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Shaw C. S. De Witt,
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Box 1

THE
NEPTUNIAN.
No. 17.

Chronicles of Canada.

Who began mischief; and, for what begun?

TO THE RESIDENT LANDOWNERS OF UPPER CANADA.

Queenston, October, 1817.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM a British Farmer, and have visited this Province to ascertain what advantages it possesses in an Agricultural point of view. After three months residence, I am convinced that these are great,—far superior indeed, to what the Mother Country has ever held out, either as they concern speculative purchase, or the profits of present occupation.

Under such impressions, it is my purpose, as soon as circumstances will permit, to become a settler; and in the mean time, would willingly do what laid in my power to benefit the country of my choice.

When I speak in this sanguine manner of the capabilities of Canada, I take it for granted that certain political restraints to improvement will be speedily removed. Growing necessity, and the opinion of every sensible man with whom I have conversed on the subject, gives assurance of this. My present address, therefore, waives all regard to political arrangements: it has in view, simply to open a correspondence between you and your fellow subjects at home, where the utmost ignorance prevails with respect to the natural resources of this fine country.

Travellers have published passing remarks,—they have told wonderful stories, and amused the idle of England with descriptions of the beautiful and grand scenery which nature has here displayed; but no authentic account has yet been afforded to men of capital—to men of enterprise and skill, of those important facts which are essential to be known, before such men will launch into foreign speculation, or venture with their families, in quest of better fortune, across the Atlantic.

In this state of ignorance, you have hitherto had for settlers chiefly

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poor men driven from home by despair. These men, ill-informed, and lost in the novelties which surround them, make at first but a feeble commencement, and ultimately, form a society, crude, unambitious, and weak. In your newspapers I have frequently observed hints towards bettering the condition of these poor settlers, and for ensuring their residence in the Provinces. Such hints evidently spring from benevolent feelings: they are well-meant, and may tend to alleviate individual distress, but can produce no important good to the country. Canada is worthy of something better than a mere guidance to it of the blind and the lame: it has attractions to stimulate desire, and place its colonization above the aids of necessity.

Hands no doubt are necessary, but, next to good laws, the grand requisite for the improvement of any country, is capital. Could a flow of capital be once directed into this quarter, hands would not be wanting, nor would these hands be so chilled with poverty as to need the patronage of charitable institutions.

At this moment British capital is overflowing: trade is yielding it up: the funds cannot profitably absorb it: land mortgages are gorged; and it is streaming to waste in the six-per-cents of America. Why should not this stream be diverted into the woods of Canada, where it would find a still higher rate of interest, with the most substantial security?

Gentlemen! The moment is most auspicious to your interests, and you should take advantage of it. You should make known the state of this country: you should advertise the excellence of the raw material which Nature has lavishly spread before you: you should inspire confidence, and tempt able adventurers from home. At this time there are thousands of British Farmers, sickened with disappointed hopes, who would readily come to Canada, did they but know the truth: many of these could still command a few thousand pounds to begin with here; while others less able in means, have yet preserved their character for skill and probity, to entitle them to the confidence of capitalists at home, for whom they could act as agents in adventure. Under the wing of such men, the redundant population of Britain would emigrate with cheerfulness, and be planted here with hearts unbroken.

We hear of four or five thousand settlers arrived from home this season; and it is talked of as a great accession to the population of the Provinces. It is a mere drop from the bucket. England alone could spare fifty thousand people annually, while she would be refreshed and strengthened by the discharge. In war, England sent abroad annually more than twenty thousand of her youthful sons to be slain, and more than twenty thousand of her daughters shot after them the last hope of honorable love. In those twenty-five years of war the population of England rapidly increased: what is it to do now, when war is at an end, when love and opportunity are no longer to be foiled, and the poor laws have provided sustenance for children independent of the parent's care?

Under existing circumstances, it is absolutely necessary, even for the domestic comfort of England, that a vent should be immediately

opened for her increasing population, and the colonization of Canada, if once begun, upon a liberal footing, would afford this vent.

The present emigration from England affords no relief whatever to the calamity occasioned by the poor laws. Thousands and tens of thousands of paupers could be spared, who cannot possibly now get off for want of means, but who would be brought over by men of capital, were confidence for adventure here once established.

The extent of calamity already occasioned by the system of the Poor laws, cannot be even imagined by strangers. They may form some idea, however, when I tell them, that last winter I saw in one parish, (Blackwall, within five miles of London,) several hundreds of able-bodied men, harnessed and yoked, fourteen together, in carts, hauling gravel for the repair of the highways; each fourteen men performing just about as much work as an old horse led by a boy could accomplish. We have heard since that £1,500,000 has been voted to keep the poor at work; and perhaps the most melancholy consideration of the whole is, that there are people who trust to such means as a cure for the evil.

While all this is true: when the money and labor of England is thus wasted: when thousands of our fellow subjects are emigrating into the States of America: when we even hear of them being led off to mix with the boors of Poland, in the cultivation of a country where the nature of the government must counteract the utmost efforts towards improvement,—is it not provoking that all this should go on merely from a reigning ignorance of the superior advantages which Canada has in store, and a thoughtlessness as to the grand policy which might be adopted for the general aggrandizement of the British nation.

Some have thought the exclusion of American citizens a great bar to the speedy settlement of Canada; but a liberal system of colonization from Europe, would render this of small* importance. Before coming to a decided opinion on this important subject, I took much pains to inform myself of facts. A minute inquiry on the spot where government has endeavored to force a settlement, satisfied me as to the causes of the too notorious failure there. It convinced me that the fault by no means rested with the incapacity of the settlers, but resulted from the system pursued. I have since spent a month perambulating the Genesee country, for the express purpose of forming a comparison between British and American management. That country lies parallel to this: it possesses no superior advantages: its settlement began ten years later; yet I am ashamed to say, it is already ten years before Canada, in improvement. This has been ascribed to the superior dexterity of the American people, but most erroneously. The art of clearing land is as well understood here as in the States: men direct from Britain are as energetic, and after a little practice, sufficiently expert with

* Mr. Horne, the Editor of the Upper Canada Gazette, when he was first setting up the types of this Address, wished me to substitute the word *no* for *small*, which I would not consent to do. Mr. Horne, I dare say, will recollect this; and, I have reasons for keeping it in mind.

the axe, while they are more regular in their habits, and more persevering in their plans, than the Americans.

No improvement has taken place in the Genesee country, which could not be far exceeded here, under a proper system. It was indeed British capital and enterprise which gave the first grand impetus to the improvement of that country: much of its improvements is still proceeding under British agency; and one of the most flourishing townships is wholly occupied by men who came with slender means from the Highlands of Scotland. In the Genesee country, the Government pocketed much, but *forced* nothing, and charity, there, has been left without an object.

GENTLEMEN.—The enquiries and observations which I have recently made on the subject of settlement, assure me that neither in these Provinces nor in the United States, has a proper system been pursued. The mere filling of the world with men, should not be the sole object of political wisdom. This should regard the filling of it with beings of superior intellect and feelings, without which, the desert had better remain occupied by the beaver and the bear. That society of a superior kind may be nursed up in Canada, by an enlarged and liberal connexion with the mother country, I am very confident; and its being realized is the fond hope which induces me to come forward with my present proposal, and which, if these proposals meet with support, will continue the spur of my exertions to complete the work which I have now in view.

Many of you, Gentlemen, have been bred up at home, and well know how superior, in many respects, are the arrangements and habits of society there, to what they are on this side the Atlantic. Such never can be hoped for here, under the present system of colonization, which brings out only a part, and that only the weakest part of society—which places poor and destitute individuals in remote situations, with no object before them but grovelling selfishness—no aid—no example—no fear either of God or man. Is it not possible to create such a tide of commerce as would not only bring with it *part* of society, but society complete, with all the strength, and order, and refinement, which it has now attained in Britain, beyond all precedent? Surely government should afford every facility to a commerce which would not only enrich, but eternally bind together Britain and her Provinces, by the most powerful sympathies of manners, and taste, and affection.

Government never can too much encourage the growth of this colony, by a liberal system of emigration. When we come from home, we are not expatriated: our feelings as British subjects grow more warm with distance, and our greater experience teaches us the more to venerate the principles of our native land—the country wherein the sciences have made the greatest progress, and where alone are cultivated to perfection the arts of social life. At home, we have experienced evils: we know that influences are there, which war against the principles of the constitution, and counteract its most benevolent designs. Here, we are free of such influences,

we are perfectly contented, and a fine field lies open to us for cultivating the best fruits of civil and religious liberty.

An enlarged and liberal connexion between Canada and Britain, appears to me to promise the happiest results to the cause of civilization. It promises a new era in the history of our species: it promises the growth of manners with manly spirit, modesty with acquirements, and a love of truth superior to the boasting of despicable vanity.

The late war furnished the strongest proof of the rising spirit of this country, even under every disadvantage; and pity it would be, were so noble a spirit ever again exposed to risk. The late war showed at once the affection which Britain bears to Canada, and the desire which Canada has to continue under the wing of Britain. When a connexion is established between the two countries, worthy of such manifestations, all risk will cease. Britain will no longer expend her millions here. This country will not only be equal to its own defence, but the last hope of invasion will wither before its strength. While Canada remains poor and neglected, she can only be a burthen to Britain: when improved and wealthy, she will amply repay every debt, and become the powerful friend of the parent state.

What I conceive to be the first requisite for opening a suitable communication with the mother country, is the drawing out and publishing a well authenticated statistical account of Upper Canada. This cannot be effected by a single hand: it must be the work, and have the authority of many. To give it commencement, I submit for your consideration the annexed queries; and could these be replied to, from every township in the Province, the work would be far advanced. These queries have been shown to many of the most respectable individuals in the Province, and the scheme of collecting materials in this way, for a statistical account, has, by every one, been approved. Some have doubted whether there exists sufficient energy and public spirit, in the remote townships, to reply to them. I hope there is; and certainly no organized township is destitute of individuals qualified for the task, *if they will but take so much trouble.*

Some gentlemen have met my ideas so cordially as to offer to collect information, not only for their own, but, for other townships. Correct information, however, is not the only requisite: authority is also wanted, of that species, which will not only carry weight with it to a distance, but remain answerable on the spot for what is advanced. The desirable point, therefore is to obtain replies, *separately from each township*, and to have these attested by the signature of as many of the respectable inhabitants as possible. To accomplish this in the speediest and most effectual manner, a meeting might be held in each township, and in the space of an hour or two, the business might be perfected.

The queries have been drawn out as simply as possible, with a view to the practicability of having them answered in this general way. They embrace only such matters as it must be in the power

of every intelligent farmer to speak to, and the information to be obtained by them will be sufficient to assure farmers and others at home, who have money to engage in adventure, that adventure here, will not only be rational and safe, but that they themselves may sit down in Canada with comfort and independence.

Although to prevent confusion in the general fulfilment of the scheme, I have confined the range of queries, it would still be very desirable if intelligent individuals would communicate their sentiments with regard to any measure of improvement which occurs to them, or any remarkable fact or observation they may have made concerning the climate, soil, or cultivation of the Province.

Should any correspondent dislike my using his name publicly, he need only give a caution, and it shall be observed.*

If the queries obtain notice, and sufficient documents are forwarded to me, I shall arrange and publish them in England, whither I am soon to return. Had this task required superior ability, such an offer would be presumption. I think it requires industry alone, and that I shall contribute most willingly.

Whoever thinks well of the scheme, and feels a desire to promote it, let him not hesitate or delay: prompt assistance will be every thing; and, as to trouble, let individuals compare theirs to mine.

Though I gratuitously make offer of my time, I must be relieved of expense as much as possible, and shall expect all communications to be post paid. No person, I think, who interests himself at all in the matter, will grudge his item in this way. Divided amongst many, such charges will be trifling, but accumulated upon one, they would be serious.

Should the work succeed to my wish, I would propose not only publishing it in the English, but German language. It is well known that the people of that nation are most desirable settlers, and it is a fact that many of them have not the means of communicating to their friends the very superior advantages of this country. One of them, who has been in Canada 13 years, lately told me, that "tousands and tousands would come over, did they but know how good a country it is for poor peoples."

ROBERT GOURLAY.

N. B. *Address all communications for me, to the Post Office, Queenston.*

R. G.

QUERIES.

- 1st. *Name, situation and extent of your Township?*
- 2d. *Date of the first settlement of your Township, number of people and inhabited houses?*

* These two lines were thrown in at the suggestion of the Printer at York, who thought few people would choose to give their names, as authority. So very different was the issue, that I have received only one communication, out of nearly a hundred, with a feigned signature. I mention this to the honor of the people of Upper Canada, while I express my regret for admitting of a supposition that any one would hesitate to withhold his name in support of the information required.

- 3d. Number of Churches or Meetinghouses; number of Professional Preachers, and of what Sects?
- 4th. Number of Medical Practitioners?
- 5th. Number of Schools, and the Fees per Quarter?
- 6th. Number of Stores?
- 7th. Number of Taverns?
- 8th. Number of Mills, and of what Description, with the rate of Grinding, Sawing, and Carding Wool?
- 9th. The general character of the Soil and Surface?
- 10th. The kinds of Timber produced, naming them in order, as they most abound?
- 11th. What Minerals, if any, have been discovered or indicated,—Coal, Limestone, Iron, Stone, Plaster of Paris, Salt Rock, Salt or other remarkable Springs.
- 12th. Building Stones, if any, of what Quality, and how much per Toise they can be obtained at the Quarry?
- 13th. If Bricks have been made, and their cost per Thousand?
- 14th. If Lime is burned, and the Price per Bushel at the Kiln?
- 15th. Wages of Blacksmiths, Masons and Carpenters; and the Rate of their Piece Work respectively?
- 16th. Wages of common Laborers per annum—per Winter month, per Summer month, per day in Harvest—also, wages of women Servants per week for Housework, and for Spinning?
- 17th. Price of mowing Grass for Hay: price of Reaping and Cradleing Wheat—saying, in each case, if Board and Lodging is included.
- 18th. Cost of Clearing and Fencing a given Quantity of Wood land,—say, Five Acres, by Contract.
- 19th. Present price of a good work Horse, four years old; also, a good Cow, Ox, Sheep, of the same age.
- 20th. Average quantity of Wool yielded by Sheep; and what price the Wool now brings per pound?
- 21st. Ordinary time of turning out Beasts to pasture, and of taking them home, into the Yard or Stable?
- 22d. Ordinary endurance of the Sleighing season; and of commencing Ploughing in Spring?
- 23d. Ordinary season of Sowing and Reaping Wheat?
- 24th. Quantity of Wheat required to Sow an Acre; and how many Bushels per Acre are considered an average Crop?
- 25th. Quality of Pasture: 1st, as it respects Feeding, and what weight an Ox of four years old will gain with a Summer's run;—2d, as it respects Milk, and the quality of Dairy produce; noting the price which Butter and Cheese made in the Township will now fetch?
- 26th. Ordinary course of Cropping upon New lands, and afterwards when broken up from Grass? stating also, when and for what Crops manure is applied?
- 27th. If any land is let on Shares; to what extent this is practised, and what the ordinary Terms?
- 28th. The price of Wild land at the first settlement of the Township, its progressive rise, and present price; also, of land so far cleared; stating circumstances as to Buildings proportion cleared, or peculiarity, if any, of local situation; referring in every instance to actual sales?
- 29th. Quantity of land now for sale?

30th. *State of Public Roads, and if capable of much improvement at a moderate expense; also, if any Water Conveyance; or if this could be obtained, extended or improved, by means of Canals, Locks? &c. &c.*

31st. *What, in your opinion, retards the Improvement of your Township in particular, or the Province in general; and what would most contribute to the same?*

Niagara, November 5th, 1817.

We, the undersigned, Magistrates of the District of Niagara, having observed in the York Gazette of the 30th ult. an Address from Mr. Gourlay to the land owners of Upper Canada, proposing to publish a Statistical account of this province, do conceive that the same would be highly beneficial, and recommend that meetings be immediately held in the several townships, to consider of, and reply to the queries therein proposed.

Signed—THOMAS CLARK, ROBERT KERR, ROBERT GRANT, JAMES KERBY, SAMUEL STREET, THOMAS DICKSON, ROBERT ADDISON, THOMAS BUTLER, JAMES MUIRHEAD, GEORGE KEEFER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NIAGARA SPECTATOR.

Queenston, Nov. 10, 1817.

SIR,—I am gratified with the notice you have taken of my Address to the Land Owners of Upper Canada in your last paper, and glad that you are to give it place in your next, as that must greatly contribute to forward the desired effect.

When I presented the Address for publication to the Editor of the Upper Canada Gazette, I little thought that either my sentiments or proposals could offend any one; and, no sooner was it before the public, than I had the satisfaction of hearing the design commended by many of the first characters in York,* who even suggested that much of the required information could be obtained for me at the public Offices.

Rendered confident by such support, and finding that printed letters could be sent free of postage to every part of the Province, I ordered 800 copies of the Address and Queries, to be thrown off in a Circular, and dispatched to the Public Officers of every Township, lest the York Newspaper should not fall into their hands. What was my surprise after all this—after devoting not only my time but my money to such a cause; what was my surprise to hear from unquestionable authority, on my passage in the Steam Boat from York to Niagara, that a Member of the Executive Council had declared himself displeased with my sentiments, and had called it presumption in me, a stranger, to come forward as I had done.

Were it matter of private concern, it would be much beneath me to notice the whisperings of any one; but under present circumstances my duty is to speak out, and once for all, to guard the public against murmurs which may retard the promotion of the best interests of the Province.

If any one can seriously challenge my opinions or proposals, let him do so through the medium of the public prints, setting forth, as I have done, his profession and his name. By such means all of us may be better informed than we are, and that good may be obtained which little fault-finding cannot accomplish.

In offering my services to this Province, as Compiler of its Statistics, I offer much labor with small prospect of emolument; and if there is, in York or elsewhere, any one willing to undergo the drudgery, in whom greater confidence can be placed, most gladly will I resign to him the task; which indeed I cannot perform unless *immediately and frankly* assisted in the manner proposed.

That I am a stranger is not in every sense correct. My near connexions were among the first settlers of Upper Canada, and I am proud to say, rank also as its greatest benefactors. Indeed, where the memory of the Hon. Robert Hamilton is so much revered, it is natural for me to claim that country as my home.

* Here, part of the letter has been omitted.

A singular concurrence brought into the same page of the Upper Canada Gazette, the Regulations of the Strangers Friend Society and my Address. It is possible that some of my remarks may have been felt by members of that Society, as purposely directed against their endeavors; but so far was this from being the case, that I had committed to paper these very sentiments a month before I knew of such a Society coming into existence, and actually threw in some words at York, to save the feelings of its well-meaning supporters. My only wish was to guard the public against *relying* in such schemes as conducive to Colonization. Had I entered further into the subject I might have shown their positive evils, and informed the worthy inhabitants of Canada that the greatest curse of England, the present system of poor laws, had its origin in *erring benevolence*.

While there is opportunity it may be well to leave nothing in my Address unexplained. When first written, it contained the following words: "*The able Resolutions brought forward at the close of your last Session of Parliament.*" It had not entered into my head that the mere expression of one's opinions could give offence; but having accidentally read the Address to a friend, before I sailed from Niagara to York,* I was cautioned against the use of these words, and luckily it was so, for on my arrival in York I found the said Resolutions were held in utter abhorrence there, insomuch that they had not even obtained a place in the Gazette. To avoid offence, I substituted in place of the above words, "growing necessity," which answered my end equally well. The *Resolution* which I had particularly in view related to the Taxation of wild lands; and till that is brought about, every effort for giving full scope to improvement here must be abortive.

The Resolution which regarded the admission of people from America into Canada, was not only *able*, but in my opinion essential to the dignity of the Legislature of the Province. The *veto* issued against the admission of such people, I am clearly convinced was subversive of a Constitutional Act, which no one branch of Government had a right to infringe. It was a question for the grave and deliberate determination of the Three Estates of Parliament. It was not incumbent on me to speak of this. The evil done to the Province by the exercise of this *veto*, I considered irretrievable, and wished rather to avoid allusion to a fearful subject—the encroachment of arbitrary power. Under these circumstances, it seemed best to say, in my Address, that the exclusion of American citizens "was of *small consequence*," but this must depend entirely on the *establishing a liberal system of colonization*; and unless such is speedily resorted to, our hopes here of prosperity and independence must be at an end.

That any doubt with regard to me may not for a moment delay the most efficient and peaceable mode of informing the people and Government at home of the state of Canada, through the medium of a well authenticated Statistical Account, I now beg that all communications on the subject may be addressed, post paid, to me, † at this place; and the sense of the public will appear by answers to the following additional query, "*Can you recommend any person peculiarly qualified for arranging and publishing the Statistics of Upper Canada, or are you willing to repose confidence in your humble servant,*"

"ROBERT GOURLAY?"

* On the 19th day of October, 1817, I went on board the Steamboat at Niagara, to cross the Lake to York. Our sailing being delayed for a little while, by high wind, I stepped on shore and conversed with the Honorable William Dickson and Mr. M'Donnell, formerly Speaker of Assembly. I took Mr. D. aside, told him that I proposed publishing an Address at York, and read to him the first part of it, when he gave me the caution mentioned in the text. We rejoined Mr. M'D. and conversed further on the subject. I told them I should have printed the Address in the Niagara Spectator, but for having seen a very improper article inserted in that paper: on which Mr. D. said, that this must have happened from inadvertency, as the Editor was a very good man. I am thus particular for several reasons, but chiefly wish it to be understood that it was by perfect accident that I went to York with any guard against the supercilious notions of its inhabitants. I had avoided particular consultation with my friends merely because I wished them in no way to be responsible either for my acts or opinions in this business.

† The words "*to me*," were not in the manuscript, but were substituted for others erased, inadvertently by my friend.

PUBLIC NOTICE.

We, the subscribers, Magistrates of the District of Gore, having observed in the newspapers, an address to the Resident Land owners of Upper Canada, signed ROBERT GOURLAY, proposing to collect materials for publishing a Statistical account of this Province, are of opinion, that the same would be of great public benefit, and recommend meetings to be held in every township, as soon as possible, to consider of the same, and return answers to the queries put, attested by the signature of the Chairmen of such meetings.

Signed—RICHARD BEASLEY, GEORGE HAMILTON, HENRY HAGLE, HUGH WILSON, WILLIAM HARE, RICHARD HATT, JAMES CROOKS, LEVI LEWIS, JOHN WILSON, ROBERT NELLES.

At a meeting of the Magistrates and other inhabitants of the District of London, held at Vittoria the 2d of December, 1817, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of calling general meetings on the subject of an Address which appeared in the Upper Canada Gazette of the 30th of October last, containing proposals for publishing a Statistical Account of the Province, Joseph Ryerson, Esq. in the Chair, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

1st. Resolved, That it is the unanimous opinion of this meeting that every facility ought to be afforded to the author of that address, to enable him to complete the proposed work, which, in the opinion of this meeting, will tend greatly to the improvement of this Province in general.

2d. Resolved, That as individuals, we will give all the support in our power to promote so desirable an object; and as a first step, we strongly recommend to the inhabitants of the different townships within this District, to call meetings with as little delay as possible, fixing a particular day for the purpose of furnishing replies to the several queries in that address.

3d. Resolved, That as despatch is very desirable, these meetings should be held as speedily as is consistent with correct information.

4th. Resolved, That these resolutions be signed by the Chairman and Magistrates present, and be published in the Upper Canada Gazette, the Niagara Spectator, and the Kingston Gazette.

Signed—JOS. RYERSON, Chairman, J. BACKHOUSE, J. P., GEORGE C. SALMON, J. P., J. MITCHELL, J. P., THOMAS BOWLBY, J. P.

The Spectator.

Thursday, January 8, 1817.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NIAGARA SPECTATOR.

SIR,—You inserted in your paper of the 20th November last, a letter with my signature, and as that letter was not given to the public as it was written by me, you will, I trust, afford room in your columns for explanation.

The letter was begun on the point of my setting off from Queenston on a far journey from which I have only now returned, and it was not finished till I reached my second stage: from whence I enclosed it to a friend, bidding him, as it was a hasty production, use his discretion as to making it public. It will be remembered that the cause of my writing this letter, was a report that an Executive Councillor had been finding fault with my proceedings. Conscious how little I deserved blame, and fully convinced of the vast importance to the Province of my proposals being carried into effect, I desired, in my letter, that communications should be addressed to a “well known and worthy Magistrate” of this District (mentioning his name), that he and his brother Magistrates might dispose of such communications, the best for the public good. The worthy Magistrate, from false delicacy, declining to have his name appear, it, with its epithets, were struck out by my friend, and the words “to me” inserted. Should any one take the trouble of looking back to the letter, as printed, he will see what a strange difference this inter-

change of words produced. Instead of making me appear, as in fact, I was, indifferent to all personal consideration, it thrust me forward as doubly presuming.

Another part of my letter was also, from false delicacy, greatly altered to my prejudice I wrote that "I had the satisfaction of hearing the design commended by many of the first characters in York, among whom were his Honor the Administrator, and the Hon Chief Justice," but these words, here marked in Italics, were erased by my friend, little considering how very important they were, not only in gaining public confidence to the cause, but as tending at once to justify me, and screen those respectable personages from suspicion and censure.

Before my address appeared in the Upper Canada Gazette it was submitted to Colonel Smith, who gave it his fullest approbation; and immediately after its publication, being told that Chief Justice Powel also approved of it, and desired to see me, I waited on him and had a most cordial conversation on the subject; and, it was owing to such respectable countenance, that I ventured on the extraordinary step of sending *circulars* over the Province.

One fault there was in my letter: I did not give the name of the unfriendly Councillor; thereby affording room for unfair surmises; and this, upon reflection, gave me pain. The individual alluded to was the Rev. Dr. Strachan. If he has been injured he has a right to call upon me for my authority, and in that case it shall be given him; for I neither wish to hear nor to keep secrets regarding public concerns.

The lapse of time, and the public prints, have too truly manifested that there are men who will run in the face of common sense and discretion, merely to gratify their envy and their spleen. The intelligent public never could expect me to reply to the wretched stuff which has been written in opposition to my scheme. Notwithstanding every awkward appearance and the machinations both of open and covert enemies, its success has far surpassed my utmost expectation. Upwards of forty reports of Townships, most of them the result of regularly constituted public meetings, have already reached me, besides many letters from individuals; and I do not hesitate to say, that in no country was so much valuable information ever as speedily got together by such simple means.

As I am on the eve of leaving this place, I shall make arrangements to have communications forwarded for me at New York, where I shall remain two or three weeks on my way to England; and thus friends to the cause who have been tardy, will have the latest chance of contributing their aid. The materials already collected will, when published at home, arrest great attention; but my anxious wish is, to give every person a fair opportunity of speaking out his sentiments, and that all parts of the Province may be impartially represented.

The following Townships above Lake Ontario are still unreported. In the District of Niagara there are *Niagara, Louth, Grimsby, Gainsborough, Humberstone, Willoughby, Pelham and Bertie*. In the District of Gore, *Nichol, Woolwich, Dumfries, Glanford, Binbrook, Caistor and Clinton*. In the District of London, *Woodhouse, Walpole, Rainham, Houghton, Norwich, Dereham, Blanford and London*. In the Western District, *Romney, Tilbury, Rochester, Mersey, Gosfield, Maidstone, Colchester, Malden*, and the *Huron Reserve*.

Some of these may have few or no inhabitants to speak for them, in which cases, I shall be glad if any individual, having the means, will take the trouble to send me a short account of their situation, soil and surface, together with any other fact respecting them which may occur as worthy of notice.

On my part, before taking leave of these Districts, there is a duty to perform. It is to return my warmest thanks to the inhabitants for their hospitality and kindness, which rendered my last journey, of a thousand miles, during the worst season of the year, altogether delightful. Should I be spared to retrace my steps, some twenty years hence, what a change may I behold, *if good laws are ably administered!*

Yours, &c.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

MEMORANDA.

From boyhood I had lively views of Upper Canada, — associating with the family to which, 1807, I became allied by marriage; and, that giving right to land in the Province, I then looked to it with increasing interest. The Hon. Robert Hamilton, of Queenston, my wife's uncle, dying, 1809, his children of a second marriage, were carried to Scotland, for education, by William Dickson one of the Executors, and second cousin of my wife. He, thence, came to my house in Wiltshire, early in 1810, to consult with my aunt, my mother-in-law, then residing with me. Not knowing why I had left lairdship in Fife to be a renting farmer in England, Dickson suggested emigration to Upper Canada, — expatiating on its delights. — 1813, Faden's Map of the Province was published; with which, and David William Smyth's Topographical Description, I began studies for laying out land in the wilderness, — a matter of incalculable value to Britain and humanity; though yet wholly neglected. — 1814, Thomas Clark, related, as Dickson, to my wife, came with his lady, and staid with me some time. From them I became intimately acquainted with many circumstances, and learned how he made his fortune in Upper Canada. — December, 1815, my prospects in life were blighted by unforeseen calamity; and, it became necessary to chalk out a course by which my *status*, in society, could be maintained. Canada offered a field; and, I intimated to friends there, my purpose of visiting them; but, the communication was just dispatched when it was remembered that nothing could be gone about till a chancery suit, in which I had been involved three years, was at an end. A year after, when all was in my favor, a gleam of prosperity induced a pause; but that was soon clouded over; * and, finally, March, 1817, — my affairs being in the best possible order, I resolved to devote six months to America, before coming to any decision. — April 2, 1817, I left Deptford Farm, Wilts. and, *via* London, reached Liverpool, Saturday, 5th, — just too late for entry at the Custom house, or I should have sailed, next day, for New York. Having engaged a passage for Quebec, the vessel did not sail for a week after appointment, — not till the 19th, and, it was the end of May before we landed. — I spent four days at Quebec: twelve at Montreal, waiting for Mr. Clark; and, at last departed for the Upper Province alone; furnished, by him, with letters of introduction to Mr. McMartin, M. P. Glengary: Mr. Jonas Jones, M. P. Brockville: Captain Fowler, superintendent of the new settlement at Perth; and Mr. Kirby, merchant, Kingston. — Being on foot, I carefully examined the banks of St. Lawrence river, to ascertain how the rapids might be surmounted by a canal; and, observations on the spot, twelve months afterwards, enabled me to construct the diagram which appears in my Statistical Account of Upper Canada. Had that diagram, and my Map of Niagara District, indicating the practical courses of navigation between Lakes Erie and Ontario, been attended to, millions of money might have been saved; nor is it yet too late to make advantage of them. — At Perth, my statistical labors commenced; and, the 'TABLE OF EMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT' drawn up there; which was published in British newspapers, November, 1817, may yet be seen, pages 524 and 5, Vol. I. of my Statistics. With government countenance, such publications might have been highly valuable. Getting to Kingston, early in July; and, to Queenston, by the middle of that month, I was confined with ill health for two months, and, all my arrangements were thereby marred. As soon as able, I crossed to Lewiston — visited the American side of the Falls; and spent a week at Buffalo. Recovering vigor, I made a delightful tour through the Genessee country, as it was then called, so far as Auburn. There, my mind was made up. There, I resolved to become a Land-Agent, — to cross the Atlantic annually; and, at once, make my own fortune, establish a grand system of emigration, and render Upper Canada prosperous and happy. I returned to the Province in high spirits: wrote my Address to the Resident Landholders: had it published; and instantly got the good will of every body I conversed with in York. Two days after publication, I was on the point of going with the Administrator, Colonel Smith, to his country house, when it was announced that my brother was on board the steam boat, Frontenac, just arrived from Kingston. He had, after learning by my letters, written from the Province, that I was pleased with it, resolved to become a settler; and here he was, unexpected. This induced me to change my plan, and forthwith I proceeded with him in the Frontenac, to Queenston, to introduce him to my wife's relations. About a week afterwards, we set out together on horseback to go as far as Dereham, to see my land there; and, it was on that journey, I wrote the letter which appears, mutilated, page 176; and, which was addressed to Thomas Dickson, Esq. Never had I, till my arrival in Upper Canada, heard of such a person as Doctor Strachan: I had not then seen him, but in the pulpit; and, could not even guess what had made him oppose my project, saying that it was said he was preparing to publish an account of the Province written by himself.

* See the Record of my Private affairs, printed, 1832.

THE
NEPTUNIAN.

No. 18.

Chronicles of Canada.

Who began mischief?—and, for what begun?

To the Editor of the Spectator.

SIR: As I believe the British Act of Parliament, 30th, Geo. III. Chap. 27, has never been published in this Province, I herewith send you a copy, and trust you will find room for its insertion in your next newspaper, as matter of *utmost importance* to be considered by the inhabitants of Upper Canada at the present moment. Had I seen this Act prior to writing the letter which appeared in your paper of the 20th November last, I might have corrected my first opinion of the Resolutions brought forward towards the end of last session of Parliament. Instead of characterizing them as 'able resolutions,' I might have said, that, in some cases, doubting was weakness and ignorance a fault. Of the spirit of the Act, I was well informed; but conceived that some ambiguity had arisen, from its wording, which called for the language of courtesy to an over-officious Executive.

I am, &c.,

ROBERT GOURLAY.

Queenston, January 26, 1818.

*An Act for encouraging new Settlers in His Majesty's Colonies and Plantations
in America.*

'WHEREAS it is expedient that encouragement should be given to persons
' that are disposed to come and settle in certain of His Majesty's Colonies
' and plantations in America and the West Indies; be it therefore enacted by
' the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of
' the Lord's spiritual and temporal, in this present Parliament assembled,

‘and by the authority of the same, that from and after the 1st day of August, 1790, if any person, or persons, being a subject, or subjects of the Territories or Countries belonging to the United States of America, shall come from thence, together with his, her, or their family, or families, to any of the Bahama, Bermuda, or Summers Islands, or to any part of the Province of Quebec, or of Nova Scotia, or any of the Territories belonging to His Majesty in North America, for the purpose of residing and settling there, it shall be lawful for any such person, or persons, having first obtained a license for that purpose from the Governor, or, in his absence, the Lieutenant Governor of the said Islands, Colonies, or Provinces, respectively, to import into the same, in British ships, owned by His Majesty’s subjects, and navigated according to law, any negroes, household furniture, utensils of husbandry, or clothing, free of duty; provided, always, that such household furniture, utensils of husbandry, and clothing, shall not in the whole exceed the value of 50*l.* for every white person that shall belong to such family, and the value of 40*s.* for every negro brought by such white person; and if any dispute shall arise as to the value of such household furniture, utensils of husbandry, or clothing, the same shall be heard and determined by the arbitration of three British merchants at the Port where the same shall be imported, one of which British merchants to be appointed by the Governor, or, in his absence, by the Lieutenant Governor of such Island or Province, one by the collector of customs at such Port, and one by the person so coming with his family.

‘II. And be it further enacted, that all sales or bargains, for the sale of any negro, household furniture, utensils of husbandry, or clothing, so imported, which shall be made within twelve calendar months after the importation of the same, (except in cases of bankruptcy or death of the owners thereof,) shall be null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

‘III. And be it further enacted, that every white person so coming to reside, if above the age of fourteen years, shall, and he is hereby required, immediately after his arrival, to take and subscribe the Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty, his heirs, and successors, before the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Chief Magistrate of the place where such person shall arrive, and at the same time swear that it is his intention to reside and settle in such Island, or Province; for which Oaths, such Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Chief Magistrate, shall receive the same fee, and no more, as is payable by law on administering the Oath of Allegiance in cases where the same is now by law required.’

The above appeared in THE NIAGARA SPECTATOR, Thursday, Jan. 29, 1818.

TO THE RESIDENT LAND OWNERS OF UPPER CANADA.

Queenston, February, 1818.

GENTLEMEN,

I DID myself the honor of addressing you through the medium of the Upper Canada Gazette, of the 30th October last, and my address has been since widely circulated over the Province by various other channels. Its object was to gain the most authentic intelligence concerning this country for the information of our fellow subjects and government at home. The object was important: the means employed were simple and fair: the effect to be produced was palpable.

To lull the spirit of party, and quiet every breath which might stir against a measure so chaste and efficient, I forbore all allusion to political concerns. Conscious of being moved by the purest intentions, and desiring alike the welfare of this province and its parent state, I dispatched a copy of my address, as soon as published, to be presented to Lord Bathurst, and trusted, that by calm and dispassionate statement at home, the supreme government would be best persuaded to amend the errors of original institution. In these I conceive lay the chief obstacles to the prosperity of the Province: in Canada I thought there was but one interest: in simplicity I said, 'here we are free of influences.'

Since then, three months have passed away. In this time I have travelled more than a thousand miles over the Province: I have conversed with hundreds of the most respectable people: I have gravely and deliberately considered what I have heard and seen: I have changed my mind; and, most unwillingly, must change my course of proceeding. This country, I am now convinced, cannot be saved from ruin, by temporizing measures nor by the efforts and reasoning of any individual: if it is to be saved, reason and fact must speedily be urged before the throne of our sovereign by the united voice of a loyal and determined people: — if it is to be saved, your Parliament now assembled, must be held up to its duty by the strength and spirit of its constituents: a new leaf must be turned over in public conduct; and the people of Canada must assume a character, without which all Parliaments naturally dwindle into contempt, and become the mere tools, if not the sport of executive power.

It is but recently that I searched the public journals and otherwise made inquiry as to what was going on before my arrival in the Province. Your public men, I find, were most lovingly attached to your late Governor. He was praised for his 'mild administration' when he had done nothing; and, in the midst of mischief, he was fondled, — he was fattened. While yet he must have been laughing in his sleeve at the subservience of the last Parliament, he found the present one willing to stifle the remembrance of subserviency; and while it should have been moving impeachment against himself, wrangling about the expulsion of one of its own members, for hav-

ing inadvertently published the truth. Sure of his friends in favor and in office, he could even dash off his last card with eclat; and dismissing Parliament in a style unheard of since the days of Cromwell, he could carry home as much flattery as secure for himself a snug retirement in Downing street.

Though I thus speak, let it not be thought that I have any personal pique to gratify. I never saw your Governor: I never conversed with any one of your Parliamentary disputants: I have drawn my picture, not from a partial but full view of the subject: I wish not to flatter, and certainly do not fear. Of all things let it not be imagined that I would stir up any one to anger or to contempt of constituted authorities. It is my opinion that in all countries, the goodness of government keeps pace with the virtuous spirit of the people; and in no country has this spirit less to contend with than here. Since matters have been allowed to go so far wrong, I would have the people of Canada take home to themselves every particle of blame for the past, and remember what has happened only as a guard for the future. Wherever I have inquired, Governor Gore's private character has been spoken of with respect, and so it is with many private characters at York; but is it not also true that the conduct of public affairs has become a standing jest? nay, if allowed, I will prove the fact before the bar of your Parliament, that good faith has been trifled with, and that the rights of property have been violated by the very functionaries appointed to render them sacred and secure.

In my humble opinion, Gentlemen, there ought to be an immediate Parliamentary inquiry into the state of this Province, and a commission appointed to proceed to England with the result of such inquiry. This measure should not be left to the mere motion of Parliament. It should be pressed by petitions from every quarter, — from individuals and public bodies: it should appear, if possible, to be the unanimous desire of the whole population. This would give confidence to Parliament to proceed without bias, hesitation or dread: — it would ensure success to the cause.

Before we heard of Governor Gore's favorable reception at home, there was sufficient call for the declaration of public opinion and for some energetic move, through the whole Province, to rescue it from the thralldom of folly and infatuation. This intelligence, only now received, leaves not a doubt as to the necessity of the case. It shows that the gross manner in which the Canadian Parliament was dismissed has been misrepresented in England; and that ministers labor under the most fatal mistakes as to the laws and policy which have made and sustained this country.

Gentlemen, the British Act of Parliament for encouraging the settlement of the Colonies was made over to you with your constitution; and *your* Parliament alone, in conjunction with the British sovereign, had a right to alter it. This act was framed in wisdom, and under its auspices the desert wilds of Canada began to unfold their treasures for the use of civilized man. If theoretical opinions could have been entertained as to the policy and soundness of this

Act before the late war, that trying crisis should have dismissed them for ever. Is it not a fact that three fourths of the population here emigrated from the United States since the revolution? Is it not a fact that one half of these people came invited by proclamation, and with this Act, fresh issued from the British Parliament, as their security? Is it not a fact, that many of these men stood foremost in battle, defending British rights? Is it not a fact, recorded even in the speech of your late Governor, that this Province owed its safety during the first year of invasion entirely to the loyalty of its own militia? * — How in the name of God, could all this have happened had the law been impolitic, — had people from the United States been unworthy of its adoption? That there were unprincipled villains in Canada was indeed proved by the war: but who were they and from whence did they come? Has it been shown that the majority were Americans? Is it not true that the basest of all were Europeans born?

The swaggering declaration of a war minister, founded on the dogmas of antiquated lawyers has said, that we cannot change our allegiance; but this great question, for the comfort of individual right, was long ago set at rest by British Acts of Parliament, in the face of which, declarations and dogmas are but empty sounds. The good sense of our ancestors established this principle, and in language the most perspicuous declared its object and its end; witness the following extract from the 13th of George the Second, chapter 7th, a statute '*for naturalizing such foreign protestants and others as are settled and shall settle in any of His Majesty's colonies in America.*' The words of this statute run thus, 'Whereas the increase of people is the means of advancing the wealth and strength of any nation and country; and whereas many foreigners and strangers, from the lenity of our government, the purity of our religion, the benefit of our laws, the advantages of our trade, and the security of our property, might be induced to come and settle in some of His Majesty's Colonies in America, if they were made partakers of the advantages and privileges which the natural born subjects of this realm do enjoy; therefore, it was enacted, that from and after the first of June, 1740, all persons born out of the legiance of his Majesty who shall have resided or who shall hereafter reside, for the space of seven years or more, in any of the Colonies in America, and shall not have been absent from thence above two months at any one time, and shall take the usual oaths of fidelity, or if Quakers shall subscribe the declaration of fidelity, or if Jews, with the omission of some Christian expressions; and shall also subscribe the profession of their Christian belief (Jews excepted) as

* When writing the above, I had not a copy of Governor Gore's Speech to Parliament, in February, 1816, to refer to, for minute correctness. The following is an extract. The gallant defence of this Colony, by its own Militia, supported during the early period of the War, by a very small portion of His Majesty's regular forces, has acquired to it a high distinction for loyalty and bravery. The obstinate contention with succeeding armies of invaders, and their ultimate discomfiture, has not failed to attract the notice of the world; and gives to this Province an importance in public opinion, which it becomes us to maintain.

'directed by a statute of William and Mary,' &c. &c. 'shall be a sufficient proof of his or her being thereby become a natural born subject of Great Britain to all intents and purposes.'

Gentlemen, when I read this law my blood warms within me with the feeling that I am of that nation which promulgated it, — that nation which did not even allow such a monstrous supposition to appear in its civil code, as that men could not change their allegiance, — that nation whose parliament could boast of inducing foreigners to give up their native allegiance, and accept of ours from *the lenity of our government, the purity of our religion, the benefit of our laws, the advantages of our trade, and the security of our property.* These, gentlemen, were glorious boasts, such as none but the British nation could maintain: these were liberal and worthy rewards, to draw people to our colonies, and thereby *to increase the wealth and strength of our country.* Such modes of seduction, — such boasts and rewards, are not only innocent, but useful, in the most exalted sense: they tempt individuals to fly from beneath the rod of oppression, and thereby diminish the power of despots, — they excite nations to emulate each other in virtue and in peace. Compared to these, what are the boasts of war — what the rewards of conquest? They do not seduce but force men from their allegiance: they instigate and keep alive every furious passion: they weaken and impoverish, not our country only, but our kind.

The grand purpose of Government is the protection of our persons and property; in return for which we owe it our allegiance, even unsworn. When we remove, in a becoming manner, from beneath this protection, our allegiance is reasonably and fairly at an end. Before I, myself, sailed for Canada, I was importuned by friends to emigrate along with them to the United States: we never thought of its being a crime to pass from beneath the protection of the British, to that of the American government; and my chief reason for preferring to come to Canada, was, that I had here a wider circle of connexions. I knew that my person and property would be protected any where in America; and as to the form of government, I gave it no thought, perfectly agreeing with the Poet, who says,

'For forms of government let fools contest,
Whate'er is best administered is best.'

Wherever I abide I shall bear true allegiance to government: to whatever country I belong, I shall endeavor, by every honest means to advance its prosperity: where my treasure is, there also shall be my heart.

Although British statutes and the practice upon them, have for generations recognized and guaranteed the right of individuals to change their allegiance from one government to another, they have not yet sufficiently defined the terms under which the change may be effected. Tacitly, however, all good men admit that this change is not to be trifled with; and a valuable moral lesson was given on this head, in the treatment of those people who deserted from this

Province during the war. It was determined, and most properly, that persons deserting their property in such circumstances should lose it; and further, that if they aided or assisted the enemy they should be hanged. This lesson was valuable to the Province in the event of other wars. After such a lesson, weak or wicked men would think more seriously of desertion; and the free admission of foreigners was rendered much more safe. Canada, indeed, had in many respects gained by the war. Before that event, every one must have doubted her ability to hold out against hostile attack. The issue gave confidence on this important point; and it is notorious that many of the most upright citizens of America were on the wing to settle here, as soon as peace was declared. They had found that even pure Democracy was not immaculate: they had been oppressed with taxation to sustain the ambition of conquest: they had seen this unrighteous ambition foiled in all its movements, as if by the hand of an offended Deity: they had seen liberty giving birth to a thousand angry passions, and sending forth under her mask the demon of licentiousness: they had been terrified with the mobs of Buffalo and Baltimore. When all this was fresh in recollection:—when such people had become not only willing but anxious to be *made partakers of the advantages and privileges which the natural born subjects of this realm do enjoy*, then, forsooth, was the time for your Executive to quash the liberal spirit of existing law, to erect an odious barrier between kindred nations, and bring contempt and dishonor on the British name.

Gentlemen, I should not dwell so long on this revolting subject did it concern only the business of the present day,—did it concern only the value of your property, which would have been double at this moment but for the narrow policy which has been pursued,—did it concern only the dignity of your Parliament, which was turned adrift merely because it ventured to open the statute book, and resolve between right and wrong. The present time is on the wing: you and your property will soon be parted; and it may be said that a parliament, which permitted the laws to be set at naught for two long years, could suffer little diminution in dignity. The subject before us demands attention for reasons infinitely more important than these. It demands attention for the sake of principles which govern and direct all things for good, now and for ever;—principles which have long been the pride and support of the British constitution,—which have nursed up all that is yet valuable in civilized life.

Our constitution, which has been refining for ages, and the spirit of which is purity, has been often lauded, for its effects are irresistibly impressive, but it has been seldom understood. It is that beautiful contrivance by which the people, when perfectly virtuous, shall become all powerful; but which reins back their freedom in proportion to their vice or imbecility.

The British Constitution sets the law above all men; and that the law may be revered and implicitly obeyed, it has anointed a King to be its grand Executor. That we may look to this person-

age with unceasing faith and respect, he is clothed in fiction, and it is acknowledged by the law itself that he can do no wrong. In courtesy and fiction, every thing belongs to him: in fact, little or nothing; and though he can do no wrong, his ministers, through whom every act must proceed, are open to our censure and amenable to justice. Nay, in proportion to the intensity of sentiment which directs our love and regard for the King, should be our watchfulness over those delegated by him to discharge the sacred trust of the laws, and preserve them inviolate.

At home this watchfulness has ever given employment to the most able and virtuous of our statesmen; and, but for their unceasing efforts, the ambition of those in authority, would convert their sacred trust to purposes of selfishness,—they would set aside the laws to gratify their own whims and caprice. Here we have had an example: we have been unwatchful, and experience the consequences. Blame not, therefore, the constitution, neither withdraw from honoring the King; but brace yourselves up to the performance of your individual public duties, and all may yet go well. After what has happened it is not for the people of Canada to be vindictive: it is not for them, who have been culpably negligent or pusillanimous, to be inveterate accusers. They should drop impeachment against their late Governor; but, while they seek not blood as an atonement for the mischief he has done, they may yet very properly extort his tears.

In thus addressing you, Gentlemen, I can have no little selfish object in view—no passion to gratify but that of seeing the land you inherit prosperous and happy. From the day that I first set foot in Upper Canada, now seven months ago, my mind has been devoted to the contemplation of its resources, and the benefits which might accrue to the whole British nation, were these called forth by a liberal system of management. The more I have known, the higher have I estimated these, both in a moral and political light; but the more I become acquainted with the conduct of public affairs, the more am I afraid that all will be thrown away unless an immediate and determined stand is made against little policy and reigning abuse.

I have not descended to the exposure of peccadilloes which you all know to be innumerable, and base in the extreme: I have struck at great leading principles and the conduct of your leading man. The mischief he has done is irretrievable; but if his acts receive a due mark of reprobation from the mass of the people of this Province, it will greatly reestablish confidence: it will make future governors more circumspect, and shake 'the insolence of office' to its lowest grade.

In all past times, Provinces have been the sport of arbitrary power. Want of public spirit in the people, and a desire to tyrannize, which is greatest in little men, have jointly contributed to this effect. It is an evil, however, by no means unconquerable, and it will be worthy of a British Colony to be the first in surmounting it. This Province, indeed, can no longer be trifled with: it must

prosper or fall. You resisted invasion for three years: you staked your lives: you sunk your fortunes: you exposed your wives and children to every privation; and for good cause you did so. You are here as free, if you will, as any people upon earth: you have the power of taxation in your own hands, while Britain, the most generous of nations, bears many of your burdens, and has shed her best blood in your defence. After all this, are you to look back upon the struggle of war as mere foolishness? having repelled an enemy with the sword, are you to suffer a more deadly foe to waste and destroy you? are you to pine in ignominious sloth, and desert a cause which now only wants reason to maintain it. Gentlemen, the prosperity of this Province needs nothing more than your peaceable exertions to procure respect for the laws, and to introduce a new system of management.

I have been told that were Canada united to the States, your property would rise to twice its present value; and it is true: but, it is also true, that if a liberal connexion with Britain were established and a system of business introduced into public offices here, instead of a system of paltry patronage and ruinous favoritism, the same property would rise to ten times its present worth.

The people at home know nothing of this Province. The Prince Regent never would insult its inhabitants by the offer of confiscated estates to make good the claims of sufferers by war, did he know how little these will afford; and, were he apprized of the truth that under good management the public property of the Province might not only defray every claim, but yield to England a handsome revenue.

Gentlemen, the attention you paid to my first address was most gratifying to me, but chiefly to be valued as an assurance that you are alive to your common interests. The Reports of Townships which I have received, far exceed my first expectations, both in point of number and respectability. They exhibit at once, the physical and moral worth of Canada: they form a mass of information well calculated to assist Parliamentary inquiry; and, if you press such a measure by petitions, most willingly will I make these Reports over to your assembly. I never wished to have them for the mere purpose of book-making. I saw before me a great political end, — honorable to myself, profitable to you, and glorious to the nation. This excited me to action, and, most happy I was, to find you willing to assist. Let us not cease to act: send in your petitions for inquiry: press for a commission to go home with the result; and publish this, with your Township Reports, in England. This will break the spell which is sinking the Province to poverty and disgrace: — it will produce consequences every way splendid.

The Governor in Chief tells the Parliament of Lower Canada, that '*should emigration continue, they might consider of selecting a few good farmers and laborers,*' and, '*by locating them judiciously,*' introduce improved husbandry. Our worthy President tells your Parliament to consider of paying '*the fees of location*' to emigrants. I have scarcely patience to read such stuff, and shorten it for you as

much as possible. It could not be written by the honorable characters whose duty it was to read it. It must be the drivelling production of some half-starved clerk in London, who knows nothing of this country — who neither feels nor cares for it.

Gentlemen, this is the age of commerce, and I advise you to transact your own business. I advise you to correspond with your friends at home. I advise you to sweep your house, and in that case, it shall be furnished in style from England.

I know hundreds of able farmers who would immediately come out here, were all as it should be: men who would disdain being *selected*, — who would come with money in their hands, and please themselves as to *location*: — men who would bring the poor under their wing, and keep them employed till they could not only pay *fees*, but purchase cultivated farms. I know some of the best and wealthiest farmers of England who have gone, within the last year, to the United States, on speculation. I know that you might draw every one of them here, if you would but clear the house of vermin and filth. It is quite natural for us to keep up our connexion with home, but we cannot prefer a land of lice to a land of liberty.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

N. B. As many of the inhabitants of Upper Canada may have never seen the Bill of Rights, the great modern charter of British freedom, it may not be improper to inform them, that this secures to the subject the right of petitioning the legislature at all times; and that it is the uniform practice at home, on extraordinary occasions, to express public opinion by the exercise of this grand constitutional privilege.

Upon the present occasion, the annexed *form* may suit the inhabitants of this country, although it would be most desirable to see every man or body of men using expressions suitable to his or their peculiar feeling. Whoever wishes well to the Province should not for a moment delay despatching to York such a Petition, as the session of Parliament may soon be over. Members of Parliament are in duty bound to present every Petition sent to their care, which is expressed in becoming language.

To the Hon. the Commons of Upper Canada in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of

SHEWETH,

That God has given to the people of Upper Canada, for an inheritance, one of the fairest portions of the globe.

That Upper Canada is subject to the mildest monarch upon earth, and forms part of that nation, which, for wisdom and power has outshone every other.

That nevertheless this Province, so happily circumstanced, is in a state of waste and decay.

That there must be some great cause or causes which produce effects so unnatural.

Your Petitioner, (or petitioners,) therefore most earnestly entreats your honorable assembly to make serious inquiry into the same, and take effectual steps towards promoting the prosperity of the Province.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray.

The above appeared, — part, in THE NIAGARA SPECTATOR, February 5, and the whole in that of February 12, 1818.

FOR THE NIAGARA SPECTATOR.

TO MR. GOURLAY.

SIR,—It was with sentiments of surprise as well as regret, that I saw your second Address to the inhabitants of this Province. With surprise, as it professes sentiments so widely different from those you first expressed; and with regret, as it has destroyed the fair prospects thereby offered. Had you persevered in your first intention, this Province might indeed have regarded you as a friend and a patron, and the benefits likely to have resulted from your plan, were manifest and great. It was expected to exhibit the advantages of this country, in a light which has never yet been thrown upon them, to a wealthy class of people, who might thereby have been induced to emigrate from the United Kingdom, and who, by increasing our population, and expending their capitals amongst us, would have greatly added to the prosperity and consequence of the Colony, and secured property and independence to themselves. In your last Address, the abuses you affect to have discovered in our government are such, that certainly no man would risk his person and property under it; but perhaps a longer residence and more careful examination may induce you again to change your opinion. From my limited knowledge of the inhabitants of Upper Canada, which nevertheless is of much longer standing than yours, I am convinced, that no people under any government, have fewer grievances to complain of, and it is a strong argument in support of my opinion, that no symptoms of discontent have ever appeared amongst them, except when agitated by persons, who like yourself, have pointed out the means of redressing injuries unfelt, and I should hope, visionary.

Your opinion is by no means flattering to the well informed and respectable part of the community, since, if it be just, they must either have long submitted tamely to injuries and insults which no government has a right to offer, nor any people of spirit a temper to bear, and least of all, the most indulged of an indulgent and mild constitution; or your abilities must be supposed transcendant indeed, to enable you to have discovered, in so short a time, wrongs and abuses to which they have been so long blind. But I am sure, they still have at least wisdom and prudence enough to enable them carefully to examine those stated injuries, and perfectly to ascertain their existence, their nature and extent, before they trouble the House of Assembly, or government of the mother country, with petitions and complaints. The principal, or rather only grievance you appear to dwell on, is the non-admittance of settlers from the United States. This can be felt but partially, and by a part of the community who had no accession to their wealth, I mean the great landholders, the mass of the people being in general so attached to the farms their own industry and labor have raised out of the wilderness, that they

could not now, by American gold, be induced to part with them. That such a measure would add little to the moral improvement and loyalty of the Province, and worse than little to its safety, is a fact no discontented man will deny. On the first signal of admission, thousands would swarm in on speculation, and in the event of future invasion, I appeal to your own candor to say, whether that loyalty which has once preserved this country, would be found to have gained strength by the acquisition of so many republicans, naturally attached to a foreign power—a small share of patriotism indeed must he possess, who would, for private advantage, incur such a risk.

Your doctrine of the right of changing allegiance, I can by no means subscribe to; and I think it highly dangerous to the uninformed, who may be misled by it, and it has been certainly unequivocally declared by the British government, as to the laws of nations, as contrary to the laws of nations, which declaration has been acted on in the late war with America, by a number of men being sent to England for trial, who were found in arms against their country, and who perhaps thought themselves naturalized by the American government. I will only add, that since my last arrival into Canada, I have seen no symptoms of waste and decay, that appear to have alarmed you so much. To my judgment, it is daily exhibiting marks of increasing wealth, by the erection of buildings of every description. Within these last three years, towns have rapidly risen from their ashes, and villages have been built where there was not a single habitation. These, surely, are not the symptoms of waste and decay. I hold no place under government, have received no favors from it, nor do I look for any: perfectly satisfied with the situation I have chosen, I have seen no reason to regret the partiality for this country, its inhabitants and its government, which induced me to settle in it. I am, therefore, perfectly disinterested in the opinions I have given, and save the warm interest I have in the welfare of the colony, to use your own words, 'I am free from influence.'

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

RICHARD LEONARD.

Drummond Hill, Niagara Falls, 18th February, 1818.

TO MR. GOURLAY.

SIR,—Your second Address to the people of this Province, has produced, in the minds of many persons, an effect very different from that which you probably expected to excite. It is surely the extreme of arrogance in a stranger who acknowledges himself but a few months a resident in, or rather wanderer through, the country, to offer himself as the saviour of it; and, in that self-assumed character, to dictate measures, and even words, to its inhabitants. Have we not, in this extensive Province, a single being sufficiently enlightened to distinguish between right and wrong, or possessing sufficient public spirit, or independence of mind, to assert his sentiments, that we must seek a saviour in an unknown stranger;—that we must place our interests in the hands of a man who invited our confidence by an Address which explicitly stated motives of inquiry, his second as directly disavows?

Sir, when motives are *really pure*, there is seldom, or never, a necessity for deception; and when we have once been deceived, it is not easy, by a few professions of good will, to regain confidence. Your second Address accuses the inhabitants of Upper Canada, of want of spirit, want of feeling, want of dignity—of slavish submission to a corrupt and tyrannical Government; and still you profess a most affectionate regard for our interests, and an anxious wish to deliver us from the miseries and oppressions to which our own blindness, or, our own depravity have subjected us. If such is