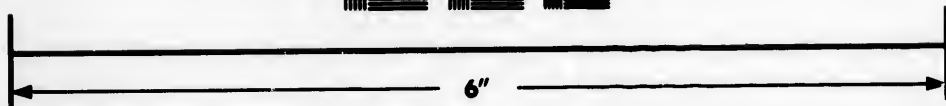
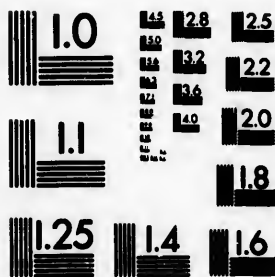


**IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (N1T-3)**



**Photographic
Sciences
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

**CIHM/ICMH
Microfiche
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH
Collection de
microfiches.**



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques

© 1984

Technical and Bibliographic Notes/Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- Coloured covers/
Couverture de couleur
- Covers damaged/
Couverture endommagée
- Covers restored and/or laminated/
Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- Cover title missing/
Le titre de couverture manque
- Coloured maps/
Cartes géographiques en couleur
- Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/
Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- Coloured plates and/or illustrations/
Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- Bound with other material/
Relié avec d'autres documents
- Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin/
La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distortion le long de la marge intérieure
- Blank leaves added during restoration may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming/
Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées.
- Additional comments:
Commentaires supplémentaires:

- Coloured pages/
Pages de couleur
- Pages damaged/
Pages endommagées
- Pages restored and/or laminated/
Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/
Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- Pages detached/
Pages détachées
- Showthrough/
Transparence
- Quality of print varies/
Qualité inégale de l'impression
- Includes supplementary material/
Comprend du matériel supplémentaire
- Only edition available/
Seule édition disponible
- Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to ensure the best possible image/
Les pages totalement ou partiellement obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure, etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à obtenir la meilleure image possible.

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10X	14X	18X	22X	26X	30X
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12X	16X	20X	24X	28X	32X

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

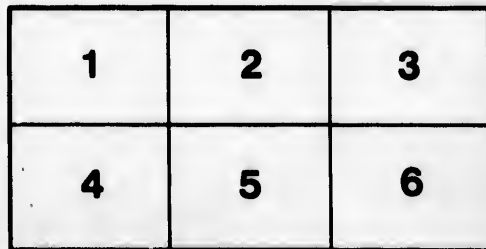
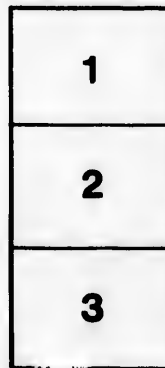
Metropolitan Toronto Library
Canadian History Department

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover end ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol \rightarrow (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ∇ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

Metropolitan Toronto Library
Canadian History Department

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaît sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole \rightarrow signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ∇ signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.

ails
du
difler
une
page

crata
o

pelure,
à

MACKENZIE'S WEEKLY MESSAGE EXTRA.

TORONTO, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17th, 1855. [Post Free. Gratis.]

AN APPEAL TO THE REFORMERS OF UPPER CANADA.

TORONTO, Nov. 17th, 1855.
TO THE PEOPLE OF UPPER CANADA.

MR FRIENDS:

All the public journalists who flourished among you, west of Kingston, when I assumed the control of a printing press, nearly a third of a century since, are dead! and all the newspapers they conducted have ceased to exist. The office of an editor, printer, and publisher, is a very troublesome one; but altho' my first establishment was thrown into Lake Ontario in 1828, my second destroyed in 1837, and my third suspended last February owing chiefly to the pressure of other business at Quebec; and altho' it is quite late in life, I intend to work hard during 1856, in the expectation of yet seeing the good time coming. Volume or year second of the *WEEKLY MESSAGE*, ended with my No. 104; and my next whole number (105) will mark the commencement of year three. Those who may receive extra, circulars or programmes are respectfully invited to send me with the least possible delay the names and postal addresses of as many subscribers as they please, with the price—two dollars for the year—one dollar for the half year—so that I may commence with the new volume. About a hundred former subscribers are my creditors for more or less numbers, over and above the *Examines* I bought for them of Mr. Leslie. They will be supplied.

I have removed my printing establishment to the central and commodious premises formerly occupied by the *North American* and by the *Canadian Agriculturist*; and, considering the objects for which I continue a connection with the press, it is for you, my friends, by your orders and by your efficient support, either to give stability to the undertaking, or to allow it to become a burthen on my weak shoulders, as weekly presses depending on popular support have been upon others whenever they advocated his principles. I have never deceived you, nor ever trusted in your support and have been disappointed. The country is populous and wealthy, its staples bear high prices; if you think I have had some share in contributing to the general prosperity, you will show it by an immediate response to this appeal.

The *North American*, and the *Examiner*, both of them journals of the *Message* stamp, have ceased to exist. Mr. Macdougall upheld the first for five years—Mr. Leslie the second for ten. Both are heavy losers, but their useful numbers aided in educating the people politically. They generously offered to unite their offices with mine (which would have made a subscription list of 10,000), and to give me the sole control of the coalition newspaper, a handsome salary, and my share of the profits, if any remained—and I wanted much to accept, but did not, lest I should not find sufficient favor in your eyes. If Mr. Leslie would have continued the *Examiner* and allowed me to write in it, this address would not have appeared; but when I left a flourishing business to take hold of the press, I strove to be useful to the country; and even at this distance of time, with good health and much additional experience, my belief is, that in the legislature, at the editor's desk, and lecturing in the country when my time will permit, I am labouring in my proper vocation. The promise, "be not weary in well-doing, for in due time ye shall reap if ye faint not," applies to civil as well as religious matters; and knowing that I have always meant well, and having no notion of fainting in the worst of times nor under the severest of trials, I confidently say to friends and brethren, ask your aid to circulate my new volume. The wonder is, all things considered, that I'm alive and here in Canada this day to ask you.

To the editors of the present time I am under great obligations. Many a kind word they have said for me; many a kind and generous act they have done to me. I really feel grateful to them. The three daily journalists of Toronto issue far larger and handsomer papers than any that existed in London or Paris in my younger days, and to them and those editors of dailies in New York, Albany, and Rochester who still continue their exchanges, I return thanks.

There is a notion abroad that the people are in all countries selfish and ungrateful. I dare not say so. When have I asked them to send on subscribers or to help me to my elective office in their gift in Canada and been denied? They know I have been ever faithful to their interests as I have understood them, and that altho' I never asked a shilling in the public service, and am poor, no man can truly say that I bartered the high trusts they have often conferred upon me for wealth. Had our institutions been generally elective, and had I desired an office of profit, I feel sure I wouldn't have lost it for lack of voters. The patronage of the great country, and yet be taken out of the hands of neighbouring strangers and placed in the proper depository—given to the people. It is now, in most cases, the reward of sycophancy, shabbiness, and hypocrisy—the wages of political prostitution; yet a man can scarcely have a nobler task than that of a place among the guardians of the rights of a young and rising empire.

In courts and proud Monarchies, where the chief is continually flattered and the people ignorant and debased, the greatest and purest statesmen have often died broken hearted. Our late eminent under secretary for the colonies, Sir James Stephen, in his 32nd lecture on French history at Cambridge, thus concludes a review of the life of Louis XIV's great minister, Colbert:

"The catastrophe is not without its moral. If among those whom I address, there be any who are proposing to devote all the powers of their souls and bodies to the service of the state, but who may not hope either to command her armies in the field or to lead her parties in the senate, let them not shrink from this most severe and thankless service, but let them learn to look to the approbation of God and of their own consciences as their only reward. If they should bring all the avarice and all the virtues of Colbert to their appointed offices, they will assuredly find a Louis XIV. to appropriate to himself the glory of their labors, and an ignorant multitude to exact from them the expiation of his inhumanity, and their unpopularity."

What else but intrigues against the liberties and prosperity of the country have most of our governors been! I except Durham and Bagot. Mr Gladstone, a former colonial minister, lectured 't'other day on the colonies, in the boys' school room Hawarden, remarking "that some have ventured as a reason why territory should be held" and multiplied, that such places supply comfortable offices for "deserving men from the mother country, &c." Now, this opinion, said Mr Gladstone, is quite the opposite of mine, for it seems clear "that as persons of the spot must be more conversant with the wishes of the people and the wants of the place, so such men will be the most competent and best qualified to discharge the duties of "all public situations."

Why then not allow us to elect our own Metcalfs, Mailbuds, Elgins, and Bond Heds, instead of paying careless strangers £31,000 a year each, voted out of our pockets, by people in London? Our Inspectors-General, Receivers-General, Crown Land Commissioners, Prime Ministers, Chief-Justices, and Ministers of Public Instruction, march off to Europe for pleasure, and which of the bad laws of last Session did Sir B. Head reserve or endeavour to stop!

"What were the claims" for the government of India, exclaims Lord Metcalf's biographer, "of an Indian statesman without political influence, against those of any wig or tory noblemen, who had either to be provided for or got rid of by the ministry of the day?" Yes, yes—give Canada East and West home made governors and home made constitutions. They would never blunder upon MacNab's Copleys, Lemieux or Chabots.

The destiny of Canada is a lofty one—her fortune must be great and noble. Those men reformers who for forty years have struggled against statecraft and priestcraft, and who have just been defeated in the battle for secularization, by the court, aristocracy and state-paid priesthood of England, and their mission here, need not despair. Let them educate thoroughly their offspring. We have only the shadow of free institutions—we shall ere long have the substance; and our provinces, towns, cities, counties, townships, farms and merchants, be released from pecuniary bondage to the users of the old world. Canada will yet form part of a mighty nation seeking its moral influence in popular elective rule, its physical strength in thorough organization, National freedom in courts real, thro' free popular institutions, and my wish is to see Upper and Lower Canada severally meeting in convention to frame constitutions fit for freemen. Lord John Russell's Union of 1840, is like his public life, a sham. Sir James Stephen truly remarks, "that the healthful growth of good government must be a spontaneous development from within, and not a compulsory envelopment from without." A wisely framed written constitution will prevent the officers of government from assuming power—as our officials do here—incompatible with the people's rights and destructive to their interests.

To see a newspaper is a useful auxiliary—an easy and regular means of communicating with my friends and countrymen. I suspended the *Message* last February, intending, as chairman of the Committee of Public Accounts, thoroughly to investigate the financial condition of Canada. How the coalition befell me I will soon have the means of stating; as also of proving that "responsible government" in Canada is an impudent hoax upon Society, and legislative quorums of twenty out of 130, an arrant cheat.

Thank heaven for a free press; it is indeed an unspeakable blessing! May many arise among us able and willing to too bright its marvelous control over Opinion, by which power in all governments is chiefly sustained or crushed! In the worst days of England's monarchy, the judges decided that it was unlawful to print any newspapers. Mexico, when a colony, had but one—Russia's 70 millions have next to none—France, thro' her statue trumps, tramples on the liberty of the press, so does Rome and blighted Austria. In the Northern States of America, and in Canada, the press, with all its faults, is a power for the people.

During my recent lectures I collected not a shilling for any purpose, tho' the country was stated. I travelled solely at my own expense. A friend at Dr. Kirk's, Canboro', has generously paid me \$40, as a donation toward meeting the heavy charges on the *Message*, and a few friends in another town agree to pay \$200 toward the cost of issuing 20,000 copies of a 32 page pamphlet, showing what the Union and our institutions are doing for us. Other \$300 will be wanted, a burthen which might not be laid on my shoulders.

As no petitions to the Crown, the House of Commons, or House of Assembly have as yet received the sanction of the anti-union committee here, no been sent to auxiliary associations for their opinions, I am unable to reply to several recent enquiries. The first thing, however, will be to circulate far and wide my next number on the Union. The post office is not yet kindly lettered, and those who may suspect treachery with their papers can get friends to keep a list of what is received by mail to be compared with what is sent.

What can be more idle than to confide in Colonial Ministers, and European cabinets whose exclusive monopolies are far denser to them than the welfare of our beloved countrymen! Sir William Molesworth was one of the very best of the ancient patriots for their opinions, I am unable to show that his ear was poisoned, and that the British usurper and land jobber tribe are the Lords of Canada. The next Herman Boas juggler may be called Lord John or the convenient Baron Shaftesbury or perhaps Lord Derby's heir. Six Colonial Secretaries in three years!!!!

Of the U.C. members of Assembly, Messrs. Atkins, Christie, Biggar, Larwill, Fraser, Hartman, Merritt, Rulph, King of York, and myself, are for a dissolution of the Union. We will all vote for representation by population. Leeds, Greenvile, and Simcoe Counties have addressed the Queen against the despotic Union, and Mr. Brown declares in the *Globe*, if Upper Canada were polled to-morrow he believes it would go for a dissolution. Mr. Tappin is

wed his friends was no union, but the French Roman Catholic Bishops were strongly opposed to an equal representation in the Legislature which would mean a heavy weight in the scale on the other on Lower Canada. On credit, a dead weight on the country. Their recent unprincipled disunion with Strachan and the British Court to wrest the Reserves from the People of Upper Canada merits for them such a result. They will know that too. *The Times*, [London, Aug. 31] said that, "Colonies are an accession of power or wealth to a country, but rather a burden, a risk, an expense; the best course is to leave them as much as possible to themselves." Whenever that policy prevails they fear the ample territories of the church below will come to the hammer.

His Excellency Sir F. Hincks, Governor-General of the Wicward West Indies, is much blamed by the press but he was a very poor man in 1836, being married a wife and family on £200 a year; he took hold of *The Examiner* in 1835, declared that few men could live upon the returns of a reform paper, sold out to my friend James Leslie, who seems to admit as much, and became "a minister." He saw that in England, as here, those who serve the Colours of Office are well paid, whether the service be honest or not; that Sir F. Head was made a baronet for openly trumping up the constitution Robinson, Ogden, Stoen, and others had been highly rewarded for very disreputable services, while Papezans, Mackenzie, Smith O'Brien, Gourlay, and hundreds like these, had met for their faithfulness to the people, exile and severe privations. So he made his bargain, and there are many who, I know, would like to make just such an other to-morrow, denouncing him. "Poverty is confoundedly inconvenient," says Rev. Sidney Smith, and it is what he knows it. Sir Hincks knew it also—for he had been a reform editor—he went for the Union—for any combination to purchase the billings of the \$100,000 to Sebastian—for a million of acres of our wild land to the Orizans, the war debt is nearly fifty millions, and our public works are useless—for the U. S. war militia bill—for the scandalous railway contract to Porto & Co. (who give two or three votes in the Commons)—for the military pensioners and their officers—for the sixteen million Quebec and Halifax railway—for the twelve million municipal loan bills, useful for bribery at least—for the official plunder that carried the elections in Saguenay and elsewhere—for keeping W. S. O'Brien and his comrades in exile—for rejecting a respectful tribute to the memory of Joseph Howe, trustee to the schools—for setting Monsieur Garbar and the other financial plunderers of U. C. at work in earnest—for undermining reformers and collecting with Strachan and "the family compact"—for playing the go-between for absolutism with every needy, needy, hypocrite who had sought a seat in Assembly to befoul his own nest—for gambling in the funds and betwining at 8 per cent while we have millions falling in value and yielding us but 3 in the English funds—for staving off the protestors—for a prodigal expenditure—for voting down representation by "resolutions"—for the numerous "nuns and bishops" and other State Churches Union corporation bills of 1840 and since, and for a thousand other things desired by England's sordid rulers, for their benefit, against the interests of Canada, while declaring in reply to Howe, in London, "that the present colonial system is all that can be reasonably desired"—all this he did to secure his governorship and in 2,400,000 a year—and hasn't he earned it? Of course, he speculated and jobbed, and schemed for himself, using his position improperly; but while Beesock, for standing up for England's rights, received to be aided by "a testimonial" Hincks, Baldwin, MacNab & Co. are enriched by royal orders for despoiling those who trusted in them!

Sir F. Hincks may quote the Italian Cardinal Mazarin's case—he left sixteen millions sterling of state plunder in France in his devices, all of it accumulated by the sale of office, and other dishonest means in the midst of public distress. Warren Hastings too when reproached with the plunder of India, said that when he reflected upon how much more he might have taken he wondered at his own moderation. Sir F. Hincks can affirm with truth that if he had not done as he did, others would have done as he did. As an aristocratic ruler was not honest men in office here, he being as ever a Sheridan, was, might just as well gull the Canadians as another. Even the pious Gladstone would have converted his gambling secretary, Lawley, into a great Australian do no wrong governor had not public indignation checked his moves; and, in 1810, when Hon. Harman Byland complained of "a bad of contemptible demagogue," as he termed the L. C. Assembly, Lord Liverpool asked him whether the promise of office would "buy" men. As for the poor devils who ran after Sir F. Hincks to his whitewashing dinner, nine tenths of them were at him in the street had the Queen's cabinet not approved of his knavery, as they now do that of Bonaparte III., because it benefits them.

Louis Bonaparte, whom these beggarly hangers-on teased at the Hincks dinners, had sworn fidelity to the French Constitution of 1848, intending its destruction, which he effected—he imprisoned the people's representatives; drove away the judges of France; gillotined the men who had attempted to serve the judicial writ for his arrest for treason; proscribed, banished, put out of France, transported to Cayenne and Africa, exiled 40,000 French citizens; exterminated many of his countrymen with sabres and grape shot; and violated the free laws of which he was the deposer. Victor Hugo complains that he has just caused the expulsion from the English Isle of Jersey of many French patriots who had not offended there. The necessity must have been very urgent and the danger great which made Louis Bonaparte the cherished ally of England's church, court and nobles. Hincks made his bargain beforehand, and so did Bonaparte.

Before Sir Francis Head had been eight days in Toronto he thus impudently slandered the people he had been sent here to govern: "As far as I know the only thing, I should say, that the reputation of men are implacable, that no concession whatever will satisfy them, their self-interested object being to possess themselves of the government for the sake of lucre and insolence."—*Special Letter—Sir F. Head to Lord Clarendon, 5th Feb. 1836.*

Lord Metcalfe was equally prompt in defaming our countrymen, and Mr. Baldwin and his evasive Lower Canada clique, as now united by his deceitful counsel, with MacNab, Cayley & Co., really afford some ground for Metcalfe's strictures.

Sir Edmund Head unwisely follows the example set by his unfortunate cousin. Like the French, he accuses himself, by orders, of course, from the Government, of the worst of crimes, that of being a public man. Who in Upper Canada can forget the feelings of detestation and abhorrence with which Sir Allan MacNab always spoke of the French Canadians, from 1830 till he told them to their teeth in

February, 1840, that they were such a worthless alien race that he for one would rather join the hindered? Few forget his friend Mr. Hogg's simile in "Blackwood" of the French yoked with the Upper Canada race bore, or Sir Francis Head's hint, in his "Narrative," p. 129, that Upper Canada if united with Lower Canada, "would be like a living body obtained to a dead one" and again page 125, "that if tainted and fresh meat (meaning the French and Anglo-Saxon races) be attached together, both are corrupted." Head adds, page 134, "We (British) made a grand mistake in legalizing their language." Sir Allan MacNab (who, with Messrs. H. Sherwood, Hagerman and Sullivan, led Sir Francis on to his ruin) was so angry at Lord Durham's report admitting the reality of French Canadian complaints that he declared in February, 1840, his lordship ought to have been shot in 1838 as a deserter! And Sir J. Robinson's brochure, fired off at Lord John in 1839, is full of the inferiority and degradation of the French race. Well has it been said, "tell me what company you keep, and I'll tell you what you are!" Sir Edmund and the old family clique are inseparable! Governor Craig wrote to the King that the French Canadian Assemblies were such a vulgar set he had to set apart a particular day to invite them to his table in session time by themselves.

Sir Francis Head wrote to the Times, January, 24, 1852, that France was utterly unfit for freedom, and that the French desired through Bonaparte, "to establish a strong despotic Government as "the only means to free themselves from the miserable results of "self-government;" yet that gallant people have never made mammon their god! like the wretched creatures who misrepresent some of them in our Assembly. In Europe they have been the arbiters of war and peace during the last six centuries; they have diffused their manners, their language, their literature, and their ideas even among the most remote points of their power." "To France," says Sir J. Stephen, "was appointed by the Supreme Ruler of mankind, the duty of civilizing and humanizing the European world."

Of this people, our present Governor-General, Sir M. Head, said at a public dinner given in honor of the victory at Sebastopol [misapropos] at Hamilton, [Globe report]:

"As we look to the East to see the sun rise to pursue its daily journey, so, in Canada, we look westward, to observe the greatest progress in wealth and population. (Cheers) There are many circumstances, as you are aware, to which the superiority of your western country may be attributed."

It is owing to the superiority of the race from which most of you have sprung; (cheers) owing to the fertility of the soil, and the moderation and salubrity of the climate; owing to the advantage of position and of internal communication."

At the Oshawa dinner, too, Sir Edmund portrayed Upper Canada as a glorious country, owing its superior improvement [as compared with Lower Canada of course] to the Anglo-Saxon race, from which they sprung. On making his public entry into Toronto his most zealous, however, in reply to a corporation address, to deny that at the Sebastopol dinner he had intended to assert an Anglo-Saxon superiority in the abstract.

Sir Francis Head, the late Duke of Wellington, Lord Gosford and Seton, and Sir George Arthur were strongly opposed to the Union of the Anglo-Saxons of U. C. with the "Galls" below, while Sir Edmund Head, as instructed from Lombard via Downing Street, professed to hold it in high esteem. As Osho-Gothic and Catholic Belgians separated from Saxons and Protestant Holland, so will the Galls set separate.

Sir Edwin W. Wednesday's *Globe* threatened to swamp the domestic credit of the Union by getting its creditors abroad to call off their stocks and export the specie. We of Canada, thro' Hincks and the family compact, may be served in the same fashion. Nineteen years since Sir F. Head, seeking a quarrel with the republic, issued his proclamation thus, "In the name of every regiment of militia in Upper Canada, I publicly promulgate, let them come if they dare!"

Sir Edmund Head may mean well enough—I don't question his intention—but there are no preparations making for a February Session—a new edition of the *Elgin* and *Metcalfe* shams as that also, and is meant to be so. Sir Edmund's instructions give him ample powers—he is restricted by no Council—yet the public interests are shamefully trifled with. Early in May it was decided to come up here. Care was taken by Government and its clumsy boards to make no adequate provision for the officials—and a regiment of clerks with their three thousand packages have stood idle almost for months—applicants on business are shoved aside—our Crown Lands Commissioner is on a pleasure trip to Europe—his and all the other offices are topsy turvey—nobody can tell when Order will come out of Chaos. The *Legislative Journals* of September, 1854, are not distributed though we are almost in December, 1855 no indices are made—the \$50,000 worth of appendices are probably not copied yet—probably not translated—better discharge clerks, translators and governor than thus trifle with the country. A Government keeping back journals and business to impede the session? Is Sir Edmund to play Elgin with the supplies? Talk of disaffection! Does not perpetual trifling with great interests encourage it? I told the Legislature last session that the Macdonald-Crayley bill to take a million loan bill which they hurried through, was to cover knavery, and opposed it as every man who reads my name alone against it. Has the result of MacNab's effort to clear his skirts, by the *Banner* suit, proved that I misjudged!

The danger of war between the European and American sections of the great family who speak English is far more imminent than many suppose. Aristocracy in England, upheld by Bonaparte, seems to think itself a match for its ancient antagonist, a representative, elective democracy. We may one day have a renewal of the contest between cavalier and roundhead on a large scale. Were wisdom the world's chief aim, it would never be fought, but folly and ambition are yet the fashion in Vanity Fair. Our war with America is balanced in the House, but in a foreign quarrel all parties would be American—there are no more violent King Nothings than the sons of Irish immigrants. Palmerston cordially hates freedom.

A war between England, France, and the United States would be to Canada a terrible calamity, and as colonists we have as voice about international affairs; our duty is to obey the supreme central power. In case of war, our present peaceful intercourse with the United States, and the benefits we derive from reciprocal trade, might be of no avail, as such a state of things as we read about the existence of in part of our country. Our vessels would be taken, and our property at sea and on land would be endangered, and our country would probably become, as in 1813, the scene of a bloody struggle for power and dominion; the Orizans of the West. Our violent and

vindictive protest and insurrection (Head's times), incidents, and struggles in a judge. Sir Allan, and they Head as other are doubtless to grokies. What years since man

What are the *United States*?

1. England
2. To acquire which slavery tution: they ev the slaveholders in losing their Caba are being government as the intended p by the despot; to force war
The English J against Russia France and Es

2. England
tine of a gove States deny her forward to cru
3. The treat and English collision betw of the present Moenite show their Government of Mexico, an Atlantic; thro

4. The estr Denmark, the shipping, and paymen; and to their shores islands; but E

5. The Ame New States, a poor structure needs and der 100,000, y greater in cabine than the othe there it is to be

6. Mr. Cra to have been an enlist soldiers work would not expelled, trymen from American gov

7. The Unit ent into lea recently to en United States thinks that of of Bonaparte and stop still well paid ag

watching and needs, and his mind is an aware of

8. Irishmen 1788, 1801, received wit great moesin America, all tranqui and have been, w why are the United States

What has been of our

Lord Cla Louis Napo -England of the east) in others in the force their v

and their p course of w

the West (United State invading Oa upon the ac keep fields w

public debt government gov; but the alien war tw remembered Napoleon's e and the indi sipated the and that Qu and a Buis and the wher than The

"A Power" was instantly slain. All t

vindictive pretensions to an unalloyed loyalty would be allowed to seize and incarcerate in dungeons (as in Arthur, Colborne, and the first Head's times), all whom personal hate or political malignity might indicate; or rickety constitution, as in 1837 at Quebec, would be strangled in a wood, and the militia officer would suppress the judge. Sir Allan MacNab, the Scotchman, Boulton, Claydon, Robinson, and other joints of the family compact, guided by Edmund Ross as they guided his cousin Sir Francis. His secret instructions are doubtless to trust the alliance of the Roman and Casternbury hierarchies. What were the tender mercies of the family compact 17 years since may a family among us will never forget.

What are the causes of friction between England and France and the United States?

1. England and France oppose the desires of the slaveholding South to acquire the rich island of Cuba, as an American State, in which slavery would be made a permanent (anti-republican) institution; they even suggest the idea of freeing the slaves there, which the slaveholders of the United States are afraid of, lest it might lead to losing their yoke also. Expeditions against Hayti, and to seize Cuba are being fitted up in U. S. ports, which, it is asserted the U. S. government encourage, or neglect to prevent; the well knowing of the intended piracy. "If," says the Times, one day last month, "it be the determination of 'say large parties of the people of the U. S. to force war upon us, we shall know 'how to meet and repel it.' The English journals speak of Spain having entered the alliance against Russia, adding that the U. S. propose to seize Cuba, and that France and England guarantee that island to Spain.

2. England insists on her right to interfere, mainly for the protection of a government of blacks in St. Domingo, while the United States deny her right, and hint that she was silent when Russia came forward to crush Kosuth and freedom in Hungary.

3. The treaty negotiated by Sir H. Bulwer and Mr. Clayton is at an end. England rejects the American construction put upon it. A collision between the British and Americans may therefore arise out of the present condition of Central America, the possession of the Mosquito Shore, Honduras, and of American adventures upheld by their government, whilst striving to control by force countries south of Mexico, and possess the strip of land dividing the Pacific and Atlantic thro' which a ship canal will soon pass.

4. The entrance into the Baltic sea is over 4,000 yards wide; and Denmark, the 'owning but one shore, exacts a heavy tax from all shipping passing the Sound. The United States will resist future payments; and their public journals intimate that the fleet to be sent to their shores may come to anchor at St. Thomas and the other Danish islands; but Englishmen dislike the tax full as much as Americans.

5. The American slaveholders, and the slave breeders for sale in New States, have often remonstrated against Britain for allowing poor creatures held in bondage to seek their own just liberty in Canada and the British West Indies. The large slave-holders are under 100,000, yet they govern the Union, dispose of its patronage, organize its cabinet, determine its policy, rule in every department, arrange the committees of Congress, and preside over the census. If there is to be war their interest will be the main question.

6. Mr. Cranston, British Minister at Washington, is understood to have been complained of to England for indirectly interfering to enlist soldiers in the U. S. for the war upon Russia; which shabby work would have been unnecessary if the British aristocracy had not expelled, as it were, of late years, millions of their toiling countrymen from the United Kingdom. Some of the British North American governors are named in connection with Mr. Cranston.

7. The United States want the rest of Mexico, and would parcel it out into slave States. On the other hand, Mr. Rootock proposed recently to establish a strong power North and another South of the United States, to check their progress; and the *Liverpool Journal* thinks that the Baltic ships are sent to America at the urgent request of Bonaparte, to prevent farther dismemberments of feeble Mexico, and stop filibustering in the direction of Canada. England has her well paid agents all over this continent, assuming all sorts of guises, watching and reporting to head quarters. Lord Elgin, while in Canada, told his friends in private that British power was being undermined in America, far more extensively than most people were aware of.

8. Irishmen who complained that England's yoke was grievous in 1795, 1801, and 1845, offering an armed resistance thereto, are received with friendship and attention in the United States, where great meetings are held to raise the means of invading Ireland from America, also for invading Canada as some say. If Ireland be tranquil and England's toiling millions content, neglected as they have been, why is Wm. Smith O' Erlen still an exile in Europe, and why are the venerable Frost and his Welsh comrades exiles in the United States?

What has been said or done by France or England that indicates a purpose of war with the United States?

Lord Clarendon, foreign secretary, in the House of Peers, and Louis Napoleon in the French Chambers, proclaimed that the policy of England and France was one and the same, in the east as well as the east; in all parts of the Globe; which General Cass and many others in the U. S. understood as a threat of an armed attack to enforce their views upon independent powers. In Congress and thro' the press, one party in the north predicts danger from Russia to freedom in America should she triumph in the war, while slaveholders and their friends express confidence in the Russian aristocracy of owners of white servitude.

The press of the United Kingdom intimates that England is sending to the West Indies and North America a formidable fleet to end the United States government in checking Americans and refugees from invading Cuba or Ireland from American ports; she is doing this upon the assumption that President Pierce is unwilling or unable to keep faith with his European allies or friends.

America seems to be preparing for war in that she has reduced her public debt under fifty million dollars, whilst holding in specie in government depositaries, about twenty four millions in gold and silver; but the future is uncertain. Who among as dreamt of a Russian war was twelve months before the massacre of Sloop? Who that remembered Wallington's letters about invasion by France, or Louis Napoleon's oath to protect the republic he had conspired to crush, and the indignant feelings of the people of England, could have anticipated the present alliance against Russia, and probably America, and that Queen Victoria would be the guest of the French usurper, and a Bonaparte kissing her cheek twice, that identical Bonaparte whom The Times thus portrayed in December 1851!

A Power (said The Times) solemnly raised upon the British (abolitionists) was lately hailed by the absolute Government of Europe with enthusiasm. All they had chiefly endeavored to do was here wrought by one

Now, by which public opinion was anticipated and all law set aside. Everything that had before seemed questionable, arbitrary, or cruel in the suppression of the slave trade of 1818 was at once justified and approved by the crew of the *U. S. Frigate*. What were the 'strictures' laid before the English Parliament in justice interference in Sicilian affairs, compared with the massacre of the Bosnian Montenegro? What is the corruption of Neapolitan law courts compared with permanent courts-martial and wholesale depredations to Cayenne without trial? What of Bonaparte's cruelties in Louisiana compared to St. Armand's general orders sent into the province, that every man taken in resistance in the Government is to be shot? As to the so great crime can be justified by the example of a greater crime elsewhere—as far as the extension of liberty in one country can assist in the extension of the same elsewhere, as to the country without a dissent, and as to its liberty without an ally. Before the opening of the Ind. Dec. was put, the representatives of Russia and Austria had rushed to the Ellysse to prefer to Louis Napoleon their congratulations and every assurance of sympathy and support.

Lord John Russell was applauded for Napoleon's conduct. His: Lord Palmerston loudly defended him, and Mr. Godefray's conduct. Sir Francis Head, published the Times of Dec. 8, 1851, for calling him "a thief in the night who has stolen the liberties of the *U. S.*" a newspaper who has outraged and insulted the nation—a low minded adventurer who has perpetrated high treason in its present and most criminal form." Napoleon accordingly hated free, elective institutions, and his apologists had no love for them.

The United States have difficulties in their way should they go to war. The Know-Nothing (a secret, aggregate, political religious sect) is numerous and to be identical with whigs and democrats (under the name) appears to have the Roman Catholics very cordially, and there is a strong disposition on all sides practically to withhold from foreign born citizens equal political rights. The South is struggling to extend its accursed institution of slavery over new and boundless territories, and using the patronage of the republic to destroy republicanism. Many Indian tribes would attack the Union if it was ejected. England and the States have an unprotected commerce of great value in every sea, and their international trade is the greatest and most valuable in the world. Who will be in war, except the United States, is not yet apparent; and as a continental peace unexpectedly left England free in 1814, as an early settlement with Russia might leave the western powers to deal with the adjoining republic as their sole opponent. The Union is very wealthy, is full of physical and mental resources, and has a population nearly equal to that of the United Kingdom; but the four millions of blacks and mulattoes would be a heavy drawback on their efficiency as combatants. Of foreign whites there are two and a half millions, of whom 150,000 are from British America, 500,000 from England and Wales, 600,000 from Germany; and over a million from Ireland.

It seems quite evident that President Pierce and his cabinet are at heart, friendly to Russia. The "Union" helps to prove that fact; and there is a strong pro-Russian party all over the republic, as there was a strong French and Spanish party in 1778, against England; but will they push matters on? It is hard to tell. The first few months of Congress will disclose much. Mr. Madison's friends cried for war in 1811, when it was very unpopular. The public mind was soon prepared for war, which was necessary declared in June, 1812, and next Nov. Madison was re-elected, denouncing the illustrious Clinton. Mr. Pierce's position is very similar; and I have always believed that had Harrison lived thro' 1841 war would have been certain. Speaking of unsettled points that year, (June 25) Attorney General Cushing said in Congress, that "if all or either of the points in controversy between us and Great Britain should end in war, I coast with implicit confidence upon the patriotism of the Government in all its parts, of both Houses of Congress, and every member of it, and on that of the whole people of the United States, to unite in carrying so triumphantly through it, to rally as one man under the broad banner of the Union, and never to yield until the entire continent is redeemed from foreign power and foreign influence, and Republican Government shall be made to become the common blessing of the whole of North America, from the Gulf of Mexico to the furthest shores of the Arctic Sea."

The United States minister at London, Mr. Buchanan's antecedents do not convey the idea that he would be sorry to see England and the United States at war in a case he approved. His entries warmly into the feelings of Irishmen and most Irish descent in the republic, is the mark of an Irish emigrant, and the champion of Cuba annexationists. The feelings almost universally expressed in the United States, concerning Canada in 1837 and 1838, and again on the appearance of the Montreal annexation manifesto, and Sir Allan MacNab's friend Willson's Independent here, were abundantly significant. I need but refer to these periods.

Altho' Russia seems determined to continue the war, yet, if there were not a treaty between her and the United States, offensive and defensive, she would probably, were the Americans once engaged in war with the allies, accept proposals for a separate peace, and gladly give her aid to the destruction of these really free elective republics on this continent, which are the terror of tyrants everywhere. With her greedy despotism we have no sympathy. In this war she is the aggressor, and deserves to be humbled, but England's aristocracy whilst expending the national blood and treasure to check the feudal tyrant of the North, are zealously consolidating in the centre of Europe that free Bonapartist absolutism against which they warred twenty years; they have humbly solicited an alliance with the cruel and vindictive Austrian hater, and plots with an emperor to put down freedom at Rome and set up the pope, the Jesuit, and the Inquisition; keeping back desired reforms essential to British freedom, and leading with new barbeds on over-taxed people. England was quite ready to oppose Nicholas when he invaded the principalities to engulf Turkey, but she sat silent while he invaded them to aid Austria in crushing liberty in Hungary and in withholding it from Poland; England spent fifteen hundred millions of dollars to replace the detestable Bourbons and the Pope on thrones of which they were utterly unworthy, but when Canada and Ireland prayed for free institutions it was very slow work to Mr. Hume said, the "the court, the church, and the aristocracy are against us." Five hundred millions of money expended, and 300,000 men slain, in the Russian war, exhibit no else to their termination.

I had written that far when a gentleman near Toronto, presented me through James Leslie, Esq., with a gift of twenty pounds toward compensation of former losses by the Message. Among those who are eagerly striving to add field to field, and house to house, there are generous spirits who clearly perceive that the fortress of state corruption cannot be effectually bombarded without a full supply of that sort of ammunition with which our farmers are just now unusually well provided. W. L. MACKENZIE.

I ask my friends, upon the voluntary principle, which I have now adhered to during 23 years, as a politician till I have got to be senior editor in the British Colonies, North America, to say by their early exertions with this subscription list whether they consider me a useful labourer? He's a very poor mechanic who never improves. I never had, never could afford to have, a staff of paid agents and collectors, but have ever trusted in the free efforts of the friends who had known me longest, to uphold my newspaper. If only a few hundreds of those good men to whom this introductory number is sent will each carry his copy round among his neighbours for a few hours, and canvass actively, he will be likely to get some paying subscribers, and it is well to profit by the freedom of the press while it is free. Each list should be returned, as early a day as possible, and if by mail, under cover, to "William L. Mackenzie, Message Office, Yonge Street, Toronto." The price of the *Message* is two dollars a year, or a dollar for half a year, payable in advance, for no one ever knew a reform journal to be profitable in Canada. I shall be glad if, when the lists are in for volume three, I am able to count upon thousands of paying readers; it will show that farmers and mechanics are no more forgetful of old servants than are more aristocratic people. Always tell the name of your post office, and monies sent me will be promptly acknowledged in the *Message*. As I will be more at home than formerly, the carelessness, in mailing papers late, will be prevented. My task is not to be an easy one to a person of my years, but I see the necessity of perseverance. Without efficient checks, elective institutions and a dissolution of the Union, all governments to us will be very much alike.

W. L. MACKENZIE, TORONTO, 17 Nov. 1855.

SUBSCRIPTION LIST

FOR YEAR THREE OF

MACKENZIE'S WEEKLY MESSAGE.

To W. L. MACKENZIE, Editor, TORONTO.—Sir: The undersigned subscribers have each paid the sum inscribed opposite his name and Post-office into my hands, for the *Message*; and I accordingly hasten to enclose to you, & and this list, which please acknowledge in next *Message*.

(Signature)

NAME AND POST-OFFICE OF EACH SUBSCRIBER

SUMS PAID.

£ \$ D.

The pamphlet number, will be issued as early as possible.

