lord to smile on such Desolation!

The Similarity of Forms and Principles in the Constitution of England and the United States, might lead to the Inference that they stood in respect to any Diplomatic Difference upon the same Grounds, and fought with equal Weapons. If popular Will act upon the Government of America, so does popular Will act on that of England. If the Executive be subject to Parliamentary Control in America, so is it in England; in neither Country is there peculiar Study required, or marked Superiority found in the Diplomatic Service; in neither is there the Facility and Rapidity of Execution supposed to be the Attributes of despotic Government. In other respects also, the two People appear to stand upon the same Footing. Factions reign in both. If, therefore, we in England explain our Failures or Neglect, by the absence of Parliamentary Control over the Executive, or by Excess of that Control, or by factious Divisions in the Parliament, or by Freedom, or by Civilization—the same supposed Cause will equally be found in the United States, coinciding with opposite Effects. There is identity of Constitution, and Practice. There is perfect Antithesis in Results. The *Thoughts* of the Nation are different, therefore do their Institutions work differently. Being anxious upon the Subject of the Differences between us, the Parties in their State compete, to merit by their Activity and Zeal public Confidence and Applause. We being indifferent upon this and all such Matters, they affect not the Question of who shall possess Office, and are therefore excluded from all Attention whatever.

Every Citizen belongs to one or other Party—there is no Man who will take Interest in what the Parties, as Parties,

do not adopt. The Members of each Party look to its Objects, and not to his Country's, as "*the Cause*" for which he has to fight; looks upon his opposing Fellow-citizens, and not the Enemies of his Country, as the Foes he has to combat: and rates Events not by the Standard of national, but of factious Prosperity. He goes even further. Whatever is calculated to damage the Popularity of his Home Antagonist, and thereby to diminish his Hold of Office, the rival Partizan hails with Satisfaction,* even when knowing it to be injurious to the Community. When the Rage of the Disputants rises to its height, no external Disasters can withdraw them from the Business of injuring each other. Great States have thus perished, though warned at the Time by living Voices and in Presence of memorable and melancholy Examples of those who had walked before them, alike in Greatness and Decay.

Thus does this one and the same external Transaction, viz. the Differences between America and England, with the same Form of Government, and with the same Political Disease, unite and strengthen the one Country, disunite and weaken the other. What to us is the Excuse for Indifference, is to them the Source of Energy. The Failure that attends the one, the Success that crowns the other, reacts on the Difference of Character, making our Antagonists more wicked, and leaving us more vile. The Evil engendered by our Negligence of Affairs, we now run the Risk of seeing frightfully augmented, by reawakened public Attention to those Subjects, as they now are changed and perverted. For Years, in the din of Parish Squabbles

* "Rather than that Ireland should be without her Local Parliament, the Dismemberment of the Empire, of which England and Ireland are but two integral Portions, would be endured by many Irishmen. The invasion of Canada by an armed American Force would be a God-send to them. It would be a God-send to the Whigs. If the Tories were out of Office, it would be a God-send to the Tories."—*Portfolio*, No. 2.

and Legislative Principles, has every Whisper upon such Subjects been drowned, the very Words have been forgotten. Now at length they reappear. Where? In popular Assemblies. In what Spirit? Is it to call Attention to Subjects that Citizens ought not to neglect or to rebuke the Government for doing so? Alas, it is to glory in our Shame and in our Disgrace, to invite the one and the other, and to use foreign Danger as an Instrument of internal Faction. See, in the following Words, how the Disquietude of Ireland is taught to fix itself upon the study of Foreign Affairs, and the Use which she is taught to make of that revived Science.

“ Oh! should Louis Phillippe march an Army into Spain, or the United States occupy the Oregon Territory, or Russia menace the East,—then, Hurrah! for the Repeal!”

Suppose an American Agitator appealing to an Invasion of Maine, as a Means of carrying some domestic Question. *How many Hours would that Man live?* But on the Soil of America there is no such Monster to be found. The Man who invokes foreign Aggression, exults in foreign Hostility and Crimes, flatters their Rage and points their Weapons,—in England is a Senator, a Person of Repute and Authority. Convicted by the Tribunals on a venial Delinquency, he only swells in the public Eye, and merits the Applause of the Body instituted to make and protect our Laws! Yet he does gain in the Weakness of the Commonwealth. In plotting the Means of diffusing the Poison, or hastening its Effects,—he at least has a Purpose to serve. But what is to be said of the wretched Dupes and Instruments, whose malignant Zeal can be made so fierce, that, to satisfy Vengeance on their Fellow-Citizens, they will hail with Joy, Disgrace, Infamy, and Danger, for their common Country? What is the Position of the Government that can pursue such a Man for Se-

dition, and that dares not arraign him for High Treason?*

—And there is a Son worthy of the Sire.

“ He,” Mr. John O’Connell, “ glanced at the present
 “ relations of England with the Foreign Powers, at the
 “ cavalier way in which the President of the American Re-
 “ public talked of taking the Oregon Territory, and annex-
 “ ing Texas to the States; of the aggressions of Russia on
 “ the Danube, and by the decree against the Jews, who
 “ were the traders for English goods; of the determi-
 “ nation of France to do what she would in Tunis, and
 “ what she would in Spain, without regard to England’s
 “ pleasure or displeasure The cloud was darkening round
 “ her. The Irish people would not give vent to *open out-
 “ spoken declarations* of joy at her distress but would they
 “ be not less or more than human, if they could refrain
 “ from feeling pleasure, when they saw their oppressor hum-
 “ bled, and her who had trampled them in the dust herself
 “ humiliated? (*Hear.*) Let her make a friend of Ireland,
 “ and be safe. But, if she would still reject her as an ally,
 “ and desire to make her a slave, why then—

“ ‘ *Yon Britain soon shall own a Master’s power,*
 And those kind friends whose friendship now you scorn,
 Whose cries you scoff at, and whose claims you spurn,
 SHALL WITH LESS GRIEF TO CÆSAR BOW THE KNEE,
 When in *their* LORD *your* TYRANT too they see!’ ”

This Knowledge is only obtained from the existing Hatred. But the People of the United States have long made these their common Studies. They have not yet, indeed, discovered that the Fall of England *will be but the Prelude to their own*; they have not discovered, that they are used by a Government their Foe as well as England’s, and as much higher above them in Intelligence, than they are above her. Would that they pursued those Studies to that Con-

* At the Assembly in the United States, where the Resolution above quoted was passed, a Letter was received and read from Mr. O’Connell.

clusion! If they did, then might they relent. Not so internal Faction,—not so internal Agitators! The first is blind, and will not see,—the second are the more dangerous, the clearer that is their Sight. What American would not become the sworn Ally of England, if he had to admit (as the Irish Agitator has) as a preliminary Condition to gaining a Tyrant for England—a *Master* for themselves?

Thus, then, has England, by neglecting Diplomacy,—that is, the Law of Nations and her own Rights,—brought upon herself and others incalculable Evils, perverted the Hearts and the Judgment of the human Race, and converted the whole World into Speculators in Foreign Policy. She has converted all Agitators* into Diplomats, and then into Conspirators and Traitors.

Let it be clearly understood, that the Relationship between the Boundary Differences and the Animosity of the People of the United States to England, is the Converse of the Relationship of that Feeling, with the Question of the Right of Search. The latter has sprung out of that Animosity,—the former has produced it. France offers an Incident exactly parallel. The Difference on the Right of Search, as well as the other Differences between England and France, have sprung from a Treaty which in no Ways touched upon those Questions. The French Minister, M. Guizot, has from the Tribune declared this to the World; and yet the English People can learn Nothing when it hears those Words. The Minister of England responds thereto. The Directors of both Countries comprehended that the Treaty of the 15th of July is the Cause of these Dissensions which they can not remove; yet they have not the Idea, or the Faculty, to reverse the Act from which they recognize that the Evil springs. We are now establishing by Example the greatest and most hidden of Truths,—

* We refer the Reader to the Article in this Number, entitled, “Home Distress produced by Foreign Policy.”

viz., that the Affairs of a Nation, if embroiled, have to be sifted, and that Mismanagement must be dealt with in its Source, and not in its Consequences. We vehemently urge this great Discovery, as it is as important as unknown,—and may appear trifling and insignificant, as it is what every one knows and practices in his petty Concerns. We appeal, then, to great, gigantic Examples, to prove, that while familiar, it is unknown,—to great and lamentable Results to shew, that it is as important for Good if applied, as conducive to Danger if neglected. There is Ill-will to England in the United States and in France. In both Countries the Ill-will is produced by an unheeded and uncomprehended Act of our own. Our Leaders recognize this to be the Case, but they do not know that the Effect can be remedied only by rectifying the Cause.

The Question of the Right of Search is a Matter the most insignificant, it is a common Police Operation which the Weakest have practised, and the Greatest submitted to. Now Debates on such a Question occupy the Public Press, foment in the Public Mind, excite angry Recrimination between Governments, and against them, increasing the Ill-will of the greatest Nations, and endangering the Peace of the most powerful Empires upon Earth for a despicable Nothing. At the same Time their chief Authorities admit that the Matter of the Right of Search is only a Consequence of Something else ; this other Thing is therefore the important one—it is the *Fons malorum*. This they will not touch, they venture not so much as look at. This Treaty of the 15th July, was enacted without Parade or Agitation ; it was done without their Knowledge, and so stealthily, that it was executed before it was ratified. At the time no Consent was asked, and no Explanation afforded ; and since it has borne these bitter Fruits, has Account neither been required, Enquiry instituted, nor the Act itself torn and denounced.

Such precisely is the History of the Act which has given Importance to the Right of Search Question in the United States, and that was the setting aside of the Award of the King of Holland,—equally an Infraction of the Law of England, of International Law and Practice—equally done in the Dark, concealed, that it might be done, and, unquestioned and unreversed when its bitter Fruits have reached Maturity! Thus, thirteen Years afterwards, the whole Nation is agitated by the Passions it has aroused, and the Differences it has created; and no one dreams of going back to trace the Causes, to unravel the Skeins, and detect the Purposes; yet thus alone could the Evil be remedied, or even our Position understood.

We have hitherto charged upon the United States the Crime and Sin of these Differences, because they entertain unjust Designs against the Property of others; we have in like manner charged against the British Nation the whole undivided Sin, because of their criminal Negligence. But neither the Desires of the Americans, nor the Negligence of Englishmen, unassisted, would have brought these Results: While there are two distinct Causes for them, there is also a third one, and a more active than either, which has used the other two; and that has been the Design to produce Differences between England and the United States in the Cabinet of Russia, which that Cabinet found the Means of carrying into Effect through the conscious Agency of a Minister of the British Crown.

The Matter in Dispute was settled—it was settled by the Convention of 1827,* and closed by the Award of January, 1831. The American Nation was then favourably disposed to a Settlement, and it was an

* Article I.—It is agreed that the points of Difference which have arisen in the Settlement of the Boundary, &c. shall be referred, &c.

Article VII.—The Decision of the Arbitrator when given shall be taken as final and conclusive, and shall be carried without reserve into immediate effect.

Obligation upon them from which it was impossible for them to have withdrawn, had it not been the Object of the British Minister to break up this Settlement. It was understood by some Persons connected with America at the time, that the Award had been rendered, and it was called for in Parliament. Lord Palmerston refused it to Parliament, and refused it on the Ground that it was an unsettled Question.* Thus was the Parliament kept in Ignorance, that an Award had been rendered until it had been invalidated; and it is informed only of the Existence

* Debate in the House of Commons, March 14, 1841.

Mr. Robinson said, "I understand that the Decision of the King of Holland has recently been given * * * * the people in the North American Provinces ought to know immediately what they are to expect, and whether this Government intends to abide by the Decision given by the King of Holland."

Viscount Palmerston said, "The Honourable Member has no right to assume whether or no any decision has been given * * * * he has no right to make the gratuitous assumption which he has made respecting it. I shall not attempt to answer the Observations of the honourable Member, as in doing so I should be necessarily drawn into explanations which I feel I ought not to enter into. It remains for the House to determine whether or no it will place sufficient reliance on the declaration I now make in my ministerial capacity, that the motion of the honourable Member (for the production of the Award) cannot with safety be assented to, and this because the question is not yet finally closed."

Mr. Robinson having remonstrated, Viscount Palmerston again rose and said, "I trust that the House will not suppose the circumstances of the case to be such as stated by the honourable gentleman, in consequence of my not answering them."

The motion was then put and negatived. Every statement of Mr. Robinson has been fully justified by the Official Papers since published. Lord Palmerston had written to Sir Charles Vaughan (the Envoy at Washington) thirty-five days before,—“His Majesty has not hesitated to acquiesce in that Decision.”

of an Award, after Negotiations had been entered into for setting it aside, and after both Parties had agreed to set it aside, and then the English Nation is informed that the Object of the Minister in setting it aside was to obtain *better Terms!*

The Award was accepted as final by the Crown of England. Why then was it not produced to the Nation? What was the Character of the Minister who withheld an international Compact, a solemn Decision, with the View which he himself states, of getting better Terms for England,—that it is of overreaching the other Party? But this same Minister invited, Step by Step, Pretension and Aggression, and surrendered, Step by Step, the complete Jurisdiction and Military Occupation of the Territory in Dispute by the British Crown, until he admitted and established conjoint Jurisdiction and conjoint Military Occupation on the Part of the United States, so as to lead to the Declaration of Mr. Fox, that the whole Question had been already surrendered, and to the Exposition by Sir Howard Douglas in the House of Commons, of the gradual Process by which the Man, who pretended that his Motive in breaking up the Award was to gain better Terms for England had, through a series of Years and complicated Transactions, sacrificed in Argument the Right, and practically destroyed our Jurisdiction over Territory, the Claims to which were thus kept in Dispute. Here then there is Fraud upon the English Nation in withholding the Award, Fraud in Declaring the Question not to be settled when it was settled; pretended Fraud against American Rights, and practical Destruction of England's Authority. And who was to gain by this, neither England nor America, neither Whigs nor Tories? If this Matter stood alone, it might indeed be incomprehensible; but upon other Questions, where the Interests of Russia were directly involved, the collusion with her of this Man has been as clearly es-

tablished as Proof can establish any fraudulent Act, and the general Results of his Conduct throughout the World, have in every Region confirmed the same Conclusion. The same Object that was to be attained by the Separation of England and France, (which, up to the Moment that it occurred, Every one knew to be the Object of Russia), existed for the Estrangement from England of the United States. In 1831, the only Grounds of Difference, the only available Occasion for producing such Difference was closed by the Award of the King of Holland. To break up that Award therefore, was as direct an Object for Russia, as the Treaty of the 15th of July, the Rupture with Persia, the Invasion of Caubul, or the Confiscation of the Vixen. It has been broken up for that Purpose, with that View, and with this Result.

Then he worked in the Dark, because no one could have believed that Animosity between the two Nations could follow from such a Cause. Now again he walks in the Dark, because all Men have forgotten the Feelings then reciprocally entertained between the United States and England. The Conception was then too great for their uninformed Thoughts. The Process is now too simple for their excited Passions. There were none then to understand as there are now none, except the Man who worked the Evil, and in whose Hands England was, and is. The slightest Movement of the smallest Member of the State, might, in 1831, have crushed this mighty Upas in its Germ. Had Mr. Robinson understood the Matter about which he spoke, had he been equal to deal with the Foreign Secretary, had he comprehended his Motive, had he guarded against the Consequences of corrupt ones,—all which it was his Duty as a Member of the British Senate to have done, and all which was the Part of any Man understanding the Affairs of Europe—he would not have suffered Lord Palmerston to have met his Motion by in-

terposing his Ministerial Capacity, nor would he have suffered him in the Face of the House to deny the Statement that he had made, that an Award had been rendered. That Document then produced, none of the subsequent Complications were possible, and the Consequences that have followed can now be arrested only by the rendering of their Author responsible for his Acts.

As further Confirmation of such being the Design of the Minister, observe his Course previously to quitting Office. He sends out a Commission—he publishes their Report, in which the most extravagant Claims are put forward in respect to the Question which he had already surrendered. And in order to prevent his Object from being detected in England, by having the Passions of the Americans first aroused, he does not reserve this Report for any means of Arbitration which might be devised; but he publishes it—he does not publish it in England—he sends it out to America, concealing it in England. When it is asked for in the House of Commons, he denies that it is ready; the Report having been completed three Months before, and dispatched to Washington forty Days before he made this Assertion.* He had just, before leaving Office, alarmed the United States by a menacing Attitude and threatening Words—he had been speaking of sending out a Squadron to sweep their Shores :—the new Ministry

* On the 13th of July, 1840, Sir Robert Peel asked for the Report, which early in the Session the Noble Lord had given the House the positive Assurance should be laid on the Table immediately before the Holidays.

Viscount Palmerston admitted “that he must take upon himself all the responsibility of the delay, THE REPORT WAS NOT YET READY.”

The Report is dated April 18th, it was conveyed in a printed Form to the United States Government, accompanied by a Dispatch, dated “Foreign Office, 3rd June.” On the 14th July, that is the Day subsequent to the Debate, the intelligence from the United States mentioned that the printed Report had arrived at Washington. See Case of McLeod, p. 152. 4th Edition.

find the Question surrendered, Jurisdiction given up, Joint Occupancy established, both the Parties so exasperated that the British Authorities are in doubt whether they shall have to attack the Citizens of Maine or of New Brunswick. They think of nothing but Compromise, and then the Man who has placed them in this Position comes forward to attack and to denounce them, and to hold them up to the British Nation as obnoxious to Obloquy for the Consequences of his own Acts.

But such a Scheme—a Design so villainous, so systematically prosecuted, involving the Knowledge of so many Persons, and the Employment of so many Agents in the separate Parts of it, it may be said is inadmissible. So it might be, if it stood alone, but there is nothing incredible here, that may not be corroborated in every external Transaction into which we inquire.

The Speech of Sir Howard Douglas, detailing the successive Surrenders made by Lord Palmerston, and known to him officially as Governor of one of the Provinces of North America, was one that, as characterized at the Time by Sir F. Burdett, “had only to be divided into Counts to become an Impeachment.” Sir Howard Douglas was, therefore, in the Possession of Evidence establishing High Treason—he suppressed that Knowledge, and only brought it forth in the House of Commons to justify Sir R. Peel; and there was not a Man in the House of Commons that got up to charge Sir R. Peel or Sir Howard Douglas with Misprision of Treason. The Laws have, therefore, fallen into Desuetude.

This Nation believed that the Ashburton Treaty had settled the Differences with the United States. It has rendered its Contentment, therefore, flagrant to all Time; having set a Mark upon it, such as never was set upon an Act of the Kind before. It rejoiced when it gained Nothing, and was extravagant in Joy when it had given away. The Vote of Thanks to Lord Ashburton, for settling the Boundary Differences with America, was passed in the Year

1843. The Year had not closed, when the President of the United States, in his Message to Congress, utters Words upon the Subject of Boundary Differences more menacing than any that hitherto had been uttered. We are now about to open Negotiations with the United States again upon a Boundary Difference. Therefore has the Sense of the Nation disappeared.

If Laws have fallen into Desuetude, any Crime may be committed with Impunity; and if Sense has disappeared, no Crime can be detected; therefore is there no Improbability in the Cause that we have assigned for our Differences with the United States; and the Existence of that Cause is established in manifold other Transactions.

This is the History of a plodding People, not a Story from the Arabian Nights!

Who heard of the Question of the Oregon when the Boundary Matter was first debated? Where was the Question of the Right of Search when the Award of the King of Holland was rendered? Surrender the Oregon Territory, or settle it, as you call it,—surrender the Right of Search, or settle it again, as you call it,—will you satisfy thereby the Ambition of the United States? Will you appease its Rancour?—will you disarm its Hostility?—will you close the Door of new Questions that may be opened?—will you prevent the World from coming to a Knowledge of your Baseness, and profiting by it? The Course in which you are engaged,—not as the result of a Will or an Intention, but of Imbecility and Ignorance, Characters unfathomable to yourselves, because they are your own,—will, with the certainty with which Death follows upon unchecked Disease, or Ruin from uncorrected Mismanagement, bring upon England Consequences no less dreadful, and no less certain.

When they were friendly, we exclaimed, “ We are powerful ;” we make them unfriendly, and we exclaim, “ They are detestable.” We gratify our evil Passions likewise at their Expense; first, our Pride—then our Animosity. It

is by our secret Acts that we have disturbed their Peace of Mind, and ruined their Character, by destroying their Respect for us, by leading them into unjust Projects—by consequently spreading throughout the Union a Spirit of Immorality that degrades every Man it contains—preparing for them new Evils in the Hatred aroused in England against them, by which England will suffer as much as they, and in which England will be punished without being reclaimed; and they will not have been saved from Sin, by being justified in Vengeance.

If the Failure of our Expectations regarding the Settlement of Boundary Difference with America, shews that the British Nation is incompetent to manage its Affairs, it shews, in like Manner, that it has followed faithless Guides, and that it has despised those that might have saved it. Is it not clear that the Discrimination that is left to it serves but to cling to Folly and to eschew Wisdom? We take our Stand upon this Testimony, again to protest and bear Witness against the Times and the Rulers. We call upon our Fellow Citizens to examine and see whether their Prognostications have not been falsified, and whether ours have not been realized? And now, announcing new Consequences that will follow, we shall presently return to these, to use again as the Prognostication of the past. While we tell them that Ruin awaits them in the Course that they follow, we reiterate upon each Occasion the Declaration that that Ruin it is in their Power to avert, because it flows from their Ignorance.

And yet, to a Stranger, it might not seem difficult to persuade the People of this Country of all that we wish to persuade them. The commonest Bill that is passed in Parliament requires the Union of the Opinions of Parties, in order to give it the Force of Law. A Majority is necessary, to carry the smallest Measure. The most insignificant Subject, when Doubts arise or Ignorance is asserted, becomes a Matter for Parliamentary Inquiry—of Committee Investigation. How is it then, but without Union

of Opinion, the Nation may be plunged in War? Without a Majority, or without consulting the House at all, it may be committed to a Quarrel, with Dishonour and Disgrace. Ignorance can be asserted, Malversation alleged in the gravest Affairs, and there is no Parliamentary Investigation—no Committee of Inquiry. Let this Nation but apply the commonest Rules of its Constitutional Practice to its gravest Matters, and all the Dangers that we apprehend will be averted. There is a further Reason for their doing so. The Nation has deprived itself of the controlling Power of a Monarch, because the House of Commons takes upon itself to appoint the High Officers of the State by its Majorities. The Foreign Minister is not selected for his previous Knowledge, he does not rise to the Height of his Department by anterior Service. Mismanagement therefore is to be expected, and you see around you the Evidence that it does exist. All those to whom successively has been confided the Conduct of external Affairs, must be, if Mismanagement exists, interested in stifling Inquiry, and keeping the Nation in dangerous Security and criminal Agitation. But it is said the days of Impeachment are gone by, and Inquiry into Matters of such a Description* would lead to a general Disturbance of our Affairs, as at present conducted, and to the Impeachment of the Men who have brought them to this Position. Here then is it clear that the Danger has come because of the Dictum, that *the Days of Impeachment are gone by*. The Means of Safety lies then in the Restoration of that ancient Safeguard of the Constitution, which, in the words of Burke, is a “precious Deposit, which we must guard with a religious vigilance, and never suffer it to be discredited or antiquated. . . . Deprived of this resource, the Constitution is virtually deprived of every thing that is valuable in it, for this process is the cement which binds the whole together.” This alone can avert the Desolation of Europe, Asia, and America; the Fall of England—of the

* See Speech of Sir Robert Peel, March 1st, 1843.

great States her Compeers, by their mutual Hands—this alone can falsify the Prophecy of Napoleon, and prevent the Enthronement of Muscovite Despotism upon the Ruins of the World.

We end with the Words elsewhere employed, in concluding an Exposition of this Matter.*

“I trust, however, that for such anticipations the time is not yet come. I trust it is not yet too late to rest the question on the basis of Justice; to appeal to Anglo-Saxon sympathies not yet effaced. A semi-barbarous race, the subjects of different crowns, with their language separated into distinct dialects, yet impelled by the memory of a common origin, and attracted by the instinct of future glory and supremacy in their union,—exhibits to those who speak the English tongue, a subject of humiliation in its mutual sympathies,—an object of dread in its growing power. Can the Muscovite subjects of the Russian sceptre glory in mutual affections, to which the sons of Britain are dead? Can the Slavonian subjects of the three North-east powers of Europe look with the kindness of fraternity on each other, and sigh for the day of their union—whilst no such impulses are known or felt throughout the forty millions of educated and polished inhabitants of the British Isles, and of the American union? The children of a common ancestry—the co-inheritors of political freedom—the joint masters of the seas, the common explorers of the remote regions of the earth, the favoured children of science, the subduers of time, distance, difficulty, and nature itself—do they own no honourable and honest pride associated with their common name? Throughout such a population—so distinguished and so blessed—are no fraternal yearnings spread, linking their hearts? Is it possible that one or both of them, forgetful of the past, and heedless of the future—deaf to the promptings of charity, to the dictates of religion, to the voice of honour, and the suggestions of policy, should rush into mutual destruction? Is it possible that, with infirmity of mind, equal

* Boundary Difference, p. 94, quarto ed.

to such extravagance of passion, they should so rush *without an intention?* Will they tear down, labouring for their own destruction, the large prospects of their future fortunes;—raise the Slavonic above the English tongue, and place, by the crimes of freedom, the sceptre of the world in a despot's hands?"

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER (FOUND AMONG ARNOLD'S PAPERS)
FROM THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF NEW YORK
TO THE GENTLEMEN MERCHANTS OF QUEBEC.

[THE picture presented in the foregoing Article of the dispositions of the British Colonists and Canadians after the War with France, and before the American Insurrection, is singularly confirmed by the Letter which we subjoin. It will be seen that the Colonists find it necessary to justify themselves to the Canadians on account of their differences with the Mother-Country; and also to explain to them that they take their stand upon Rights and Principles common to all Englishmen, of resisting "Ministerial Measures" and "Parliamentary Taxation;"—taking their Stand upon the "Rightful" Authority of the Sovereign, and the "Constitutional" Power of the Supreme Legislature. This it was necessary to explain to the Canadians, because on the one hand they were not Sharers in those British Feelings and Rights; and on the other they had not been made the Victims either of Ministerial Measures, or of Parliamentary Taxation.

"*The Idea of Freedom*" which the Colonists present as *British*, had it been thus distinct in the British Mind, would have prevented all the Errors for America as for England—would have prevented the American War—the Wars of the Continent—saved Oceans of Blood, and the Sufferings and Misery of hundreds of millions of Men. More than this—it would have kept alive juster Thoughts on Government, which being for all time, are of all things the most important; for in it is included, besides the well-being and permanency of States, the Sense of Justice in the Breast of each Man, without which Men cannot be said to live. In the subjoined Letter the Kindness of Disposition, as well as the Sense of Integrity, cannot fail to strike; and the cordial Feelings existing between the two Classes

and Sections of our Subjects and Provinces, united alike in the Spirit of Freedom and Loyalty.”]

“ *New York, June 12, 1775.*

“ We should be extremely sorry should the misrepresentations of the enemies of America impress our brethren in Canada with an opinion that the confederated colonies on this continent aim at independence. Our allegiance to our Prince, and our attachment to the illustrious House of Hanover, we rank among our most singular blessings. A due subordination to Parliament, in matters for which they alone are competent, we wish firmly to maintain. Our resistance to *ministerial measures* proceeds not either from a desire to oppose the *rightful authority* of our sovereign, or the *constitutional acts* of the supreme legislature of the British Empire. But while we are contented that Great Britain should enjoy that pre-eminence alone which properly belongs to the Parent State, as individuals, we are resolved to stand *upon the same secure basis of Liberty with our fellow subjects on the other side of the Atlantic, which can never be obtained under taxations by authority of Parliament. In presenting this idea of freedom, we include our brethren the inhabitants of the Province of Quebec, as far as will consist with the utmost of their wishes .*

[The Vehemence of the internal Struggle which ended in the Rupture of the Loyalty of our Colonies, is represented in the following memorable words of Patrick Henry.]

“ Let us march against Philip—let us conquer or die. I call for an armed organization and frontier against the British armies in the North. What enemies has Great Britain in America to require and to employ these? She has none. They are meant for us—they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to rivet upon us those chains which the British Ministry have so long been forging. And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. We have done every thing which could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned—we have remonstrated—we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the Ministry and the Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted—our remonstrances have

produced additional violence and insult—our supplications have been disregarded—and we have been spurned with contempt from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon, until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained—*we must fight*—I repeat it, Sir, *we must fight*. I know not what course others may pursue, but as for me—as for me—give me Liberty or Death !”

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PORTFOLIO.

Sir,—I beg to suggest to you the republication of the address of M. Papineau on the death of George III., delivered at a Meeting at Montreal, which breathes sentiments of the most fervid attachment to that Monarch and the British Nation. The coincidence of the views of M. Papineau on this subject with those put forward by Mr. Urquhart in May, 1842, would make the reprint of their Speeches in juxta-position desirable for those interested in North American affairs. The writer, knowing that Mr. Urquhart was at the time unacquainted with the views of M. Papineau, is most anxious that this remarkable concurrence of distinct judgments should have its due weight.

A CANADIAN.

[We are unable to comply with the Suggestion of our Correspondent (who belongs neither to the French Population, nor to the liberal Party in the Canadas) from inability to find the Speech of M. Papineau. We insert, however, his Letter, because of the Coincidence that it marks, and we subjoin Extracts from two Speeches of Mr. Urquhart's bearing on the Subject, and delivered on the Occasions of two Dinners given to Sir Allan M'Nab, one on his Arrival, the other on his Departure.

The first of these Speeches gives the Key by which all the Difficulties of North America are solved in respect to internal Government.

The second Speech lays bare the Caroline Transaction, and is important as having been delivered in the Presence of the chief Civil and Military Authorities of Canada at the time of its Occurrence.]

ON THE VALUE TO ENGLAND OF HER NORTH
AMERICAN POSSESSIONS.

(*Extract from a Speech at a Dinner given to Sir Allan M'Nab
in May, 1842.*)

At a moment when clouds are gathering around and storms bursting upon us—when forebodings rise in the hearts of men, and danger springs even from the remotest corners of the earth—a British Parliament is occupied in the pettiest and most insignificant of internal interests, and a nation is agitated with parish affairs! Questions involving the rights, security, integrity, and honour of the nation itself, can inspire neither Parliament nor people with thought or care.

Look at the map, and ask yourselves where on the face of the earth do you find any thing to be compared to the position of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton? Where do you find elsewhere throughout the globe anything equal to its harbours, mines, facility of transport, and everything that has furnished the richness of England,—its fisheries, its navigation, its maritime greatness, the means of constructing ships, and of forming the men by which they have to be navigated? Cape Breton and Nova Scotia are the very sources of maritime power—it is there that the trident has sprung: England has held that trident only since she has possessed them—when she loses them it will have fallen from her grasp, if it has not been already shattered in her hand. We stand and have stood in war invulnerable, not merely because we are an island, but because our island is constructed in a peculiar manner. It has the advantages of attack without being liable to the injuries of assault. We have harbours looking upon and threatening the shores of France and Germany, whilst they have no corresponding fastnesses and keeps. Further, we are to windward and they are to leeward, we can send forth fleets to their coasts, favoured by the winds by which they are oppressed. This controlling power possessed by England over the continent, is exercised by *North America over Europe*. As

England stands with respect to the coasts of the Northern Ocean and to France, so does Nova Scotia stand with respect to Europe and to England herself. Westerly winds blow during two-thirds of the year; and from Nova Scotia's thousand harbours, fleets may reach the Mediterranean sooner than from Plymouth or the Downs. Look at this position, and look then at the fortune you hold out to other powers the moment you are regardless of the value of your own possessions. In these Colonies reside manufacturing means equal to those that England possesses—there is the same happy juxta-position of iron and coal—there are fisheries equal, and superior to those of England—there are to be found coasts and harbours and extensive means of water communication still greater than even the wonderful natural advantages of England can rival—there resides the maritime power which must command Europe, both by its timber and its naval position. Put beside these things the spirit and the tendencies of the United States. If you see, then, that there are those in the world who are ready to take advantage wherever there is weakness, and wherever there is wealth, be assured that the wealth and the riches *you* possess will not be long yours—unless there be such a change effected in your mind as shall make it equal to your fortunes and your difficulties. Recall the past—reflect on what we have lost—what perpetrated in America! We have there a position now, only because we had won the affection of a population of French origin. They were faithful when those of our own race were rebellious; and they have defended us when we were heedless of them. How is it that there is a British race in America not subject to the British Crown? Only through the injustice of our fathers—yet fathers worthier than their sons. This great blow, because the first step in our decline, was an act of injustice. By this we degraded our fellow-citizens across the Atlantic from their allegiance, rent asunder their affections, and drove them into revolt. Thence are they a separate, and now, from similar causes, are they rapidly becoming a hostile people. Now, then, take a lesson from the danger, and there is no danger for England, save from herself. In that French population you find loyalty and affection; and even in the English population of the Canadas mismanagement and corruption have not yet alto-

gether extinguished loyalty ; and, believe me, the time is come for us to reckon our means, and to secure strength and confidence against the evil day—the evil day of our own bringing. These Colonies have received from you no support, no favouring rights, no protection ; there has been in moments of danger, and in positions of menace, neither interest in the public nor Parliament. Your recent acts as a nation are such as to invite from their neighbours aggression—such as to lead every state in the world at once to hate and despise you—converting the position of a British Colonist from one of security and honour to one of danger and disgrace, but of these things you are unconscious, and I fear will not believe them until your belief has become of no further use.

I will now beg you to go back with me for a moment to some past incidents in the most remarkable period, perhaps, of our history, as elucidating the importance of our North American possessions ; not merely for their value, but for the aid they have lent towards the achievement of our Indian Dominion. Our position in America becomes of importance from the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was first secured by the Treaty of Utrecht, when, by the possession of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, we reaped the chief advantages not merely of our maritime success, but of our victories on land. In the war that broke out in 1744, France, feeling the full importance of these possessions, made the most energetic maritime efforts known in her history to re-conquer them ; a splendid fleet of seventy sail, with a large army on board, was destroyed by storms. These were fatal *only because England was in possession of the harbours*. In the following year she sent another fleet, which was defeated. The first disaster was entirely owing to the possession of Louisbourg and Annapolis by the English, Halifax not having been then created. At the close of the war, England remained in entire possession of Cape Breton, St. John's, Nova Scotia, the forts of Annapolis and Louisbourg. Great was the astonishment, and deep was the mortification of our American interests, when, by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Cape Breton was again surrendered to France. But this surrender was made to obtain for England an equivalent elsewhere. By this surrender

we regained Madras ; and thus were a portion of our conquests in America employed to prepare the way for the dominion of England in India. So important was a then unsettled district of these provinces in the eyes of England—so important in the eyes of France ! The war in 1755 was commenced in India ; it decided in favour of England, and against France, the supremacy of India. England succeeded solely by her supremacy at sea, dependent upon the possession, during the peace, of North America. The war opened with the most formidable preparations of France and England, for mutual attack and defence, in America and in India ; their triumph or defeat in those remote regions being felt by each to be the most effective means for injuring the other. France's efforts were directed to recover these Colonies, holding already Canada and Cape Breton. England directed her efforts to the conquest of Louisbourg and Canada, and a powerful fleet and army were sent out for that purpose. This armament, taken in a storm off the coast of Cape Breton, was disabled. Cape Breton being then in possession of the French, it had to seek refuge across the Atlantic, in the ports of Britain.

The depression produced by this great and unparalleled calamity in England, was such as to destroy the hope of reconquering America, and the spirit of attempting it. Naval and military commanders alike considered the case desperate ; and the resignation of North America to France must have put an end to the maritime and commercial greatness of England, and raised the power of France to such a pitch as to leave nothing to cope with her in the Old World or the New. These consequences were averted by an extraordinary event—the presence at that moment, and for a moment only, of the greatest of modern Englishmen at the head of the councils of this empire. Chatham was then the minister of England. To use his own words, “ If Great Britain did not succeed, in conquering Cape Breton and Canada, France must expel her from America, and then the sun of England would be obscured by the extinction of her colonial dominions, and the loss of her trade in the East and in the West.” When the general appointed to the command reiterated his difficulties and objections, Chatham, who was then confined with the gout,

sent to him to say, that "he had to deal with a minister who knew difficulties only by treading upon them." In a memorandum, which has been preserved amongst the papers of Chatham respecting the conduct of the war with France, there are these remarkable words:—"It is earnestly recommended that the war may endure until the enemy be entirely subdued in America, and so really disabled there as to cease to be dangerous to this kingdom in future times." Europe was astonished with the measures that followed—a most formidable armament was prepared in an incredibly small space of time; Louisburg fell, Cape Breton was occupied; soon followed the battle of Abraham's Heights, the possession of Quebec and the Canadas; the power of England permanently established in America; and at the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, she was in undisputed possession of the whole region from Florida to the Pole. On the other hand, so proportionately reduced was not only the power of France, but of the continent of Europe, as against the maritime balance of England, that Chatham himself, when contemplating the possibility of the union of the Bourbon dynasties against England, pointed to our ships, to our American possessions, and to *the two millions of British by which they were inhabited*, as a power equal to cope with and to overawe the union of the crowns of Spain and France.

We now come to the measure of Pitt, in 1791. This is the *annus mirabilis* of England. Mr. Pitt had then upon his mind a war the most threatening in India, with the most powerful of the native sovereigns, in connexion with France—war the most threatening in Europe, Russia and Austria combined, and the downfall of the Ottoman empire the consequence of their success—a war again re-threatening in America, as an effect of the state of Europe and France in all the incipient throes of a volcanic irruption. At the same period a Governor of India is under impeachment for his life, and commotions for internal change agitate England. It is under the excitement and the distractions of these various necessities that the mind of Pitt was given to the framing of that Constitution of the Canadas by which the affections of the French Canadians were secured to England, and that stronghold given her over her possessions in America that kept tranquil and neutral the United States in the war that ensued; and in pre-

servicing its maritime resources for England, enabled her to employ them in Europe and in Asia, and to give to those regions her undivided strength and her whole attention. But as in the events of men it is the human mind that is important, so in the events of states it is the genius of individuals that makes them of value, and that renders them memorable; and it is a link more remarkably attaching the destinies of Canada to the greatness of England, that it was in the debate on the Canada Bill that were brought first into direct collision the great spirits of that age, Fox, Burke, and Pitt. Pitt's bill was made the subject of discussing the question of the French Revolution, and of adjusting parties for the struggle that was to follow. I look upon Pitt's bill of 1791 as one of the greatest monuments of his ability, and the greatest of the services that he rendered to his country. Had a bill of an opposite tendency been at the time introduced, as it was proposed by his antagonists, the Canadian population would have been disgusted, our power in America shaken, the United States probably again led into conflict, the French power would have obtained a footing in America, and in that arduous struggle, where every muscle was stretched to the extreme, and barely was life and success obtained at the end, defeat must have been our portion had Canada been a weight in the opposing scale.

Pitt's object was to place the French population between the St. Lawrence and the frontier of the United States, to allow them to spread in and entirely to occupy that region, where by their military spirit and their local affections they should be a barrier and a protection for England, so as to maintain her position in America without expense, so as to curtail and arrest the expansive tendencies of the United States. His object was not to make them British in name but British in affection, and that was to be done by preserving, not destroying, their laws, religion, language, and customs. "It is in the French spirit," he said, "of the Canadians that the strength of England in America depends." Such then is the fortune you hold in the tenure of your North American colonies—such the debt of gratitude you owe to the affections of your Canadian fellow-subjects. A fatal day will it be for England when she despises the one or chills the other.

But if Canada were of no value—if Nova Scotia had no fortresses,

harbours, or mines—Cape Breton no fisheries—if there were no westerly winds—if there were no trans-Atlantic or European enemy to be restrained—if there were no necessity to nurture force for our defence—still would it be a bounden duty for the English nation to maintain the rights and independence of its *own country*, and while one Canadian remained attached to us and claimed our protection, that man's head ought to come to the block who could speak of separation. You have heard this night that these men have been told that they ought to repudiate their allegiance to this country; and the man who has told them so is an Englishman, and he lives—he walks the public streets unendangered and undenounced—he enters your very senate, and sits there the counsellor of the nation he betrays; and he is not one, there are many such. And what may not be done with a nation where such men live, where such men are honoured?

England was no longer England when she drove the children that had issued from her loins into revolt; and having driven them into revolt by her acts, the next thing is to justify sedition. To speak of the separation of the Colonies from the mother country, is to destroy allegiance on the one hand, and protection on the other,—it is to justify mismanagement—to end all misgovernment; and for these crimes the masks are taken of doctrine and of opinion,—the colours are assumed of philanthropy and liberality.

* * * *

From the abrogation of the award of the King of Holland, *all*—ALL our American difficulties spring.

ON THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CAROLINE.

(Extract from a Speech at a Dinner given to Sir Allan M'Nab, in June, 1842.)

WITH that event we have been made familiar in its graphic incidents, but it was no movement executed or planned in regular warfare. The case of injury, the necessity, and urgency had to be clear in order that it should be just.

It will be in your recollection that a portion of the territory of

the British Crown had been occupied, not by rebels, and not by enemies, but by unauthorised invaders from a foreign state ; but it may not be within your knowledge, and this it is that I have to state, that in that island were collected no less than twenty-two guns, brought from the American store-houses, no less than 1,000 men collected for the purpose of descent and assault upon our territory ; it was only after we had endured, during a fortnight, the fire of their artillery, and the insult of their menace, when danger was imminent—a bridge having been formed to pour them upon our shores, that the order was given for the destruction of that vessel which has since obtained so lamentable a notoriety. My reason for stating these facts is this—that it should be manifest and evident to all those who sanction and approve of the conduct, in a military point of view, of those gentlemen, that the business in which they were engaged was lawful and just. By the reception which we have given to Sir Allan M'Nab, upon his arrival in this country, and now by this farewell, we have proved that we have judged his act to be just and proper. But it requires that we should render to ourselves a special account of our own position, because when that distinguished guest of ours leaves this land, if by any chance he should set his foot upon the soil of an ally of England, he is liable to be seized, cast into prison, and hung without trial, because of acts which we judge not just only, but praiseworthy. Upon his passage through the United States, coming to this country, that British Officer had to wear a disguise ; and had he been detected in his disguise, you would not have had to receive him with congratulations, but to mourn over his fate ; therefore, gentlemen, do I say that it behoves us to understand our condition, and to know why our service brings disgrace and our distinction imposes danger. But it is not merely on our account that I say that there is another party in this deplorable discussion, and that is America. We stand at this moment, in respect to that state, with mutually aroused feelings, with doubtful apprehensions of the future, and at any day the slightest spark may lead to an awful conflagration. The cause of that will appear to be the destruction of the *Caroline*, and yet we are all unanimous in our

conviction that that was an act which was just. I tell you more, gentlemen, that that is an act which has been recognised by the Americans themselves as an act of justice. I am enabled to state to you that two days subsequently to the destruction of the *Caroline*, General Articularius, commanding officer of the State of New York itself, in a letter addressed to Sir A. M'Nab, speaking of the bandits issuing from the United States territory, said, 'their blood be upon their heads.' It is, therefore, clear that the Americans then did recognize justice in that which we have sanctioned as just—namely, the destruction of that vessel. How then could doubts arise regarding it?—by what art is it converted into a source of international animosity and quarrel? It was from their shore that the injury proceeded. *It was then imperative on our Government, in the first instance, to have demanded instant reparation from the Americans for the previous wrong.* Had we done so—had we established our right to destroy the vessel by proving the injury we had suffered—then, far from any present complications, would there have been instant tranquillity and peace established between the two countries. The destruction of the *Caroline* was followed by tranquillity on the borders; it led to no animosity—no invasion—to no attempt at reprisals;—it was as oil upon the waters tranquillising the troubled agitation by the proof of energy on our part, and by the conviction that England was determined to put down lawless aggression. But when the Americans saw that the character of the Government did not respond to the acts of its servants—when aggression remained unquestioned, and nothing was done where instant action was required, then, escaping from apprehension, and pressing on as we retreated they themselves proceeded to address to the English Government *a demand for reparation for a violation of THEIR territory.* What again in a position so extraordinary is the conduct of the British Government? It submitted to that demand—that is to say, it gave no reply to the demand from the United States, and thereby sanctioned the terms 'murder and arson,' applied to every subject of the British Crown engaged in

that enterprise. Then, of course, the United States proceed to file bills of indictment for murder and arson against the chief authorities in Canada, and yet the British Government takes no notice of these proceedings, when, by a single word, it could have restored itself, and relieved its own servants from so horrible a position. This is not a matter of endurance for a week, or a month, or many months; it endures for three whole years. It is when an accident throws one of the accused persons into the hands of the Americans, and when he is committed to prison, and the American Government is committed to bring him to his trial, and when the count is made out against him as against a felon, it is then that we declare that the act for which he is arraigned and put in gaol is the act of the British Crown. This declaration is made, and this association of felon with the Crown of Britain is brought forth *not* to relieve the imprisoned man by the authority of his associate!

In so far, then, as England or America is involved, either in difficulties or in danger, in so far as animosity is produced, as ignorance and misunderstanding prevail, or as danger may impend, the cause of it lies entirely in the acts of the English Government. It is not by avoiding the difficulty that it can be overcome, and it is not by covering the wound that it can be cured. We have been all wounded in the person of our guest, and when he had to conceal the name which we have met to honour under dread of receiving punishment, England suffered through his side a grievous blow, and the blackest dishonour that has ever passed over her name. But it is England's own act, and it is in her power to repudiate it. And when Sir Allan M'Nab returns to his own country, it will be there his pleasure and his duty to have to announce to his fellow-citizens newly rising feelings of attachment in this land, to our colonial possessions and fellow-citizens inhabiting them, which have been described in so heartfelt and touching a manner by the Noble Duke in the chair. It will be his duty also to report to them that if England has hitherto suffered acts injurious to them, and disgraceful to herself, that there is also a newly awaken-

ing spirit rising in this country which will prevent for them, as for us, for the future, such things from being attempted, because it will be known that they will not be endured.

(These anticipations, however groundless they may appear now, were not only at the time legitimate, but to have supposed anything else would have been then an outrage on the nation and its government. This speech, however, made clear what we had to expect; for it was suppressed at the time by the earnest endeavours of influential personages present, *lest it should embarrass the negotiations then about to be opened with the United States.*)

THE END.

