THE CANADAS,

A KINGDOM.

THE CANADAS:

THE

ONEROUS NATURE OF THEIR EXISTING CONNEXION

WITH

GREAT BRITAIN

STATED,

THE DISCONTENTS OF THESE COLONIES

DISCUSSED,

AND

A REMEDY PROPOSED:

IN A

LETTER

то

LORD VISCOUNT HOWICK,

UNDER SECRETARY FOR THE COLONIAL DEPARTMENT, &C. &C. &C.

ВY

SIR ALEXANDER MALET, BART.

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PREFACE.

THE Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed upon the Motion of the late Mr. Huskisson, on the 2d of May, 1828, whose Report was brought up on the 22d of July of the same year, have been the principal source from which the following pages bave been compiled. I have likewise to acknowledge great obligations to a work printed during the last year in London, intitled, "A Political and Historical Account of Lower Canada, by a Canadian." Much information has also been derived from the American Annual Register for the years 1828 and 1829. In transcribing, as I have done, nearly word for word, some few passages from the latter work, I may incur the charge of plagiarism, for having incorporated them without the usual indications of quotation, with my own observations; but I here acknowledge my obligations for the facts, which could not be better stated, than in the form in which I found them; it will be seen that they have led to conclusions varying materially from those which are drawn by the American writer.

I would venture strongly to recommend the perusal of both the last named publications to all those who seek farther information on the important topic here treated of, than can be afforded by the brief pages which I have hastily thrown together. The work of the Canadian author, in particular, is written in a spirit of candour and good feeling towards this country, which, whilst it fully exposes the grievances of his fellow countrymen, guarantees his good faith and integrity; and the latter publication, through a tone of moderation, and an assumption of international good will, which, it is to be hoped, we duly reciprocate, betrays the ambitious views and speculations entertained by the Republican neighbours of our North American possessions, in such a manner, as ought to put us fully upon our guard against them.

A LETTER,

фс.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordship's present official situation, as it brings you more immediately in contact with a branch of administration in which your publicly avowed sentiments have already shewn your enlightened views, must have given you a deeper insight into the peculiar faults of our colonial governments, and must have confirmed you in your avowed notions of the necessity which exists of seeking an immediate remedy for evils which the public expects will be fearlessly met by Statesmen who have pointed out their existence, and given sound indications of knowing how they may be arrested.

The observations which I take the liberty of addressing to your Lordship, will have reference solely to the North American possessions of the Crown. I solicit, more especially, your Lordship's attention to them, not only because you are placed in a situation in which you have power to give effect to any suggestions which you may think it adviseable to adopt, but because I imagine, that on the main question of the eventual retention, by Great Britain, or abandonment of these Colonies, my sentiments are in unison with those which have been expressed by your Lordship.

Whether the method of bringing about that separation which I intend to put forward, will meet the approbation of those who would have to regulate such a measure, it is of course impossible to predict; but if, as I hope I may succeed in doing, I shall satisfy every one of the general expediency of such a measure, of the safety with which our North American provinces may be endowed with independence, and that the surrender of her rights, by the Mother Country, while it implies no derogation from her honour and good faith, will benefit her Colonies, and be a relief to herself: if, I repeat, I succeed in establishing these points, I may hope to see the details of the important political measure which it is my intention to advocate, based upon sound principles, and espoused by an Executive anxious for the honour and happiness of both countries.

The source of all history, and more especially that of our own country, must convince the

most prejudiced advocate of the imperium in imperio of our colonial system, that in societies constituted as those of our North American Colonies are, a period must arrive when their dependence on the Parent State ceasing to be productive of mutual advantages, the connexion is better severed than maintained. A sound policy would anticipate an event which may be brought about violently, and in such a manner as to leave feelings of irritation and resentment on both sides, by granting emancipation, whilst it will be hailed as a boon, instead of being claimed When, too, the bestowing of this as a right. boon relieves the Mother Country from very serious burthens, from great present responsibility and prospective inconvenience, it can scarcely remain a question, as to the fitness of terminating an onerous connexion, if it can be effected without any sacrifice of positive engagements, or compromise of principle.

The first portion of my argument will be to prove that the possession of the Canadas is onerous to Great Britain; and, secondly, that the domination of England is unpopular in, and unsuited to these Colonies: these points being established, a mode of relief will be proposed and discussed.

Let us, then, in the first place, consider the alleged advantages which this country derives from its commercial intercourse with the Canadas. We import thence, timber, pot and pearl ashes, peltry of different kinds, and a small Of these commodities, quantity of bread corn. the timber is the chief, and this raw product is forced upon the home market solely by the prohibitory duties levied on the same merchandize, if brought from the nearer shores of the Baltic. To such an extent has this policy been carried, that timber is notoriously shipped from the North of Europe, carried to ports of our North American possessions, and thence re-shipped for the English market. The superior qualities of the Baltic timber, as well as the inferior cost and freight, are well known, so that the impolicy of the protection afforded to this produce of our Colony, in the shape of an impost levied on several great branches of our national industry, cannot but be admitted. It may be urged, that the longer voyage to the Canadian ports, as affording a better nursery for seamen, ought not to be overlooked; but, on the other hand, it may be reckoned a matter of certainty, that the increased consumption which would naturally spring from a diminution of one half in the cost price of this article, would cause the employment of tonnage of at least equal amount, and thus present advantages which no one could dispute.

The home consumer suffers in the same way from the exclusive protection afforded to the importation of other raw articles which, under a change of relations, would find their way to this country in payment for British manufactures. In the treaties which sanctioned an independent existence, such mutual commercial preferences might be reserved as should be deemed reasonable; and as Canada is not yet a manufacturing country, doubtless she would not object to such protection being afforded to British woollens, cottons, and hardware, as should enable them to compete with similar productions from less highly taxed countries.

The sole actual advantage which I have been able to discover that any portion of the inhabitants of this country reap from our connexion with the Canadas, is, in the quartering upon that country of certain official dependents of our aristrocracy; and this advantage, if it merits that name, is productive of such bad moral consequences, as will be seen in the second portion of my argument, that I am sure your Lordship will agree with me in opinion that the sooner it is foregone the better.

That Great Britain is no gainer by its commercial intercourse with the Canadas, has, I think, been sufficiently proved; but this, my Lord, is not the only part of the connexion

which is onerous to us; the same policy which fosters a distant Colony as a source of patronage, and method of providing for clamorous and needy dependents, has taken less indirect means of making us feel the costliness of our union. Besides the naval and military establishments which, whilst we pretend to keep our hold on these countries, are rendered necessary by the vicinity of a rival power, and perhaps, in some degree, by the internal dissensions of these ill governed Colonies, the Imperial Parliament has been called upon, for some years past, to vote large sums for the military defences of the frontier, and of the naval station of Halifax, in Nova Scotia. Now, whatever may be the opinion entertained as to the policy of expending the public money on these works, no one can say that such charges, amounting, as it is supposed they will, in total, to nearly £3,000,000. sterling, are not onerous and burthensome in the extreme to this country, especially when viewed as a means of retaining possessions actually detrimental to the well understood interests of the Mother Country.

The first portion of my argument, my Lord, here naturally terminates: I have endeavoured to be as brief as possible, and have therefore avoided introducing the statistical details on which I have founded my reasonings; they are all to be found in the Parliamentary proceedings of the last three years; and if I have overstated or misrepresented any thing, I am open to contradiction.

The unsuitableness of the Colonial Government to the wants and feelings of the inhabitants of these Colonies, will be the next point to which I must solicit your Lordship's attention: its unpopularity is unfortunately too notorious, from the ceaseless complaints which weary the Imperial Legislature. A brief review of the constitution of these governments, and the actual state of the population of the two Provinces, will shew us the sources of these discontents, and prove how impossible it would be for them not to have arisen in the heterogeneous bodies of which a fusion has been vainly attempted.

It is now upwards of thirty years since the advantages of the British Constitution have been extended to the Canadas. The vast benefits which, in a theoretical point of view, we should expect to find realized by such a change from the ancient system, will, on inspection, be found practically nullified, and the wheels of Government actually standing still from violent collisions incidental to the attempt at forcing them to revolve in a vicious circle.

The Executive Council of the Lower Province,

composed of eleven Members, and intended to correspond with our Privy Council, in the year 1828 comprised seven Legislative Councillors in its body, three Clerks of the Council, and only one native Canadian, of French extraction. Here is to be found the fertile source of the existing mischiefs in this distracted Province; the prima facie good intentions of the Home Government are rendered of no effect by their toleration of such an arrangement; the Executive Council do, in point of fact, controul the Governor: and their interests, as Members of Legislative body, (which represents our the House of Peers,) and holders of office in the Government, being directly opposed to those of the Lower House, the Members of which, with scarcely a single exception, are of French extraction, the systematic mutual hostility of the two bodies, which ought to labour together for the public interests, is easily accounted for; nor is it surprising that a Governor, who receives his first impressions from Councillors imbued with violent prejudices, should be inclined to regard the Canadian subjects of the Crown, of French extraction, with an unfavourable eye.

The French population of the Lower Province numbers as eight to one; they would, therefore, of course, have a large numerical ascendancy in their Provincial Parliament; perhaps, the independent spirit of the few Englishmen, who have formed a part of this body, has deterred the Local Government from encouraging the admission of a greater number; for the apportionments of 1792 are in force to this day, so that no political power has been accorded to the townships, recently settled by English Colonists, on the borders of Upper Canada.

Whilst the Lower House, imbued with a high spirit of independence, and gradually becoming better acquainted with the real extent of the rights which it derives under the British Constitution, pertinaciously, and with a due firmness, insists upon asserting its claims to examine into and controul the expenditure of the supplies which it raises on the country at large; the Legislative body, whose salaries as placemen, on the civil establishment, are derived from this source, contest such right; and because the House of Assembly, in the year 1819, refused to vote, in one sum, the gross amount which was to be distributed at the discretion of the Executive, the Legislative Council actually threw out a most liberal Bill of supply, thereby leaving the public service wholly unprovided for; on the ground, that the voting of the sums, by different items, was an infringement of the prerogative of the Crown. A late occurrence in this country, to which

your Lordship owes the holding of the post you at present occupy, bears so striking an analogy to the constitutional principle on which the Canadian House of Assembly took their stand, that I need be at no pains to shew they were in the right; nor will it surprise any one, to see discontent and disaffection arising from the maintenance of such arbitrary principles by the Legislative Council.

The evil spirit which the constant opposition of the Legislative Council to the popular measures of the House of Assembly has created, is retaliated in a mischievous way, by the latter shewing itself hostile to changes, which originating in the Upper House, or in the Imperial Parliament, would really benefit the country: thus they have resisted the operation of Acts of Parliament, intended to change the seigneurial tenures, according to the old *coutume de* Paris, into the English tenures, by free and common soccage, as well as other changes, tending to assimilate the laws of Canada to those of the Mother Country. Whatever may be the prejudices of the French Canadians in favour of the seigneurial tenures, it is notorious, that the English settlers, who possess a large portion of the capital and enterprize of the Colony, are deterred from making investments in land, from the expense of fees on alienation, amounting to one-twelfth of the value, and by the other obstructions to the disposition of real property, tenaciously adhered to by the Canadians of French extraction.

In summing up the vices of the Colonial Government, we must not forget the interference of the Imperial Parliament in the internal affairs of this Colony, in contravention of the Constitutional Act, by the passing, in the year 1822, of the Canada Trade Act, a measure which, however it may be sought to be justified, was a virtual infraction of solemn engagements, and has created great distrust amongst the Colonists of both Provinces.

In taking a general view of the state of the population of the Lower Province, whose Government we have just passed in review, we must bear in mind the origin of our connexion with the Canadas, which was rather in the nature of a confederation, than of a conquest; a reference to the Constitutional Act, empowering the Canadians to judge for themselves exclusively in all changes of the colonial laws and institutions, will sufficiently demonstrate the truth of this position.

Upwards of seventy years have now elapsed since the establishment of the English domination, and it is now thirty years since these Provinces have enjoyed the advantages of the Bri-

tish Constitution, yet are the English and French Canadians as little blended in character as when we first became possessed of the Colony. An erroneous impression would be conveyed, if it were stated that the French descendants of the original Colonists are driven by actual oppression into a factious coalition, yet such is the general demeanour towards them of their fellow Colonists of English birth or extraction, that the two races have little mutual good feeling, and amalgamation is most effectually checked. The bearing of the English towards the French Canadians is generally described as arrogant and haughty in the extreme; they look upon themselves as the dominant Caste, and, with few exceptions, conduct themselves in an unconciliating and contumelious manner towards them, the more galling as being misplaced and unfounded in any real superiority, unless we are to suppose that the advantages of the British Constitution were only meant for one party, and that its great and unchanging principle of equality in the eye of the law has undergone a mutation by its transatlantic adaptation.

To recapitulate the predisposing causes of discontent in the Lower Province, we must place in the first rank the unnatural opposition of the two Houses of Legislature, arising from the faulty composition and admixture of the Upper House, and of the executive Council; secondly, the infractions of the compact which bound the Province to England;—and, thirdly, the unconciliating manners and widely varying national habits of the British, whether Colonists, or holding official situations:—all tending to create bad feeling towards England, and pre venting that social amalgamation, without which no community can either be satisfied or well ordered.

It would appear, at first sight, that the Upper Province, peopled by a more homogeneous race, would be free from the discontents which agitate the Lower Province; yet here also the perverse ingenuity of our Statesmen at home, aided by the misgovernment of their agents on the spot, have laid a foundation, out of which have arisen disturbance and disaffection.

The population of the Upper Province may be divided into three classes,—American loyalists, merchant adventurers and tradesmen, who intermingled with the first Colonists, and military and other emigrants, from Great Britain, or elsewhere, who have received grants of land, or purchased them at a low rate, from the Crown. Few amongst either of these three classes were possessed of capital or education, in a degree sufficient to fit them for discharging the duties which devolved upon them in exercising their legislative functions under the constitutional act; they did not sufficiently identify their individual interests with those of the community; for, as they acquired property, they again emigrated, without remaining to benefit the country in which they had gained a competency by their residence.

The Committee of the House of Commons, which was moved for by Mr. Huskisson in 1828, became cognizant of the serious nature of the Colonial discontents. Besides the complaints of Sir Peregine Maitland's administration, which I shall refrain from entering into, it appears that disagreements had arisen on the subject of the clergy reserves, between the major part of the population and the members of the Established Church, as well as between the House of Assembly and the government at home. These appropriations, set apart in 1791, and scattered through the whole country, amount to one seventh of the entire soil, and present a fruitful source of difficulty, if it be intended to retain them in their present state. A small portion of the population only is of the Established Church, as was declared by a vote of 38 to 5 in the House of Assembly; and the majority assert the right of the other Protestant clergy to participate in the appropriations for the support of religion. On this point the opinion of the law officers of

the Crown has already pronounced, that the clergy of the Presbyterian church have a right to participate. But this was not the only difficulty which attended these reserves, for an absurd regulation, which forbids any roads to traverse them, creates great inconvenience throughout the entire Province.

The community of feeling between the people of Upper Canada and the English settlers of the Lower Province, and the difference of customs, religion, and laws, between the old French inhabitants and the former, would probably have sufficed, independently of other causes, to prevent any intimate union between the two Colonies, but ample provision for future dissension was made at the time of establishing their governments. It has been observed, that the power of levying taxes was assigned to the local legislatures, but as they were to be in a great measure levied on exports and imports, and as Upper Canada has no sea ports, it was determined that an apportionment should be made of the duties received at Montreal and The power, however, of regulating Quebec. these duties-a power over a matter of common interest to both Provinces, was exclusively accorded to Lower Canada, and the proportion of duties to which their respective consumptions entitled them was to be estimated from time

to time. Various agreements for this object were entered into by the Legislatures, and the differences which naturally resulted from such a state of things, formed one of the motives for the attempt in 1822 to unite the two Provinces under one government, and of the enactment, on the failure of that project, of the Canada Trade Act, to which reference has been already made. The method next adopted was not, however, more successful than previous plans; and the regulation of trade still remains a matter of much embarrassment.

Express provision is made in the Act of 1822 for the passage without duty, of boats &c. belonging to the Upper Province, not laden with foreign produce, into, or through Lower Canada; but there is a saving of power to the Arbitrators who are to apportion the revenue between the two Provinces, to levy duties for the improvement of the St. Lawrence, on the prayer of either Province.

This authority, it is said, has been abused, by imposing duties on rafts and other timber, seriously affecting the interests of those who reside high up the river.

The grounds of the discontent and disaffection which exist in the Upper Province, may then be condensed under the following heads.

Firstly, The unfitness for their station of those

members of the government who have been summoned to discharge the duties of the colonial aristocracy

Secondly, The state of the clergy reserves.

Thirdly, The anomalous situation in which the Upper Province is placed in its commercial intercourse with Lower Canada, and with the rest of the world.

Fourthly, The grievance which, in common with their brethren of the Lower Province, they allege, in the appropriation of their colonial revenue, and the undue interference of the Imperial Parliament by the Act of 1822.

We have now, my Lord, reached the termination of the second proposition, with which I set out; and unless the facts which have been adduced in support of it can be impugned, the conclusion, that an effectual remedy ought speedily to be provided for such evils on both sides, will, I should imagine, be arrived at by all rightly judging people.

It has, in the first place, been established, that our existing relations with the Canadas are onerous and unprofitable to the Mother Country; the natural deduction will be, that if they cannot be rendered advantageous they ought to be given up, unless it can be proved that greater evils would spring from such a proceeding, than arise from our present system. The second proposition, that discontent and disaffection, to a great extent, exist in these Colonies, from our misgovernment, impeding the development of their natural energies, and their advance in the scale of civilization having been also demonstrated, will, with equal force, bring us to the same conclusion, unless our decisions be arrested by more serious prospective mischiefs than those which arise from existing causes.

When the nature of our commercial intercourse with the Canadas, which has been fairly stated, is taken into consideration, I do not think it will be contended that it can ever be rendered very profitable to this country, when the advantages of the nearer market of the North of Europe are duly weighed.

The advantages which our manufacturers should retain under the contemplated change of relations, would be for future adjustment; the kindly feelings on both sides in which it would be carried into effect, would be the best prompters of mutual concessions.

The large sums actually expended by England on general improvements, military and naval establishments and fortifications, in these Colonies, would no longer be required; let us hope that the Colonies would reap some benefit at least from the latter class of expenditure. The only tangible evil which I am aware of that can be surmised as likely to result from our resigning our hold of the Canadas, is, the probability of their falling into the hands of the United States; and I am not sure that even this contingency would not be less detrimental to Great Britain, than a continuance of the existing order of things. Such an event, however, I by no means contemplate. The power and capabilities of the Canadians to defend themselves from aggression from that quarter, I look upon as sufficiently proved, by the resistance they opposed to the American attempts of invasion in 1812 and 1813, when there were only 4,000 regular troops in the two Provinces, when the militia was unorganized, when the points of invasion were unprotected, as they now are, by formidable works of defence, and when the excited political feelings of the whole population were wrought up to absolute disaffection by the oppressive conduct of their late Governor.* Their political disinclination to a union with their southern neighbour is, I think, sufficiently evidenced, by their firm and loyal conduct on Their population, † particularly that occasion.

* Sir James Craig.

+ The Population of our North American Posssessions may be stated, in round numbers, at about 1,200,000 souls. in the Upper Province, has greatly increased since 1814, so that I see no objections to my proposition from risk of their falling under the dominion of our rivals in the United States. I regard these Provinces, on the contrary, when erected into an independent state, under an hereditary monarch, which is what I mean to propose, as the most formidable enemy we could raise up to their federal neighbours, and the best natural ally that could be found to this That the Canadas are coveted by the country. United States is unquestionable; they would probably endeavour to purchase them, as they have done by the possessions of Spain, did not our national character deter them from such an offer; yet it seems probable, that the accession of territory which they would obtain, in the event of acquiring these Provinces, would not give them a corresponding addition of strength. The hostility of the French Canadians to their republican neighbours has been proved, and our aristocratic countrymen are not likely to be behind hand with them in these dispositions; neither would the descendants of American lovalists, forming a considerable portion of the population in the Upper Province, be likely to coincide in opinion with the sons of those men whose political bias their fathers unsuccessfully opposed.

The aristocracy of wealth which the unexampled progress of national prosperity has elevated on the surface of republican institutions, more particularly in the Northern States of the Union, ought not to be, and doubtless has not been unnoticed by the statesmen of England: let them raise a sceptre on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and, without being visionary dreamers in the regions of romance, we may yet live to see its shadow on the banks of the Potomac and the Delaware.

But let us revert from our speculations on the future, to the matter we have in hand; and as I trust I have satisfied your Lordship that greater advantages will accrue to this country from the change of relationship between it and its North American possessions which I have proposed, than it at present derives from themas I have given satisfactory reasons for the belief which I entertain that these Colonies are able to maintain their independence-the remaining postulate, namely, that our resignation of our hold upon them will not compromise our national honour, must be granted. I can hardly, then, doubt of securing your Lordship's acquiescence in a change of system which will be attended with profit, security, and honour, to this country.

With respect to the Canadas themselves, the evil influence of a government, such as that which has been described, cannot be doubted, the question will naturally arise, in what respects would the proposed alteration benefit their present position? The reply will be a very brief one, and, I trust, satisfactory as to its advantages.

The mode in which the present executive Council influence and controul the Governor, has been explained. An irremovable and irresponsible head of the Government would not labour under these disadvantages; the connexion between the Colony and Mother Country being severed, the natural aristocracy of the country would rally round the throne, and would not, as at present, have their eyes constantly directed across the Atlantic, as soon as their Colonial services have enabled them to acquire what they consider a competency.

Their interests as Counsellors of the Throne, would be identified with its honour and security, and, consequently, with the real interests of the country; not absorbed, as they are at present, in making provision for their own private advantage, to the manifest injury of the commonwealth, and promotion of discord amongst the governed. It may be said, that these countries, deprived of the protection of Great Britain, are too poor to support a Kingly Government, and that such an institution would only become ridiculous in the face of the world. It must not, however, be surmised, that, because we grant them independence, our support and assistance are to be entirely withheld from the State which we have called into independent existence.

I do not here mean to discuss the details of such an arrangement; but it would clearly be the interest of Great Britain to establish such a government as should command the respect of its own subjects, and of the world.

The other North American possessions of this country would, of course, be given up with the Canadas, and would form a portion of the projected Kingdom, unless the inhabitants objected to such an arrangement, the rights of British subjects in the Fisheries would be reserved; and such advantages on both sides being evident, I cannot, I confess, imagine that countervailing arguments can be produced.

Such a scheme of national colonization might be combined with the establishment of this Transatlantic Kingdom, as would materially relieve this country, and benefit its Colony. It is not too much to suppose, that, if any Prince of the blood, or Nobleman, of the highest rank, were induced to become the founder of a new dynasty in these regions, that thousands of respectable families, carrying with them many poor dependents, to the vast relief of this country, and much capital, to the advantage of the new State, would be the companions of his voyage.

I have now, my Lord, attempted to lay before you some of the benefits which will probably accrue to the Canadas, from their erection into a monarchical form of Government; much, very much, I am aware, remains to be said; and I, perhaps, risk being obscure in attempting to be brief; I see no evils in prospect for the independent State, whose creation I advocate, which can at all counterbalance the advantages I have pointed out; therefore, as advantageous to England, as profitable to Canada, and as safe and honourable to both countries, I venture to press this scheme on your Lordship's attention, and that of the public in general.

I trust, that neither in your Lordship's eyes, nor in those of the public, I shall seem a philosopher of Utopia. Ardently attached to the theory of our beautiful Constitution, and well able to appreciate its excellencies from a tolerably extensive acquaintance with other systems of Government, the idea has forcibly struck me, of the feasableness of perpetuating its noble principles wherever, in our wide spread dominions, its type has been impressed, and where the sufficient maturity of the two estates calls for, or admits the crowning excellence of the third.

I would, my Lord, that when the historian of future days narrates, how the first-born of liberty, in the regions of the West, stood forward awfully in the fellowship of wondering nations, new to existence, but mature in vigour, —another Minerva from the teeming head of another Jove—he may recount, in the same animated page, that the Ocean Queen hath been a Mother of Monarchs; and shew, where proudly seated on her Island throne, her mighty voice is heard and revered by the Princes she hath made in distant lands.

I would that it should be told, how the tongue of their common Mother, in the mouths of her children's children, utters the word of welcome to their brethren in every clime beneath the sun. How the diadems, with which she hath bound the brows of the mighty, have been as chains of gold, linking them to the on-borne car of her glory; and how, in the day of her peril, her kingly sons were, in very deed, like the arrows in the hand of the giant, putting her enemies to shame.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

Humble Servant,

A. MALET.

London, Feb. 1, 1831.

Tilling, Printer, Chelsea.