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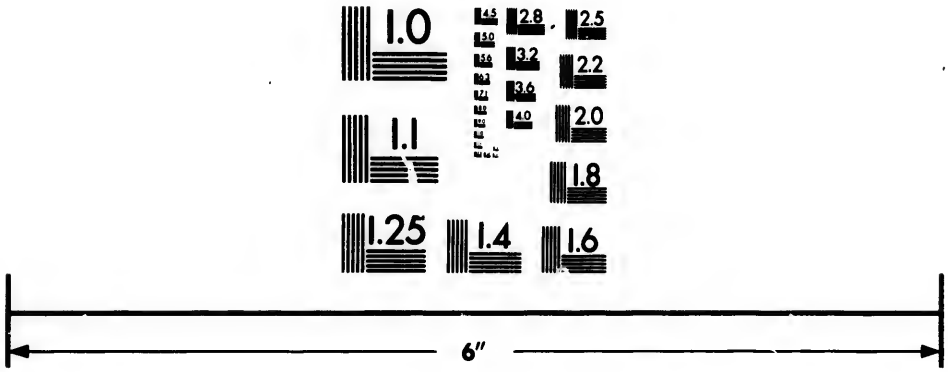

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AN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE

ACCOUNT OF

BRITISH AMERICA;

COMPREHENDING

CANADA, UPPER AND LOWER, NOVA SCOTIA, NEW-BRUNSWICK, NEWFOUNDLAND, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, THE BERMUDAS AND THE FUR COUNTRIES;

THEIR HISTORY FROM THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT; THEIR STATISTICS, TOPOGRAPHY, COMMERCE, FISHERIES, &c.; AND THEIR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITION; AS ALSO AN ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS AND PRESENT STATE OF THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

BY HUGH MURRAY, F.R.S.E.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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THE SECOND VOLUME.

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HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE

ACCOUNT

OF

BRITISH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

General View of the Maritime Provinces.

Situation and Extent.—Character of the Coast.—Fisheries.—Forests.—Early Voyages.—Sir Humphrey Gilbert.—His Equipment.—Adventures on the Voyage.—Transactions in Newfoundland.—Loss of his largest Vessel.—Final Catastrophe.—French Voyages.—Nova Scotia.

The maritime, or, as they are sometimes termed, the seabord provinces of British America, consist of Newfoundland on the north, Nova Scotia and New-Brunswick on the south, with all the intermediate islands lying outside the river St. Lawrence. Northward of this, on the coasts of Labrador and Hudson's Bay, there are detached stations of some importance, but no connected range of settlement. These territories are situated between 43° 25′ and 51° 39′ north latitude, 52° 44′ and 67° 53′ west longitude; but from their separated and insular position, the limits now described do not convey any precise idea of their extent, which has been estimated at about 81,900 square miles.*

This range of coast appears, with scarcely one exception, to be the most broken and diversified on

* Bouchette, vol. ii., p. 1, 92, 180, 235.

the surface of the globe. The waves of the Atlantic, and the continued action of that mighty current called the Gulf Stream, have scooped it into islands and peninsulas of every form. Between these are to be found expanses of water equally various in their size and shape; interior seas, broad bays, deep gulfs, and long channels. These extend the benefits of maritime communication to the most inland parts of the country; while the numerous smaller openings or coves produce harbours as spacious and secure as any in the world.

Nature, along the whole of this coast, presents an aspect peculiarly dreary. Though included within what we account in Europe the temperate zone, yet, owing to the climatic difference which distinguishes America, the face of the land, for nearly half the year, is entirely covered with snow. The scene is rendered still more gloomy by large mountains and fields of ice, which, breaking up in spring from the shores of Greenland, float into these latitudes, where they appal the mariner, and disappear but slowly beneath the influences of summer. The impression is heightened by dense fogs enveloping the shores during a great portion of the year, when they would otherwise exhibit a more cheerful appearance.

An idea of barrenness was long closely associated with this range of territory, naturally suggested by the extreme rigour of the climate, and by the bleak aspect of its coasts. The surface is diversified by numerous eminences, not, indeed, of Alpine elevation, yet giving to it a rough character, and, when laid bare by the action of the waves, forming a broken and rocky border of very unpromising appearance. The soil, even in the most favourable situations, was completely covered with almost impenetrable forests, which defied cultivation without such previous labour as the early settlers were little inclined to bestow. These original impres-

sions have, in a great measure, disappeared before the investigations of modern enterprise. It has been found that the length and severity of the winter is fully compensated by the intense heat of the summer, which, during its short duration, ripens even the most valuable grains. Behind the rocky screen of the coast a careful survey has discovered fertile valleys and plains sufficiently extensive to afford subsistence to many millions of people. The trees, by a vigorous exertion of industry, can be gradually cleared away, when there is disclosed a virgin soil of great fertility. Even the climate, except at one particular season of the year, is by no means so disagreeable as was at first apprehended; it is even distinguished by peculiar salubrity. The cultivation of these countries has therefore been begun, and is in a state of considerable progress; but as only a small part has yet been subjected to the plough, the produce does not afford a maintenance even to its present limited population.

Under every drawback, however, these districts have acquired great commercial importance from their fisheries and their timber. For the former their coasts are perhaps the most favourable in the world. Not only do their vast extent and deep winding bays afford ample opportunities and commodious stations, but the banks in their vicinity, rising nearly to the surface of the water, are of extraordinary extent, and attract the fish in vast numbers from the surrounding seas. The great one of Newfoundland appears unrivalled in magnitude and productiveness. The cod, too, with which it chiefly abounds, is of excellent quality, and, by the simple process of drying, its palatable and nutritious virtues can be almost entirely preserved. So important was this branch of industry considered, that, in a very short period after the first discovery of these shores, it ranked among the greatest objects of European enterprise.

The next grand feature consists in the forests

which overspread an immense extent of these regions, filling every valley, mounting to the summit of every hill, and forming one uninterrupted covering. The hand of cultivation has yet made only a very small inroad upon this vast wilderness. The splendid tints of its varied foliage are described by Mr. M'Gregor to be almost without example: "In Europe, in Asia, in Africa, and even in South America, the primeval trees, how much soever their magnitude may arrest admiration, do not grow in the promiscuous style that prevails in the great general character of the North American woods. Many varieties of the pine, intermingled with birch, maple, beech, oak, and numerous other tribes, branch luxuriantly over the banks of lakes and rivers, extend in stately grandeur along the plains, and stretch proudly up to the very summits of the mountains. It is impossible to exaggerate the autumnal beauty of these forests: nothing under heaven can be compared to its effulgent grandeur. Two or three frosty nights in the decline of autumn transform the boundless verdure of a whole empire into every possible tint of brilliant scarlet, rich violet, every shade of blue and brown, vivid crimson, and glittering yellow. The stern, inexorable fir tribes alone maintain their eternal sombre green. All others, in mountains or in valleys, burst into the most glorious vegetable beauty, and exhibit the most splendid and most enchanting panorama on earth."*

The shores of Nova Scotia were naturally the first towards which North American discovery was directed. The Cabots, Cortereal, and Verazzano, pursued their course exclusively either along them or the neighbouring part of the United States. Cartier, as we have seen, ascended the gulf and river of St. Lawrence; but his spirited expedition had no immediate result, and this object was not followed up for a considerable time.

* M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 79, 80.

The numerous English voyages to this quarter had chiefly in view the discovery of a northwestern passage to the East Indies. Yet, even under Henry VIII., so long ago as 1536, an effort was made to colonize Newfoundland, at the expense and under the auspices of Mr. Hore, a wealthy merchant of London. It became, however, wholly abortive, and had, indeed, a most disastrous issue.* But in the reign of Elizabeth it was renewed on a great scale, by individuals the most distinguished in the nation for rank and talent. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, of Compton, in Devonshire, powerfully seconded by Sir Walter Raleigh, undertook to establish settlements on the coasts which England claimed in virtue of the discoveries formerly made by the Cabots. The queen, though she declined embarking any treasure in this enterprise, lavished on its authors privileges and immunities almost regal. These, indeed, in that age, were most freely bestowed, and seem to have been necessary to tempt adventurers to seek, across a stormy ocean and amid a thousand perils, new provinces in unknown and barbarous regions. By letters patent of 11th June, 1578, Sir Humphrey, his heirs and assignees for ever, were to have, hold, occupy, and enjoy all "heathen and barbarous lands" which he might discover; and wherever, in the next six years, he should form a settlement, no one else was to approach within 200 leagues. He was to exercise all the functions of administration, civil and criminal, both by sea and land. Her majesty merely reserved to herself homage and a fifth of the gold and silver which the region, it was hoped, would be found to contain.†

Sir Humphrey, inspired with these brilliant hopes, embarked a large part of his fortune in a western expedition; and the only difficulty was to procure

* Polar Seas and Regions, p. 147. Harpers' Family Library, No. xiv.

† Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 135–137.

seamen willing to engage in such a rough and hazardous enterprise. Those whom alone he could assemble were chiefly volunteers of doubtful character, whose courage failed when the moment of embarcation came; and desertion so thinned their numbers, that he was obliged to set sail with a mere handful of regular mariners. He soon afterward encountered the most tempestuous weather, and was driven back with the loss of a handsome ship, and also of its captain, Miles Morgan, an officer whom he highly esteemed.*

These disasters seemed enough to shake the firmest determination, especially as the Knight of Compton had no longer sufficient fortune left to fit himself out again to any adequate extent. By the liberal aid, however, of Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir George Peckham, and other distinguished friends, he succeeded in furnishing another squadron, though on a scale that would now be deemed very insufficient. The largest vessel, called the Raleigh, furnished by Sir Walter, was of 200 tons burden. The admiral hoisted his own flag in the Delight of 120. The Golden Hind and the Swallow, of 40 each, and the Squirrel, a little bark of only 10, completed the equipment. The crews, though amounting to only 260, could not be collected without including persons condemned for piracy on the narrow seas; a crime then prevalent; they formed a desperate band, and, as will afterward appear, they were by no means inclined to relinquish their original vocation. He succeeded, however, in procuring individuals skilled in various trades: masons, carpenters, and workers in metal; nor did he omit musicians, morris-dancers, hobby-horses, and other means of recreating the eyes and gaining the affections of savage tribes.

Thus prepared, Sir Humphrey sailed on the 11th of June, 1583; but he soon encountered many reverses

* Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 146.

similar to those by which he had been formerly baffled. On the third day sickness broke out on board the Raleigh, his largest ship, the crew of which immediately forsook him, and returned to the shores of Britain. The commander, however, pushed on, nor allowed himself to be discouraged, even when, on the 20th of July, the Swallow and the Squirrel were separated from him in a thick fog. About the end of that month, he, with his two remaining vessels, came in view of the great bank of Newfoundland, its vicinity being indicated by the incredible number of seafowl that darkened the air. On the 30th he reached the coast, by the aspect of which his followers appear to have been variously affected. It being then the height of summer, the surface even of this wild region was clothed with verdure and adorned by wild fruits and flowers. But Parmenius, a learned correspondent, plainly states, "My good Hakluyt, of the maner of this countrey what shall I say, when I see nothing but a very wildernesse." All agree, however, as to the vast profusion of the finny tribes with which both the seas and rivers were replenished.

The squadron had here the satisfaction to meet their lost companion the Swallow, which presented a spectacle not a little surprising. Her crew, chiefly consisting of pirates, had been very indifferently clad; but now they appeared on deck handsomely attired, and, in transports of joy, were dancing and waving their caps in the air. Sir Humphrey lost no time in inquiring into the cause of a transformation for which this part of the world seemed to afford such slender materials. He obtained a most unsatisfactory solution. Happening to meet a French vessel returning from the fishery, the crew, "following still their kind," cast upon her a longing eye. Knowing, however, their captain to be an honourable man, they merely besought permission to go on board and borrow a few articles which they urgently

wanted. Having obtained leave, with strict injunctions to abstain from every kind of violence, they proceeded to the ship, seized the crew, stripped them of clothes, food, and every article they could find, and then, by winding cords round their heads, produced such exquisite torture that they rendered up their most hidden stores. Having effected all this with wonderful expedition, "like men skilfull in such mischiefe," they returned to the Swallow; but their boat being upset, several of them were drowned, and the rest suffered afterward the full penalty of their crime.

The fishery on this shore was found already in a state of activity, thirty-six vessels, sixteen of them English, being busily engaged in it; and Sir Humphrey immediately assumed the entire sovereignty, as vested in him by the queen's patent. His first step was to cause each of his ships to draw up a list of their wants, the duty of supplying which was then partitioned among the different fishermen, foreign as well as native. They are said to have complied with the utmost alacrity, not only furnishing what was demanded, but adding wines, marmalade, biscuit, and other delicacies, with a daily allowance of fish. The officers were also entertained at great festivals, given every week on the nomination of a fishing admiral for that period. "In short," says Hayes, "we were supplied as if we had bene in a countrey or some citie, populous and plentifull of all things." This delight at having their property taken from them might have appeared mysterious, but for a hint dropped by Parmenius, who says, "They *being not able to match us*, suffer us not to be hunger-starved." The discovery vessels being armed, while the others were only fitted out for peaceful pursuits, possessed the means of enforcing their own terms.

The commander proceeded now to avail himself of this advantage, in order to establish a permanent dominion over that remote region. Having fixed

his headquarters at St. John's, he proclaimed that a circuit of two hundred leagues in every direction was held by him in full right under her majesty, and by virtue of her grant; demanding a presentation of wood and water in token of possession, by himself, his heirs, and assignees, for ever. The English laws, constitution, and form of worship were established. It was ordained, that whoever should attempt anything prejudicial to this newly-acquired dominion, should be forthwith tried and executed; and any person who should utter words "sounding to the dishonour of her majesty," should lose his ears. Lofty as were these pretensions, they are said to have been acquiesced in with the utmost cheerfulness, a circumstance for which we suspect an explanation must be sought in the intimation afforded by Parmenius.*

Sir Humphrey, however, did not attempt to form a settlement in this dreary latitude. Many of his men, disgusted with the country and the prospect of wintering there, and longing to return, disappeared in various directions. Their character rendered them most unscrupulous as to the means. One party seized a fishing vessel, turning the crew on shore; others laid a plot to treat in a similar manner the ships of the squadron; but this was discovered and defeated. Some fled into the woods, in hopes of making their way to England in other barks. As the sick, too, had become numerous, the commander sent them home in the Swallow, taking with him only the three other vessels; for the Squirrel also had joined them at another part of the coast. Having sailed on the 20th August, he directed his course to Sable Island, recommended, on no very satisfactory intelligence, as an eligible station. Unfortunately, too, the sailing directions were doubtful and imperfect; so that, after quitting Cape Race, and ventu-

* Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 148--165.

ring into the open sea, they were soon involved in much perplexity. Sir Humphrey, having apparently formed an overweening estimate of his own skill in seamanship, to which he had not been bred, disregarded the warnings given by the master of the Delight, that he was carrying the vessel towards dangerous shoals and banks. Cox, of the Golden Hind, was of the same opinion; but, being in the rear, was obliged to follow. In his narrative he says, that on the night of the 28th, the crew of the Delight were so little aware of their danger, that they were gayly sounding trumpets, hautboys, and other musical instruments; but it was "like the swanne that singeth before her death." On the 29th there arose a violent gale from the southeast, with heavy rain, and so thick a mist that they could not see a cable's length. Cox next morning thought he saw white cliffs, but it seems to have been only the foam of the breakers. The soundings, however, indicated that they were passing over dangerous banks. Sginals were immediately made to the Delight; but, before they could be acted upon, this their largest vessel had struck, when presently her whole stern went to pieces. The two others could afford no aid, being obliged to save themselves by standing immediately out to sea. The only means of escape was by a little pinnace, in which sixteen men leaped, including the master; but the captain, Maurice Brown, refused to leave his ship, and, with the rest of the crew, doubtless perished. Those in the boat could scarcely command their senses, or believe it possible, that in this little skiff, amid a dark and stormy ocean, they could reach on these strange shores any haven of safety. Their danger was much increased by being completely overcrowded, so that Edward Headly proposed to choose four by lot, and cast them into the sea; but Clarke, the master, declared they would live and die together, "advising to abide God's pleasure, who was able to save all

as well as a few." They were tossed six days on the ocean, without any food but seaweed, or any drink but salt water. Headly and another died; the others, quite exhausted, at last came in view of the shores of Newfoundland. They crept with difficulty to a sheltered spot, where they formed a habitation of boughs, and collecting the berries that grew round them in profusion, recruited their strength. Afterward, when sailing along the coast, they met a Biscayan vessel, which kindly received and conveyed them to the harbour of Passages.*

Sir Humphrey having sailed in the little bark called the Squirrel, with the view of more closely surveying the shore, had escaped this catastrophe. The news struck him, indeed, with the deepest dismay; yet he was reluctant to abandon the design, till the seamen, representing the miserable extremity to which they were reduced, urged the necessity of returning to Europe "before they all perished." The crew of the Golden Hind, though too distant for speech, pointing to their mouths and ragged clothes, strongly enforced the argument. He felt that no choice was left, yet bitterly lamented the loss of his vessel, his men, his books and papers; and it was surmised that hopes, though fallacious, of having discovered gold, mingled in his regret. He expressed an unshaken determination to prosecute his career of discovery; declaring that though his whole fortune was sunk, he would make such representations to the queen as would induce her to advance the means of equipping a still larger expedition.

Arrangements being now made for crossing the Atlantic, Sir Humphrey was urged to quit the petty bark in which he had been sailing, as very unfit for such a voyage, and go on board the Golden Hind. But, in reply, he resolutely declared, "I will not forsake my little company with whom I have passed

* Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 155--157, 164, 165.

so many stormes and perils." Hayes suspects that he was influenced by some idle rumours that had gone abroad, as if he wanted courage at sea; and that he "preferred the wind of a vaine report to the weight of his owne life." The vessels, however, sailed in safety three hundred leagues, till they reached the meridian of the Azores. A storm so violent then overtook them, that men who had spent all their lives afloat had never seen the like. The waves, it is said, broke "short and high, pryamidwise," owing, it is added, to their being moved by conflicting tides and currents. In the afternoon of the 9th September, the Squirrel was seen in extreme peril amid these terrible billows; yet, as she approached the Hind, the sailors observed Gilbert sitting with a book in his hand, and heard him call to them, "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land." Darkness fell, the storm still raged, and lights having been put up, the crew of his consort kept their eyes fixed on them as the signals of mutual safety. A little past midnight the light in Sir Humprhey's vessel suddenly disappeared, and neither he nor his companions were ever heard of more. The Golden Hind, almost a wreck, returned, the sole remains of that gay and flourishing armament which had so lately set forth to occupy and rule the northern regions of the New World.*

Such an issue could not fail to throw a damp even on the intrepid spirit of that age; and yet the project was by no means renounced. Sir George Peckham, who had liberally contributed to the first voyage, recommended the enterprise as strongly as ever, and wrote a long treatise on western planting, by which he endeavoured to stimulate the nation to a fresh effort. In 1583, Captain Christopher Carlile addressed a memorial on the subject to the Muscovy Company, who appointed a committee to confer with him; and a plan was agreed upon, but seems never

* Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 155–159.

to have been carried into execution. Raleigh, who soon became the guiding star in discovery, turned his whole attention to more southern and brighter regions, and the bleak shores of North America were for a long time almost entirely disregarded.

The French had early directed their attention to this coast, and distinguished themselves by the voyages of Verazzano, Cartier, Roberval, and La Roche. These, however, had proved ultimately abortive, and were even in several cases attended with signal disaster; but that people were now about to undertake one on a larger scale, and leading to more durable results. As this, however, paved the way towards the formation of the colony of Nova Scotia, we will reserve it to the next chapter, which treats of that important subject.

CHAPTER II.

General Description and History of Nova Scotia.

Extent and Limits.—Mountains.—Streams.—Soil.—City of Halifax.—Climate.—First Settlement by De Monts.—Captured by the English.—Colony under Sir William Alexander.—Ceded to France.—Contests among the Proprietors.—Conquered by the New-Englanders.—Wars with the Indians.—Cape Breton captured.—Restored.—Settlement of Halifax.—Disputes with France.—War.—Expulsion of the Acadians.—Capture of Louisbourg.—Return of the Acadians.—Representative Assembly.—Peace with the Indians.—Nova Scotia during the American Contest.—Increased by numerous Refugees.—Subsequent Events.—Cape Breton.—Extent and Situation.—Appearance of the Country.—Climate.—Population.—Ruins of Louisbourg.—Coal Districts.

Nova Scotia, according to its present limits, forms a large peninsula, in advance, as it were, of that long line of the American coast which extends southwest

from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. It is separated from the continent by the Bay of Fundy and its branch of Chignecto, stretching northeast from the Atlantic to within a short space of the Baie Verte, or Green Bay, connected with the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The narrow interval of eight miles between these two bodies of water forms the isthmus by which alone this country is united with the main body of America. On the other side is New-Brunswick, once part of the same province; while opposite to its southwestern extremity lies a portion of Maine, the most northerly of the United States. On the northeast it borders on channels connected with the Gulf of St. Lawrence, such as Northumberland Strait, St. George Bay, and the Gut of Canseau. All the remainder of the coast is washed by the Atlantic.

Nova Scotia, thus bounded, lies between 61° and 66° 30′ west longitude, and 43° 25′ and 46° north latitude. It extends in an oblique line from northeast to southwest; the extreme length in this direction being estimated by M. Bouchette at 383 miles. The breadth varies considerably, being in the northeastern part only thirty or forty miles. It then shoots out rapidly, and at the peninsula, which forms the vertex of a species of triangle, exceeds 100. But this dimension is maintained only for a short space; and the remainder, between the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic, does not average above sixty. The entire superficies is stated by Mr. Haliburton at 15,617 square miles, or 9,994,880 acres.*

The surface of the country is broken and of various aspect, but nowhere approaches to an Alpine elevation. There are several ranges, indeed, which, in the language of the country, are called mountains; but as the highest does not exceed 600 feet, they

* Bouchette, vol. ii., p. 1. Haliburton's Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia (2 vols. 8vo, Halifax, 1829), vol. ii., p. 2, 3.

cannot rank above mere hills. Ardoise, the most elevated, not far from Windsor, commands a prospect which Mr. M'Gregor considers to be, in all British America, surpassed only by that from Quebec. The ranges run generally in the direction of the country, from northeast to southwest. The ridge called the North Mountain extends at a small distance along the Bay of Fundy, terminating in the bold cliff of Blomidon, which overlooks the Basin of Minas. In the interior, between it and the Atlantic, stretches a less-known series, called the Blue Mountains. Those named Horton are on the eastern side of the Minas Basin, while the Cobequid heights lie near the frontier peninsula. These eminences, where they face the Atlantic, have been broken by its waves into the most rugged forms; high cliffs and long ledges, composed chiefly of granite and other primitive rocks. The coast also is scooped out into numberless coves and bays, and diversified by myriads of rocky islets. It is therefore completely iron-bound, and has conveyed that impression of barrenness and desolation which has so generally attached to this country. Yet its highest cliff, Aspotagoen, about thirty miles southwest of Halifax, does not rise above 500 feet; so that the scenery cannot be called sublime, still less smiling and beautiful; but it is strikingly wild, picturesque, and romantic. A more solid advantage is obtained from the deep water and shelter almost everywhere afforded by the rocky shores and islands; so that a vessel may lie in perfect safety while the most violent tempest is raging without. The numerous indentations along this frontier afford also many spacious harbours, which can scarcely be equalled in the world. The northeastern coast, along the gulf, is much smoother, while the interior is only gently undulating, and very fertile.*

* M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 3, 4, 95. Bouchette, vol. ii., p. 7.

The numerous streams descending from these various ranges render Nova Scotia one of the best watered regions on the face of the earth. Though, from the form of the country, they cannot have a very long course, yet, being full of water, and containing generally bays and inlets, they are commonly navigable, even for large vessels, a considerable way upward. They have usually, too, on their borders a strip of fertile land, which relieves the monotony even of the most barren districts. In many cases they spread into lakes, but seldom of very large extent. That of Rossignol, however, in the centre of the southwest district, is supposed to be nearly thirty miles long, and the Great Lake, on the Shubenacadie navigation, may be about ten. These waters, surrounded by hills of varied form, clothed with wood to their summit, present many scenes of extreme beauty, which surprise those who expected to find in this province only a gloomy waste.*

The capacity of the land for agricultural pursuits varies according to the different situations. The whole Atlantic coast is generally barren, as, besides the naked cliffs fronting the sea, the ground for a considerable distance inland is strewed with stones, beneath which, indeed, in many cases good soil is to be found; but the clearing of them is much too hard a task for a young settlement. There are, however, occasional exceptions, particularly near Lunenburg, and in the narrow alluvial tracts on the banks of the rivers, which are exceedingly productive. The ranges of hills, even when their summits are richly wooded, have not unfrequently their lower declivities covered with an accumulation of loose sand and debris, which renders them altogether unfit for the

Haliburton, vol. ii., p. 3, 4. Moorsom's Letters from Nova Scotia (London, 1830), p. 19.

* Bouchette, vol. ii., p. 7, 8. Haliburton, vol. ii., p. 7. Moorsom, p. 18.

purposes of cultivation. There are also several peat-bogs, from one of which, called Cariboo, the Horton and Annapolis rivers take their rise. With these deductions, the western part of the country, along the Bay of Fundy and its branches, and the northern, which bounds the Gulf of St. Lawrence, two divisions comprehending the larger portion of Nova Scotia, possess a very considerable degree of fertility.*

The city of Halifax, the capital of this country, and the third town in British America, is situated on one of the best of the fine harbours with which this coast abounds. A bay about sixteen miles deep is narrowed near the middle by an island, above which it spreads into the broad expanse of the Bedford Basin, containing ten square miles, and capable of accommodating a thousand vessels of the largest size. This advantage, and its greater proximity to Europe, led, as we have seen, to the establishment there in 1749 of the first English colony.

Halifax is built on the southwestern side of the bay, and on the declivity of a hill rising from the sea to the height of about 250 feet. Wood is the prevailing material, there being, ten years ago, only eighteen public and fifty-five private buildings of stone; and of brick not quite forty. Eight streets extend through the centre, crossed by fifteen others. The town, which is about two miles in length and half a mile in breadth, has been greatly improved in consequence of extensive conflagrations, which, consuming large portions of it, made way for better and more regular buildings. The streets are now generally spacious, the principal one well paved, and the others macadamized.

The society of Halifax is described as more completely English than that of any other American town. The officers of government, the numerous

* M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 7, 8. Haliburton, vol. ii., p. 6. Moorsom, p. 19, 20.

body of military, and the great merchants connected with the mother country, form so large a proportion as decidedly to establish this character. An intense interest is felt with regard to arrivals from Europe; and the naval and military officer is welcomed with a degree of hospitality which makes him usually prefer this to any other transatlantic station. On walking out into the street, however, a scene quite peculiar is presented. Tall husbandmen, with light blue jackets and trousers, straw hats, and Wellington boots, are seen driving wagons of hay from the neighbourhood. Troops of wretched negroes, the men and boys half naked, the women in tawdry colours, expose for sale wild fruits and brooms. An Acadian and his wife, in their neat national costume, traffic in the produce of their dairy. A few strange-looking beings, the aborigines of the land, loll basking in the sun; while others of the same class are indolently holding in their hands, as if for sale, baskets and trinkets worked with beads. These are contrasted by the brilliant naval and military uniforms, and the gay attire of the European fashionables. The markets are excellently supplied with meat, vegetables, and, above all, with fish of various kinds, and at very moderate prices. The population of this city in 1828 was more than 14,000.*

The climate of Nova Scotia, in point of temperature, corresponds generally with that of Lower Canada, modified, however, by its maritime situation. From this cause, the frost of winter, though equally strong, has not the same fixed and long duration. It does not fully set in till about the 20th December, and even in January a decided thaw frequently occurs. Mr. Haliburton does not reckon on more than six or eight weeks sleighing in the season. By the end of March, the severity of winter ends but is ill exchanged for a succession of chill

* Haliburton, vol. ii., p. 10–19. Bouchette, vol. ii., p. 13–15. M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 72–86. Moorsom, p. 9, 10, 29–32.

damp winds, caused apparently by the dissolution of large fields of ice in the northern seas. The real spring approaches tardily and irregularly, and May ends before the fields are fully clothed with verdure. A summer of three months is then marked by that intense heat which prevails over all America. It has often, from the vicinity of the ocean, and perhaps of its melting ices, the disagreeable accompaniment of heavy fog, which, in this heated state, seems to steep the inhabitants in a vapour bath. It is felt, however, only on the coast, and to a certain distance inland, not reaching the interior or the Bay of Fundy. It only occurs, too, when the wind blows from the sea; for the land-breezes produce a bright and clear sky. As in the other Atlantic states, with a vast continent on one side, and on the other an ocean equally extensive, a shifting wind occasions here also very sudden changes of temperature. Captain Moorsom has known the variation amount to fifty degrees in twenty-four hours, and was assured that it has been observed as high as sixty-two. According to this writer, "in summer the winds from north to west are accompanied by fine, clear, bracing weather; while anything from south to east brings fog or rain. The wind from west to south produces pleasant, yet variable or showery weather; and from north to east we expect only that which is raw and disagreeable. In winter, the northwest quadrant becomes identified with a clear, dry atmosphere and intense cold; the southeast with rapid thaw and floods of rain. The southwest is marked by moderate frost and slight thaws; and the northeast winds come charged with cold, raw mist or heavy snow-storms." These different results seem sufficiently accounted for by the position of the province in respect to land and sea.*

* Haliburton, vol. ii., p. 348–352. Moorsom, p. 152, 153, 161–168.

The autumn in this climate is long and delightful, commencing at the close of August, and often not ending till the middle of December. The latter portion is rendered agreeable by the prevalence for days and even weeks of that soft transparent haze called the Indian summer. The nights at the hottest season are cool and refreshing, so that the open air may then be fully enjoyed; and the aurora borealis and other aerial meteors are common, though not so brilliant as in arctic latitudes.

The violent extremes and changes incident to this climate might be supposed hurtful to the human constitution; yet it is extolled as in an eminent degree salubrious. The very agitations seem to prevent those fatal diseases which arise from a putrid and stagnant atmosphere. The intermittent fever, so frequent in the United States and even Upper Canada, is unknown; typhus is rare and slight; and the ravages of the yellow fever have never been felt. Rheumatism and local inflammation are the maladies from which the people suffer most severely; to which may be added pulmonary consumption, though not to the extent that might be supposed. The depth of winter is of course a trying season; yet the sick-list of the 52d regiment is stated by Captain Moorsom to have stood lower than in the summer months. The general healthiness is said to be proved by the longevity of the people, among whom the age of ninety is not uncommon, and many even pass that of a hundred.*

Although the early attempts of the French to settle upon this coast were, as already observed, fruitless and even calamitous, yet the value of the land and the profitable trade of which it might be made the theatre had not escaped the notice of the nation in general. That people, and particularly the Huguenots, were then inspired with a strong spirit of

* Haliburton, vol. ii., p. 352-356. Moorsom, p. 154, 155.

commercial enterprise. In return for a few showy but trifling articles, they obtained from the savages precious furs, seal-skins, and the teeth of the sea-horse, commodities at that period scarce and highly prized in the European market. Even the fisheries had already risen into importance; and an old mariner, named Scavalet, is mentioned as having, previous to 1609, made forty voyages to Canseau.

In 1603 a spirited attempt, on a considerable scale, was made by a gentleman named De Monts. He obtained from Henry IV. unlimited privileges, such as were then always lavished upon individuals willing to engage in such arduous undertakings; including not only the dominion of the colony, but the monopoly of the fur-trade throughout its whole extent. De Monts had sailed a volunteer up the St. Lawrence along with Chauvin, but, not having gone higher than Tadoussac, he knew nothing of the fine territory afterward discovered on that great river. The Atlantic coast appeared to him less difficult of access, and, from its more southerly situation, likely to enjoy a milder climate. He stipulated for all the country lying between the 40th and 46th degrees of latitude, thus embracing Nova Scotia on the north and New-York on the south. Though a Calvinist, he was obliged to engage that both professions should be tolerated among the settlers, and that the Catholic alone should be taught to the Indians. A liberal expenditure and the enterprising spirit of the age enabled him speedily to equip four vessels, two of which were commanded by himself, while the others were employed at different points in conducting his own trade and preventing that of others.*

The vicinity to France, and his ignorance of the more southern coasts, led him to touch in the first instance at Nova Scotia, which he reached on the

* Haliburton, vol. i., p. 9–13. Champlain, tome i., p. 55, 56.

16th May, 1604. At a point near its southern extremity, he found a French captain named Rossignol engaged in trade; and forthwith exercised his privileges, by confiscating the vessel and cargo, allowing to the seaman only the consolation of giving his name to the place, now changed to Liverpool. Thence he proceeded to the head of the Bay of Fundy, making a fruitless attempt to penetrate through into the St. Lawrence. At one point where he stopped for a short interval, the crew were much dismayed to find, on re-embarking, that Daubré, a clergyman of good family, was wanting. They continued here some time, vainly making calls and signals, and then proceeded. On returning, however, sixteen days after, a hat and handkerchief were seen fastened to a pole; and a party having landed, the unfortunate priest was found. He had lost himself in the woods, and being obliged to subsist on roots and berries, was reduced almost to a skeleton. As the season advanced, they fixed their settlement on an island near the mouth of the river St. Croix. They cultivated a piece of ground, erected a fort, with neat apartments, a commodious magazine, and a chapel in the form of a bower, composed of growing trees bent together. But winter soon set in with a severity for which they were quite unprepared. They had not sufficient wood for fuel; and being under the necessity of drinking melted snow and living on salted provisions, were attacked by scurvy in its most virulent form, for which they knew no remedy.

At the end of this dreadful season De Monts sailed southward in search of a milder climate. He reached Cape Cod; but the territory was found inhabited by numerous bands of hostile natives, who were too strong for his small party. He returned to St. Croix, and having obtained a seasonable reenforcement, removed to a spot on the Bay of Fundy, which, when formerly passed, had appeared very

desirable, and was named Port Royal. The whole country, including New-Brunswick, was called Acadia. He himself repaired to France for farther supplies; but his people, having raised grain and vegetables, and procured abundance of venison, either by hunting or purchase from the savages, contrived to pass two winters very agreeably. During the mild season they renewed their attempts to settle farther south; but these were fruitless, and even attended with loss.*

In the following summer, while the party were anxiously waiting the arrival of their chief with the promised re-enforcements, they were appalled by the intelligence that his connexion with America had ceased. All the merchants concerned in the fur-trade and fishery had joined in complaining, that his privilege was exercised with such violence as to put an entire stop to both occupations; that they and their families were ruined; and that all the revenue derived from these resources was lost to the country. The court hereupon arbitrarily annulled the privilege which they had so rashly granted; and in compensation for the 100,000 livres spent by De Monts, only 6000, or about £250, was allowed. Even this was too large a sum for the French treasury to pay. He was merely empowered to levy it from the fur-traders; an expedient, says Champlain, which "was like giving him the sea to drink." The attempt to enforce such a tax, besides the trouble and odium, would have involved him in expense exceeding any probable income. Though there seems ground to suspect, even from the statements of his own friends, that he carried too far his excessive and pernicious privilege, yet such an abrupt deprivation can scarcely be justified.

Notwithstanding the consternation diffused by this intelligence, Pontrincourt, one of the party,

* Haliburton, vol. i., p. 14-26.

much attached to Port Royal, determined, if possible, to maintain that settlement. He repaired to France, represented its advantages, and obtained a grant of it; on condition, however, that he should attend to the conversion of the natives, and receive two Jesuits as part of his establishment. Deeply impressed with the belief that, if those persons accompanied him, he would hold only half the jurisdiction, he delayed receiving them under various pretexts; and when this could no longer be resisted, he is reported to have said that they must leave him entirely to rule the people on earth, and merely guide them to heaven. As they showed dissatisfaction with this limited function, and were otherwise somewhat roughly treated, they sent home loud complaints. A pious lady, Madame de Gourcherville, was then induced to fit out a vessel with everything requisite for forming under them a separate colony, which was established on the eastern coast, at La Have. But, while this settlement was in progress, Argall, an English captain, on his way to Virginia, having received notice of it, appeared before the place, and, after a short conflict, in which one of the priests was killed, captured it, and carried off most of the inhabitants to James Town. Afraid to acknowledge such a flagrant breach of the peace with France, he pretended that they were pirates; but when the governor expressed his determination to hang them as such, Argall, to avert this catastrophe, owned the real state of the case. The English ruler was so far from being dissatisfied, that he immediately sent the captain with a fresh expedition to root out the colony at Port Royal. That officer arrived and effected his object without resistance, the settlers either fleeing into the woods or being carried away prisoners. So little were colonies then valued, that France made no complaint of this violent aggression, beyond demanding the restoration

of her men; nor did Britain take any measures for turning her conquest to account.*

From this time, however, the crown of England held itself owner of this territory, and neglected it only from the little value then attached to colonies not containing gold and silver. But in 1621, the poetical brain of Sir William Alexander, author of several works that were noted in that age, was struck with a desire of transatlantic dominion; and at that period little solicitation was requisite to obtain the gift of a kingdom in America. Being a favourite of James I. and Charles I., and created successively Sir William and Earl of Stirling, he received a free grant of the vast territory extending from the St. Croix to the St. Lawrence, including Nova Scotia (which name was now first given to the whole region), New-Brunswick, and even the islands in the Gulf as far as Newfoundland. He was invested with the usual extravagant and even regal powers, uniting the functions of lieutenant-general, justice-general, and high lord of admiralty, and having power to form a constitution, create titles of honour, appoint bishops, judges, and all other officers. No reservation was made, except of a tenth of the royal mines of gold and silver, and five per cent. on the imports and exports after the first seven years.† Charles I., in 1625, gave a *novodamus*, or renewal of his patent,‡ to which he added, in 1628, a similar one, whereby he made over the whole course of the St. Lawrence, as far as the Gulf of California, on which the upper lakes were then supposed to border; a grant which would have included all Canada, and much of the finest part of the United States.§ To promote these objects, an order of baronets was created, each of whom was to hold jurisdiction over

* Champlain, tome i., p. 58, 59. Haliburton, vol. i., p. 28–39.
† Narrative of oppressive Proceedings against the Earl of Stirling, by Himself (4to, Edinburgh, 1836), p. 53–67.
‡ Ibid., p. 75. § Ibid., p. 125–131.

a tract extending three miles along the coast, and ten towards the interior, and to receive in full property 16,000 acres of land. In return, each was bound to fit out six men for the colony, or to pay 2000 merks. By a singular regulation, they were allowed to take seisin or legal possession, not on the spot, but on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, Nova Scotia being included in the county of that name.*

This extensive jurisdiction conferred on Sir William was ridiculed by some of his witty companions, who derided his attempt to rise from a poet to a king, and, like another Alexander, seeking a new world to reign over. He appears never to have visited his dominions in person, though he lost no time in sending out a vessel with a body of settlers. They sailed in 1622; but, in consequence of various delays, the navigators could not, in the first year, proceed beyond Newfoundland, where they were obliged to winter. Next spring they coasted along the ceded territory, but were much disappointed to find all its principal points, including even Port Royal, reoccupied by French settlers, who showed no inclination to withdraw. It was judged expedient to return to England, where they spread the most flattering reports of the value and beauty of this transatlantic region. When, therefore, war soon after broke out with France, Sir William found no difficulty in fitting out a small squadron, which he sent in 1627 under his eldest son, accompanied by Kertk, already mentioned as a refugee who became distinguished under the name of Sir David Kirk. In that and the following year they reduced the forts of Port Royal, St. Croix, and Pentagoet. At the former place they erected a new fortress on a considerable scale, where young Alexander took up his residence as governor of the country.†

* Case of the Honourable the Baronets of Scotland and Nova Scotia, p. 10, 27.

† Deuchar, Alexander (Genealogist, Edin.), MS. Memorial (from the Stirling family papers).

One of the prisoners in the captured transports was Claude de la Tour, a gentleman of fortune and enterprise, who held part of the country from the French crown. Being brought to England and introduced to Sir William, he was persuaded to second the baronet's views by making him master of that portion of the coast held by himself, and introducing there a party of Scottish emigrants; but on reaching the fort held by his son, near Cape Sable, the youth indignantly refused to concur in an arrangement which he accounted treasonable. He even repulsed his father in an attempt to carry the place, and offered him only an asylum in its immediate vicinity. La Tour, however, returned to Britain, and not long after procured from Lord Stirling an engagement to cede to him Cape Sable, with a considerable extent of coast and territory adjoining.*

Young Alexander died in America, and was succeeded by Sir George Home. In 1629, Kirk, as already related, made the conquest of Canada, reducing Quebec and taking the garrison prisoners. Britain was now mistress of all this part of the country; yet, by the treaty of St. Germains in 1632, Charles I., without much consideration, agreed to restore all the settlements there in the same state as before the war. Orders were sent to Home to demolish the fort; to remove all the inhabitants, goods, and stores; and leave the bounds altogether waste and unpeopled, as when the Scots first landed. The sum of $48,000 was granted to Lord Stirling in compensation for the expenses incurred by him. His patent was acknowledged to be still in force, as the king pretended that he had only ceded

* This has, in general, been represented as the entire cession of Nova Scotia, with the exception of Port Royal, but erroneously. The indenture, dated 30th April, 1630, is in the possession of Mr. Deuchar, but the transaction is said never to have been completed.—Deuchar, Alexander, MS. Memorial. Haliburton, p. 43-46.

the particular spots, and retained his full right to form settlements in the country. He even appointed a commission to consult with his lordship and the baronets on the means of promoting such an undertaking. France would probably have viewed the subject in a different light; but, as may be well supposed, these persons did not feel inclined to adventure either themselves or their money again in a similar enterprise.*

The court of Paris having regained possession of this territory, divided it, in 1634, among three individuals. They assigned most of the middle districts to the young La Tour, the father apparently being dead; the northern part to a person named Denys; and the southern to Razillai, who received a commission as commander-in-chief of Acadia. This last was succeeded by Daubré de Charnisé, between whom and La Tour there arose a deadly feud, each seeking the entire possession of the colony. The contest was waged with savage and relentless animosity, and with little regard to the authority of the mother country. La Tour for some time procured aid from Boston, which gave him the ascendency; but Charnisé intimidated the governor of that place by threatening the resentment of the king his master. The opposite cause was then chiefly supported by the exertions of Madame de la Tour, a female of heroic temper. Being attacked, during her husband's absence, in his principal fort on the St. John, she beat off the assailant with great loss. But Charnisé, watching his opportunity, surprised her soon after, when she was again left alone, and had only a handful of men to defend the place. She was obliged to surrender, when the victor faithlessly hanged all the garrison, and, as is reported, com-

* Case of the Baronets, p. 28, 32–34. Claims founded on the above grants and transactions are at present strongly urged both by the baronets and heirs of the house of Stirling; but into this question our subject does not require us to enter.

pelled herself to appear in public with a halter round her neck. Such barbarous treatment, coupled with the ruin of her affairs, so affected this high-spirited woman, that she died after a short interval.

La Tour, stripped of everything, returned, after some time, to France, where he retrieved his affairs in a very singular manner. Charnisé being dead, he married the widow of his deadly enemy. His sister-in-law, too, a canoness of St. Omer, dying about the same time, bequeathed to him all the claims of the family to this foreign possession. The bequest being sanctioned by the government, he set out and took peaceable possession of the whole country, with the exception of the small portion held by Denys, whom he did not disturb. He was doomed, however, never to remain at rest. Le Borgne, a new character, appeared on the scene, claiming as a creditor of Charnisé, and stigmatizing La Tour as a favourer of heresy. Having thus obtained a transference of all his rights, he arrived with an armed force, and in the most violent manner endeavoured to crush at once both the present possessors. He took Denys prisoner, destroyed La Have, burning a chapel which had cost above $19,200; and, having occupied Port Royal, was preparing to attack La Tour in his last hold on the St. John, when a more formidable competitor presented himself.*

Oliver Cromwell having seized the reins of power in England, declared war against France, and waged it vigorously, with the special view of extending his foreign possessions. In 1654 he despatched an expedition against Nova Scotia, under the command of Major Sedgewick. There was no force, even had it been united, sufficient to resist that officer; so that, after defeating La Tour, he advanced against Port Royal, where Le Borgne by no means made

* Haliburton, vol. i., p. 51-60.

that resistance which had been expected from his previous resolution. He soon yielded the place, and his son, endeavouring to fortify himself at La Have, was made prisoner.

La Tour, who always accommodated himself to circumstances, seeing the country in possession of the English, hastened to make his submission, and urged his claim, founded on the transaction between his father and Lord Stirling. He was favourably listened to, and, in conjunction with Temple, afterward Sir Thomas, and William Crowne, persons probably of great interest with the Protector, obtained a grant of the greater part of the country. The former bought up the share of La Tour, spent $76,800 on fortifications, and opened a very advantageous trade and fishery. But all his prospects were blasted by the treaty of Breda, concluded by Charles II. in 1667, in virtue of which Nova Scotia was again made over to France. Temple endeavoured to save something by insisting on a distinction between the limits of Nova Scotia and of Acadia; but, not being supported by his government, he was obliged to deliver up all.*

The French thus resumed full possession of the colony, which, in fact, they had almost exclusively occupied, though in a slight and careless manner; for the absence of gold and silver, and even of any rich marketable produce, made it be viewed as a barren and upromising settlement. A few straggling immigrants stationed themselves from time to time along the coast; and yet, according to an enumeration made about 1680, the whole population did not exceed 900. Even the fishery, the only productive branch, was carried on by the English. A few forts were scattered at wide intervals; but so weak and small, that two of them were taken and plundered by a single piratical vessel of no great force.

* Haliburton, vol. i., p. 61–65.

In this situation, after the breaking out of the war consequent upon the revolution of 1688, Acadia appeared an easy conquest. The achievement was assigned to Massachusetts, the resources of which were by no means ample; but the commander, Sir William Phipps, contrived to equip an expedition of 700 men. On the 20th May, 1690, he appeared before Port Royal. It soon surrendered, on advantageous terms, which Phipps, discovering that the place was weaker than he had supposed, did not faithfully observe. He merely dismantled the fortress, and left the country a prey to pirates, by whom it was unmercifully ravaged. The Chevalier Villabon, therefore, who arrived soon after from France, reconquered it by simply pulling down the English and hoisting the French flag. The neighbouring Indians, always partial to his countrymen, were easily induced to join them against the enemy, and aided in capturing the strong frontier fortress of Pemaquid, where these savage warriors were guilty of some of their usual acts of cruelty. The Bostonians, thus roused, sent a body of 500 men under Colonel Church, who soon regained the country, with the exception of one fort on the St. John. He then called on the Acadians to join him against the Indians, their former allies, and, on their refusal, plundered and burned many of their habitations. The situation of these colonists, while passing continually from hand to hand, was truly lamentable. They were naturally and strongly attached to France, their native country; yet the English, after the most slight and partial conquest, claimed of them all the duties of British subjects, and, on failure, inflicted the wonted penalties of rebellion. No attempts were made to wrest the province out of the hands of Britain till the treaty of Ryswick in 1696, when William, having secured his most essential objects, followed the usual policy of allowing the

French to resume this distant and little-valued possession.*

This peace was speedily succeeded, in 1702, by the memorable war of the Spanish succession under Queen Anne. That contest, distinguished in Europe by the victories of Marlborough and other splendid events, was also marked by an increased importance attached to colonial acquisitions; while the settlers in North America seemed to feel even more deeply than their countrymen at home the animosity which divided the two nations. The ignorant and extravagant grants made by each party were found, as discovery extended, more and more to clash with each other, and afforded constant pretexts for hostility. The reduction of Nova Scotia was again left to Massachusetts; and she was encouraged to undertake it by the assurance that what should be gained by arms would not again be sacrificed by treaty. The first expedition, which consisted of 550 men, was despatched in 1704 under Colonel Church, who found little resistance while committing ravages which did honour neither to himself nor his country. Three years afterward, a force of 1000 soldiers was sent to complete the conquest of the country; but Subercase, the French commandant at Port Royal. conducted the defence of that place with such spirit and ability, that the assailants were twice obliged to raise the siege with considerable loss.

The determination of the New-Englanders, however, could not be shaken. After two years spent in preparation, they assembled a much larger force, consisting of five regiments, four of them levied in the colony. It was placed under the command of General Nicholson, who arrived at Port Royal on the 24th September, 1710, when Subercase, with a garrison of only 260, declining to attempt a vain

* Haliburton, vol. i., p. 66--78.

resistance, obtained an honourable capitulation. The troops marched out with the honours of war, and were conveyed to France. The deed of surrender, signed on the 2d October, forms the era when, after so many vicissitudes, Nova Scotia was permanently annexed to the British crown.*

The intelligence of this disaster was received at Paris with a regret not before felt on similar occasions; it being clearly foreseen, that if the country could not be reconquered by force of arms, there was no hope of regaining it by treaty. Yet the urgent state of affairs in Europe rendered it impossible to detach from that quarter any considerable expedition; and the governor of Canada was deterred from hostile operations by a threatened invasion of his own territory. Overtures were made to the merchants of Rochelle to equip an armament, which would be rewarded by large and profitable establishments on the coast; but they rightly judged that the expense of such an enterprise would be heavy, and the profit doubtful. The English, however, were considerably harassed by risings among the native French and Indians, down to the peace of Utrecht in 1713. Although that treaty did not fulfil all that was expected, it secured to Britain the full sovereignty of Nova Scotia, with the exception of Cape Breton and the other islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.†

General Nicholson, who had conquered the country, was in 1714 appointed governor, and five years afterward was succeeded by Colonel Phillips. The name of the capital was changed from Port Royal to Annapolis. But though the right of Britain to Nova Scotia was now fully acknowledged, she found it a possession not a little troublesome. Attempts were made to attract settlers both from England and the American colonies; but, owing to

* Haliburton, vol. i., p. 83–87. † Ibid., p. 89–92.

the rigour of the climate, and the hostility of the two races by which it was peopled, only a few could be induced to remain in the country. The regular population at that period, of whom 4000 were males able to bear arms, consisted of Acadians of French descent, zealously attached to their native government, and in deep dismay at being transferred to another. They were, notwithstanding, treated with some share of liberality, being allowed either to leave the country or take the oath of allegiance. The former step, however, would, they found, involve the loss of all their property; while to the latter they showed the utmost reluctance. As all violent measures were prohibited, the discussion remained for some time in suspense. At length a considerable number took the oath, though with the avowed reservation of not being required to fight against their countrymen. They were not charged with any taxes, and were allowed still to trade with France and her dependencies. The fishery, however, was chiefly carried on by the New-Englanders.*

The country was inhabited by another race, who had an earlier and a stronger claim to it. The Indians were beyond measure astonished on being informed that they were subjects of the King of Great Britain, transferred to him by a treaty to which they were not parties. They were always, it is admitted, warmly attached to the French, while they regarded the English with deadly hostility; a circumstance which must give rise to painful suspicions respecting the conduct of the English towards this unfortunate race. On their inquiring whether such an arrangement had really been made, the French commanders informed them that they had never been mentioned in the treaty, and, consequently, were considered an independent peo-

* Haliburton, vol. i., p. 92–97.

ple; while the British maintained that they were, as a matter of course, made over along with the territory. The Indians set at naught this last conclusion, and carried on a long and desperate war, in which their rapid movements and skill in the arts of surprise enabled them to gain many advantages. In 1720 they plundered a large establishment at Canseau, carrying off fish and merchandise to the value of £20,000; and in 1723 they captured at the same place seventeen sail of vessels, with numerous prisoners. The British inhabitants of Nova Scotia were obliged to solicit the aid of Massachusetts, which, in 1728, sent a body of troops against the chief Indian fort on the Kennebec. It was stormed, the warriors pursued with great slaughter, and Rallé, their Catholic missionary, put to death, it is alleged, with circumstances of great cruelty. The savages were thus for some time overawed, though they only watched an opportunity of renewing hostilities.*

After an unusually long peace, the habitual enmity of the two nations broke out in a fresh war, declared by France in March, 1774. Quesnel, governor of Breton, immediately fitted out expeditions which took Canseau, and twice laid siege to Annapolis, but without success. These movements were condemned by the court as premature, and tending to endanger the safety of Louisbourg, which was then ill prepared for defence. That city, well situated for fishing, though in a barren country, had been fortified by the French at an expense of £1,200,000, with a view to make it the bulwark of their possessions in North America. It was surrounded by a stone wall two miles and a half in circuit, and by a ditch eighty feet wide. When, therefore, Shirley, governor of New-England, proposed to the council the expediency of reducing it,

* Haliburton, vol. i., p. 101-106.

the plan was at first rejected as visionary; though, on reconsideration, it was carried by a single vote. Extraordinary zeal, corresponding to the magnitude of the enterprise, was employed in the preparation; and yet the force destined against this great fortress, garrisoned by regular troops, consisted entirely of militia and volunteers, hastily levied and led on by Colonel William Pepperal, a gentleman extensively engaged in commerce. Massachusetts furnished 3200 men, Connecticut 500, and New Hampshire 300. The army embarked in a number of small vessels, and early in April, 1745, arrived at Canseau. Here they were detained three weeks; but the French were so little on their guard, that they learned nothing of the presence of an enemy even when in their close vicinity. Application had been made to Commodore Warren, then on the West India station, for the assistance of the fleet; but, to Shirley's great disappointment, he did not consider himself authorized to take such a step. This, however, was concealed from the troops; and on their arrival at Canseau, they were gratified to find the commodore, who, in consequence of subsequent instructions, had come to join them. On the 30th of April the English came in view of Louisbourg, and, being quite unexpected, easily effected a landing; they even took a battery, and turned the guns against the city. They had, nevertheless, to sustain during a fortnight the laborious task of drawing cannon through a morass, where they were up to their knees in mud, and exposed to the enemy's fire. It was the 28th May before the batteries could be completed and active operations commenced; and such was the strength of the place, that the besiegers were repulsed in five successive attacks, in the last of which they lost 189 men. But the works were now considerably damaged, and Warren having captured the Vigilant, a line-of-battle ship, containing 560 men and supplies, Duchambon, the gov-

ernor, lost courage, and capitulated on the 18th June. On viewing the strength of the fortress, the victors were perfectly astonished at their success; and the French commander excused himself on account of the mutinous disposition of his garrison. The achievement was highly creditable to a body of merchants and husbandmen, destitute of either skill or experience in military affairs. The reduction of the island of St. John, now Prince Edward, soon followed, and, by hoisting the French flag from the captured forts, the colonists decoyed into them a South Sea vessel and two East India ships, the cargoes of which were valued at £600,000.*

Extraordinary chagrin was felt by the court of Louis at a disaster for which they must have been little prepared. To retrieve it, an expedition was fitted out on so great a scale as to render the American seas for the first time the main theatre of war. It consisted of seventy ships, including eleven of the line, having on board upward of 3000 disciplined troops. Being placed under the Duke d'Anville, an officer of great reputation, it was intended first to reduce Louisbourg, then Annapolis, next Boston, afterward to range along the whole coast of North America, and finally to visit the West Indies. Early in the summer of 1746, the armament sailed from Brest, and passed unnoticed a British squadron placed to observe its motions. Admiral Lestocq left Portsmouth in pursuit, but was repeatedly driven back by contrary winds, and hence the colonies were left to depend on their own resources. Here, however, the good fortune of the French commander terminated. He had a most tedious and tempestuous passage, being ninety days in reaching Chebucto; and by that time four ships of the line were so shattered as to be obliged to return to Europe, while three, sent under Admiral Conflans by the West In-

* Haliburton, vol. i., p. 107-123.

dies, had touched at the point of rendezvous, but, not finding the fleet, had also set sail homeward. D'Anville, overpowered, it should seem, by distress and disappointment, died suddenly; and Distournelle, the vice-admiral, in a few days became delirious, and ran himself through the body. In these calamitous circumstances it was out of the question to attempt Louisbourg; but De la Jonquière, governor of Canada, having assumed the command, determined to proceed against Annapolis. In rounding Cape Sable, however, he had to sustain a fresh tempest, which so dispersed and injured the remaining ships of the fleet, that they instantly steered for Europe. Thus this mighty armament, which was expected to effect the conquest of all North America, was completely baffled, without striking a blow or meeting an enemy. The colonists regarded it as a special interposition of Providence, and celebrated the event by a general thanksgiving.

The French, however, were indefatigable. De la Jonquière was immediately sent out with thirty-eight sail; but having on his way encountered Admirals Anson and Warren, he was completely defeated, losing a ship of the line and six richly laden East Indiamen which he had under convoy. The settlers then could not allow themselves to doubt, that in the treaty now negotiating, Cape Breton and Louisbourg, so important for the safety as well as compactness of their territory, would be secured to them. But the British ministry, with a view to preserve entire the possessions of their ally, the empress queen, and to maintain the balance of power in Europe, agreed to restore these conquests. However sound might be this policy in itself, its result could not fail to prove very mortifying to the American provincials, who had made the acquisition by so brilliant an exertion of courage and enterprise.*

* Haliburton, vol. i., p. 127–134.

Britain now began to pay more attention to Nova Scotia. Hitherto it had been quite a French country, peopled and cultivated throughout by that hostile nation. It was suggested, that of the large number of soldiers and sailors discharged in consequence of the peace, a part might with great advantage be located as agriculturists, and thereby provide the colony with an English population. This project was embraced with ardour by the Earl of Halifax, then president of the Board of Trade and Plantations. Fifty acres were allowed to every private, with ten additional for each member of his family. A higher allowance was granted to officers in proportion to their rank, till it amounted to 600 for all above that of captain. By this encouragement, 3760 adventurers, with their families, were induced to embark in May, 1749. They were landed, not at Annapolis, but at Chebucto, named henceforth Halifax, after the patron of the expedition. Though situated in a country less fertile and as yet wholly uncultivated, it was considered more favourable for trade and fishery; and as £40,000 had been voted for the transport of the settlers, they were conveyed in the most comfortable manner. Yet they could not avoid being somewhat appalled, when, on their first arrival, they beheld a scene, grand and beautiful indeed, but consisting only of an unbroken immensity of forest, which it was incumbent on them to remove before their possessions could be of any value. The only inhabitants visible were small bands of savages, who glanced on them a jealous and hostile eye, and then fled into the interior. The Honourable Edward Cornwallis, who had been appointed governor, nevertheless inspired the settlers with a spirit of activity and emulation; planks and other materials were procured from New-England; and, before winter, a neat wooden town, with spacious and regular streets, had been reared. The enforced idleness of that season was not a little dan-

gerous to many of the immigrants. However, a strict police was established; the government was lodged in a council of six, who, uniting the executive with legislative and judicial functions, formed a somewhat arbitrary body; but there were scarcely materials as yet for any other. Parliament continued to support the colony by annual grants, which in 1755 had amounted to the enormous sum of £415,584.*

Although the settlers seemed thus firmly established, they soon found themselves in an uneasy and difficult position. The Indians made at first some friendly overtures; but the influence of their old allies is said to have soon determined them to resume a system of the most active hostility. The English, notwithstanding their military habits, were ill prepared to meet the desultory warfare of enemies who, stealing through the depth of swamps and thickets by paths which none but themselves could tread, appeared, struck the blow, and vanished. They even made attacks upon Halifax; and the colonists could not remove from that place singly or in small parties, for extending or improving their settlement, without imminent peril. When made captive, their fate was dreadful; scalping, torture, and death; or, if spared, they were dragged by long marches through trackless forests, suffering intolerable hardships. Many were carried to Louisbourg, where they were purchased as an article of merchandise. The French professed themselves actuated solely by a wish to save them from the dreadful fate that otherwise awaited them; yet these tender feelings, it was observed, never prevented them from extorting most exorbitant ransoms. There is great reason to believe, that no means were employed to conciliate this unfortunate and injured race. It was determined to treat them, not as regu-

* Haliburton, vol. i., p. 135–142.

lar enemies, but as traitors and rebels; and that they might be rivalled in barbarity, a price was put upon Indian scalps.

Another circumstance which placed the colony in an uneasy situation, was the boundary contests with France. The government of Louis contended that the British dominion extended only, as the name of Nova Scotia now does, over the peninsula separated from the continent by the Bays of Fundy and Chignecto; while, according to the English, it reached from the St. Croix to the St. Lawrence, and thus included all that large and fine country now named New-Brunswick. As the question has been long since settled by conquest and treaty, it is needless to enter into the arguments adduced by both parties; but each at the time maintained them with the utmost pertinacity. The French, in support of theirs, sent detachments which, aided by strong bodies of Indians and a few Acadians, erected the fort of Beau Sejour on the neck of the peninsula, and another on the river St. John. The governor hereupon sent Major Lawrence with a detachment of troops to dislodge them from the former position; but finding it too strong, he retired; and on his return with augmented force, was only able to drive in the outposts, and erect a counter-fort to keep the adversary in check. The court of St. James made loud complaints touching these encroachments; while that of Paris, unwilling as yet to commit itself in open hostility, dismissed a few English prisoners, and made a vague promise of sending instructions to the governor of New France to abstain from every offensive step. Hostile feelings, however, continued to ferment, and fresh causes of dissension arose, till, in April, 1755, Admiral Boscawen commenced the war by capturing several vessels on the coast of Newfoundland. Hostilities having thus begun, a force was immediately fitted out from New-England, under Lieutenant-colonel Monckton, to dis-

lodge the enemy from their newly-erected forts. That officer landed on the 4th June, and having forced a strong intrenchment, invested Beau Sejour, which was carried by mere bombardment in four days, the garrison being allowed to retire to Louisbourg. He reduced with still greater ease another stronghold in which they had placed their chief magazine, and thence sent a squadron to the post on the St. John, which was found abandoned.*

The campaign had thus opened with complete success; but in other quarters its events were much less auspicious. General Braddock having been sent at the head of a strong force to invade Canada, was defeated with the almost entire loss of his army. In Europe, too, the war began unfavourably; while the powerful re-enforcements sent by the French to Louisbourg and other posts in America, gave much reason to apprehend an invasion of Nova Scotia, where they would find a friendly population, both European and Indian. These circumstances certainly placed the government there in a critical situation, and afforded a slight palliation of the inhuman step upon which they determined. The Acadians, as the French settlers were called, amounted at that period to 17,000 or 18,000. They had cultivated a considerable extent of land, possessed about 60,000 head of cattle, and lived in a state of simple plenty. They were a peaceful, industrious, and amiable race, almost exactly similar to the *habitans* of Canada, whom we have already described. They made no secret of the deep attachment which they still cherished for their native country, and had resisted every invitation to bear arms against it. A few individuals had joined the Indians, and about 300 were taken in the forts, all of whom, on account of alleviating circumstances, had obtained pardon. But these were only exceptions; the great body of

* Haliburton, vol. i., p. 142–168.

the Acadians remained tranquilly occupied in the cultivation of their lands. Yet in a council held on the subject, Admirals Boscawen and Mostyn, with Governor Lawrence, formed the ruthless determination to tear the whole of this people from their homes, and scatter them through the different provinces of America. Their lands, houses, and cattle were, without any alleged crime, declared to be forfeited; and they were only allowed to carry with them their money and household furniture, both of extremely small amount. Treachery was necessary to render this tyrannical scheme effective. The natives of each district were commanded to meet at a certain place and day on urgent business, the nature of which was carefully concealed; and when they were all assembled, the dreadful mandate was pronounced, small parties of them only being allowed to return for a short time to make the necessary preparations. They appear to have listened to their doom with unexpected resignation, making only mournful and solemn appeals, which were wholly disregarded. When, however, the moment of embarcation arrived, the young men, who were placed in front, absolutely refused to move; and it required files of soldiers with fixed bayonets to secure obedience. No arrangements had been made for their location elsewhere, nor was any compensation offered for the large property of which they were now deprived. They were merely thrown on the coast at different points, and compelled to trust to the charity of the inhabitants, who did not allow any of them to be absolutely starved. Still, through hardship, distress, and change of climate, a great proportion of them perished. So eager was their desire to return, that those sent to Georgia had set out, and actually reached New-York, when they were arrested. They addressed a pathetic representation to the English government, in which, quoting the most solemn treaties and declarations,

they proved that their treatment had been as faithless as it was cruel. No attention, however, was paid to this document, which, we should be glad to believe, never reached Lord Chatham.

Notwithstanding the barbarous diligence with which this mandate was executed, it is not supposed that the number actually deported exceeded 7000. The rest fled into the depth of the forests, or to the nearest French settlements, enduring incredible hardships. To guard against the return of the hapless fugitives, the government reduced to ashes their habitations and property, laying waste their own lands with a fury exceeding that of their most savage enemy. In one district 263 houses were at once in a blaze. The Acadians, from the heart of the woods, beheld all they possessed consigned to destruction; yet they made no movement till the devastators wantonly set their chapel on fire. They then rushed forward in desperation, killed about thirty of the incendiaries, and then hastened back to their hiding-place.*

We turn now to a more pleasing theme. The reverses sustained at the commencement of hostilities roused an extraordinary spirit in the nation. This was most fully seconded by William Pitt, who, elevated by the public voice to the helm of affairs, began in 1757 his splendid ministerial career. He immediately prepared to carry on the war with the utmost vigour; and as colonial rivalry between Britain and France was then at its height, North America became its main theatre. Early in 1757, an army of about 5000 men from England, and 6000 from New-York, had been assembled at Halifax under Lord Loudoun, with a view to attack Louisbourg; but the accounts, seemingly exaggerated, of the great force assembled at that place, deterred him from making the attempt. The enemy, meantime, took advan-

* Haliburton, vol. i., p. 171–198.

tage of this concentration of the English, to obtain possession of Lakes Champlain and George, and of all the country in their vicinity.

Pitt, immediately on his accession to power, wrote circular letters to the colonies, urging them to the most vigorous exertion, and promising active co-operation from the mother country. Early in the following year Admiral Boscawen went out with a powerful fleet and an army under Major-general Amherst. The provincials also did their duty; and in May, 1758, an armament of 150 sail and 14,000 troops were assembled at Halifax, whence they took their departure on the 28th of that month, and on the 2d of June anchored near Louisbourg. That place was defended by nearly 3000 men, six ships of the line, and five frigates, three of which were sunk at the mouth of the harbour, with the view of blocking up its entrance. Amherst had under him Generals Lawrence and Whitmore; but Wolfe, though in a subordinate station, was already selected as the man who was to undertake the most arduous services. While the two former made only a show of landing, the real attack in another quarter was intrusted to him. His troops were very much exposed; and the enemy, reserving their fire till the English were near the shore, opened on them a most tremendous discharge of cannon and musketry, which did great execution, and sunk a number of the boats. The soldiers, however, cheered and animated by their brave commander, pushed forward, gained the beach, and soon drove their antagonists before them. The stores and artillery were then landed; and the next object was to occupy a post whence the fortress could be most advantageously assailed. Wolfe, with 2000 men, attacked and quickly carried it; upon which strong batteries were immediately erected, and opened with powerful effect. Steady and regular approaches were now made, and the walls began to be seriously damaged.

A striking accident at this crisis favoured the British. One of the largest of the enemy's ships blew up with a dreadful explosion; and the flame was speedily communicated to two others, which were, in a short time, completely reduced to ashes. Admiral Boscawen then employed a flotilla of boats with 600 men to enter the harbour, and attack two ships of the line stationed there. This daring enterprise completely succeeded; the other was brought out in triumph, under the fire of the batteries. The loss in this gallant exploit was only sixteen killed and wounded. The French commander, seeing the fleet annihilated, the harbour in possession of the assailants, and several breaches in the walls, considered it impossible to protract the defence. He proposed a capitulation, which was agreed to and signed on the 26th of July, 1758, by which himself and his whole garrison surrendered as prisoners of war.*

Immediately after this success, a detachment of troops under Lieutenant-colonel Lord Rollo took possession of St. John's Island; and above 4000 Acadians who were found there instantly proffered their submission. The succeeding campaign was directed entirely against Canada; and, by a brilliant union of skill and valour, it terminated, as already stated, in the complete conquest of that country. Nova Scotia suffered nothing from the war farther than a groundless panic excited in 1761 by the landing and partial success of some French troops in Newfoundland. But so great was the alarm, that the government ordered the small remnant of the Acadians to be collected and shipped off for Massachusetts. The people of that colony, however, positively refused to incur any addition to the heavy expense already sustained through these unfortunate exiles, and the ships were obliged to carry them back to Halifax. On the 3d November 1762, the

* Haliburton, vol. i. p. 202-206.

preliminary treaty was signed, and the definitive peace was concluded at Paris on the 10th February, 1763. Although its terms did not in every respect satisfy the nation, yet, in regard to North America, France was compelled to transfer to her victorious rival all her possessions on that continent.*

Meantime the best efforts of the government were used to extend the progress of cultivation and settlement, though all they could do was insufficient to fill up the dreadful blank which they themselves had made. Even before the war, a very considerable body of Germans had been induced, through liberal promises from George II., to emigrate to Nova Scotia; and on their arrival at Halifax they were, to the number of 1453, transported to a place named from their country Lunenburg, where lands were assigned to them. Though, like the other colonists, they had long and severe contests with the Indians, in the course of some years they brought their establishment into a flourishing condition. As soon as the triumphant issue of the war in Canada admitted of the disbanding of a considerable part of the military force, the British ministry wished to locate them on the cultivated lands from which the Acadians had been expelled. Governor Lawrence, however, objected in the strongest terms to this plan, urging that it would be attended with great expense, and that they would form of all others the least steady and useful settlers. He thought it wiser to circulate proposals in the agricultural colonies as well as the mother country, offering 100 acres to every head of a family, with 50 additional to each of its other members. In return, they were only required, after the expiry of a certain period, to pay a quit-rent of one shilling per acre, and to enclose and bring under cultivation a third part every ten years, so that the whole might be completed in thirty.

* Haliburton, vol. i., p. 240, 241.

Every Protestant sect was allowed full liberty of conscience, with freedom from every tax for supporting the Established Church; but no license was given to papists. These offers were favourably received. Boston furnished 200 emigrants, Rhode Island 100, New-London 100, and Plymouth 180; in all, 580. Ireland also sent 200; and from that country there came a continued succession of settlers, though the influx from New-England was by no means supported at its original rate.

After the peace, the case of the Acadians naturally came under the view of government. Not the slightest advantage had been derived from their barbarous treatment, as the country had never become the theatre of war; and there remained no longer a pretext for continuing the persecution. Yet Governor Wilmot had the inhumanity to propose that they should be sent to the West Indies, where death probably would soon have freed their masters from any farther trouble. The administration at home, with a more equitable spirit, allowed them to return, and to receive lands on taking the customary oaths. This act of justice, however, was as imperfect as tardy; since they received neither the property of which they had been plundered, nor any compensation. Nevertheless, a considerable number did return; though in 1772 the whole body was found to be only 2100; and of these, 800 belonging to Cape Breton were probably original settlers on that island or refugees to it. Thirteen hundred, then, were the poor remains of 17,000 or 18,000 who had composed this once flourishing colony; and yet, though left with nothing but their own industry, they have brought themselves into as thriving a state as before. The number of English inhabitants in that year was reported to the Board of Trade at 17,000, making in all 18,300. Before the war, however, the French alone were estimated at that amount, exclusive of the British population, who must have been 6000 or

7000; so that Nova Scotia had not yet recovered to the full extent the loss occasioned by the expulsion of so many of her people.*

It may be proper to mention, that some time before the taking of Louisbourg, Governor Lawrence had formed the resolution of granting to the colony the boon of a representative assembly. The qualification was the possession of a freehold; the original number of members was twenty-two; but provision was made for admitting the smaller townships, and those to be afterward erected. The House of Assembly, thus constituted, met at Halifax on the 2d October, 1758, when certain complimentary speeches and addresses were exchanged between them and the governor. Two measures suggested by him were, however, passed over without notice; one to provide for the expense of the local government; the other to confirm the previous legislative acts of the council, leaving room for addition and amendment. Disputes soon arose with that body as to the forms of procedure, which they insisted should not be servilely copied from the British Parliament, and not conducted in the French language. They then proceeded to the unwelcome measure of demanding a list of all fees received in the various departments of government. This was conceded in every instance, except those of the Admiralty, as being enacted under the sanction of the Board in England. The Assembly, however, voted this refusal to be a high contempt of their privileges, and expressed their belief that it arose from the interest which certain members of the council had in those fees, which they insisted were most exorbitant. But the executive authority did not yield. The Assembly also passed a bill disqualifying persons enjoying situations of emolument under government from sitting in either house; but this measure, aimed directly

* Haliburton, vol. i., p. 219–223, 234, 235, 243, 244, 250.

at the council, was negatived by them. Notwithstanding these dissensions, a considerable number of useful laws were passed by mutual consent.*

In 1761, the British placed themselves for the first time in amicable relations with the Indian tribes. A treaty was concluded with Argimault, chief of the Monguash, at the "great talk" leading to which, both the legislative bodies, as well as the magistrates and public officers, were present. The natives agreed finally to bury the hatchet, and to accept George III., instead of the king formerly owned by them, as their great father and friend. The president boasted of the lenity with which they had been treated; and, whatever may have formerly taken place, there was now a sincere desire to follow a conciliatory course. As complaints against the traders, by whom they seem to have been overreached, had formed the chief excitement to vindictive measures, government determined to take this traffic into their own hands. Officers were appointed for its management, and by agreement with the chiefs, prices were affixed to the different descriptions of furs. This arrangement, however, was liable to many objections, and has not been persevered in.†

Britain, with regard to her hold on that country, was placed in a critical situation during the long and arduous contest which issued in the independence of her older colonies. The apprehensions from this source, however, proved happily unfounded. The stamp act in 1765, and the tea-duties in 1767, were both submitted to without opposition. The circular letter of the Massachusetts Assembly in 1768 was sent to that of Nova Scotia, but, through the influence of the governor, no notice was taken of it. In 1770 a considerable ferment appears to have prevailed, since, by a resolution of the public authorities, "town meetings for discussing questions relating to

* Haliburton, vol. i., p. 209-218. † Ibid., p. 230-234.

law and government" were declared illegal, and prosecutions threatened against such as should attend them. In 1775, when hostilities actually broke out, an unfortunate altercation arose between the governor and Assembly. The former, remarking on the inconvenience occasioned by the frequent absence of the members, proposed to obviate it by reducing the quorum from twelve to nine, and making four new ones for the town and county of Halifax; but the House indignantly repelled the suggestion as replete with mischief and subversive of real representation, since with a dependant council and the majority of such a quorum, his excellency would possess a power completely dictatorial. The measure was not persisted in, and the colony displayed, on the whole, a spirit decidedly loyal. A declaration of attachment to government and determination to defend it was numerously signed; several companies of militia were called into active service; and measures were taken to raise a complete regiment. To conciliate the Acadians, it was resolved to employ them uniformly as couriers, paying them at a liberal rate, and a small corps of them was imbodied for the general defence. The United Americans, however, having apparently overrun the greater part of New-Brunswick, attempted hostile operations against Nova Scotia, both by the peninsula and the St. John; and in September, 1775, they burned the fort at the mouth of that river. Next year they induced the Indians in the same quarter to agree to furnish 600 warriors; but Mr. Michael Francklin prevailed on the latter to withdraw from this engagement, and to conclude a treaty of peace with England. In 1779 that people again assembled on the river in great numbers, and in a menacing attitude; but they were appeased by promises of presents; and this was the last threat of an Indian war.*

* M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 48, 49. Haliburton, vol. i., p. 244-259.

During the same period attempts were made against the fort of Cumberland, which commands the peninsula at the head of the basin of that name. The Americans were joined by some malecontents, and disaffection appears to have spread through the surrounding territories. The people in the districts of Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry, having been called upon to take the oath of allegiance, all refused except five, and their deputies were in consequence excluded from the House of Assembly. No serious rising, however, took place. Two whaleboats, despatched by the Americans in November, 1777, carried off a valuable ship out of the harbour of Pictou; but they were beaten and the vessel retaken by Lieutenant Keppel.

For some time after the year 1772 the colony did not advance, but rather declined; a circumstance which has been ascribed to unfortunate speculations in land. The population in 1771 was estimated not to exceed 12,000. The termination, however, in 1783, of the American war, separating from Britain all the more southern colonies, produced a prodigious influx of refugees. The number who arrived prior to September was reckoned at 18,000, and 2000 more landed in the following month. Many of these new citizens possessed considerable property, as well as regular and industrious habits; so that they formed a most important acquisition. Several additional townships were erected; Shelburne, before almost entirely deserted, rapidly acquired upward of 10,000 inhabitants: emigrants from Nantucket established a whale-fishery at Dartmouth; while saw and grist mills were established in various parts of the province. A considerable proportion of these settlers directed their course to the region beyond the peninsula, which, thereby acquiring a great increase of importance, was in 1784 erected into a distinct government under the title of New-Brunswick. Cape Breton was also separ-

ated from Nova Scotia, where considerable dissatisfaction was felt at its jurisdiction being so much reduced. Still the population of the province, as stated by Governor Parr, in the year just mentioned, was 20,400; and in this very imperfect estimate, while Halifax was only rated at 1200, Lunnenberg and Liverpool were altogether omitted; so that the whole number could scarcely have fallen short of 30,000.*

Nova Scotia, during the following years, presented few of those vicissitudes which afford materials for history; but she made continued advances under a succession of popular governors. In 1785 her increased importance was acknowledged by the establishment of a regular line of packets between Falmouth and Halifax. In 1787, on the recommendation of the government at home, the Assembly brought under review the means of diffusing education; and an academy, afterward converted into a college, was founded and endowed at Windsor. The only serious cause of discontent appears to have been the conduct of the supreme judges, whom the Assembly, from 1788 to 1790, first complained of, and then impeached. Their measures, however, were opposed by the local council; and the matter, being finally referred to his majesty, seems to have ended without any practical result. The colonists appear to have been highly delighted by a visit in 1787 from his late majesty when an officer in the navy, and afterward by the residence for some years in a military command of Prince Edward, duke of Kent, father to the reigning queen. The latter, on leaving the colony, was presented with a gratifying testimony of the esteem in which he was held.†

In 1792, Governor Parr, after being ten years in office, was succeeded by John Wentworth, created

* Haliburton, vol. ii., p. 259-265. M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 50.
† Haliburton, vol. ii., p. 266-270. M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 51.

a baronet in 1795, and who gave equal satisfaction. The long war with France, which broke out in 1793, conferred much additional importance on the country, through the great value of Halifax as a naval station. Having become the rendezvous of the fleets employed in America, many rich prizes were brought into this port; and this favourable state of things was scarcely at all interrupted during the short interval of peace which followed the treaty of Amiens.

Nothing worth notice appears to have occurred till 1808, when Sir John Wentworth was succeeded by Sir George Prevost. This governor is considered as having done a good deal to improve the colony, by opening roads, encouraging industry, founding schools, and placing the militia on a better footing. In 1808–9 he was absent about five months, assisting in the capture of Martinique. Being promoted in 1811 to the government of Canada, he was succeeded by Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, also considered an able ruler.*

The war with the United States, which broke out in 1812, materially advanced the prosperity of Nova Scotia. Halifax, as a naval station, became more important than ever; numerous prizes were carried in, by the sale of which large fortunes were made. This, no doubt, was a somewhat ephemeral source of wealth, and was followed by a severe reverse; yet the property thereby acquired was afterward invested in more permanent objects. Scarcely any of the evils of war were felt, the government of Maine having expressed a wish to observe neutrality on the New-Brunswick frontier, a proposal which was readily acceded to; so that, though the militia were ordered to hold themselves in readiness, their services were not required. In August and September, 1814, an expedition was sent against the

* Haliburton, vol. ii., p. 271–289. M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 52.

American coast, which, without bloodshed, took the fort of Castine on the Penobscot. All this, however, was restored at the peace.*

In December of the same year, the war, with its temporary advantages to this country, was terminated by the treaty of Ghent. In 1816, Sir J. C. Sherbrooke was transferred to the government of Canada, when the legislature voted £1000 to present him with a sword. His place in Nova Scotia was filled by the Earl of Dalhousie, who proved also extremely popular. The foundation of the college bearing his name, and of a central board for the promotion of agriculture, distinguished his administration. Being in 1820 promoted to Quebec, his duties were confided to Sir James Kempt, under whose rule the people still considered themselves happy.† In 1828, he was, in the usual course of service, raised to the government of Canada, and his office filled by Sir Peregrine Maitland. That gentleman, after governing six years, was succeeded by Sir Colin Campbell, a distinguished companion in arms of the Duke of Wellington. Under these governors the country has continued steadily to advance in wealth and prosperity.

Some discontents have lately been expressed as to the composition of the council; but the demands on this subject have been, to a great extent, complied with; and the people have displayed the most decided loyalty on occasion of the late Canadian disturbances.

Cape Breton, called by the French L'Isle Royale, is a large island immediately adjacent to Nova Scotia, and now forming one of its counties. It lies between 45° 27′ and 47° 5′ north latitude, and between 59° 38′ and 61° 50′ west longitude, its greatest length being about 100 miles, and its extreme

* Haliburton, vol. ii., p. 295. M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 54, 88.
† Haliburton, vol. ii., p. 296, 299, 303.

width 80. It comprises an area of about two millions of acres.

The whole circuit, with the exception of the west coast, is singularly irregular, diversified by deep bays and long promontories. A large portion is even filled by a Mediterranean Sea, called the Bras d'Or, communicating with the Atlantic by two narrow channels, itself spreading irregularly, and broken into almost innumerable bays of every size and shape. At one point it approaches within less than a mile of the opposite coast, dividing the island into two peninsulas connected by that narrow isthmus. Cape Breton is thus formed into two divisions, southern and northern, of which the first is not much above a third of the other in extent; yet, from its happy situation and noble harbours, it has been the seat of the earliest and most flourishing settlements.*

The surface of Cape Breton generally resembles that of Nova Scotia, being broken and hilly, yet nowhere rising to Alpine dimensions. This is particularly the case with the southern division, none of whose eminences are supposed to exceed 600 feet; but in the more northern portion, the land gradually swells, till it presents to the ocean the formidable cliff of Cap Enfumé (Smoky Cape). The proportion of fertile land is said to be fully as great as in Nova Scotia. Mr. Haliburton estimates that, of the entire surface of 2,000,000 acres, 800,000 may consist of small lakes, barrens, and swamps, leaving 1,200,000 fit for cultivation. Of these, between 700,000 and 800,000 have been granted or occupied, so that there remains from 400,000 to 500,000 open for settlement. Extensive beds of excellent coal, large quarries of gypsum, and important iron mines not yet worked, rank among the leading advantages of this island.†

* Bouchette, vol. ii., p. 73. Haliburton, vol. ii., p. 201–203.

† Haliburton, vol. ii., p. 245, 258, 259. Bouchette, vol. ii., p. 75, 76.

The climate nearly resembles that of the adjacent continent. The heavy fogs, however, do not sweep along so large a portion of its coast, but are confined to that which faces the southeast, while the remainder generally enjoys a serene sky. It is, at the same time, more moist and also more variable than that of Canada. The frosts of winter, though equally intense, are frequently interrupted by strong and sudden thaws, which are extremely inconvenient.

This island was early and long occupied by the French, being even, as we have seen, restored to them after Nova Scotia had been finally ceded. They attached the greatest importance to a possession which, from its situation on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, was considered the bulwark of Canada, and also as securing their communication with the West Indies. When Britain became final mistress of the territory, she viewed it rather as a post from which her enemy must be excluded, than one whence she herself could derive much advantage. The fortifications of Louisbourg were razed to the ground. Its ruins form a singular spectacle in the New World, where everything is usually found advancing. The place, indeed, has been so completely swept away, that some attention is necessary to discover even the outline of the principal buildings. The walls were blasted with gunpowder; the materials of its edifices were carried away for the construction of Halifax and other towns on the coast; and the whole is now invested with a covering of turf and moss. Yet, by the aid of a guide, it is still possible to trace the contour of the plan, though broken by wide gaps, and the foundations of the batteries; even the sunken ships may in calm weather be discerned at the mouth of the harbour. The capacious casements, once filled with instruments of destruction, now afford shelter to a few sheep that feed on the sward above them. The

surrounding country is barren; yet, considering the noble harbour, the numerous rills of fresh water, and the advantages of situation, it seems unaccountable that nothing should be left but a few fishermen's huts. It would almost seem as if settlers were deterred by the gloomy contrast between its present desolation and the commercial activity, as well as naval and military pomp, which it formerly exhibited.*

The productive capacities of this island were for a long time much underrated. It was not till 1800 that they were discovered by the Scottish Highlanders, who then began an immigration which has continued at the rate of from several hundreds to upward of a thousand annually. They now greatly outnumber the original Acadians; and these two races, with a remnant of Indians and a few American loyalists, formed in 1827 a population of 18,000, at present probably amounting to at least 25,000. They have occupied all the coasts both of the sea and of the Bras d'Or, where they combine the occupations of agriculture and fishing. For this last the winding shores and numberless bays of Cape Breton afford facilities scarcely equalled in any other part of the world; besides which, they have ready access to the great banks of Newfoundland and Labrador. Although their industry still operates in a very imperfect degree, they export a considerable quantity of fish, some lumber and coal, and even afford a supply of corn and cattle to the markets of Halifax and Newfoundland.

The mineral products of Nova Scotia are extensive and valuable, forming already a large proportion of its exports, and promising to rise rapidly in importance. Coal, the most useful of any, particularly abounds, and has its value greatly enhanced by the great demand for it over the whole Ameri-

* Haliburton, vol. ii., p. 214, 219. M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 388-392.

can continent. The chief bed, on the northern coast, near Pictou, is estimated to comprehend an area of about 100 square miles; but this space is intersected by large dikes, and interrupted by *faults*, so that the actual extent is not yet ascertained. There is some reason to think that it may stretch considerably farther, though sunk too deep to have yet been traced. It has a glossy, jet-black appearance, is highly charged with bitumen, melts and cakes like that of Newcastle, and, when the tar is dissipated, burns like coke. It is extremely well adapted for manufactures, especially in iron.

Cape Breton is equally distinguished for its stores of this precious mineral. The Sydney coal-field, extending along the coast from the capital to Miray Bay, and thence inland to the great entrance of the Bras d'Or, is estimated to contain 520 square miles of workable coal. It is generally of excellent quality, and in great part adapted for domestic use as well as for manufactures.

CHAPTER III.

Social and Political State of Nova Scotia.

Population.—Anglo-Americans.—Scots in Pictou.—Acadians.—Negroes.—Indians.—Religious Professions.—Education.—Political Constitution.—Judicial Establishment.—Revenue.—Military Defence.

The statistics of Nova Scotia, in regard to population as well as to other particulars, are less advanced than those of the sister colonies. No census has been taken since 1827, when one, said to be very accurate, gave 123,848. A previous enumeration, in 1817, had shown only 82,053. This would

indicate an increase of fifty per cent. in ten years; and if we suppose the same rate of progression to have continued, it will have produced in 1837 upward of 180,000. We suspect, however, that the first census was less complete than the second; and also that immigration may have been somewhat diminished in consequence of the superior attraction of other provinces. We should hesitate, therefore, to estimate the present amount at more than 170,000. Cape Breton, overstated by Bouchette and Haliburton at 30,000, was found in 1827 to contain only 18,700, and at the same rate must have increased to 26,000 or 28,000. We shall thus have very nearly 200,000 for the population of this important colony.

Society in Nova Scotia has been composed of a great variety of elements. In Halifax and other populous districts, the inhabitants of British origin have shown a strong disposition to assimilate; but in the remoter settlements, founded by detached bodies from different countries, the peculiarities of each have continued more unaltered than if they had remained in their native seats.

The Anglo-Americans, who emigrated in consequence of the revolution, form the most numerous class, and in a great measure give the tone to the whole. Coming generally from the northern and most improved states, they brought habits peculiarly serviceable in extending cultivation over a new country. Instead of that minute division of labour so well suited for carrying industry and skill to perfection in advanced communities, a settler of this order prides himself on fabricating every article with his own hands. If placed in any new situation, he learns whatever trade may be found necessary. He constructs the framework of his house, makes the farm-implements, and even shoes his horses. If situated on the coast of a river or bay, he builds a vessel, and carries his produce in

it to market. This is not the way to accomplish the best work, and, indeed, should be discontinued as soon as possible; but in infant settlements it is attended with great convenience. Not unfrequently, too, such a man takes delight in breaking up a fresh spot, disposing of it, and then proceeding to another.

The largest of the recent colonies is that already described as formed by the Scots in Pictou and other districts on the northern coast. The Highlanders, who chiefly compose it, are in some respects well fitted for the arduous undertaking. Their adventurous spirit and power of endurance enable them to defy those first hardships which appear so formidable to other settlers. But when, by these exertions, they have supplied their most urgent wants, a spirit of contentment is apt to steal upon them, which becomes a bar to subsequent improvement. Provided they can secure those humble accommodations to which they were accustomed on their native mountains, and find themselves surrounded by their friends and countrymen, nothing seems wanting to their happiness. Among small parties who have remained in such a situation, the original character is said to be preserved with a purity which in Scotland has in a great measure given way before the increased intercourse with other parts of the empire. Many of those who emigrated fifty years ago are still alive, and appear genuine representatives of the plaided warriors who fought at Culloden. The memory of the Stuarts, almost obliterated at home, is still deeply and tenderly cherished, though it no longer inspires any disloyal feelings towards the reigning dynasty. Almost every settlement has a piper to perform the rude martial music which once resounded in the glens of Rannoch and Lochaber; and at all festive meetings, the strathspeys and other Highland dan-

ces give occasion to exhibitions of almost preternatural agility.

It has at the same time been observed, that the Highlanders, when placed in contact with other settlers, cease to be so easily satisfied, and their pride inspires them with a desire to emulate, and even to excel. The Lowland Scots, by their steady habits, their desire to do well, and to advance themselves in the world, form a valuable accession to the colony. The Irish, with tastes directly opposite, seek oftener the immediate advantage afforded by good wages than a remote independence to be earned by toil and self-denial. Such immigrants, however, must be very convenient in a country where the want of labourers is so extreme. The English farmer, whose ideas of well-being consist so much in neatness, order, and cleanliness, can with difficulty be reconciled to a situation where work must be done so roughly and superficially. When not prematurely discouraged, however, perseverance enables him ultimately to triumph; and he then displays, within doors at least, those good qualities to which he attaches so much value. There is a considerable German colony established at Lunenburg, which Mr. Haliburton represents as nearly assimilated to the other inhabitants; while Mr. M'Gregor describes them as retaining their manners and even language completely unchanged. Of these very opposite statements we incline to prefer the latter, which seems a picture drawn from the life; while the other is probably suggested by observations made in the vicinity of Halifax.*

Another race, to whose wrongs and sufferings we again reluctantly advert, are the Acadians. In the local survey, the different sites have been pointed out where the remnant of them are now settled;

* Haliburton, vol. ii., p. 279, 293-295. M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 98, 99, 180-188.

these are chiefly Clare, in Annapolis, Isle Madame, and other spots in Cape Breton. They are substantially the same with the French *habitans*, who, however, on account of their less polished habits, and also of frequent intermarriage with the Indians, frequently term them "les sauvages." A large proportion are employed in fishing, especially on Cape Breton, where the females work excessively hard, performing every task after the men have merely caught and split the fish. In the rural districts, their dress and appearance resemble, with some small variations, those of their countrymen on the St. Lawrence. The shafts of ridicule are effectively wielded in checking the slightest adoption of the costume of their conquerors. One youth having unwarily put on an English coat, lost for ever his own name, and acquired that of Joe Peacock. Those engaged in agriculture resemble the Canadians in their industry and economy, gayety at festivals, attendance at church, purity of morals, early marriages, and large families of fat, chubby children.*

Another unfortunate race have at different times been thrown in considerable numbers on the shores of Nova Scotia. In the course of the American war, many negroes from the southern states sought an asylum there; and in 1792, the Sierra Leone Company, with a questionable philanthropy, conveyed 1200 of them to that part of the African continent. Many, however, fell victims to a climate no longer congenial to them; the rest became turbulent and unruly. Soon after, a desperate insurrection was raised in Jamaica by a body of independent blacks termed Maroons, who had established themselves in an almost inaccessible retreat in the centre of the island, whence they committed dreadful ravages. Being overawed by the operations of Lord Balcarres and General Walpole, they

* M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 199–203. Haliburton, vol. ii., p. 280.

at length surrendered, on condition of being conveyed to another colony, where they might receive lands. Nova Scotia was chosen; and the people there, on the arrival of these desperate rebels, were agreeably surprised to see a set of men not only handsome and vigorous, but in their appearance extremely neat and orderly. On the invitation of Prince Edward (Duke of Kent), they cheerfully agreed either to be enrolled for military service or labour at the fortifications, and were considered a valuable acquisition to the country. As the novelty wore off, however, and winter brought with it both privation and leisure, they fell into disorderly habits, despising industry, and spending their time in cards and cock-fighting. Several vain attempts being made to induce them to cultivate the soil, they in the end became entirely dependant on the British government, at an annual cost of no less than £10,000. It thus became a matter of urgent expediency that they also should be transported to Sierra Leone; and this was effected in 1800. The system, however, of making Nova Scotia an asylum for negroes was not yet renounced. In 1815, during the last American war, a considerable number of this class of fugitives were received on board the British squadrons, particularly in the Chesapeake. As they came, however, under the expectation of subsisting without hard labour, they were as useless as the others, and proved a mere burden on the colony, from which it was partially relieved in 1821 by the transportation of ninety of them to Trinidad.

Of each of these successive arrivals some portions remained, which have now increased to the number of 3557, of whom 1726 are males and 1831 females. They have settlements of some extent laid out for them at Hammond's Plains and Prescott, both in the vicinity of Halifax; and yet they have never made any progress in cultivating the soil. The situation, indeed, of a settler on wild lands, who

must encounter much hard work with only distant returns, tries the perseverance of the most industrious European; it was therefore unfortunate that it should have fallen to the lot of individuals never accustomed to labour at all, except under the most stern compulsion. Almost the only benefit they derive from their grants is obtained by collecting the spontaneous produce, wild fruits and brooms, and bringing them to market. In all seasons of scarcity their sufferings become deplorable, and pathetic appeals are made to the charity of the British government. Yet a certain number who have engaged as domestic servants, and particularly as cooks on board ship, show themselves very useful. Even the principal horse-dealer in Halifax is said to be a negro.*

There remains yet another outcast race, namely, the original possessors of the country. The Indians here and in New-Brunswick belong generally to one tribe, known under the name of *Micmacs*. In 1772 they were estimated at 865, and are supposed to have since decreased; but their present number has not been ascertained. Those who repair to Quebec to share in the annual distribution of presents are stated by Major-general Darling at 652; though an official document shows that in 1827 there came only 196 Micmacs and 79 Amalicites, the latter chiefly from Ristigouche in New-Brunswick. Doubtless, however, it is only a few who undertake so long and severe a journey. They are described as naturally inferior to the tribes on the lakes, and are now in a more forlorn and degraded condition. The hunting of the moose and cariboo, their only favourite pursuit, is much limited, owing to the increased occupation of the country by Europeans. The offer of land is made to them, and several have establish-

* M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 204--208. Moorsom, p. 125--131. Colonial Tables, 1832, p. 16.

ed themselves on farms, where they rear in a slovenly manner a few cattle, but they shun all laborious culture. They do not, however, as sometimes supposed, abscond into remote and unfrequented regions; on the contrary, their favourite residence is in the vicinity of the towns, where they find sale for their game, fish, and the little ornamental works which their females fabricate. In winter, indeed, the remoter woods and lakes are frequented for a plentiful supply of game; but from May to November, the smoke of a dozen wigwams in an adjoining cove indicates their vicinity to a populous place. Each of these abodes consists merely of a few poles placed upright and fastened at the top, the whole being then covered with birch bark, which renders it impervious to rain. Under these roofs the squaws are said to sit whole days, framing ornamented baskets and other trifles of moose-hair or porcupine-quills, variously coloured, and wrought upon bark. Their canoes are often seen crossing from a camp opposite to Halifax, with articles to dispose of. On this voyage, listlessness and apathy characterize all their movements; and even on reaching the shore, a long talk is occasionally held in their unimpassioned tones before landing. At length their goods are exposed on the bank; but, when the squaw meets her female friends, her silence is instantly exchanged for loud laughter and loquacity, and every passing object becomes the theme of animated remark. The produce of their sales is too often expended on the means of intoxication; and scarcely any part is laid up for an evil day. This improvidence is heightened by a lavish hospitality, which makes them feel it incumbent to share whatever they have with any wandering countryman who may happen to join them. In periods of urgent distress, they repair to the government-house and implore aid from their father, as

they call the governor, by whom their case is in general favourably considered.*

The religious professions in Nova Scotia, like the classes of the population, are extremely various, and none can be considered as possessing a numerical ascendency. The following is given as the result of the census of 1827:

Church of England	28,659
Church of Scotland	37,225
Dissenters from these two churches	4825
Roman Catholics	20,401
Baptists	19,790
Methodists	9408
Lutherans	2968
Quakers, Universalists, &c.	255
Doubtful	317
	123,848

This does not include Cape Breton, the returns from which were not considered accurate; and from the increase of population, each of these numbers must now be considerably augmented, though they probably preserve very nearly the same relative proportion. Complete toleration is granted to all these sects; their members are equally eligible to public offices; none of them are required to contribute to the maintenance of the others; nor is support given to any out of the provincial revenue. The Church of England, however, is considered as the established one, and derives a portion of its funds through a society incorporated in 1701 for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. Notwithstanding this title, the object of the corporation in recent times has chiefly been to supply a body of regular clergy to the members of the Episcopal communion settled in the North American colonies; in aid of which they were wont to receive an annual grant

* Report on the Original Tribes (Parl. Paper, Aug. 14, 1834), p. 34. Moorsom, p. 111-117.

from the Imperial Parliament. Their teachers are termed missionaries, but, generally speaking, do not at all lead the wandering life which the name seems to imply; they are simply parish ministers, though with somewhat extensive charges. The country is divided into thirty-two parishes, and the rectors receive from £150 to £300 a year from the society or from the crown; which, with glebes and fees, affords here a comfortable income. In 1787, Nova Scotia was erected into a bishopric, the head of which draws no revenue from the colony, but holds merely a spiritual jurisdiction over the members of his own church. His diocese extends also over New-Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, and the Bermudas.

The Presbyterian Church, formed chiefly by the great emigration from Scotland, appears, as above, the most numerous in the colony. The synod of Nova Scotia is divided into the presbyteries of Halifax, Pictou, and Cape Breton, and consists of seventeen members. They receive no support from government, but have since 1784 derived some aid from a society in Glasgow, though, as this last demands an entire union with the Church of Scotland, which all are not inclined to yield, some dissension is said to have arisen. The Roman Church consists of the Acadians, with some Irish settlers, and a few of the earlier Highland emigrants. The Indians also profess this faith, though without allowing it to work much change in their manners. The Catholics are governed by a bishop, resident at Antigonish or Dorchester, with twelve or thirteen subordinate priests, chiefly from Britain or France, as there is no seminary for their instruction in the province.

The Baptists are stated to have about thirty-five ministers of all classes. Their church government is independent, the power residing entirely in the members of each particular congregation. They hold annually, however, a general conference, in which questionable points are amicably adjusted.

The Wesleyan Methodists, a less numerous body, have fourteen of what they term *circuits*, in which twenty-eight missionaries are employed; but these embrace also Prince Edward Island. Once a year is held, subordinate to the conference in England, a general meeting, to which are transmitted such surplus funds as can be collected for missionary purposes, while aid is afforded in the maintenance of the poorer chapels. The Lutherans, we presume, consist of the German colony at Lunenburg. On the whole, the system appears somewhat less liberal than in Upper Canada, nothing in the nature of an establishment being granted; though in the more remote districts, some aid to the contributions afforded by their poor and scattered inhabitants would certainly be desirable. It is at the same time stated, that the exertions made by the settlers, amid many difficulties, to provide themselves with religious instruction, are highly creditable.*

The people of Nova Scotia have always bestowed a particular attention on education, a provision for which, with the intelligence consequent on it, existed there when much neglected in other transatlantic colonies. The institution highest in dignity is the college at Windsor, which enjoys all the privileges of a university, being entitled to confer degrees and to teach the whole circle of the sciences. There were in 1835, over the country, 448 common schools, supported by £4667 from the provincial revenue, and £12,453 from private subscription. They were attended by 15,292 scholars, of whom 1153 were taught gratis. Forty schools are also supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.†

* Haliburton, vol. ii., p. 298–306. M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 177–179. Moorsom, p. 132–140. Bouchette, vol. ii., p. 64–66. Oliver & Boyd's New Edinburgh Almanac and National Repository for 1839, p. 397.

† Haliburton, vol. ii., p. 17, 55. M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 174, 214. Colonial Tables, 1832, p. 17; 1833, p. 9.

The constitution of this country does not differ very materially from that of Canada. The principal officer, in whom the executive power is invested, is termed only lieutenant-governor, and is considered subordinate to the governor-general at Quebec. The supremacy of the latter, however, has hitherto been exercised only in the general direction of military affairs during war: he interferes not in the civil jurisdiction. It has been not unusual to make the government of Nova Scotia an apprenticeship, as it were, to that of Canada; Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, the Earl of Dalhousie, and Sir James Kempt having been raised from the one to the other. He ranks also as lieutenant-general, vice-admiral, and chancellor. His legislative and executive powers appear exactly the same as in Canada. The people have a singular check upon his mal-administration, in being allowed to prosecute him in the English court of Queen's Bench, though we are not aware that any such action has ever been raised.

The House of Assembly, as to functions and composition, does not differ from that in the other colonies. Of the ten counties, Halifax sends four members, and each of the others returns two; of the towns, the capital elects two, and seventeen others one each, making in all forty-one. It exercises the usual functions of a popular assembly, voting all taxes and passing all laws, subject to the approbation of the council, governor, and sovereign. The council, twelve in number, was of a more anomalous description, uniting the character of a legislative with that of an executive or privy-council, and thus performing the duties which in Canada were divided between two separate bodies. This arrangement, however, being with some reason complained of, has recently been altered, and the functions are now performed by two distinct bodies. The members are appointed by the governor, subject to the royal approbation.

For the administration of justice, one supreme court discharges all the duties which in England are divided between the Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer. It consists of a chief justice, three assistants, and a circuit associate. It sits four times a year at Halifax, and performs four circuits. The acquirements both of the judges and counsel are said to be highly respectable. There is a chancery court, in which the governor, as chancellor, presides; but, being usually a military man, he is not very well fitted for such a duty, and hence Sir James Kempt procured the appointment of a master of the rolls. There is an admiralty court, embracing also the other colonies; and arrangements are made for a special commission to try cases of piracy; but during peace the business of these departments almost entirely ceases.

The local jurisdictions in Nova Scotia are somewhat numerous. In every province there is a court of common pleas, for trying civil cases in the first instance. There is also a court of general sessions, corresponding to that of quarter-sessions in England. Lastly, every county has its sheriff, with powers similar to those of the same officer in England; both he and the justices are nominated by the governor. These numerous jurisdictions tend, perhaps, to feed the spirit of litigation which prevails in that country.*

The taxation, as in the other colonies, is extremely light, all the cost of defence being defrayed by Britain, and the inhabitants burdened only with the civil government and local improvements. The chief branches are the excise and customs, in both of which the rates are very moderate.

The revenue in 1835 was £54,924; the expenditure the same year, £63,664. There are, besides, provincial assessments for roads, police, maintenance of the poor, and other local purposes.

* Haliburton, vol. ii., p. 317-339. Bouchette, vol. ii., p. 68, 69.

The defence of the country, so far as it depends upon regular troops, is maintained by detachments of the British army, the expense of which is defrayed from the finances of the empire, and varies from £115,000 to £145,000 annually. There is, besides, as in the other colonies, a militia, in which all the male inhabitants from sixteen to sixty are required to enrol. The number, which in 1828 did not exceed 21,897, had risen in 1834 to 30,408. They are regularly formed into regiments and battalions; but as the days of training are now only two in the year, and few are even supplied with muskets, it is obvious that they can possess nothing deserving the name of discipline.

CHAPTER IV.

New-Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.

New-Brunswick.—Extent and Boundaries.—Surface.—Settlement and Progress.—St. John City.—Burning of the Forest.—Timber.—Mode of Collecting it.—Fredericton.—Population.—Constitution.—Revenue.—Military Defence.—Prince Edward Island.—Situation and Extent.—Surface.—Climate.—Soil.—Discovery.—Early Settlement.—Capture by Britain.—Plans to Colonize it.—Population.—Constitution.—Revenue.—Education.

This extensive and important country extends nearly north and south between Nova Scotia and Canada, having the United States on the one side and the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the other. On the southeast, the Bay of Fundy, with its branch of Chignecto and the Cumberland peninsula, separate it from Nova Scotia. On the north, the Bay of Chaleur divides it from Gaspé: and the river Ristigouche runs on the northwest between it and Can-

ada. On the west and southwest is the state of Maine; but here the limit is involved in much doubt, owing to the great extent of the disputed territory.

New-Brunswick, which forms a kind of irregular square, lies between 45° 5′ and 48° 4′ 30″ of north latitude, and between 63° 47′ 30″ and 67° 53′ of west longitude. According to Bouchette, it comprises 27,704 square miles, or about 17,730,560 acres; and hence its area considerably exceeds that of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton united. It is not penetrated by those deep bays which nearly intersect that country, and render it so completely maritime; still the greater part of its boundary is composed of sea, including a coast sufficient for commerce, and even for a considerable fishery. The defect is farther supplied by noble rivers, which traverse nearly the whole territory, and are navigable for a large part of their course. Of these the most important is the St. John, which rises far beyond the boundary of the province, in about 70° west longitude. For eighty-five miles, up to Fredericton, it can be used by vessels of 50 tons; thence barks of 20 tons can ascend to the Grand Falls, about 120 miles higher, above which it is fitted only for boats. The Miramichi is also a most important river, which, with its large branches, traverses nearly the whole country, and falls into the bay of that name in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It is navigable more than thirty miles for large vessels, and for barges nearly to its sources.

The surface of the country is broken and undulating, somewhat as in Nova Scotia, and, like it, scarcely anywhere rising to a mountainous height. New-Brunswick is decidedly more fertile than the province just named. The quality of the soil is particularly indicated by the magnificent forests, with trees of gigantic size, by which it is more richly clothed than any other part of British America.

The cutting down and exporting large quantities of this timber has become of late the chief occupation, and given to the colony a great commercial importance. The climate nearly resembles that of Canada: being winter from November to April; then a sudden change from cold to heat; the summer intensely hot, and the vegetation rapid.*

The name of New-Brunswick, and even its existence as a colony, did not commence till 1783. The French comprehended it under the appellation of New France, viewing it more particularly as an appendage to Acadia; we have even seen that some of their commanders formed a post at the mouth of the St. John, to which they attached considerable importance. The English, in their turn, claimed it as part of Nova Scotia, though they never appear to have taken any measures to improve it. After that peninsula had been finally ceded to the English, the French demanded this interior region as belonging to Canada. To support this pretension, they erected forts at the neck of the peninsula, and armed the Acadians and Indians; but the peace of 1763, which gave Canada to the British, ended all discussion on this subject. Still this great country was left nearly unoccupied, except by a few Acadians, who had sought refuge among its forests from the relentless persecution to which they were exposed. In 1762, some families from New-England settled at Maugerville, about fifty miles up the St. John; and in 1783 they amounted to about 800. At the end of the war several thousands of disbanded troops, removed from New-England, were located at Fredericton; and a party of Acadians who had settled there were ordered to Madawaska in order to make room for them. These new colonists, however, accustomed to all the comforts of civilized life, en-

* Bouchette, vol. ii., p. 92, 93, 105–110, 131, 142. M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 219–221.

dured the most dreadful hardships when first placed in the midst of this wilderness; and it was only after severe suffering and toil that they could place their families in any degree of comfort. General Sir Guy Carleton, who was appointed governor in 1785, made very extraordinary exertions for the improvement of the country, which gradually, though slowly, advanced. In 1803 he returned to England, and from that time to 1817 the government was administered by a succession of presidents. The foundation of its prosperity was laid in 1809, when the duty on Baltic timber was advanced to £2 14*s.* 8*d.* per load, while that from the colonies was left free. The export of this article from that period continually increased, till it reached its height in 1825, when, in consequence of speculative overtrading, a severe reaction was experienced. Yet, since that event, this branch of industry has rallied, and become nearly as extensive as ever, while a new impulse has been given by the arrival of foreign cultivators. In 1817, Major-general Smith was appointed lieutenant-governor, and held that office till 1823. For a short interval its affairs were intrusted to the care of Mr. Chipman and Mr. Bliss as presidents; but in August, 1824, they were succeeded by Sir Howard Douglas, to whose exertions the country was greatly indebted. He was relieved by Sir Archibald Campbell, whose place was supplied in 1837 by Major-general Sir John Harvey, from Prince Edward Island.*

New-Brunswick is divided into eleven counties, chiefly arranged according to the rivers and waters upon which the population has been located. The city of St. John, at the mouth of the large river of that name, although not the seat of government, is the largest and most commercial in the colony.

* M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 222–226. Report on the Timber Trade, 1835, p. 3–5.

Commanding the navigation of a great river flowing through so many fine districts, its consequence must continually increase. The harbour is commodious, safe, and sufficiently spacious; and notwithstanding a bar across its entrance, which is even dry at low water, large vessels can enter at full tide. This basin affords also a valuable fishery, to the extent annually of from 10,000 to 15,000 barrels of herrings, besides salmon and shad. The tide is very powerful, rising from 16 to 24 feet; so that a great space in front of the town, covered at ebb with mud and slime, is converted at high water into a magnificent expanse. The aspect of the city at that time, with its handsome buildings rising behind each other, and backed by rocky and wooded hills, is very imposing.

Fredericton, also on the St. John, was fixed upon in 1785 by Sir Guy Carleton as the seat of government. Being at the termination of the sloop navigation on the great stream, from the mouth of which it is eighty-five miles distant, it must advance with the growing improvement of the upper country. Yet it can scarcely ever reach the same importance as St. John, which commands the trade of the whole river. At present it is only a large village, containing 2970 inhabitants.

A part of New-Brunswick, bordering on the Mirimachi, became, in October, 1825, the scene of one of the most awful calamities with which any country was ever visited. The forests which entirely cover those countries, when long acted upon by the intense heat of a western summer, become so dried as to expose them to the most sudden and powerful action of fire. This timber being chiefly of the pine species, filled with a resinous substance, the whole surface of the district becomes a mass of inflammable matter. In such circumstances, when flame catches the branches, and a strong wind aids its progress, there are scarcely any bounds to its rav-

ages. Several partial fires had occurred without exciting alarm; but on the 7th October a furious west wind caused these to spread with dreadful effect. The inhabitants were first alarmed by a sound echoing through the woods like an uninterrupted peal of thunder; then the flames appeared bursting through the trees, and rising two hundred feet above the top of the loftiest pines. Next was seen, as it were, an ocean of flame rolling towards Newcastle and Douglas: all resistance was vain; and these towns, whose wooden fabrics became mere piles of fuel, were speedily reduced to ashes. The miserable inhabitants, abandoning their all without an attempt to save it, rushed to the bank, and threw themselves into boats, canoes, rafts, logs, or whatever was within reach, to convey them down to Chatham; but several hundreds of both sexes were either killed or severely injured. The flames spread a vast distance into the country, destroying magnificent forests and numerous cattle; even wild animals and birds were drawn into them by a sort of fascination. The benevolence of the neighbouring British provinces and of the United States was most liberally exerted on this distressing occasion; and so ample, indeed, were the subscriptions, that, after relieving the sufferers, they left a surplus, which was employed in founding a school in the chief seat of the calamity. The towns which were destroyed have since that time completely recovered, and are now better built and somewhat larger than before.*

The most important production of this province is timber. The country is almost one uninterrupted forest, very partially broken in upon either by the plough or the axe. Many of the trees, too, are of that description which it is admitted would command a market even under the freest competition,

* Bouchette, vol. ii., p. 130–137. M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 260–270. Wedderburn, p. 73.

there being many purposes for which they are better adapted than any other species. The yellow pine, although it wants strength for supporting any of the heavy parts of an edifice, and cannot safely be placed in contact with a wall or the ground, where it would be exposed to damp, is comparatively free from knots, susceptible of a high polish, and, from its soft texture, very easily worked. The great size of the trunk enables many articles to be formed of one entire piece; an arragement often very conducive to convenience and elegance. For ornamental work in the interior of houses, therefore, such as panellings of doors and windows, mouldings, wainscoting, and similar purposes, it is greatly preferred. The pine logs from St. John are considered by Mr. Warburton superior to those from Quebec, but those from Miramichi are the finest and most valuable of all.

The cutting down of the timber is chiefly performed by parties going into the woods, usually under the direction of one individual, who hires the rest at fixed wages. Most of them were formerly from the United States, but they now consist chiefly of natives of the province, aided by emigrants from Britain. In Canada the master-lumberers usually carry on the adventure themselves, and sell the produce to the exporting merchant; but in New-Brunswick, where capital is scarcer, the latter most commonly makes the advances in tools, provisions, tobacco, and molasses; to which rum is usually added, with sufficient precaution, however, that it shall not render the men unfit for work. Thus provided, in the close of autumn the parties ascend one of the great rivers to an unfrequented quarter in the depth of the forest. Near the margin of a rivulet they clear a small spot, and erect a shanty or a log-hut, roofed with birch-bark, and scarcely large enough to allow them to stand upright. In fact, it is very little used unless during the night, when, spreading the floor

with hay, straw, or branches, they lie down together with their feet towards the fire, and any one who awakes throws on fresh billets to keep it constantly blazing. At daylight they rise, and divide into three gangs, one of which cuts down the trees, another hews them, a third, with the oxen, drags them to the nearest road or stream. The whole winter having been spent in this labour, a considerable quantity is accumulated by the end of April, when the "freshets" or melted snows begin to rush down. These are employed to float the timber, which, as soon as the breadth of the channel admits, is formed into large flat rafts, and thus conveyed to the shipping. This period is the most trying to the health of the men, being obliged to be much in the water, which is then excessively cold. On reaching the coast they receive their pay, and many of them spend it in a thoughtless festivity, which has thrown reproach both on themselves and on their trade. Yet where the occupation itself is perfectly creditable, it seems unjust, as well as unwise, to proscribe it on account of accidental irregularities in the behaviour of individuals. It is asserted that their conduct has now considerably improved, and is even, on the whole, more becoming than that of workmen employed in the large cities.*

The population of New-Brunswick has augmented more rapidly than that, perhaps, of any other colony, Upper Canada excepted, the amount of which, as already observed, was altogether insignificant till the end of the American war. The great loyalist emigration at that era gave an important impulse to it; and, besides those who came directly, many, disappointed with their locations in Shelburne and other parts of Nova Scotia, afterward followed. In 1785 the country was considered of sufficient importance to be formed into a separate government.

* M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 299–302. Report on the Timber Trade, p. 161, 190, 236, 247.

In 1817 the inhabitants were estimated at 35,000; in 1824, a census carefully taken gave the amount at 74,176; and by the latest, in 1834, it had increased to 119,457.

The elements of the population are almost exactly the same as in Nova Scotia, with some difference in the proportions. The basis is equally composed of the more respectable settlers from the United States, who introduced much of their active spirit; while the military colonists have contributed to render the society more polished. Besides agricultural improvements, many lots originally located in the wilderness have acquired great additional value by cities and towns having sprung up in their vicinity. The Acadians on the Bay of Fundy, and at the remote frontier station of Madawaska, bear their usual character. The immigrants, from what has been stated, must form a considerable and increasing portion. Hitherto comparatively few have been of Scotch, or even English origin; the Irish are decidedly the most numerous. The Indians, estimated by Mr. Wedderburne at 1700, belong, as formerly stated, to the tribes of Micmacs and Amalicites, and continue to receive presents at Quebec when they repair thither. On the arrival of Sir Howard Douglas at Fredericton in 1825, upward of two hundred assembled to congratulate him and represent their miserable condition. On reporting this circumstance, he was authorized to bestow upon them on such occasions small gifts not exceeding the value of £60.*

The means of religious instruction are respectable, considering the thinness of the population. The members of the Church of England constitute the majority, being about 79,000. The clergy are subject to the Bishop of Nova Scotia, and consist of an archdeacon and thirty missionaries, who have

* M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 318. Wedderburne, p. 53. Report on the Aboriginal Tribes, p. 146, 147.

incomes of about £200 a year. The Scotch or Presbyterian Church, with about 6000 members, has twelve ministers, who receive from government £50 a year each. The Catholics are reckoned about 16,000, and have a bishop and seventeen priests. The Wesleyan Methodists, about 10,000, have twenty-one ministers; and the Baptists, somewhat more numerous, have twenty-five.*

New-Brunswick at an early period incurred the reproach of being somewhat illiterate: a character which applied even to individuals holding high situations under government. A college has, however, been founded at Fredericton, endowed with 6000 acres of land, and by liberal grants from the crown and the province a handsome building has been erected. It is open to students of every denomination. The province voted, in 1836, £2200 for its support. There are nine grammar-schools, of which the principal are at St. John, St. Andrew, Fredericton, and Miramichi, for which the legislature allows £1000 annually. There are also 285 parish-schools on the Madras system, for which £6000 (above £20 each) is granted, the inhabitants being required to subscribe an equal sum.†

The constitution differs little from that of Nova Scotia, except that the executive and legislative councils are here distinct. The representative body, or Parliament, consists of twenty-six members, and sits at Fredericton. There is a supreme court of justice, with circuits; also, county courts of common pleas, and other inferior ones, taking cognizance of debts under £5.

The revenue, derived from imposts equally moderate as in the other colonies, is entirely appropriated to local objects and improvements. The amount, in 1835, was £60,316.

* Wedderburne, p. 25, 35, 76.

† Bouchette, vol. ii., p. 151. M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 323. Wedderburne, p. 26, 27.

The crown derives a revenue from the sale of unoccupied lands, which, in consequence of the great immigration, has been recently much on the increase. In 1830 it amounted to only £5600; in 1835 to £46,000. Sums are levied for poor-rate and other local purposes, but to no oppressive extent. Three days of statute labour on the roads are annually required, and the same period of time for militia service; but each may be commuted for 10*s*. The amount of all these local taxes in 1834 was £90, 974.

Some discontent has lately been felt on the ground that the representative body has not sufficient control over the colonial revenue, and do not even receive full information as to the produce of its different branches. Messrs. Crane and Wilmot, however, having been sent to England in the beginning of 1837 to represent these grievances, an arrangement was made by which, upon granting a reasonable civil list, the provincial parliament are to have the entire disposal of the remainder. With this they declare themselves completely satisfied, and repudiate the extensive demands and violent discontents which prevail among the popular party in Lower Canada.

The expense of the regular army is defrayed by the mother country, and in 1830 and 1831 respectively cost about £25,000. There is, besides, a militia, consisting of all the able-bodied inhabitants, of which the amount is stated by M. Bouchette at 12,000, but since his time it has increased to 21,191.*

Prince Edward, a name substituted for the early one of St. John, is a fine island, which, for a considerable extent, bounds on the south the Gulf of St. Lawrence, intervening between it and great part

* Bouchette, p. 155, 156. Wedderburne, p. 28–55. Colonial Tables, 1834, p 6.

of the coasts of Nova Scotia and New-Brunswick. From them it is separated throughout its whole length by Northumberland Strait, a channel varying in breadth from nine to forty miles. This territory, which has a very winding outline, describes in its general form a species of crescent, having its hollow part towards the gulf, into which both its boundary-capes project. It lies between 45° 50′ and 47° 7′ north latitude, and between 52° and 64° 27′ west longitude. The general direction is from northwest to southeast, following which the greatest length is about 135 miles, and the breadth 34. In one part, however, the latter contracts to a single mile; and it is throughout so deeply indented by bays and inlets, that scarcely any spot is distant more than seven or eight miles from the influx of the tide. The area is estimated at 1,380,700 acres.

The surface of this island bears a different aspect from that of the adjoining parts of America. Its eminences nowhere aspire to the character of mountains, nor even of hills. They are merely ridges, producing an undulating variety of hill and dale, with the hollows filled by numberless little creeks and lakes. The coasts of these, as well as of the open sea, being skirted by trees of the most varied foliage, present scenery, not grand indeed, but peculiarly soft and agreeable.*

The climate has the character general in this part of America, yet appears to possess in a superior degree its best qualities, with a mitigation of its evils. The winter is shorter and less severe than in Lower Canada, and, at the same time, more steady than in Nova Scotia. A remarkable exemption, too, is enjoyed from those dreary fogs with which the ocean-coasts are infested, as they appear only occasionally, and last but part of a day. There is likewise a full share of general salubrity and freedom

* Bouchette, vol. ii., p. 158. M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 283, 284

from pestilential diseases; even consumption is less frequent and fatal. This good health, and the facility of subsistence, produce an extraordinary increase of population; females are often grandmothers at forty, and mother and daughter are frequently seen suckling their children at the same time.

The soil is described as usually composed of a vegetable mould, upon light red loam, with a subsoil of stiff clay on sandstone; and its general character is that of decided fertility, nowhere interrupted by the rocky tracts which abound on the exterior coasts.

Bouchette and M'Gregor have followed Robertson in supposing this to be the island discovered by Cabot in 1497, and named by him St. John; a conclusion which seems wholly inconsistent even with Hakluyt's very brief narrative. He describes it as situated *opposite to* the part of the mainland first seen by that navigator. Allowing the territory in question to be Newfoundland, it was probably its eastern coast: and it seems quite impossible that he could have spoken thus of an island situated 125 miles from its most western point, with Cape Breton and the Magdalens intervening. The name is too common to be of much importance; and besides, it is actually that of the capital of Newfoundland. Neither do these writers seem more accurate in supposing Verazzani to have made the discovery afresh. That navigator, after relating a voyage evidently made along the shores of the United States and Nova Scotia, merely states that he came to the land already discovered by the Britons. By this he probably meant Newfoundland; but there is no hint of his entering the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or making that great circuit to the southwest which would have been necessary to bring him to the Island of Prince Edward.*

* Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 6. Ramusio, vol. iii., p. 450.

When the French court, founding upon the discoveries of Cartier and Verazzani, established in America a vast domain called New France, meant to embrace at least Canada on one side and Nova Scotia on the other, this insular tract was of course included within its boundaries. Champlain even mentions it under the name of St. John, accurately describes its situation and extent, and notices its fine harbours and valuable fishery, to which the Biscayans frequently resorted. Charlevoix, at a much later period, when giving a similar enumeration, does not indicate the slightest knowledge of its existence. It appears, however, to have been granted in 1663 to a French captain, the Sieur Doublet, but held in subordination to a fishing company, established at the small Island of Miscou. It seems, in fact, to have been valued only for fishery, with which view some trifling stations were established.*

St. John began to emerge from this obscurity only after the treaty of Utrecht, when, Acadia being ceded to Britain, a number of the French settlers, to whom her yoke was always odious, sought refuge in this island. They soon spread reports of its fertility and natural advantages, which allured settlers even from Cape Breton; but this was discouraged by the government, who had resolved to make the latter the centre of their power in America. When it was captured by the New-England forces in 1745, the neighbouring island shared the same fate; but both, as already mentioned, were restored by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

After the second reduction of Louisbourg in 1758, that of St. John again followed, and it became permanently attached to the British crown. The number of inhabitants at that time is variously rated at 10,000, 6000, and 4100; the last probably nearest

* Champlain, tome i., p. 126. Charlevoix, vol. i., p. 86. M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 352.

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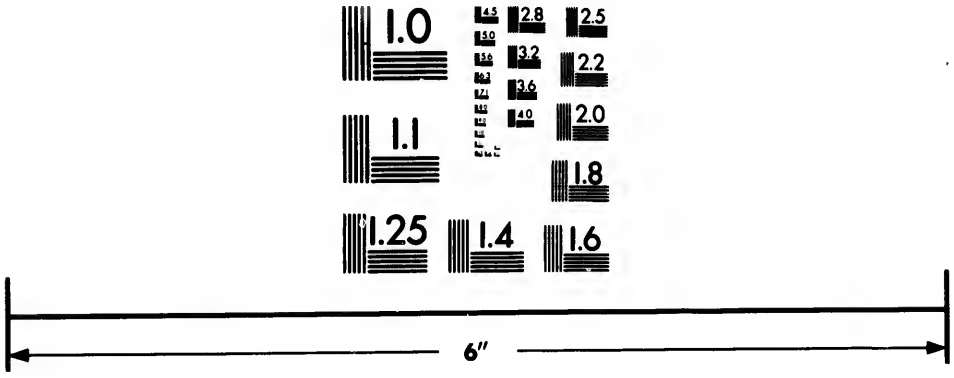

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the truth. They had brought a very considerable portion of land under cultivation; had large stocks of horned cattle; and some of them could send 1200 bushels of wheat to the market of Quebec. They were now doomed, however, to the same relentless proscription as their brethren in Nova Scotia; and the pretext was, that a number of English scalps were found hung up in the French governor's house. This was no doubt a just ground of suspicion; though the English might have recollected that they themselves had offered premiums for these trophies. They were unquestionably brought in by the Indians, and at all events afforded no apology for inflicting vengeance upon thousands of peaceable and industrious settlers. The details of the expulsion are not stated; but it appears that a certain number were sent to Canada, others to the southern colonies, and some to France, while it is admitted that many contrived to conceal themselves. So complete, however, was the desolation, that in 1770, twelve years after, there were found only 150 families.*

The island was confirmed to Britain in 1763; but some years elapsed before measures, not remarkably judicious, were taken for its settlement. Lord Egremont formed a strange scheme, by which it was to be divided into twelve districts, ruled by as many barons, each of whom was to erect a castle on his own property, while that nobleman was to preside as lord paramount. This ridiculous plan was changed for another not much wiser. In August, 1767, a division was made into sixty-seven townships, of about 20,000 acres each, which, with some reservations, were made over to individuals supposed to possess claims upon the government. They became bound to settle the country in ten

* Haliburton, vol. i., p. 123, 207, 208, 248. M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 352–357. Stewart, p. 149–153.

years, to the extent of at least one person for 200 acres. Their exertions in this respect, however, were not very effective; and when they resolved, as the only means of rendering the property valuable, to retail it in small lots, their prices were too high; nor could they grant that soccage tenure under the crown which is esteemed the most secure.*

Considerable efforts, however, were at first made to rescue the island from its state of desolation. The proprietors succeeded in procuring for it a governor independent of Nova Scotia, though, as already mentioned, there were only 150 families resident on it. Mr. Patterson, appointed to that office in 1770, brought back a number of the exiled Acadians. Tracady was settled by Captain Macdonald with 300 Highlanders; and Chief Baron Montgomery made great efforts to fulfil his proprietary obligations. A beginning was thus made, a good report was spread, the colony received gradual accessions, and in 1773, a constitution being given, the first House of Assembly was called. But the governor, and General Fanning, who succeeded in 1789, were involved in contests with the proprietors and settlers, who accused them of culpable eagerness to acquire landed property for themselves; these feuds, however, seem to have caused no material injury.†

In 1799, inconvenience having been felt from the island bearing the same name with the chief towns in New-Brunswick and Newfoundland, it was changed to Prince Edward, in honour of the late Duke of Kent, who, as commander in America, had directed some valuable improvements. In 1803, the late Earl of Selkirk, who gave so great an impulse to emigration, carried over an important colony, consisting of about 800 Highlanders. He made the

* Haliburton, vol. i., p. 246. M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 357-359.
† M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 359. Stewart, p. 157-167.

necessary arrangements with so much judgment, that the settlers soon became very prosperous, and with the friends who have since joined them, now amount to upward of 4000.

Governor Desbarres, who succeeded Fanning, was a man of talent; and though his administration was considered by no means prudent, yet at no former period did the colony advance so rapidly. In 1813 he was succeeded by Mr. Smyth, whose violent and tyrannical conduct caused a general agitation in the colony. For several years previous to 1823 he had prevented the meeting of the House of Assembly, and when a committee of the inhabitants was appointed to draw up a petition for his removal, he caused them to be arrested. Mr. Stewart, the high sheriff, however, though at the age of sixty-six, made his escape to Nova Scotia, and thence to England; where the real state of things was no sooner made known than the governor was recalled, and Lieutenant-colonel Ready appointed to succeed him. The conduct of this last gave general satisfaction; and, in conjunction with the House of Assembly, he passed many useful acts, and took various measures to promote the continued improvement of the colony.* In 1831, Colonel Young received the appointment, and ruled lieutenant-governor till 1836, in which year Sir John Harvey was named his successor. Sir John was very popular, but being in 1837 removed to the government of New-Brunswick, his place was supplied by Sir Charles A. Fitzroy.

The elements of society in this island present scarcely any distinction from those described in the other colonies. They consist, first, of a handful of Indians, not supposed to exceed thirty families; then of about 5000 Acadians; next of emigrants from the different parts of the empire, but more

* M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 301-304, 361-364.

particularly from Scotland, the natives of which form above one half the entire population. This, which in 1827 amounted to 23,473, had in 1833 risen to 32,176. Of these, 16,739 were males, and 15,437 females; 16,207 being children under the age of sixteen.* There has been no subsequent census; but the general belief in the colony is, that the actual number does not now fall short of 40,000.

The constitution is similar to that of the neighbouring colonies, though on a smaller scale. The House of Assembly consists of eighteen members, the council of nine. The chief subject of agitation in recent times has been the number of large absentee proprietors, who have not settled their lands, to the extent at least required by their grants. The people have earnestly called for a court of escheats, by which this neglected property may be forfeited, and thrown open to public competition. Many of the small farmers also contemplated relief from the rent now paid to these absentees. The British government, however, have rejected this measure, though they have agreed to the imposition of a tax of 4*s.* upon each hundred acres of uncultivated land, while that under culture shall continue to pay only 2*s.* A bill has been brought in to this effect, by which it is expected that these distant owners will be obliged to open their lands to cultivators.

The Church of England, as in the neighbouring colonies, is esteemed the established one; but the professors of other creeds, besides enjoying the fullest toleration, are not obliged to contribute to its support, and are free from any civil disability. Indeed, this persuasion is the least considerable of any, and supports only three clergymen. The Scotch are much more numerous, and are instructed by three teachers of the Establishment, and ten of

* Colonial Tables, 1833, p. 13.

other denominations. The Catholics consist of the Acadians and of the earlier Highland emigrants. They have a large chapel at St. Andrews, the residence of their bishop, who presides also over New-Brunswick and Cape Breton; likewise about twelve other places of worship. The Methodists too have ten; the Baptists only two or three. These statements show that the means of religious instruction, the want of which was deplored at an early period, bear now a very fair proportion to the number of inhabitants.

Nor has the colony shown any want of attention to the important business of education. Grammar-schools are supported at Charlottetown, Princetown, and Georgetown, with a college on a small scale at St. Andrews. By an act passed 20th April, 1837, a board of education is constituted to examine into the qualifications of the teachers, and apportion the funds. The district-schools are divided into two classes; the first, or lowest, being for the most common branches, to which, in the second, are to be added Latin and mathematics. For the first it is required that the inhabitants shall subscribe £25 a year, build a sufficient schoolhouse, and that there shall be an attendance of twenty scholars; in which case the legislature adds £12 a year. For the second class there is required a subscription of £35, to which £20 is to be added. The number of private schools in 1833 was 31.*

* M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 346–348. Colonial Tables, 1833, p. 13.

CHAPTER V.

Newfoundland.

General Description.—Abundance of Fish.—The Great Bank.—Discovery.—Early Fisheries.—First Attempts at Settlement.—Colonies by Lord Baltimore and others.—Persecution against the resident Fishermen.—Contests with France.—Extension of the Fishery.—Effects of the American War.—Continued Progress.—Flourishing State during the last War.—Subsequent Events.—St. John, the Capital.—French Coast.—St. Pierre and Miquelon.—Labrador.—Description by Cartwright.—Settlements by the Moravian Missionaries.—The Cod-fishery.—Modes of conducting it.—Produce.—The Seal-fishery.—Agriculture.—Commerce.—French and American Fisheries.—Population, Society, Government, &c.—Native Indians.—Esquimaux.

NEWFOUNDLAND is a large island, by much the most important of those adjacent to the eastern coast of North America. On one side it almost touches that continent, while on the other it stretches far out into the Atlantic, and approaches considerably nearer to Europe than any other point of the western hemisphere. It lies between the latitudes of 46° 40′ and 51° 39′ north, and the longitudes of 52° 44′ and 59° 31′ west. Its circuit is about 1000 miles; and being within fifty of Cape Breton, it leaves a passage of that breadth into the spacious Gulf of St. Lawrence. On the other side, the Straits of Belleisle, separating it from Labrador, and not exceeding ten miles in width, afford a more circuitous and perilous entrance into the same gulf.

This island, in a general view, forms an irregular triangle, having for its base the southern coast, which, as well as the eastern, is broken into a succession of very deep bays, dividing the land be-

tween them into a series of peninsulas. The shores are generally bold and rugged, showing dark rocks shattered by the waves into varied and often highly picturesque forms. Great care is necessary in sailing along them, especially during the thick mists with which the atmosphere is often oppressed. The surface, consisting chiefly of granite and other primitive rocks, or of soil formed by their disintegration, is by no means generally fertile. The eastern part is traversed by continuous hills, while in the western division mountains rise usually detached from each other. From these heights descend numberless streams, many of which unite into broad channels, falling into the sea at the head of the great bays. They form also an immense variety of small lakes, which intersect the country in every direction, and render travelling in a direct line almost impracticable. There are also very extensive swamps, bearing the aspect of peat-mosses. Along the rivers and in the recesses of the bays, there occur considerable fertile tracts, elsewhere described under the name of intervale. The very copious moisture, however, renders them, without a laborious drainage, much less fitted for grain than pasturage. Herds and flocks might be reared with advantage, and would find a ready market at the fishing-stations. The western shore, much less broken, contains a greater proportion of favourable soil, but has obtained, as yet, still less attention.*

Yet though the internal resources of the island are scanty, and even little improved, it has formed hitherto, in a commercial view, the most important of all the English northern possessions. That tempestuous sea which dashes around it is rich in treasure; and in its bosom, towards the east, extends that celebrated bank which abounds in fish of th

* Bouchette, vol. ii., p. 180. M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 141–147.

most valuable description. Cod, the principal one, is distinguished for its nutritive and palatable qualities, and the facility with which, by the process of drying, it can be preserved. This fishing-ground is estimated to extend 600 miles in length and 200 in breadth, composed almost throughout of masses of solid rock; but its sides descend precipitously, and the increase of depth is great and sudden.* The ocean flowing over this vast submarine mountain contains perhaps as much human food as a common land-territory of equal extent. The same productive character distinguishes the shores of Newfoundland and Labrador. It is remarkable, that while the whale-fishery, which ranks next in importance, can be pursued with success in any one place only for a limited time, here the nations of Europe and America have for several centuries laboured indefatigably with nets, lines, and every process that can be contrived or imagined, and yet not the slightest diminution of fruitfulness has ever been observed.

These seas present also another phenomenon, from which, though of an aspect somewhat formidable, important benefits are drawn. From the wide extent of the arctic shores which form the northern boundary of this great ocean, not masses only, but large fields of ice are annually floated down into the neighbourhood of the island. On its surface are conveyed large herds of seals, which the adventurous seamen, by means to be hereafter described, contrive to catch, and draw from them a valuable store of oil.

This island, as formerly mentioned, was discovered in 1497 by Cabot. It was the general belief, till lately, that this was the first part of the American coast visited by Europeans; but it seems now to be established that the land in question was Lab

* M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 195.

rador, and that Newfoundland was the territory seen immediately opposite, and named St. John's. Considering their relative position, the common opinion, making the latter Prince Edward Island, is quite untenable; yet we should not have thought it impossible that Avalon, or some other large peninsula, might have been deemed an island, did not the white bears, which are found only on Labrador, appear to decide in its favour. Newfoundland, however, was certainly discovered in this voyage, and has always been claimed by Britain. It is astonishing, considering the obstacles which then existed to maritime enterprise, how speedily attention was drawn to it by the report of the great abundance of baccalaos, as the codfish were then called, found on its shores. As early as 1517, we find it stated by the crew of an English ship that they had left forty vessels, Portuguese, French, and Spanish, busily employed in the fishery. The English at that period were left far behind by several other nations in the career of discovery; but they gradually advanced. Some attempts were even made to form a settlement; but that of Mr. Hore in 1536 was attended by the disastrous issue mentioned in a former volume of this series. In 1583, when the expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert was undertaken, a number of European vessels were found busied in the fishery. That enterprising commander did not, as we formerly showed, attempt any permanent colony, but proceeded with that view farther to the south, where he met with the losses which led to the fatal termination of his undertaking.* In 1548 the fishery was relieved from several exactions formerly made by the Admiralty. In 1578, Anthony Parkhurst, writing to Hakluyt, states that the English shipping

* Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 499. M'Pherson's Annals of Commerce (4 vols. 4to, Edinburgh, 1806), vol. ii., p. 51. Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, p. 52–55. Polar Seas and Regions (Harpers' Family Library, No. xiv.), p. 150.

had in four years increased from thirty to fifty vessels; but adds that they could not yet match the Spaniards, who sent 100, besides twenty or thirty from Biscay for the whale-fishery; nor the French, who had 150, though of small dimensions. They were, however, cruelly harassed by pirates, who were at that time extremely numerous, and some of them apparently persons of great consequence. Whitbourne mentions Peter Easton, whom he names the arch-pirate, who had with him ten sail of well-appointed ships. In 1612, being complete master of those seas, he levied a general contribution on the vessels employed in the fishery, and impressed a hundred men for his squadron. He then went to amuse himself at the point of Ferryland, in the supposed view of afterward proceeding to the Azores in quest of the Plate-fleet.*

About this time, however, we find the first attempt made on a large scale to colonize that northern territory. It was chiefly promoted by Mr. Guy, an intelligent merchant of Bristol, who published several pamphlets, and induced a number of influential persons at court to engage in the undertaking. Among these were the celebrated Lord Bacon, Lord Northampton, keeper of the seals, and Sir Francis Tanfield, chief baron of exchequer. To them, and to forty-one other individuals, a patent was granted in 1610, under the designation of the "Treasurer and the Company of Adventurers and Planters of the citie of London and Bristol for the colony and plantation in Newfoundland." Scruples somewhat nicer than usual were felt as to the right by which the territory was occupied. It is stated to be "so destitute and desolate of inhabitance that scarce any one savage person hath in many yeeres beene seene in the most parts thereof." The limits were fixed

* M'Pherson, vol. ii., p. 160. Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 132. Whitbourne's Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland (London, 1623), Preface. Purchas vol. iv., p. 1879, 1880.

between Capes St. Mary and Bonavista, comprising that part of the eastern and southern coasts which had been hitherto the chief seat of fishery. The patentees were invested with the entire property of the land, soil, mines, including even the all-important ones of gold and silver, then dignified with the title of royal. They were endowed, too, with those regal attributes so profusely lavished on the early adventurers. Every privilege which could be, or ever had been, bestowed upon any company, was declared, without any special mention, to belong to them. The only reservation was the right of fishery on the coast to all British subjects.

Mr. Guy, who had kindled the spirit which led to this adventure, was intrusted with its execution, and created governor of the new colony. In 1610 he conveyed thither in three vessels thirty-nine persons, whom he employed in constructing a dwelling and storehouse, with an enclosure 120 feet by 90, in which were planted three pieces of ordnance. In a letter to Mr. Slaney, the treasurer, he gives an account of the climate, in which at least the strongest prepossession is manifest. He declares that in the greatest depth of winter it was not so cold as sometimes in England; that the brooks had never been so frozen but that the slightest weight would break the ice; and that, unless for about fifteen days, the settlers could travel to great distances, and sleep out in the woods without injury. The domestic animals had thriven extremely; a fine kid had "yeaned in the dead of winter." One man had died, and four or five been severely afflicted, evidently with the scurvy; but he insists that their sole malady was laziness; and that, "if they had had as good will to worke as they had good stomackes to their victuals, they would long since have bin recovered." Another died "of thought, having slaine a man in Rochester." Some other casualties had occurred, but nothing that could be justly imputed to the country or climate.

Guy returned to England the following season, leaving the colony in charge of William Colston, who gave a very opposite, and, we suspect, much truer account. He dares not, he says, "present the whole," but December was "very full of snow." After the middle of January the frost became intense; even their beer was frozen, and "the cattle did not well thrive." Twenty-five settlers were ill, mostly of scurvy; six died; the rest recovered in early spring by the use of turnips. Guy, however, having gone back in the summer of 1612, applied himself vigorously to the arrangement of the colony. He undertook a voyage of discovery along the coast, in the course of which he met two canoes, having on board eight Indians, with whom he dealt very prudently, and held an amicable intercourse. It appears that, having abandoned the colony in the course of twelve months, it languished greatly.

The next account is in 1615, when Captain Whitbourne was sent out to hold a court of admiralty, and provide a check for certain abuses of which the crews employed in the fishery loudly complained. These indeed seem to have been flagrant. The captains had been accustomed to leave their boats and salt on the coast, hoping to find them at the beginning of next season, instead of which, in many cases, not a vestige of them remained. The bait prepared for the next day's fishing was frequently stolen out of the nets. The practice of wantonly setting fire to the forests, and of sinking at the mouth of the harbours the large stones employed in pressing the fish, threatened serious consequences. Little or no regard was paid by many to the sanctity of the Sabbath. He, however, found it easier to point out these mischiefs than to devise a remedy; and he seems to have placed his chief dependence on the formation of a respectable colony, which he urged in the most earnest manner.

About 1621 the spirit of Newfoundland settle-

ment, having slumbered long, revived in great strength. Sir George Calvert, afterward Lord Baltimore, obtained the grant of a considerable tract from Cape St. Mary to the Bay of Bulls, with the view of planting some of his countrymen, who, professing, like himself, the Roman Catholic religion, might enjoy there its free exercise. Cary, Viscount Falkland, one of the most accomplished noblemen of the age, undertook to send a colony from Ireland, of which he was then lord-lieutenant. Dr. Vaughan, a gentleman of Carmarthen, despatched a body of Welshmen under the charge of Whitbourne. Mr. M'Gregor considers it very singular that the coast should be thus distributed among new adventurers, after it had been assigned in such full and absolute property to the Bristol company. That body probably found the colonization a task beyond their power, and very little tempting as to profit. They continued, however, to receive and transmit settlers. Whitbourne gives an account of Lord Falkland's terms, to which the others were probably similar. Any one who subscribed £100 and settled at least eight persons, was to receive 2000 acres at a rent of twenty pence, to which were to be added a convenient space of ground for erecting stages and fishing, and also for embarking the produce; but for this last he was to pay 20*s.* annually. Any labourer who could provide himself with necessaries for a year, and would consent to work five, was then to receive 100 acres, paying only a fee of 10*s.* at entry and an annual quit-rent of 1*d.**

Few details are given of the colonists who went out under these conditions; but they appear to have been numerous. Lord Baltimore despatched three vessels under Captain Wynne, who represented the climate as not more severe than that of England, and fitted for valuable grains, even wheat, as well

* Purchas, vol. iv., p. 1879, 1880, 1888. Whitbourne, p. 56-60, 69-71. M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 155, 156.

as fruits and vegetables. His lordship, upon going to the colony, built at Ferryland a strong fort and a handsome house, where he resided a considerable period. About twenty years after his first plantation, there were estimated to be about 350 families on different parts of the coast. The fishery, at the same time, grew rapidly in importance. In 1626, vessels to the number of 150 sailed thither from Devonshire, and England began to supply the demand in Spain and Italy. The sea, however, was still severely harassed by pirates.

Lord Baltimore afterward returned to England, and, through the favour of Charles I., was enabled to found a flourishing colony on the more genial shores of Maryland. The settlers, sinking into comparative neglect, seem to have given up all attempts at culture, devoting their whole attention to the fishery, which they carried on by stages from the coast. At this time, too, the French began to extend their fishing, and to become active rivals to the British. In 1645, the king granted them permission to cure and dry fish, on paying five per cent. of the produce. In 1660 they formed a settlement in the Bay of Placentia, which they long continued to occupy.*

In 1663 this branch of industry was encouraged by an entire exemption from duty; but about the same period began a most relentless persecution against the colonists, excited by the jealousy of the parties carrying on the deep-sea fishery from England. In 1670, Sir Josiah Child, then the highest mercantile authority, published a treatise, complaining of the decline of this branch, which, though in 1605 it had employed 250 vessels, did not now engage more than eighty. This he imputed to the boat-fishery, and anticipated that, if the inhabitants continued to multiply, they could carry on the whole, and this important nursery of seamen be en-

* M'Pherson vol. ii., p. 338, 389, 491.

tirely destroyed. The only remedy he could conceive was that of *displanting*. So powerfully did these arguments work on the minds of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, that, instead of acceding to the request made for a governor, they determined to root out the entire colony, and reduce the land to a desert. Sir John Berry was sent with strict injunctions to execute this ruthless determination, to burn the houses, and drive out the settlers. That officer, however, seems to have mitigated as much as possible his cruel commission, and sent home strong remonstrances as to the misery which he had reluctantly occasioned. In 1676, Downing, a resident, procured an order from the king that the people should not be farther molested; but strict injunctions were issued, that no vessel should carry out any emigrants, or permit them to settle. Grievous complaints were made of the extent to which this regulation was evaded, yet no very rigorous measures were adopted; and in 1697, a report was published by the Board of Trade, stating that a number of inhabitants, not exceeding a thousand, might be found useful, if employed in the construction of boats, stages, and other materials for the fishery.*

During the war with France, which broke out in consequence of the revolution of 1688, the settlements in Newfoundland endured great vicissitudes. Though Britain had uniformly claimed the exclusive sovereignty of the island, yet the French, as already observed, had, by favour or oversight, been allowed full freedom of fishing, and had even formed several settlements. Having fortified these, they showed an evident wish to get possession of the whole island; a circumstance which was stated among the grounds of war. In 1692, Commander Williams, who was sent with a force against Placentia, suc-

* M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 158, 159.

ceeded only in destroying a portion of the works; while, in 1696, the French, re-enforced by a squadron from Europe, attacked St. John, but without success. The place, however, having suffered severely, another armament before the end of the year gained possession of and set it on fire. Upon this, Ibberville, with a body of troops, rooted out all the English stations, except Bonavista and Carbonier. A fleet, with 1500 men on board, was sent out under Admiral Nevil and Sir John Gibson, in hope of retrieving these disasters; but, through the misconduct of the commanders, nothing was effected. The contest was terminated in 1698 by the Peace of Ryswick, which restored everything to the same state as before the commencement of hostilities.* The The same year an act was passed for the encouragement of the fishery, now declared free to all his majesty's subjects. In order to remedy the disorders long complained of, it was directed that the first ship arriving at any station under the title of admiral, and the second and third under those of rear and vice admirals, should be invested with a certain jurisdiction over the others. These names are considered by Mr. M'Gregor as ridiculous; but, in fact, they were applied at that time as readily to ships as to commanders. The expedient itself was soon found very inadequate; for the captains of the vessels, notwithstanding their high titles, were frequently induced by presents of fish to give corrupt decisions; and a general laxity prevailed, for which it was not easy to find a remedy.†

The war of the succession exposed the colony again to the attacks of the French, who, though generally unfortunate in that contest, were favoured by local situation in their proceedings at Newfoundland. Sir John Lake, indeed, in 1703, captured

* Martin, p. 242, 243.

† M'Pherson, vol. ii., p. 706, 707. M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 160, 161.

several of their smaller settlements, and took a number of prizes; but Admiral Graydon, who was sent out in the following year, returned without effecting anything. In 1705, the troops in Placentia, re-enforced by 500 men from Canada, successfully attacked the British colonists. In 1708, their commander, St. Ovide, surprised and completely destroyed St. John, and they became masters of every English station except Carbonier. An expedition under Captain Martin and Colonel Nicholson in vain attempted to recover these possessions. The attention of our government during this war was entirely engrossed by great events on the Continent of Europe; but their splendid successes here enabled them, at the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, to do more than redeem all their losses in that distant quarter. Louis XIV. was compelled, by the pressure of circumstances, to yield up all his possessions on the coast of Newfoundland. He retained, however, for his subjects the right to erect huts and stages for fishing along part of the eastern coast, from Cape Bonavista to the northern point, and thence along the western as far as Point Riche. Of this permission they availed themselves so actively, that in 1721 they had 400 vessels employed, and not only supplied their own country, but rivalled the English in the trade to Spain and the Mediterranean.*

The English trade continued also to increase, owing to greater attention being paid to the maintenance of order in this important settlement. In 1729, on the representation of Lord Vere Beauclerk, who commanded on the station, the colony was withdrawn from its nominal dependence on Nova Scotia. Captain Osborne, of the Squirrel, was named governor, and empowered to appoint justices of the peace and other officers; and, to enable them to perform their duties aright, copies of

* Martin, p. 246. M'Pherson, vol. iii., p. 28.

"Shaw's Practical Justice of the Peace," and of the chief acts relating to the country, were sent to the eleven principal stations. The fishing adventurers, however, accustomed to a roving life, submitted very unwillingly to any semblance of regular jurisdiction. They even craved its abolition; but government persevered in their own plan, and in 1742 appointed a court of admiralty. As much inconvenience arose from the local authorities not having the power of life and death, Captain Drake, in 1751, received authority to appoint commissioners of oyer and terminer for the exercise of criminal justice.

In the war which broke out in 1756, the French, after having sustained some severe losses, succeeded so far as to obtain possession of St. John and some other important stations. These were, however, soon retaken; and by the peace of Paris in 1763, the arrangements with regard to the fishery were restored to the same state as before the contest.*

After the conclusion of this treaty, the British government began to pay increased attention to everything connected with the fishery; and upon due investigation it was resolved to discontinue all attempts to check the resident fishermen. It appeared, indeed, that their branch of industry, through local advantages, and in spite of every opposition, had become much more productive than that of the ships. Thus, while the latter employed 177 vessels, the tonnage of which was 17,268, and produced 136,840 quintals of fish, the former cured 310,576 quintals. A considerable quantity was also taken by what were termed by-boats, and other vessels from different parts of British America. The total export to foreign countries amounted to 493,654 quintals, to which were added seal-oil to the value

* M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 163–165.

of £5109, and furs valued at £980. At this time, too, the fisheries on the Labrador coast began to rise into importance. Whales and seals, however, were almost the only object of pursuit, which was carried on by 117 sloops and schooners from British America, and yielded a produce valued at £100,000. In 1763, this coast being politically separated from Canada, was annexed to Newfoundland; and in 1764, a collector and comptroller of customs were established at St. John.*

The unhappy contest with the American colonies, which ended in their separation from Great Britain, materially unhinged the arrangements of the fishery. In 1775, when the hostile movements appeared to be fully organized, the question arose, Whether the rebels, having renounced all commercial intercourse with the mother country, were entitled to participate in this lucrative trade? It was urged in reply by the merchants of London, that, if excluded, a number of industrious men would be ruined, and driven to recruit the forces of the enemy. The opposite opinion, supported by the merchants of Poole, prevailed in the cabinet; the exclusion was enforced, and produced not only all the evils which had been predicted, but another, the dread of which had been regarded as chimerical. These colonies had supplied the ships employed in the fishery with all their provisions; and this intercourse being still left open to them, it appeared improbable that they would renounce the large profits which it afforded. Animated, however, by strong feelings of revenge, they prohibited the conveyance of any supplies whatever to the British; and when the vessels went out, they found with dismay that, instead of prosecuting the object of their voyage, they must consider only how to escape starvation. They found it necessary either to return home or to re-

* M'Pherson, vol. iii., p. 377, 423, 424. M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 166

pair to some of the other colonies. In future years the want was met, though with great cost and difficulty; and the settlements, meantime, were not disturbed by any hostile invasion. At the close, however, Britain, pressed by a confederacy of the maritime powers, was obliged to grant terms somewhat more favourable. The French not only retained their privilege of fishing, and of building huts and stages, upon a somewhat extended line of coast; but it was stipulated that English subjects should remove from all establishments formed within the limits assigned to these foreigners; and in 1788 instructions were sent to enforce this article. Even the Americans obtained conditions which have been deeply lamented by zealous patriots, and will be afterward particularly noticed.*

Britain, however, made at this time great exertions, and granted liberal bounties for the encouragement of her fisheries. A law, passed in 1775, allowed £40 to the first twenty-five ships, £20 to the next hundred, and £10 to the second hundred, which should land a cargo of fish in Newfoundland before the 15th July, and proceed to the banks for a second lading. In 1786, this bounty was renewed for ten years with some additions.

In 1785, it appeared that the permanent inhabitants amounted to 10,244, who had 8034 acres under cultivation. As their numbers and wealth increased, they more and more felt the want of some better system of law than could be administered by naval officers and mercantile captains. In 1789, Admiral Milbanke, who went out as governor, received authority to establish a new court; and as this did not afford satisfaction, power was given in 1792 to settle a chief justice, with surrogate courts, in the principal districts.†

* M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 168–170.

† M'Pherson, vol. iii., p. 576; vol. iv , p. .00, 258. M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 172.

The long war that now ensued between Britain and France was not attended with any evil to Newfoundland, being all the while completely protected by the British navy; and, in point of fact, during its latter period especially, the fisheries rose to a pitch of prosperity quite unprecedented. England, being able to exclude all the other European states, while America had not yet resources sufficient to enter into very formidable rivalry, enjoyed almost a monopoly of that trade. In 1814, the exports are said to have risen to the enormous amount of £2,831,528. At the conclusion of peace in 1814, a deputation of merchants and others connected with Newfoundland entreated government not to concede to France her extensive rights of fishery. As that power, however, was considered by the restoration of Louis XVIII. to have been converted from an enemy into an ally, the liberal policy was adopted of giving back all her foreign possessions, exactly as they stood at the commencement of the war. But Newfoundland suffered very severely from this renewed competition, both in the diminution of the fishery, and the serious fall in the value of its produce. These losses, no doubt, have been in a great measure repaired, and the cod-fishery, though it has never reached the height it once did, has been steadily supported, while that of seals has been vastly extended.*

The government of this island was long administered by naval commanders appointed to cruise on the fishing-station, but who returned to Britain in winter; among whom are found Rodney, Byng, Gambier, and other eminent names. Within the last ten or twelve years, however, it has been deemed eligible to have a resident governor, whose functions are entirely limited to this important office. It has been successively held by Sir Charles Ham-

* M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 174, 239. Martin, p. 327.

ilton, Sir Thomas Cochrane, and Captain Prescott, who is at present invested with this authority. At the same time also, a warm controversy arose respecting a representative assembly, which was earnestly demanded by the resident inhabitants, while merchants in Britain connected with the island dreaded lest it should interfere with the regular course of business. In 1832, however, it was determined to grant this boon, and upon an extremely liberal footing, the assembly being elected by a suffrage almost universal. This system has hitherto worked very inharmoniously, the popular body having been in a state of violent collision, both with the executive and the mercantile interest. The session of 1837 was opened by their demanding to elect their own clerk, sergeant-at-arms, and a constable; a right which the constitution had not vested in them. In the course of the sittings they threw one of the judges into prison. The influence of the Catholic clergy in the elections is much complained of; but in the absence of any official documents our information is very imperfect. The principal merchants, it is said, have made remonstrances to the government at home, representing that trade is injured and property rendered insecure by the proceedings of the assembly. On the other hand, that body presented an address to Lord Durham, expressing the strongest sentiments of loyalty, and denying any intention to disturb the peace of the community.

The chief British settlements are on the large peninsula named Avalon, constituting the southeastern part of the island. It is formed by the deep bays of Trinity and Placentia, separated only by an isthmus of about three miles broad. The smaller parallel bays of St. Mary and Conception divide the district into three lesser peninsulas, giving to it an uncommon extent and variety of coast; while the proximity to Europe, and still more to the Great

Bank, has always caused it to be viewed as the most valuable part of Newfoundland. Even since the coast-fishery became so important, the exhaustless supply found in these winding bays, and the facility with which it can be carried on from stages erected on the shore, preserve for this station its original consequence.

St. John, the capital, is not situated in any of those bays, but on the most eastern part of the coast facing the Great Bank and the expanse of the Atlantic. This position is very convenient for ships coming either from Europe or America, and particularly for the deep sea and seal fisheries. That, too, carried on within its own harbour is most abundant, and, from the singular fertility of the cod, is still as unexhausted as if it were begun every year on a fresh field. This port is spacious and secure, having its entrance guarded by lofty and almost perpendicular cliffs, forming a fine specimen of the grand scenery of the island. The passage, though narrow, admitting only one large vessel at a time, is easy, and, on the whole, secure, there being only at a single point a rocky shelf, against which the navigator must guard. Batteries stand at different points on the shore, and behind the harbour rises a steep hill with a signal-post. For further security, Forts Townshend and William rise at a due distance in the rear of the town.

St. John, even after all its improvements, still bears the aspect of a fishing station. It consists of Water-street, about a mile in length, narrow, and extending entirely along the sea, into which at almost every spot projects that species of frame or stage called a fish-flake. These machines at no distant period reached across the streets, and the passengers were obliged to walk under them; for the great object with the inhabitants has always been to procure as much space as possible for these erections. This street, from forty to fifty feet broad,

contains some handsome stone houses, but irregularly mixed with a larger number of somewhat humble wooden tenements.

Beyond Cape St. John, the northern limit of Notre Dame Bay, extends what may be termed the French coast, where that nation still enjoy a right of fishery, but where neither they nor the British are allowed to form any permanent settlement. It is, therefore, almost quite destitute of any fixed habitations, and imperfectly known. The French, however, allow a limited number of our countrymen to reside, and even to fish, on condition of protecting their machinery and keeping it in order during their absence in winter or on other occasions.

The two small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, near the mouth of Fortune Bay, have been ceded to the French in entire sovereignty, and made the headquarters of their fisheries. They maintain here a governor with a small garrison, but are not allowed to erect fortifications. The surface is high and rugged, yielding only shrubs, moss, and grass, though the shores afford good fishing-stations.*

Labrador forms an extensive appendage to Newfoundland, its coast reaching from 50° to 61° north latitude. It is generally described as one of the most dreary and naked regions on the face of the globe. Scarcely anything appears except high rocks, destitute of vegetation, and shattered into fragments. It presents, in fact, under an aggravated form, that stern aspect which distinguishes the eastern coasts of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Yet, according to Mr. Cartwright, who spent many years in the country, this representation, derived from the view of its iron-bound coast, has been carried much too far. On penetrating a little way into the interior, or even to the head of the bays, the surface is found

* M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 204.

thickly clothed with pine-trees and a profusion of delicate berries. It is everywhere most copiously irrigated by brooks, streams, ponds, and lakes. The country seems, therefore, not incapable of cultivation, yet many changes must take place before it can repay the necessary labour. Its wealth, as yet, is derived almost solely from the sea. Like the other coasts mentioned, and even in a greater degree, it is broken into deep bays, bordered by thousands of islands, and affording at once safe harbours and productive fishing-stations.

The fishery on the Labrador shore is nearly confined to the southeastern tract opposite to Newfoundland, and separated from it by the Straits of Belleisle. It did not begin till about a century ago, but has since made such advances as almost to rival that of Newfoundland. While its bays are equally rich in cod, the take of salmon is much more extensive, and that of seals affords an occupation which fills up intervals otherwise unemployed. The fur-trade, too, affords an advantageous winter occupation.*

The settlements on this coast can in no case aspire to the character of towns, or even of villages. They are merely stations where companies from England or Newfoundland maintain buildings or machinery, to which vessels are sent during the summer. In winter, a few inhabitants left to take care of them also employ themselves in capturing seals and fur-bearing animals. Bradore Bay, containing the most southerly of these settlements, has deep water, but is rendered extremely dangerous by a vast number of small rocks. It presents only about ten inhabitants. L'Anse le Blanc, or L'Anse le Clair, has about fifty people and the best seal-fishery on the straits, but its harbour cannot receive

* Cartwright's Journal of a Residence on the Coast of Labrador (3 volumes), vol. iii., p. 221--223.

large vessels. Forteau Bay, about ten miles to the northeast, contains the most considerable of all the settlements, though the anchorage be not very secure. The captain who first arrives here is dignified with the title of fishing-admiral, and enjoys a certain jurisdiction over the coast. One side is occupied by English, the other by Guernsey men; the former remain through the winter, while the latter quit the coast in autumn; but these last are said to be the more active fishers.

The remotest and most desolate part of this region, beyond the limits of regular settlement, and tenanted only by wandering Esquimaux, has long been the seat of missionary establishments, so important as to be well deserving of notice. They were instituted by the Moravian Brethren, a body of men who, in this department of Christian benevolence, have distinguished themselves by perseverance, devotedness, and sound judgment. They had early formed, with great success, a mission at Herrnhut and other points on the western coast of Greenland. John Christian Erhardt, one of their number, having, in his employment as a pilot, visited it in 1749, and learned that a similar people inhabited the opposite coast, conceived an ardent zeal for extending to them the same benefits. This enterprise was seconded by Count Zinzendorff, the head of the order; and in 1752, three London merchants, Nisbet, Grace, and Bell, fitted out a vessel for the joint purpose of trade and religious instruction. A wooden house was conveyed thither in frame; but after they had landed, and affairs seemed in a promising state, Erhardt and six others were murdered by the natives for the sake of their property. All the rest were then obliged to return.

The brethren, however, were not discouraged and in 1764, Jens Haven, a carpenter, after long revolving the design, determined to attempt making his way by Newfoundland. Sir Hugh Palliser, then

governor, afforded him every encouragement; but the cruel treatment inflicted on the natives had rendered them so irreconcilably hostile to the British, that they were wont to flee at their approach, and destroy such as fell into their hands. In the month of September, Haven found an opportunity of addressing an Esquimaux in his own language, and, entering into familiar conversation, suffered himself to be led to a large party, with whom he held friendly intercourse. From his language and kindly address they welcomed him as one of themselves. On his return to England with this favourable report, another ship was sent out, and an amicable communication on a greater scale was commenced. Still the missionaries had not materials for forming a colony; and, notwithstanding the favourable accounts which they carried home, particular circumstances suspended during five years any farther operations.*

Meantime, in 1768, a contest arose between the Europeans and the natives, when a number of the latter were taken prisoners; two of whom, Mikak, a woman, and her son Karpik, were brought to London, where they excited a good deal of curiosity. The former, being a very intelligent person, was much struck with the superior benefits of social life, and became anxious to communicate some of them to her countrymen. Chancing to meet with Haven, whom she had known in Labrador, she entreated him to fulfil his purpose of forming a mission in that province. His zeal was rekindled, and Sir Hugh Palliser and other friends procured for him, through the Board of Trade, a grant of 100,000 acres, with a recommendation to the governor of Newfoundland to afford his aid. A ship was fitted out, in which the carpenter sailed with two companions, Drachart and Jenson, and by means of Mikak easily

* Moravians in Labrador (18mo, Edinburgh, 1835), p. 28, 31-34, 37, 38, 43, 62, 63.

opened a very cordial communication with her kinsmen. Notwithstanding the grant, it was very properly determined to negotiate a purchase, on which they unanimously cried out, "Pay, pay!" intimating their readiness on these terms to give any quantity of land which might be desired. The brethren, having fixed on a suitable place, returned, and, in the course of the winter, collected a party of fourteen, who agreed to combine in forming a permanent mission. They sailed on the 8th May, 1771, and arrived on the 9th August at the appointed spot, in 56° 36′ north latitude, which they named Nain. They immediately laid the foundation of a wooden house, enclosing it with a palisade, which, however, proved superfluous, as the natives, instead of any disposition to do mischief, eagerly rendered every service. The brethren, while supplying their disciples with useful instruments, made it a rule that something should always be taken in return, to prevent them from viewing themselves as dependant upon the mission. In 1773 they were visited by Lieutenant Curtis, whose voyage has been already noticed, and who had been instructed to ascertain if they still survived. He was much surprised, instead of dark, sour, starving fanatics, dwelling in huts of earth, to find them cheerful, comfortable, and on the best terms with the inhabitants. Yet the effect of their instructions was much impaired by the migratory habits of their pupils, who almost all left the settlement during winter. By degrees, however, about eighty were induced to remain, and constitute a permanent congregation. Two other stations were soon afterward formed, which had the effect of bringing them in contact with nearly the whole race; one at Okkak, in 58° 20′, about 120 miles north of Nain, and another at Hopedale, in 55° 40′.

The brethren thus made a favourable beginning, and found no difficulty in inducing many of the na-

tives to attend their meetings, and even to avow an outward profession of Christianity. Yet they endured many vicissitudes and much anxiety as to the spiritual condition of their converts. It was soon discovered that the great question with the proselytes was, whether the new observances would be favourable to their temporal interest. Being warned not to invoke Torngak, but to call only upon Jesus, they inquired if they would thereby get good weather, and catch the whale more easily. On being told of the mercy and power of the Saviour, they expressed a hope, that, since such a great lord was their friend, he would secure them from the Kablunats (Europeans), and assist them against the Kraler, a hostile tribe to the northward. It was found that some of the most decided professors still carried on their magical and superstitious practices in secret. Mikak herself, in whom they had hoped to find a powerful instrument of conversion, retained still her eminence as a magician; and happening once to lodge under her roof, they had the affliction, during the whole night, to hear the house resound with her savage incantations. There appeared a disposition to mix the creeds, which could by no means be tolerated. The same magic rites were practised, substituting only the name of Jesus for that of Torngak; and on one occasion a dog was killed, and six persons sprinkled with the blood, like that of the Paschal Lamb. Seasons of severe sickness, usually favourable to serious thought, were here the times of trial and backsliding; for having invariably looked to the conjuror for a cure, they could scarcely be prevented from having recourse to him. These practices were carefully concealed from the missionaries, who often learned with dismay their continued prevalence among those of whom they had cherished the best hopes. The mild character often ascribed to this race was found by no means uniformly supported, for even murders

among themselves were not unfrequent. Tuglavina, the husband of Mikak, was both a conjuror and a ruffian, and on a journey had killed two of his companions with the supposed view of seizing and selling their wives. Polygamy was usually practised to the utmost extent of the husband's means; and while it was considered as conferring dignity, it yielded a sure profit, as the wives worked hard. Peter, one of their earliest converts, having constructed a large kayak, the brethren were dismayed to learn that he had taken unto himself four wives, two of whom were mother and daughter. On receiving a solemn remonstrance, he admitted and bewailed his sin, yet could not be induced to quit it, because, without this number of hands, he could not manage his boat. Owing to these causes, as the missionaries were strictly jealous as to admission to ordinances of the gospel, the three settlements in 1789 contained only eighty persons either baptized or candidates for baptism.*

It was not, in fact, till a new generation arose, not initiated in the savage and reckless habits of their parents, that any general change could be effected. About 1805, thirty-four years after their first settlement, they began to reap the fruit of their prayers and tears. From that time there was a progressive improvement. In 1810, the number of inhabitants baptized, or desirous to receive the sacrament of initiation, was 265. In 1821, there were 471 baptized, and 45 candidates; and in 1824, the whole number of Christian Esquimaux under their charge amounted to 705. An important alteration had been effected, not only in their religious belief, but in their moral as well as physical well-being. Murder and acts of violence against each other had ceased, and the mutual enmities which many of them had indulged were renounced. They were taught to

* Moravians in Labrador, p. 94--98, 151--153, 157, 158, 254.

build better boats and more substantial houses, to use more efficacious nets and other implements of fishing, and to practise foresight and economy; by which means they enjoyed plenty while their uninstructed neighbours were starving. They were, in general, taught to read, and many of them to write. In 1821, copies of the New Testament were supplied by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and in the autumn of the same year, Captain Martin, of the Clinker sloop of war, being sent by the governor of Newfoundland to visit the settlements, spent some days at each, and was quite delighted with the improvement effected on the people. His report facilitated the design which they had for some time cherished, of forming a fourth settlement still farther to the north, in Ungava Bay, at the entrance of Hudson's Strait. This was accomplished in 1828 and 1829, at a place called Kangertluksoak, a name which was changed to Hebron. The country was more level, and even the climate milder than at Okkak; but there being no wood in the vicinity, they were obliged to transport all the materials for building a house from the former place. Appearances were, on the whole, as promising as could be expected. In 1832 they had a congregation of 162, eighty-two of whom, however, had joined from other settlements.*

Among the different branches of industry, that of fishing, which in other countries ranks only as a secondary pursuit, possesses in Newfoundland such a superior importance as to claim our first attention. Almost from the earliest discovery of America, this occupation was followed upon a large scale by the maritime nations; but for a long time it was chiefly confined to the Great Bank, and to vessels sailing from European ports. As soon, however, as per-

* Moravians in Labrador, p. 186, 203, 207--216, 245, 251, 298, &c., 306--324.

manent settlements began to be formed, it was found that the southeastern coast, rocky and deeply embayed, afforded a supply almost equally exhaustless, the produce of which could be cured there much more cheaply and conveniently. When, therefore, the coast-fishery was established, the ships employed on the banks found extreme difficulty in making head against it; and though the merchants procured, as we have seen, the most violent orders for the extirpation both of the fisheries and settlements, these proved altogether unavailing. The one branch continually increased, while the other declined, till it does not now employ above eight or ten sloops.* If the French and Americans, to the grief of our colonial patriots, still carry it on to a certain extent, we may conclude that it is entirely owing to the want of the same convenience on shore.

The first operation of the coast-fisher is to erect what is termed a fish-flake, raised upon posts which support a platform covered with dry fern. It stretches so far into the sea that boats can readily approach. From the spot thus prepared, the boats, at dawn of day, push out to the best fishing-ground within reach, which, from circumstances not yet fully understood, is sometimes very near, and sometimes changes to a considerable distance. Across each boat is a succession of *bins* like the counters of a shop, separated by flat spaces, on each of which stands a fisherman. He is furnished with two lines, having two hooks fastened on each. These are baited chiefly with capelin or herrings, and sometimes even with the flesh of birds. When all these fail, a jigger or artificial fish of lead is thrown in, and is often caught at by the voracious animal. The nets are cast, one on each side of the boat; the first filled is drawn up; the fish, stunned by blows, are thrown into the bin, and the hooks, after being re-

* M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 249.

baited, are returned to the sea. The opposite net, which is then drawn up, is handled in the same manner. This task continues till the boat is filled, often in a very short time. The men then hasten to the flakes, upon which the fish are hastily thrown by a pike stuck in the head, not injuring the body. The crew again return to the fishing-ground, whence, in the course, perhaps, of an hour or two, they bring in a fresh cargo.

From the top of the flake the fish is carried into the salting-house, where a new class of operations commences. This structure is provided with one or more tables, round which, invested in leathern aprons, are seated three important personages, the cutthroat, the header, and the splitter. The first, with a sharp-pointed, double-edged knife, cuts open the fish through its whole length. The header, to whom it is then passed, removes the head and entrails, preserving, in many cases, the liver and sounds, and dropping the rest into the sea. The splitter, to whom it is next transferred, by two dexterous cuts, removes the back-bone; an operation considered so nice, that he receives the highest wages, and ranks next to the master. These three operations are usually performed upon half a dozen subjects in the course of a single minute. The fish, thus prepared, is placed in hand-barrows, and conveyed to the salter, whose business is also considered very important. Having spread over each a due portion of salt, he piles them above each other with the backs undermost. When they have thus remained for a few days, the salt is washed off with a soft mop, during which process they are placed in a box with holes underneath for the water to run off. Farther to complete the draining, they are piled in long heaps, bearing the odd name of water-horses.

After the fish have remained a day in this state, they undergo the final process of drying. This is

effected by spreading them on flakes with the fleshy side uppermost, and leaving them thus exposed till sunset, turning them once a day. At night they are piled above each other, with the backs uppermost, in heaps called fagots or flackets, which often accumulate till they resemble haystacks. If rain occurs during the day, those lying out are hastily thrown into this shape. Even when well dried, they are left in this form to sweat, as the sailors term it; when, being considered thoroughly cured, they are lodged in warehouses.

The fish is liable to various injuries, either through neglect or unfavourable weather. If the latter be very hot, it becomes flyblown and maggoty, and a few in this state are in some cases found to infect the rest. Too much salt causes the fibres to break, and pieces to separate; it is then called saltburnt. If sunburnt, the effect is nearly similar. Damp or wet may occasion putrefaction, or make the mass assume a brownish colour, when it is called dunfish.

Before the cod is exported or delivered for consumption, it undergoes a final drying, and is then, after careful inspection, divided into three sorts: 1. Merchantable, of perfect good quality, fit for the best markets. 2. Madeira, inferior, yet still good. 3. West India, decidedly inferior, yet capable of standing a sea voyage, and being kept a considerable time. These last are chiefly destined for the aliment of the negroes in the colonies. There remain the dunfish and others discoloured, broken, and otherwise damaged, which nevertheless may be as fit as others for immediate consumption, to which they are therefore applied.*

The bank-fishery is managed upon the same principles, modified by the situation. The vessels, usually large and from European ports, anchor in the midst of the best fishing-ground. An exterior plat-

* M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 224–232. Chappell, p. 123–130.

form is raised along the sides; and the men are protected from the weather by an awning. When a fish is caught, a boy takes it to those who are to cut and split it; after which it is thrown into the hold. When a cargo is completed, it must be taken and dried on shore. This process, however, is often performed too late, and with fewer conveniences, and hence the bank-fish is inferior in appearance, and, to a certain degree, in quality. It is, however, of a larger size, which secures a preference in some markets.*

Views of this important branch of industry have already been given in the historical sketch; to these we now add its amount since 1790 in quintals, which are equivalent to hundred-weights.

1790, 1791, 1792, average	656,800	1830	760,177
1798, 1799, 1800	382,881	1832	619,177
1805	526,380	1833	883,536
1815	1,245,808	1834	674,988
1820	899,729	1835	712,588
1825	973,464		

Hence it will appear that, after many variations, the produce at the end of this long period has returned to nearly the same amount as at the beginning. The price obtained for it, however, has varied remarkably. In 1814 it was estimated at £2 per quintal; in 1831, 1832, and 1833, at no more than 10*s*. In 1834 it rose to about 13*s*.; but in 1835 again fell to 10*s*.†

The stationary state of the cod-fishery has been in a great measure compensated by the active prosecution of that of the seal. This pursuit is eminently characteristic of the daring hardihood of British colonists. From the regions of ice on the Arctic shores, as already noticed, numerous fields,

* M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 226. Chappell, p. 122.

† Bliss, p. 68, 69. M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 239. Colonial Tables, 1832, p. 30; 1833, p. 18; 1834, p. 16.

separated by the first spring thaws, are floated down into the more temperate seas, bringing upon their surface herds of these amphibious animals. To meet their arrival, the fishermen, in vessels of about 120 tons, set sail early in March, and proceed, amid the gloom of fog and tempest, till they encounter one of these huge floating masses. The mariners seek those level parts, called seal-meadows, where they attack the creatures sleeping usually in large bodies. The piteous cries of these harmless animals, as they fall under successive blows, cause a painful sensation to those whom habit has not steeled against such impressions. When the weather admits, the skin with the blubber beneath are stripped off, and stowed into the vessel, leaving the useless parts; but circumstances often render it necessary to carry off the whole carcass. The fat, when separated from the skin and cut into slices, is put into framework vats, with boughs inside, through which the oil oozes, and in three or four weeks becomes fit for use. The crews return by the end of April, in time to engage in the cod-fishery.

On the coast of Newfoundland, and still more largely on that of Labrador, seals are caught by nets. The most approved mode is to form two adjacent frameworks, one fixed, while the other nearest the shore is moveable, and in the first instance kept beneath the surface. Efforts are made, by firing muskets and otherwise, to drive the animals into the space between the frames; when this is done, the moveable one is suddenly raised, and completely encloses them.

The following statement, from the time when this branch began to rise into importance, shows its rapid progress, with some variations:

	Tons of Oil.	Seal Skins.
1815	8225	141,374
1820	8224	221,334
1825	7806	221,510
1830	12,371	559,342
1832	10,010	442,683
1834	9030	360,155
1835	11,780	557,494

Compared to these rich products of the waters, agriculture, elsewhere the main staple of industry, is held here as less worthy of pursuit. The climate is a good deal more severe than in Canada and Nova Scotia, and the soil is fertile only in the alluvial tracts on the rivers, and at the head of the bays, whither settlement has not yet reached. The western coast is described as more favourable; but no advantage can be drawn from it while the British and French unite to prevent each other from settling. Indeed, until good land becomes scarce in America, it cannot be expected that the agriculturist will be attracted by a situation so decidedly inferior. By the census of 1836, it appears that only 25,000 acres are occupied, and of these only 11,000 are under cultivation. With care they may be made to yield corn of every description; but hitherto the oats only are really good. The aggregate produce little exceeds 10,000 bushels; hence the country is almost entirely dependent for bread-corn upon the United States and Europe. Potatoes form the most important object, the soil being excellently adapted for them, while the conveyance from abroad would be attended with very heavy expense.

Commerce, compared with the population and wealth, is carried on more extensively than in perhaps any other country. Nearly the whole produce is destined for foreign markets, whence in return are imported all the necessaries and luxuries of life.

It is proper now to take some farther notice of the privileges as to fishing enjoyed and claimed by

the French on the coast. It does not appear, notwithstanding the claims founded on the discovery by Cabot, that, down to the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, any serious opposition was made to other nations fishing, and even forming settlements on the unoccupied coasts. France, which established several important ones, had held them for upward of half a century; and they had been recognised as hers by the peace of Ryswick. Before that of Utrecht she had conquered most of those of England, and was nearly in possession of the whole island: Britain, therefore, instead of throwing away what she had, made a most important acquisition, when, by that negotiation, she obtained the entire territorial dominion of Newfoundland, with the exclusive fishery on its best coasts. She could not, however, grasp everything; and the cabinet of Paris naturally made a great stand to retain some hold of this important trade, in which their people had been long engaged. They obtained the concurrent right of fishing, without that of settling, on the northern shore between Cape Bonavista on the east and Point Riche on the west.

By the treaty of 1783, the French obtained some important additions. By this treaty, France, on ceding her claim upon the part of the eastern coast between Cape Bonavista and St. John, obtained its extension to the whole of the western, terminating on the south at Cape Ray. The part thus acquired was more extensive than that ceded, but less favourable for fishing, so that there was not on this account any very material change.

The French part includes a considerable extent of good fishing-ground north of Cape St. John, though we cannot think it comparable to the numerous and fine bays already described, of which the British have the exclusive possession. Some parts of the western coast are altogether destitute of cod, while the others, containing few bays and islands, cannot be very favourable, and are, in fact, little frequented. Its boasted freedom from fog can therefore be of

little value. By a late statement it appears, that on an average of five years, the produce was 245,000 quintals, of which 160,000 were consumed in France, 17,000 sent to Spain, Portugal, and Italy, the remainder to the several colonies. Thus it appears that the entire amount is little more than a third of the British, while the export is comparatively a mere trifle; and this limited trade, too, is supported only by enormous bounties, amounting in one year to £60,000. It is valued, indeed, only as a nursery of seamen.*

The fishery of the Americans may be dated from the peace of 1783, when they were recognised as an independent nation. They obtained then very ample privileges, being allowed to take fish on all the shores of Newfoundland, and also to dry them in the unsettled bays and harbours of Nova Scotia and other coasts held by Great Britain. These concessions, however, being made at the close of a disastrous war, were not prompted by that romantic generosity of which the colonial writers so bitterly accuse the English government. A great stand was made against them, but Mr. Adams positively refused to close the treaty upon any other terms. At the peace of 1814, a singular and total silence was observed on the subject; but on an attempt made by the Americans to resume operations, a discussion arose, when it was contended, on the part of the English ministry, that the war had cancelled the stipulations of 1783, and that they had no longer any rights of fishery. The Americans, however, maintained that those terms formed a permanent arrangement connected with the separation of the States from Britain, and must remain till expressly abrogated. After much reasoning on the point, a convention was concluded in 1818, by which they were allowed both to catch and dry on the unoccupied parts in

* Young's British North American Colonies, p. 14, 15, 19, 24, 25. Bliss, p. 64, 73–75. Martin, p. 256–266. M'Culloch's Dictionary of Commerce, 2d edition, p. 304, 305.

the southern and western coasts of Newfoundland and on that of Labrador, but their vessels were not to approach nearer than three miles to any of the other British settlements. A singular feature in regard to the former colony is, that England on this occasion gave what she herself was supposed to have renounced, and the Americans are said to have carried their point, though Captain Sweetland was told that the French would resist any attempt they might make.

Under these limits the Americans have engaged actively in the fishery, and carried it on to a large extent. The amount of cod taken by them has been estimated at 1,100,000 quintals; but a good deal of this is caught on their own shores, and much the greater part consumed at home. The average export in the three years ending 1833 did not exceed 240,000 quintals, scarcely any of which was sent to Europe. This, added to the French export, amounts to less than 260,000 quintals, while that of the British colonies in 1834 was 958,000 quintals.*

The population of Newfoundland has been in a state of continued and even rapid increase. It was forwarded not only by the general progress of the fishery, but more particularly by that on the bank being in a great measure supplanted by the operations near the shore. This method is necessarily adopted by the resident inhabitants, whose number is proportionally augmented. The population in 1827 was about 75,000.

Of course the great body of the people are fishermen, and those chiefly of Irish extraction. The union of these two characters, though it does not preclude many good qualities, is not likely to produce a very sedate and orderly race. They are industrious, bold, and active; and during the long fish-

* Young, p. 33–38, 40. Bliss, p. 59. Pitkin's Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States of America (8vo, New-Haven, 1835), p. 36, 88. Colonial Tables, 1834, p. 135.

ing-season they set cold, toil, and tempest at defiance. But when winter has brought an interval of repose, with a little money in their pockets, and one of their great saints' days has arrived, they place scarcely any bounds to mirth and jollity. Indulging in copious libations, they sometimes make exhibitions which have injured their character with the sober and steady portion of society. Yet these orgies are said to be only occasional, while in their general deportment they are honest and warm-hearted. Great crimes are rare, and petty thefts almost unknown. They are almost all married, have large families, and preserve their strength to a great age; but their mode of living renders inflammatory disorders, when they do occur, violent and dangerous. Their houses are rudely built of wood, with one large fireplace in the middle.*

The higher orders, being either natives of the mother country or in constant communication with it, seem to differ less in their habits and manners than in most other colonies. The elements of society in the capital consist of merchants, military gentlemen, and a few civilians in official life; and these classes mix more generally together than is usual in large towns at home.

The government of Newfoundland since 1832 has been constitutional. The House of Assembly consists of fourteen members, being three for St. John, four for Conception Bay, and one for each of the seven other electoral districts. The qualification is of the most popular nature, being for the elector household suffrage, and for the representative the having been two years a householder. The council, appointed by the crown, and, as usual, possessing a negative, consists at present of the chief-justice acting as president, the attorney-general, collector of customs, commandant, colonial secretary, with four merchants.

* M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 217--222.

The revenue is derived almost entirely from duties on imported goods, which amounted in 1835 to £20,436. It was formerly aided by annual grants of about £11,000 from the crown, but the colony is now required to defray the whole of its own civil expenditure. There is no militia, but a corps of about 300 regular troops is always quartered on the island.

Among religious professions the Catholic includes somewhat more than half the population, owing partly to the original foundation by Lord Baltimore, and still more to the constant immigration of Irish labourers. Their number, according to the census of 1836, is 36,899, while the Episcopalians, who are considered the establishment, amount to 2718, and 10,591 are Protestant dissenters. The established church is chiefly aided by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and has at its head an archdeacon. The Presbyterians appear to be few in number. The Methodists are aided by their society at home; while the Catholic priests are maintained by their flocks, and are said to be very attentive to their duties.

There are twelve free schools, of which two are supported by government and ten by the Newfoundland and British North American School Society. They are taught on Bell's system, and in 1832 there were educated in them 1474 children. There was also an orphan institution at St. John on the Lancasterian plan, attended by 385 scholars, of which the expense is defrayed by voluntary subscription. The census of 1836, along with the religious professions, exhibits the state of education at this recent period, from which it is unpleasant to remark that it does not in the more distant settlements bear any due proportion to the number of people.*

There remains in this island, as in every other

* Martin, p. 297--304. M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 216, 217. Colonial Tables, 1832, p. 28. Information chiefly derived from private sources.

part of America, a portion of the population which it is impossible to contemplate without the most painful feelings. Europeans, when they began to form their first fishing-establishments, found on the coast a considerable number of natives belonging to a particular tribe called Red Indians. This colour, which they exhibited still more decidedly than the races on the continent, is ascribed by Mr. Chappell to a vegetable juice with which their whole body is carefully anointed. The intercourse for some time, as indeed usually happens, was friendly; and they mixed familiarly with the strangers, aiding them in those adventurous pursuits which were congenial to their own habits. Soon, however, quarrels arose; they were accused of stealing the materials of the fishery, and even its produce; wrongs excited to mutual violence, and an inextinguishable enmity followed. The settlers, generally men of fierce tempers, and armed with powerful weapons, carried on the contest in a manner peculiarly ruthless, hunting and shooting the natives like deer. The latter have thus gradually disappeared from the island; and for many years only a few scattered individuals have been found.

The humanity, combined with the curiosity of the present age, has led to repeated efforts to trace out the remnants of this unfortunate people. After several fruitless attempts, Lieutenant Buchan, in 1815–16, came up with a party on the river of Exploits, and prevailed on two of them to accompany him, while the same number of marines were left as hostages; but as he unhappily did not return at the time appointed, the natives, suspecting that a plot was formed to surprise their tribe, killed the two men and hastened to a remote quarter.

An institution called the Bœothic, from a native appellation of this people, has been formed with the view of opening a friendly intercourse with them. To forward the humane intentions of this body, Mr,

Cormack, who on a former occasion had visited the interior, set out, in the year 1827, with a party of Indians, and, ascending the river of Exploits, crossed the country to the head of White Bay. About half way thither, at a portage called the Indian Path, he found vestiges of a family who had evidently been there in the spring or summer of the preceding year. They had possessed two canoes, had left a spear-shaft eighteen feet long, with fragments of boats and dresses, and had stripped a number of the birch and spruce trees of their rind, the inner part of which they use for food. Farther on he came to the remains of a village, consisting of eight or ten wigwams, each capable of containing from six to twenty persons. There were pits to preserve the stores, and the relics of a vapour-bath. From White Bay he proceeded southwest to the Red Indian Lake, a spacious and beautiful sheet of water. On its banks, understood to have been a favourite haunt of the natives, several clusters of their huts were formed, but all had been long deserted. There was a canoe twenty-two feet long, which appeared to have sunk and been driven on shore. Wooden repositories for the dead were framed with great care, the bodies wrapped in skins, and accompanied by a variety of small images, models of canoes, arms, and culinary utensils. The party descended the river of Exploits, continuing to find similar traces of habitations, but all long abandoned. There were fences to entrap deer extending in a continuous line at least thirty miles, which it must have required 500 men to keep in repair; but all is now relinquished and going to ruin.

No Esquimaux are settled in Newfoundland, though they have extended themselves along all the coast of Labrador, and are, in fact, the very same race who have been so minutely described by Parry, Ross, and other northern voyagers. The interior is occupied by an entirely distinct body, the

Hunting Indians. They roam constantly over the country by the aid of snow-shoes in winter, while in summer portable canoes of birch-bark enable them to cross the numerous streams. Their sole study is the destruction of birds and beasts, whose cries they imitate with surprising skill. They bring them down sometimes by means of their old weapon the arrow, but they prefer fowling-pieces where these can be procured. They supply the Europeans on the coast with furs and venison, receiving in return arms, woollen cloth, and spirits. They exhibit a considerable mixture of French blood, and have been converted by that people to a form of Catholic religion, which consists, however, chiefly in counting beads and worshipping images. A most bitter enmity reigns between them and the Esquimaux, though it does not proceed in general to measures of downright violence.*

CHAPTER VI.

Bermudas.

Situation.—Climate.—First Discovery.—Shipwreck and Deliverance of May.—Of Gates and Summers.—First Settlement.—Company formed.—Its Constitution.—Administration of Moore, Tucker, and Butler.—Improved State.—Queries by the Royal Society.—Subsequent Neglect.—Becomes important as a Naval Station.—Agriculture, Commerce.—Naval and Military Establishments.—Population and State of Society.—Local Divisions.

The Bermudas form a small insular group situated in the Atlantic Ocean, but still considerably nearer

* Chappell, p. 169-172, 183, 103-105. M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 257, 262-274. Cartwright's Journal, vol. iii., p. 229-231.

to the New than to the Old World. With the exception of St. Helena, there is not, perhaps, a spot on the globe so remote from any other land; the nearest points being Cape Hatteras in North Carolina, distant 580, and Atwood's Keys, one of the Bahamas, 645 miles. Their number has been estimated at 400 and upward; but almost all of them are mere rocks, except five, St. George, St. David, Long Island or Bermuda Proper, Somerset, and Ireland. The third is by far the largest, more than equalling all the rest put together, and is hence often called the Continent; but St. George, being the most frequented and accessible, is the seat of government. Separated only by narrow channels, the five now specified were regarded by the first discoverers as a single island, and are still generally known by the simple designation of Bermuda. They extend from northeast to southwest in a curved line, bending inward at both extremities so as on each side to enclose sounds or gulfs, one of which forms the spacious harbour of St. George. The whole length of the group, following its sinuosities, is about twenty miles, while its breadth nowhere exceeds three, and in most places not one. The surface is not estimated to contain above twenty square miles, or about 12,500 acres.

Placed on a rocky shoal twenty-three miles long by thirteen broad, raised above the deep surrounding waters of the Atlantic, the Bermudas bear every appearance of a coral formation. The rocks consist of that material, along with shells, united by a calcareous cement. They have apparently been accumulated along the coast by the action of wind and surge, yet are nowhere higher than 180 feet. Reefs extending on all sides, and reaching in some places to the distance of ten miles, render the approaches very dangerous, and have caused frequent shipwrecks. They enclose, however, good har-

bours, which form a naval station at once extremely convenient and quite secure from attack.

The climate of Bermuda has been celebrated as peculiarly agreeable and salubrious. Its position at the limit of the torrid zone, and encompassed by sea, protects it at once from the rigours of a northern winter and the scorching heat of the tropical regions. It accordingly enjoys a perpetual spring, interrupted only by violent storms and hurricanes incident to its situation, and rendering the neighbouring seas exceedingly dangerous. Of the soil very opposite accounts are given; some early writers representing it as luxuriant, while Bryan Edwards, on the information of Governor Brown, describes it as very poor.* This last statement is surely exaggerated, since the fruits and vegetables are allowed to be of superior quality, while the fields are covered with perpetual verdure. A defective cultivation seems sufficiently to account for the produce being small even in proportion to the limited extent, which alone precludes its coming in this respect into any comparison with the greater colonies. The interest, however, which this cluster excited at an early period, and some striking events of which it was the theatre, give it a considerable place in colonial history, while its present importance is derived from the circumstance that it has become a principal station for the British navy in the American seas.

This group was first discovered in 1515 by a Spanish vessel named La Garza, commanded by Juan Bermudez, and having on board Gonzalo Oviedo, the historian of the Indies. Having approached within reach of cannon-shot, they regarded it as a single island about twelve leagues in length and thirty in circumference. From appearances it was

* History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies (2 vols. 4to, London, 1794), vol. i., p. 470.

concluded to be uninhabited; but a resolution was formed to send boats on shore to make observations and leave a few hogs, which might breed and be useful afterward. When, however, they were preparing to debark, a strong contrary gale arose, which obliged them to steer off, and be content with the view already obtained. The swarms of birds and of flying-fish, with the contests waged between them, furnished to Oviedo one of the most amusing spectacles he had ever beheld. He calls it the remotest island in the whole world, meaning, we suppose, the most distant from any land. It was named by the Spaniards, indifferently, Bermuda from the captain, or La Garza, from the ship; but the latter term is long since disused. It was soon found that, in returning from the West Indies, mariners must avoid the trade-winds, as directly opposed to them. Hence they steered northward till they reached the latitude of the Bermudas, where these winds ceased, and whence they took an easterly course, which often brought them in view of these islands.* The Spaniards did not appear, however, to have ever formed settlements there; and, indeed, the stormy seas and dangerous rocks which surround them, gave rise to so many disasters as to render the group exceedingly formidable in the eyes of the most experienced navigators. It was even invested in their imagination with superstitious terrors, being considered as unapproachable by man, and given up in full dominion to the spirits of darkness.†

These islands, in fact, were first introduced to the notice of the English by a dreadful shipwreck. In 1591 Henry May sailed to the East Indies along with Captain Lancaster; and, having reached the coasts of Sumatra and Malacca, they scoured the adjacent seas, and made some valuable captures. In 1593 they again doubled the Cape of Good Hope,

* Oviedo in Ramusio, vol. iii., p. 60–71.
† Purchas, vol. iv., p. 1169, 1737.

and returned by the West Indies, with a view to obtain refreshments, which they much needed. They came first in sight of Trinidad, but dared not approach a coast which was in possession of the Spaniards; and their distress became so extreme, that Lancaster found the utmost difficulty in preventing his men from leaving the ship. He therefore steered for Porto Rico, but, when pursuing his voyage, he discovered a small island named Mona, where, finding a partial supply, they remained fifteen days. They were joined by a French armed ship from Caen, the commander of which, La Barbotière, kindly relieved their wants by a gift of bread and other provisions. They then shaped their course for Cape Tiburon in Hayti, and on their way fell in once more with the French captain. Their stores being again nearly exhausted, a fresh application was made to him, but he declared his own stock so much reduced that he could afford very little, yet, if they would accompany him to Port Gonave, they should be amply supplied. They did so; but the sailors, who were suffering severely, persuaded themselves that the Frenchman's scarcity was feigned, and also that May, who conducted the negotiation, was regaling himself with good cheer on board without any trouble about their distresses. Among these men, inured to bold and desperate deeds, a conspiracy was soon formed to seize the French pinnace, and with its aid to attack, and, if possible, capture, the large vessel. They succeeded in the first object, but, immediately after this, one of their number betrayed the secret to Barbotière. Without seeming to know anything, he invited Lancaster and May to dine with him on board, and, having cheerfully entertained them, asked them to stay supper. Pevious to that meal he was some time absent, and, on coming in, stated that, from the footing on which the two vessels were, it appeared necessary that they should separate. Lancaster, who had probably

witnessed the provocation given by the violence of his crew, declared that he had no wish to detain him; but both he and May were not a little surprised when they found the ship in motion, and sailing off full speed. Barbotière, when asked the cause of this movement, mentioned the conspiracy which he had discovered, adding that he kept them as hostages against the outrageous conduct of their men. This motion was soon observed by the crew, who, instead of discomposing themselves at the loss of their officers, immediately took possession of the provisions which had been reserved for them, weighed anchor, and stood for England. They were overtaken, however, and, after some farther transactions, an accommodation was effected. Lancaster returned to his ship; but Barbotière, at his request, undertook to take May home with him, that he might inform his owners of the events of the voyage, and the unruly behaviour of the crew.

On the 29th November the French captain sailed from Laguna, taking the usual course by Bermuda. Strict watch appears to have been kept while they supposed themselves to be near that dreaded spot; but about noon on the 7th December, the pilots declared that they were twelve leagues southward of it, and past all its dangers. They called, therefore, for the allowance of wine to which it seems they were then entitled, and, on its being furnished, threw aside all care, and gave themselves up to talking and carousing. Amid this jollity, about midnight the ship struck with such violence as to make it evident that she must speedily sink. In this dreadful situation they hoped that, as the rock was high, it formed part of the land, which they might soon reach, while, in fact, it belonged to the exterior reef, and they soon saw reason to conclude that they were seven leagues from any shore. They could only put out a small boat, to which they attached a hastily constructed raft, to be towed along with it. Room however,

was thus made for only twenty-six, while the crew exceeded fifty. In the wild and dreadful struggle that ensued, and while the ship was fast filling, May looked on in despair, thinking it vain for him, the only Englishman, to attempt entering either conveyance, as he would instantly be pushed overboard. Barbotière, at this crisis, seeing him from the boat, called to him to leap in, for "it stood upon life or death." He lost no time in complying; and thus, says he, "it pleased God to make me one of them that were saved. I hope to his service and glory."

They had still to beat about nearly the whole of next day, dragging the raft after them, and it was almost dark before they reached the shore. They were tormented with thirst, and for some time were in despair of finding even a drop of liquid; but at last a pilot, digging among a heap of plants, discovered a tank, which, though only filled with rain-water, relieved their distress. They never had any better during their stay, though persuaded that a leisurely search among the numerous fine bays would have afforded it. The land was covered with one unbroken forest, chiefly of cedar, so that no vegetable food could be obtained. There were a few hogs, but so lean as not to be eatable; but as the air and water abounded with fowl, fish, and turtle, they found themselves completely secured against the danger of starvation. Without some exertion, however, the island must become their abode for life; and to avert this, it was necessary that a bark should be constructed sufficient to convey them to some European settlement. They had happily saved the carpenter's tools, with which they began to cut down the cedars. Having made a voyage to the sunken ship, they found the shrouds still above water, cut them off, and had thus the requisite tackling. For pitch they took lime rendered adhesive by a mixture of turtle oil, and forced it into the seams, when, the weather being extremely hot, it dried instantly, and

became as hard as stone. Thus by the month of April they had constructed a vessel of eighteen tons; and, dreading lest the increasing heat should absorb their water, they resolved to set sail.

During a residence of five months, May had occasion to observe that Bermuda, hitherto supposed a single island, was really broken into a number, of different sizes, enclosing many fine bays, and forming good harbours. They were found subject to rain and thunder-storms, though the weather in spring was very fine. He considers the soil as barren; but he probably adopted that opinion from seeing nothing growing except timber; and, under these circumstances, there could not be any attempt to clear and cultivate.

The bark being finished, they placed on deck at each side of the mast a large chest containing a stock of water and thirteen live turtle. On the 11th May they saw themselves with joy clear of the islands, and bent their course towards Newfoundland. They had a very favourable voyage, and on the 20th entered a river on Cape Breton, where they took in wood, water, and ballast. The country appeared to them good, and the natives, in a very friendly manner, offered furs and wild ducks, some of which last were procured in exchange for beads. They afterward steered for the larger island whither they had directed their course; but, upon applying to be received on board several ships bound for Europe, they were refused by all except one belonging to Falmouth, where they obtained a temporary accommodation. They soon found a French vessel, into which the mariners of that nation were received. May then took leave of Barbotière, whom he justly calls his dear friend, and obtained a passage in the ship to England, where he arrived in August, 1594.

It was owing to a tempest that Bermuda again came under the view of the English. In 1609, du-

ring the most active period of the colonization of Virginia, an expedition of nine ships and 500 men was sent out, commanded by Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers; the former to act as deputy-governor under Lord Delaware. They had a favourable course to the Gulf of Bahama, where they were involved in a most frightful tempest, which Archer calls "the tail of the West Indian horacano." They were completely separated, each vessel choosing its own course, and the greater number singly arriving at their destination. But the principal one, in which were Gates, Summers, and Captain Newport, was impelled in a different direction, and seems to have been involved in the thickest of the tempest. Strachy declares that he had witnessed storms on the most dangerous shores of Europe and Africa, but never any that could be compared with this. When it seemed to have reached its utmost possible violence, still "was fury added to fury, and one storme urging a second more outragious. Our clamours were drowned in the windes, and the windes in thunder; the sea swelled above the clouds, and gave battell unto heaven." The sky poured down not rain, but rivers, yet without assuaging the tumultuous fury of the blast; and still all this seemed nothing compared to the discovery that water had accumulated in the hold to the depth of five feet, covering the ballast and two tier of casks above. Every corner was eagerly searched for the leak; 10,000 lbs. weight of biscuit was turned over in the bread-room; but though they found a number of small holes, which were hastily stopped up with pieces of beef, the great one, by which their destruction rushed in, never could be traced. All hands were now called to the pump, to labour for life; and though there seemed no hope of ultimate success, yet "so deare are a few lingering hours of life in all mankinde," that they zealously turned out. Three parties were formed, each divided into two

sets, who relieved one another every hour. The governor and admiral took their turns; and gentlemen, who had never had an hour's hard work in their lives, now, "their minds helping their bodies, toiled with the best." Amid the utter darkness, a light like a small star flickering among the masts and shrouds inspired superstitious terrors, though it is an electrical phenomenon usual in such circumstances. Thus they laboured three days and nights, in which they pumped 2000 tons of water, when, being quite exhausted, and the sea always gaining upon them, they determined to shut the hatches and commit themselves to its mercy. Some who had cordial waters filled their glasses, to drink to each other "a last leave before meeting in a more blessed world." At this instant Summers, who had been watching at the poop day and night, cried out "Land!" The others ran to the spot, and, as the morning was already dawning, had the gratification to see the very trees on shore moving in the gale. Then, it is said, "every one bustled up;" exertions were redoubled, and lighting providentially on the only secure entrance, they reached to within less than a mile of the shore. Here the vessel, being happily wedged between two rocks, was preserved from sinking, till, by means of a boat and skiff, the whole crew of 150, with a great part of the provisions and all the tackling, were landed.*

The people being thus established upon the island, found means of making themselves tolerably comfortable. There were hogs in great numbers, of which it seems uncertain whether they were indigenous or introduced by some Spanish vessel. They were not by him so fastidiously rejected as by May; for in the season when berries abounded they were easily kept in good condition, though it

* Jourdan (Sil.), A discovery of the Bermudas, otherwise called the Islands of D—ls (4to, London, 1610). Strachy in Purchas, vol. iv., p. 1734–1737. Archer, ibid., 1733.

is admitted that, when these failed, they became poor, and could not easily be "raised to be better." At that season, however, turtles came in their stead, and were, indeed, the chief resource of all the early crews. This animal is minutely described, and stated to afford a supply equal to three hogs. The meat is reported as neither fish nor flesh, but somewhat resembling veal, or the marrow of beef. Strachy merely says, in a contented tone, that the company "liked it very well;" but Norwood justly celebrates it as excellent. The animals were easily caught when they came to land, and fell asleep on their backs, from which posture they could not easily move. When at sea they were attacked in the night by boats with a light on board. It was only necessary to have a long staff with an iron point about the size of a finger, which, being thrust into the upper shell, stuck so fast that the animal could not escape, and after some vain struggles was captured. The other fishes, both shell and sea-water, were plentiful, of various kinds, and affording delicate food. The only deficiency, and on this Strachy congratulates himself, was in eels, lampreys, and other "feculent and dangerous snakes," bred in marshes, ditches, and muddy pools, with which, says he, "I pray God never may any river bee envenomed where I come." Birds were equally plentiful and various, many of peculiar species. The most remarkable was one called the cohow, about the size of a plover, which came forth only in the darkest nights of November and December, hovering over the shore, "making a strange, hollow, and harsh howling." The most approved mode of taking them was by standing on rocks by the seaside, hallooing, laughing, and making the strangest possible outcry. The birds were thereby attracted, and settled upon the very arms and head of the hunter.* Gates, having caused the long-boat to be

* Purchas, vol. iv., p. 1738–1741, 1798–1801, 1823.

enlarged and fitted up, sent Ravens, the mate, with it, to convey his orders to Virginia, and bring a vessel for their conveyance. Strict watch was ordered to be kept, and fires lighted on all the heights; but, though these directions were strictly observed, and many a wishful look cast for the space of two months, nothing was ever descried besides air and ocean. All hopes were then given up, and there was afterward too much reason to suppose that the party had fallen into the hands of the savages and been entirely cut off. The chiefs, therefore, determined to set about preparing a new pinnace, with such materials as the island afforded. These were only cedar-wood, with a barrel of pitch, one of tar, and some cables saved from the wreck. There was a good ship-carpenter from Gravesend; but great difficulty was found in commanding the services of the crew, among whom the late catastrophe had much relaxed the bonds of discipline. To induce them to persevere, Gates and Summers not only kept regular watch, but set the example of labouring with their own hands. While the larger bark was prepared under the direction of these officers, the latter, with a party of twenty, undertook to construct one on a separate island.

Their utmost exertion did not prevent disturbances which nearly baffled the enterprise. These were fomented by individuals noted for their religious zeal, though suspected of puritan principles, and the accompanying spirit of independence. They represented that the recent disaster had dissolved the authority of the governor; and their business was now to provide as they best could for themselves and families. They had come out in search of an easy and plentiful subsistence, which could nowhere be found in greater perfection and security than here, while in Virginia its attainment was not only doubtful, but attended with many hardships. These arguments wrought so power-

fully on the great body of the men, that, had it rested with them, they would have lived and died on this remote shore. Two successive conspiracies were formed by large parties to separate from the rest and form a colony. Both, however, were defeated by the vigilance of Gates, who, on professions of penitence, allowed the authors to escape with a comparatively slight punishment.

This lenity only imboldened the malecontents. A third plot was formed to have recourse to arms, seize the stores, and take entire possession of the island. The governor, though he obtained not the full clew to it, had intimation sufficient to induce precautions which frustrated the execution. One Payne, however, showed such insubordination, and broke into such violent and contumelious expressions, that it was determined to make him an example. He was condemned to be hanged, a sentence only commuted, on his plea of being a gentleman, into that of being shot, which was immediately executed. His comrades, alarmed, fled into the woods, where they endeavoured to obtain permission to remain; but this was positively refused by Gates, and Summers had the address to persuade them all to return, except two, of whom one had been guilty of murder.

About this time, being the end of March, more than eight months after their shipwreck, the pinnance was completed; proving forty feet long, nineteen broad, and measuring about eighty tons. Sir George had made the other vessel only twenty-nine feet long; but the two together were sufficient for the conveyance of the whole party to Virginia. During their stay they buried five men, had two births, and one marriage. It was not till the 10th May that they were fully equipped and got a fair wind. Before reaching the open sea they struck upon a rock, which had nearly frustrated all their labours; but, being very soft, it yielded and was

carried before the ship. On the 17th they saw "a change in the water, and rubbish swimming," which indicated an approach to land. On the 20th, at midnight, a delicious smell was experienced like that usual on the shore of Spain; and an hour after daybreak the coast was descried. It was not far from Cape Henry, at the entrance of the Chesapeake; and on the 23d they anchored in front of James Town. Affairs there were found not so comfortable as could have been desired; but this does not belong to our present subject.*

Although the chiefs had so decidedly opposed any irregular or unauthorized residence, their impressions were so favourable, that, immediately on their arrival in Virginia, they determined to form a settlement on these islands. The task was undertaken by Summers, whose name was then given to them, though the original one of Bermuda has since prevailed. He sailed on the 19th June, 1610, accompanied in another vessel by Captain Argall, afterward governor of Virginia. Contrary winds carried them northward to the vicinity of Cape Cod, when they were involved in such dense fogs that the two vessels were separated, and Argall then returned to his station. The other persevered, reached the islands, and landed his party; but, as he died soon after, the colonists, thus left to themselves, were seized with a desire for home, and all except three accomplished their purpose.†

Although the train of events had thus been somewhat untoward, an extraordinary interest was excited in favour of this new discovery. The usual exaggerations were published, and their impression heightened by contrast with the dark ideas formerly prevalent. Jourdan proclaims that "this prodigious and enchanted place, which had been shunned as a Scylla and Charybdis, and where no one had ever

* Strachy in Purchas, vol. iv., p. 1741–1749.
† Purchas, vol. iv., p. 1758–1764, 1796.

landed but against his will, was really the richest, healthfullest, and most pleasing land ever man set foot on."* Strachy was less enthusiastic, but he considered the colony, on the whole, as very desirable.† Some large pieces of ambergris had been found and the remarkable size of the spiders was imagined, we know not why, to indicate gold. Upon these encouragements, about 120 gentlemen detached themselves from the Virginia Company to form one bearing the name of the Summer Islands. According to the constitution of this association, the land was to be divided into 400 shares of twenty-five acres each, to be held by private proprietors, while the surplus was to remain public, and at the company's disposal. The profits of cultivation were to be equally shared between the owners and occupiers. The latter were made little better than serfs, not being allowed to leave the ground without their master's consent, and if, instead of fully improving it, they preferred any other occupation, they were to pay him half their earnings. Out of the public lands, two acres, at 2*s.* rent, were allowed to every handicraft settler. Severe laws were enacted against "idle and vain persons, drunkards, and those who spent their time in carding and dicing," while those who "in bravery of apparel exceeded their means," were ordained to pay double to the public burdens. There was to be an Assembly every two years, without whose consent no taxes could be imposed; arrangements, however, which were not completed till after a considerable lapse of time.‡

On the 28th April, 1612, the first ship was sent out with sixty emigrants, under the charge of Richard Moore, described as an ingenious and careful man, but somewhat obstinate and pragmatical.

* Purchas, vol. iv., p. 8, 9. † Ib., p. 1739.

‡ Norwood in Purchas, vol. iv., p. 1796. Orders and Constitutions by the Governor and Company for the Plantation of the Summer Islands (4to, London, 1622), p. 35--43, 49, 50, 73--75.

They had a favourable and direct run, so that on the morning of the 11th July they came in view of their "hoped and desired islands;" and in the afternoon of the same day the whole party were landed near that of St. George. They looked in vain for the three residents; but, nevertheless, animated by proper feelings, they joined in a prayer, expressing gratitude for their safe arrival. While thus engaged, they saw the three rowing towards them. A joyful welcome was exchanged; the whole joined in a psalm of thanksgiving, and then went to supper. The men had cleared a spot of ground, and planted it with corn, tobacco, and melons. On the first working day, the settlers found themselves surrounded by such "a company of fish," that they might have loaded two boats; and they took, with their hands only, as many fowls as they could desire.

Moore applied himself very actively to the arrangements for the settlement. He laid the foundation of eight or nine forts, and caused two churches to be built, one of cedar, the other of palmetto. These undertakings, however, keeping the people hard at work, and preventing exertions for their private benefit, excited much discontent. Even the clergyman, Mr. Keith, a Scotsman, charged him in the pulpit with grinding the faces of the poor, and compared his exactions to those of Pharaoh; but, being censured by a meeting of the colonists, he asked pardon on his knees, and was forgiven. Two other malecontents were condemned to death, but not executed. Intelligence, received at the end of the year, of an intended attack by the Spaniards, made them redouble their exertions. Two vessels of that nation really made an attempt to enter, but, on the mere discharge of two shots from the fort, they made off; a most fortunate circumstance, since the English ammunition was almost exhausted. Before the end of next year, three vessels had arrived with 130 settlers; and one of them brought ashore

two potatoes, which multiplied to admiration, and became one of the most valuable staples. In the course of the next two years, three ships came with 440 settlers.

The progress of improvement, however, was much obstructed by various causes. In particular, one vessel, along with a cargo of flour, is said to have brought some rats, which multiplied so rapidly, mounting trees and swimming from island to island, that they soon filled the whole group, destroying every crop which was attempted to be raised. We cannot help doubting this vast increase, and suspect that they must have been a native species, not observed till the attempts at culture made their ravages visible. After about four years they disappeared, owing, as Norwood insists, to a special miracle; but the occasion seems scarcely to have required such an interposition, and the incessant pursuit with cats, dogs, and snares of every description, seems sufficiently to account for the happy result. This cause, however, added to the constant employment in the erection of public works, prevented entirely the raising of agricultural produce. For two years the colonists, it is said, never tasted bread, and had ceased to consider it a necessary of life. Want and hard labour gave rise to an epidemic, originating almost entirely in weakness, under which many sunk. Moore at the same time displeased the company, by opposing their projected division of the lands, in which he insisted that neither his own interest nor that of the colonists was duly consulted. Even Berkeley, whom they sent out for this purpose, met so cold a reception that he returned without effecting anything. Sensible of the displeasure of his employers, Moore sailed for England, leaving the government vested in a council of six.

The company, in 1616, sent out Daniel Tucker to assume the direction of their affairs, and with strict injunctions to carry their plans into execution. The

discontents, however, had already ripened into aspirations after independence; so that it was not without resistance and difficulty that he got his authority acknowledged. Norwood was then employed to divide the island according to the constitutions, which were strictly enforced. They were, as already observed, in some respects severe, converting the cultivators into prisoners on the island, and in some measure into slaves. Hard labour being also still required on the public works, heavy complaints were raised, and some desperate efforts made to escape from the colony. In particular, a party of five, pretending great regard for the governor, offered to build for him a decked boat of three tons. He cheerfully accepted the proposal, but, before the day which he had named for inspecting it, they had all left the island. They directed their course homeward, when they met with a worse enemy than the winds and waves, in a French picaroon, which plundered them of some valuable articles. They pushed on, though reduced to great distress for want of provisions, and even obliged to hew away half the knees of the vessel for firewood. At length they reached the coast of Ireland, where they were received and entertained by the Earl of Thomond, who caused the boat to be hung up in memory of this remarkable voyage. Another party of three, one of them a lady, attempted in the same manner to reach Virginia, but were never more heard of. Six others were discovered before they effected their departure, and one was executed. Tucker made great exertions with the view of introducing from the West Indies sugar-canes, plantains, fruits, and other valuable productions; and the country, amid all its murmurs, made a sensible progress. The complaints of his severity, however, were so great, that in December, 1618, he went home to justify himself, leaving the government with Captain Kendall.

The company did not choose to send him back, but nominated in his place Captain Butler, who sailed in July, 1619, and arrived in October with four ships and 500 men, who doubled the number already in the colony. Considerable re-enforcements were also sent in the two following years.* He introduced a more liberal system, conformable to the spirit which then reigned at home. In August, 1620, the first General Assembly was called, and the laws and government were assimilated to the English form. As the ministers were imbued with Puritan principles, and several scrupled to use the forms of the Anglican Church, a liturgy was adopted in which the points objected to were omitted. A very tyrannical order, however, was issued, prohibiting the admission of any vessels except those sent by the company. This caused great "murmuring and exclaiming" among the colonists, who thus lost the benefit derived from many ships which touched there for wood and water.

On the whole, however, the system of government was decidedly improved; and the first obstacles having been overcome, the colony had arrived at a situation which might be considered prosperous. Butler, in 1622, left 1500 hundred people, nearly a hundred boats, and ten forts strengthened with fifty-two pieces of ordnance. Norwood considers the condition of the inhabitants decidedly comfortable, since they enjoyed food in abundance, with all things needful for the body, and likewise commodities for export; the whole without any extreme labour or toil. Maize was the staple grain, besides which there had been introduced sugar-canes, vines, indigo, potatoes, with other fruits and vegetables, which had rendered it "like some spa-

* According to one account, there were 900 sent in 1619, 1620, and 1621 (Purchas, vol. iv., p. 1787); but by another there went in 1621 alone 500 (Ibid., p. 1783), which, added to Butler's 500, would make 1000 in two years.

cious garden or nursery of many pleasant and profitable things." We find, in fact, a notice that, in 1623, various of these plants were sent from the Summer Islands into Virginia. All the domestic animals brought from Europe became, he says, better and fatter; hens and turkeys multiplied both at home and in a wild state. In short, considering the beautiful climate and mild government, he believes the country to exhibit "a restoration of the golden age so much spoken of."*

The islands then excited an interest not only in the view of commerce, but of science. The Royal Society, newly instituted, transmitted a set of queries, asking particular information respecting a kind of bark said to form a roof superior to stone, being warmer in winter and cooler in summer; also, spiders which spread their nets from tree to tree so as to snare large birds. Richard Stafford answers, that the roofing material is not bark, but leaves, being those of the palmetto, which are often eight or ten feet long, and he considers the tree superior to any other for the variety of its uses. He mainly confirms the statement in regard to the spiders, which, he says, weave their web from one tree into the air, when the wind fastens it to another, and a bird as large as a thrush will be thus caught. The capture of whales was also a subject of inquiry; and, according to two separate accounts, those on the coast appear to be smaller, and to contain much less oil than those of Greenland; they add, that the people did not venture to attack them unless in shallow water, dreading lest, when struck, they should fly off and sink the boat. There were also spermaceti whales, which would have been worth several hundred pounds each, but they swam with so much swiftness and force that not one had been captured.†

* Purchas, vol. iv., p. 1777–1805.

† Transactions of the Royal Society, vol. i., p. 421; ii., p. 566, 567; iii., p. 794, 795.

The islands continued to enjoy a high reputation, and, during the succeeding period of civil commotion, shared with Virginia the resort of distinguished emigrants. They obtained additional lustre when Waller, the most popular poet of his age, chose them for the theme of his "Battel of the Summer Islands." He celebrates them in the most flattering strains, saying,

> "The kind spring, which but salutes us here
> Inhabits there, and courts them all the year:
> Ripe fruits and blossoms on the same trees live,
> At once they promise what at once they give.
> So sweet the air, so moderate the clime,
> None sickly lives, or dies before his time.
> Heaven sure has kept this spot of earth uncursed,
> To show how all things were created first."
> * * * * * *

All the narratives represent Waller as having spent some time on the islands. But this, we may observe, is not at all intimated in the poem; and his mention of "listening *savages*" implies an error which could not well have been committed by one that ever resided there. The population is said to have now reached 10,000, but this numeration stands on no positive evidence.

Bermuda from this period fell into comparative neglect. Her limited extent and resources made it impossible to sustain a competition with the continental colonies when they had expanded into their vast dimensions. We have not been able to trace the time when negro slaves were first imported, but about the beginning of the last century their number appears to have been considerable, and to have excited some alarm. A severe act "to prevent their insolency" was passed in 1704, but repealed in 1705; still freed negroes were not permitted to remain above six months on the islands.* Happily,

* Acts of Assembly of Bermuda or the Summer Islands (folio, Lond., 1719), p. 68, 94.

since that time it appears that the slaves have been treated with particular mildness, and have become much attached to their masters. A number employed in the naval service, and made prisoners during the American war, eagerly embraced the first opportunity of returning.* A very exclusive spirit appears to have prevailed in regard to the Jews, who were not allowed to trade without a previous payment of £5. Great dissensions and expensive lawsuits were caused by the unsettled titles to landed property, which the law endeavoured to remedy by excluding all claims raised against any one after a quiet possession of twenty years.†

Being incapable of yielding any amount of produce that could compare with that of the other colonies, Bermuda would have sunk into total obscurity but for certain natural advantages. The great strength of its position, standing solitary amid so vast an extent of ocean, and on the return-route from the West Indies, marked it as a principal naval station. Under this view, indeed, it was little considered while the whole coast of North America belonged to England; but after the United States became first hostile and then foreign, its possession proved extremely convenient, while its occupation by another power would have been much the contrary. Washington, towards the end of the American war, had formed a plan to seize it, with the view of annoying the West India trade. The English government therefore carefully fortified the several islands, where they kept a naval and military force constantly stationed. During the late contest it became the principal winter-station of the navy in those seas, possessing for this purpose many advantages over the ports of the northern colonies.‡ The benefit then experienced led to a de-

* Edwards's West Indies, vol. i., p. 471. † Acts, p. 26, 71.
‡ Alcedo, Geog. Dict. America, by Thompson, art. Bermuda

termination to form on Ireland Island a breakwater and other works which might convert it into a haven of the first importance. This was begun in 1824 and completed in 1837, being carried on by the labour of about a thousand deported convicts.

These new employments seem to have almost entirely diverted the colonists even from the limited attention once bestowed upon agriculture. The first staple, as in Virginia, was tobacco, which appears to have been prosperous, since Waller, in allusion to it, says,

> "The bless'd tenant feeds
> On precious fruits, and pays his rent in weeds."

Even in the beginning of last century it was still considered of great importance, and the Assembly endeavoured to encourage it by the vain expedient of fixing 3*d.* per pound as the minimum price.* In 1785 attempts were made to introduce cotton, and, though the success was never great, Edwards reckons that when he wrote there were still 200 acres devoted to the growth of this commodity;† but at present neither of it nor of tobacco does there appear to be a single plant reared. The same may be said of maize, stated originally as the staple grain. Of 12,400 acres, of which the islands consist, only 587 were in 1833 under cultivation.

The arrow-root grown in these islands is considered superior to that of any other country. Its cultivation has of late been greatly extended, the produce, which in 1832 was only 34,883 lbs., having risen in 1835 to 67,575 lbs. Generally speaking, Bermuda, instead of rearing exportable produce, is dependant on foreign parts even for bread-corn. In 1834 it imported grain and flour to the value of £17,018, and in 1835 to that of £21,000.

The shipping and commerce are considerable, the

* Acts, p. 47. † West Indies, vol. i., p. 470.

habits of the people being maritime, and the situation favourable for a transit trade between Britain, the northern colonies, and the West Indies.

The main dependance of the colony, however, is upon the British naval and military establishments. The troops stationed there in 1832 amounted to 1285; but in 1833 the number was reduced to 649.

The population of these islands, by a census taken in 1833, was 4297 whites, 1286 free blacks and coloured,* 3612 slaves; in all, 9195.

The islanders are described as handsome in their persons, hospitable, and of agreeable manners. Religious instruction is provided for by a church in each parish, and by five dissenting chapels. There are upward of twenty public or free schools, besides not fewer than twenty-one private schools, the attendance at which is not stated.†

The colony is ruled by a governor, who is also commander-in-chief; a council of nine, who, though nominated by the governor, must be confirmed by the crown; and a House of Assembly of thirty-six, chosen by electors, who must derive an annual income of £30 sterling from landed property.

The parts of this archipelago are so closely contiguous, that they may be considered practically as one; and the division is made, not into islands, but into parishes.

St. George, the metropolis, and Hamilton, are the only towns, the former containing about 500 houses. The other habitations are spread over the country in a detached manner, producing an agreeable and picturesque effect. The principal dockyard is in Ireland, a small island at the opposite extremity of the group and at the greatest distance from the capital. It has been covered with works, and its surface almost entirely changed, with the view of fit-

* In the Tables for 1834 this number is stated at 4559; but here the slaves have evidently been included.

† Colonial Tables, 1832, 1833, 1834, and 1835.

ting it for a naval and military depôt of the first importance. St. George, however, is the most accessible point, and its harbour very spacious; though there is a rocky bar which prevents ships of the largest class from entering.

CHAPTER VII

Hudson's Bay Territory: Early Discovery and Settlement.

Outline and Boundaries.—Mountain Ranges.—Rivers and Lakes.—Discovery by Cabot and Hudson.—Button.—Bylot.—Fox.—James.—Hudson's Bay Company.—Their Settlements.—Contests with France.—Voyages by Knight.—Middleton.—Moor and Smith.—Northwest Company.—Harmon's Account of their Trade and Settlements.

There still remains to be described a region of British America far surpassing in extent the settled and occupied parts. It stretches in length from the eastern coast, in about 65° west longitude, to the Russian boundary, in 141°, being seventy-six degrees of longitude, which, in the sixtieth degree of latitude, will make about 2600 miles. The breadth, from 49° north latitude, the boundary of the United States, reaches to the northern limit of America. The dimensions in this direction will therefore be twenty-one degrees, or nearly 1460 English miles; but so much space is occupied by inland seas, that it is scarcely possible to estimate its superficial extent.

In former volumes of the Family Library, which illustrate the career of discovery in the Arctic regions and on the coasts of America, there will be found described particular portions of this vast and,

in many respects, interesting territory.* It now remains to exhibit a complete and connected view of it, adding a fuller account of those geographical and historical details which before could only be slightly noticed.

The most important natural division of this wide territory is formed by a highland range, commencing at the Atlantic, and running towards the west between the Canadas and the Hudson's Bay possessions. Although it rises from 1500 to 2000 feet above the sea-level, it by no means presents a mountainous or even hilly appearance. The sides slope upward in a very gradual manner, usually terminating on the summit in an extensive marshy plain; and it is only when they border on rivers and lakes, particularly the northern shores of Huron and Superior, that broken and rocky cliffs are exhibited. After forming the upper margin of these great lakes, it follows a winding line, generally northwest, passing northward of the source of the Mississippi, and east of Lake Winnipeg. Finally, taking a direction almost due north, it divides the waters which fall into the Arctic Ocean from those which flow into Hudson's Bay. It is here reckoned about 2500 feet high, and displays on the western side a very steep precipice. The lofty chain of the Rocky Mountains, running north and south, separates the main body of this territory from that on the west, bounded on the other side by the Pacific.

This region, in general, may be divided into three portions, strikingly distinct in surface and aspect. The first is the prairie country, on its southern limit, from Canada westward to the Rocky Mountains, and intersected by the boundary of the United States. It is traversed by streams of long course, which roll sluggishly over its flat surface; and their banks, for

* See Polar Seas and Regions (Harpers' Family Library, No. xiv.).

a considerable space, being frequently overflowed, are alluvial, covered with rich herbage, and capable of high cultivation. At a distance from the water the soil becomes thin and steril, and timber extremely scarce, so that even the natives have not erected any fixed habitations. The country, however, will doubtless one day support a numerous population; but at present, with the exception of the settlement on the Red River, it is only tenanted by tribes of fierce and independent savages. The game consists chiefly of buffaloes, which roam in vast herds over the wide open plains. The wolf, the lynx, the fox, and various kinds of deer, likewise inhabit it; but the beaver and martin, the most valuable species, do not find here their appropriate food.

Another and much more extensive division consists of the wooded countries extending around Hudson's Bay, westward to the Rocky Mountains, and northward to the Arctic Ocean. The severity of the climate precludes the prospect of their ever becoming the seat of much improvement; the trees being mostly of the pine species, and towards the northern boundary of a very stunted growth. All these tracts, however, abound with animals yielding those rich furs which form at present the only exportable produce of this part of America.

The western territory, between the Rocky Mountains and the ocean, is much less extensive, generally steep and rugged in the vicinity of the first great barrier, but more level as it approaches the sea. The climate from April to October is delightfully temperate, but during the rest of the year it is rainy, though frost or snow seldom occurs. Many tracts are fitted for yielding in abundance whatever can minister to the use of civilized man. The furred animals are found in great numbers and of the same species, though, from the mildness of the climate, of somewhat inferior quality to those

of the wooded countries. The ocean, however, yields one not elsewhere known, the sea-otter, clothed in a skin of extreme richness, for which there is a regular demand in the Chinese market.

These regions are traversed by some large streams. The Peace River, which rises in the Rocky Mountains, flows first in a westerly direction, and then, after receiving the Athabasca or Elk, falls into the Great Slave Lake. Thence it issues under the name of the Mackenzie, and proceeds northward on the eastern side of the dividing ridge, till, after a run of not less than 2000 miles, it disappears in the Arctic Ocean. The Saskatchawan, from the same chain, holds a long course through the prairie countries, while the Assiniboine rises in that territory, and both pour themselves into Lake Winnipeg. The surplus waters of that great expanse are conveyed into Hudson's Bay by the Severn, which on this account is considered a continuation of those rivers. From the eastern side of the ridge, the Churchill or Missinnippi, and the Nelson, flow into the bay; while the Coppermine River rolls north, through a naked and rocky tract, and the Thlew-ee-choh northeast, through a chain of large lakes, both into the Northern Ocean. The western district contains the great river Columbia, navigable 1200 miles from its mouth; also the Fraser, flowing from the same declivity into the Pacific, and each receiving numerous tributaries. Through the wooded countries, in an oblique line from the southeast to northwest, extends the chain of great lakes, Winnipeg, Athabasca, Slave, and Great Bear. To these may be added, though on a smaller scale, Clinton-Colden, Aylmer, and Garry, near the course of the Thlew-ee-choh. Most of these natural features will be found described by Mr. Tytler, in his "Discovery on the more Northern Coasts of America,"* or in subsequent parts of this chapter.

* Published in Harpers' Family Library, No. liii.

Hudson's Bay was repeatedly visited, at an early period, by English navigators, though for a long time solely with a view to that great object of discovering a northwest passage. It appears that Sebastian Cabot, in 1517, first penetrated to this gulf, but did not view it as an enclosed sea, being convinced that if the commander, Sir Thomas Pert, had persevered, he might have reached the coast of India or China. This voyage, however, was lost sight of; so that when Hudson, in 1610, sailed through the straits now bearing his name, and found a wide, open expanse, it was considered a new discovery, and named from him *Fretum Hudson*, "the Hudson Sea." Nor was it yet recognised as a bay, but was viewed with hope as a part of the Pacific, and leading directly to the eastern coasts of Asia. The navigator, however, having been compelled to winter within the straits, where the crew were exposed to severe suffering, a violent mutiny arose among them, when he and several of his adherents were exposed in a little boat on this inhospitable shore, and doubtless perished. Only a few of the sailors, after enduring many calamities, made their way home, covered with a dark cloud of suspicion of having been at least passive instruments in the crime to which their leader fell a victim.*

Notwithstanding the disastrous issue of this expedition, it had opened vast prospects, to which as yet there appeared no limit. The long and intricate strait had seemed to expand, not into a bay, but an ocean; and as the fatal winter had been passed on the eastern shore, no opposite boundary had yet been traced. Under these encouraging views, Sir Thomas Button, in 1612, was sent out with two vessels, having as guides Bylot and Abacuk Pricket, both companions of Hudson. No regular or official narrative of his voyage was ever published, being

* See a fuller narrative in Polar Seas and Regions, chap. vi.

withheld, as Fox suspects, for some sinister purpose. Briggs says he applied to Sir Thomas for his journals, and was promised a perusal of them, but was disappointed in consequence of his going to the Continent. Fox, however, got possession of those drawn up by other officers in the vessel, which afford some idea of the leading incidents. Having sailed in May, Button arrived in a few weeks off Cape Farewell, where he was detained some time by ice. He extricated himself, and, entering Hudson's Strait, penetrated to Digges's Island, where he spent eight days in putting up a pinnace, which he had brought out in frame. Here a party landed and began to collect a species of birds called by them willocks, which were found in numbers sufficient to have laden a boat; but, being attacked by seventy or eighty savages in two large canoes, they found it necessary to fire a musket, by which one was killed, when the others, amazed at the report and execution, took to flight. Soon after, however, a number of seamen having landed to procure water, the natives rushed from an ambush and completely surprised them. Five were put to death, and one escaped by his dexterity in swimming; but it is manifest that just ground of provocation had been given, the English having taken four of their boats and returned only two. Sir Thomas, leaving this shore, applied himself to the object of his voyage, and having passed a lofty cape in 64° 10′, beyond which an open sea appeared, he named it Hope's Advance. After some time land appeared on his right, which he called Carey's Swan's Nest, being part of Southampton Island; but it opposed no obstacle to his progress. He held on, full of sanguine hopes, till there appeared before him, in 60° 10′, a long line of coast, running north and south, and barring farther advance. Struck with dismay, he gave it the gloomy name of Hope Checked; and soon a severe storm, with the advancing season, left only time to

consider how he might find winter quarters. After ranging southerly for a considerable space, he came to the mouth of a broad river, which he named Nelson, and where the company have established their principal factory. The ship was prepared as well as possible to pass the dreary months; being barricaded by large piles of fir trees and earth. The crew do not appear to have suffered seriously from hunger, having killed a species of bird which they call white partridges, in numbers amounting by report to 1800 dozen. Nor was the river completely frozen over till the 16th February, being preserved open by occasional "warm and thawing days." Three large fires were kept constantly on board of the vessel; yet the sufferings of the men from cold were most intense, and a considerable number of them died, among whom the master was one. The water did not begin to open till the 21st April.*

As soon as the ship was free from the ice, a question arose how they should best promote the objects of the voyage. One Hubbart advised to penetrate up the river, and see how it was inhabited; but this evidently could contribute nothing to the main design. Another, therefore, proposed to proceed southward till they should find, as he expected, a tide flowing from the westward; then "to bend their courses against that flood." It was finally decided to seek a passage between the newly-discovered western shore and the land to which they had given the name of Carey's Swan's Nest. They proceeded, therefore, through the wide opening since called Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome; but pursuing an east and northeast course, instead of keeping in the mid channel, they soon lighted upon Southampton Island, and were much troubled to see the land "troul away southerly," apprehend-

* Northwest Fox, or Fox from the Northwest Passage (4to, London, 1635), p. 118, 119.

ing that the sea in which they sailed was nothing more than a bay. The writer of the notes, however, who seems to be Sir Thomas Roe, says, "I cannot find this proved, nor is it by anything herein written, and for other things known." Button, in fact, attempted to clear this barrier, and get again into the open sea; but, after sailing some space, he came in view of another shore following exactly the same direction. Then, it is said, he became assured of what before he only doubted; that this coast joined the western one which he had quitted, and that the Welcome was enclosed by land on all but the southern side; still, says the writer, "I do otherwise believe." It was, in truth, a premature conclusion; but the commander, having decidedly adopted it, thought only of returning to England, which he reached in the autumn of 1613.*

In the following year an expedition was sent out under Captain Gibbons, who had accompanied Button; but, having suffered himself to be entangled by ice in a bay on the coast of Labrador, he did not even enter the straits, and returned without effecting anything whatever.

The adventurers at home—Digges, Wolstenholme, and Jones—did not allow themselves to be discouraged. In 1615 they despatched the Discovery, under the command of Bileth or Bylot, who, as a seaman, had distinguished himself in the three preceding voyages. He was accompanied by Baffin, a very skilful mariner, on whom devolved the task of relating the incidents; but, being in this respect somewhat unlearned, he has not executed the task quite so well as could be wished. They sailed in April, and on the 6th May saw the coast of Greenland, in the vicinity of which numerous mountains of ice were tossing. One was 140 fathoms above water, and the portion beneath was supposed by

* Northwest Fox, p. 120, 126, 128.

some to be seven times larger. Soon after they descried the main body of the ice, which Baffin advised to sail round; but the captain thought if they pushed into the middle, it would gradually dissolve and give way before them. The consequence was, that in the evening they were fast among it, thirty leagues from any shore. They remained thus impeded till the 23d, during which time Bylot had determined to spend twenty days or upward in examining Davis's Strait; but, on finding himself clear of "the thick ice," he resumed his intention of proceeding to Hudson's Bay. On the 27th they saw a promontory, which proved to be Resolution Island, and two days afterward were fairly within the straits. Making their way as they best could, they discovered land, or, rather, "a company of islands." Casting anchor near one, they saw a multitude of dogs strangely howling and barking; and a party approaching the shore in a boat observed also tents and canoes, but "people they saw none." Baffin then landed and mounted a hill, whence he descried a canoe with fourteen men, to whom he made signs of friendship. These were returned, yet so as to show them "fearful of us, while we were not willing to trust them." A mode of exchange was devised, such as has been reported of the earliest traffickers. The English left within their reach some knives, beads, and other trifles; then withdrew, and on their return found a supply of whalefins and seal-skins, which they carried off. There were five tents covered with seal-skin, and thirty-five or forty dogs "of a brinded black colour, looking almost like wolves." They were yoked to sledges, as practised by the Greenlanders, whom this people greatly resembled in their houses and clothes, but "both less neat and artificial; their manners also more rude and uncivil." On the 19th June they were again enclosed with ice, yet the weather as fine as possible, and the water so

smooth that they could make observations for the longitude as steadily on shipboard as on shore. Being liberated on the 27th, they pushed forward and came to Salisbury Island, and thence to another, or, rather, a group, which they named Mill, from the violent and continual grinding of the ice. Strong currents ran between the shores, and the water drawing the ship one way and the ice another, involved her in great danger, to avoid which they were obliged to make a circuit. Continuing to press westward, though in the face of opposing winds, they missed Nottingham Island; but on the 11th July came in view of land, being the eastern coast of Southampton Island. One cape bore so promising an appearance, while the weather had become highly favourable, that they gave it the name of Comfort; but this sentiment was soon "quailed," when, on endeavouring to find a passage on the farther side, they saw the coast stretching to the east and northeast, leading to the impression that this was merely a bay. Bylot concluded, therefore, that his mission was ended, and thought only of returning. In repassing the straits, he came to the spot on Digges's Island repeatedly noted for the immense number of the birds called willocks; and he observes, in fact, that he might have taken many thousands.*

Bylot returned with the decided belief that no passage westward was to be hoped for within Hudson's Bay. The zeal of the adventurers, however, not being in any degree cooled, he and Baffin were equipped next year to attempt one by Davis's Strait. On this voyage, which does not relate to our subject,† they discovered a large circuit of coast before unknown, but received the fullest impression that the wide sea round which they had sailed was only

* Northwest Fox, p. 137–149. Purchas, vol. iii., p. 836–842.
† See Polar Seas and Regions.

a bay, to which the name of Baffin has ever since been attached. The discouraging accounts brought home by this expedition chilled for a considerable time the disposition for maritime adventure.

This spirit, however, as long as any hope remained, failed not from time to time to revive. On deliberately considering the subject, it appeared evident that Hudson's Bay was very far from being completely explored, and that space still remained in which there might be a wide passage westward. Luke Fox, an enterprising mariner, with some pretensions to wit and letters, describes himself as the prime mover in this new enterprise. He declares that he had not been importuned to it either by noble or gentle, "but had been itching after it ever since 1608," when he applied to go in capacity of mate to John Knight. He was rejected as unqualified, and owns that "his ambition had then soared a pitch higher than his ability," but he studiously improved himself by voyages to different parts of Europe. He also sought acquaintance with the officers who returned from the western expeditions, carefully examining them as to all that had been done and was to do. Having gained much information from Thomas Sterne, globe-maker, through whose hands passed all the narratives and maps brought home by the successive navigators, he then formed his plan and communicated it to Mr. Briggs, the celebrated mathematician, who warmly encouraged him, but unfortunately died before the completion of the arrangements. Sir John Brooke, however, invited him to his table, supplied him with money, and finally introduced him to the king, for whose aid a petition was presented. It was seconded by Sir Thomas Roe, just returned from a Swedish embassy. His majesty cordially consented, and having sent for Sir John Wolstenholme, "this voyage's never-failing friend," appointed him to make the arrangements. Fox, receiving the choice of

any ship in the public service, selected one of eighty tons, and collected a crew of twenty men, none above thirty years old, "of godly conversation," and who had been out already "on these frost-biting voyages." Two "beardless younkers" were added for steering the boat; and the vessel was completely equipped and provisioned for eighteen months. In the instructions it was ordained that daily prayers should be read; that no profane expressions should be uttered, nor any disrespectful to the sovereign; "that no man speak any doubtful or dispiriting words against the good success of the voyage, or make any doubt thereof, or make any question of the skill or knowledge of either superior or inferior officer; also, there shall be no grumbling about victuals."*

The merchants of Bristol in the same season fitted out a vessel, of which they gave the command to Captain James. It was rather in rivalry of the London one than in concert with it; and hence the king, though he afforded his countenance, contributed no funds.

Fox sailed on the 5th May, 1631, taking the route of the Orkneys, which he passed on the 16th. On the 13th June he was in the latitude of Cape Farewell, which was hidden by a dense fog. On the 21st, when off Cape Warwick, in Lumley's Inlet, he was beset, and his progress arrested by ice and currents. Some advised to seek a harbour; but he spiritedly resolved to "ply the ice in sea-room," remembering Gibbons, and because in the open water he could day and night snatch any opportunity of proceeding, which in port he could not. When beset by fog and night together, he made himself fast to a piece of ice. Next day the sun had mounted ten degrees before it could peep through the mist; then they had a fair, calm, hot day, yet were

* Northwest Fox, p. 169–172, 204.

still enclosed. A strong gale having afterward risen, an iceberg proved advantageous as a drag to moderate their speed. He says, "this prodigious thing we call ice is sometimes mountains high;" but here there were no pieces larger than a great church; while most of them were not more than ten feet above, and one and a half under water: their extent varying from a perch to two acres: "these are they that do enclose you." On the 26th "the sun rose clear," making "a cold, virgin day;" but in the evening the exhalations became so thick, that they could not distinguish mainland, bays, or straits, the glimmering reflection of the sun having formed the ice into varied and uncertain shapes. The bergs still lay so thick on every side, that "he knew not what wind to pray for, to quit himself of them;" but on the 30th the heat became intense, and began rapidly to dissolve these masses, which, being loosened, tossed about in a dangerous manner. On the 3d July, however, an open sea appeared; "the sun licked up the fog's dew, and made a shining day;" and having an almost unobstructed run, on the 10th he reached Salisbury Island, near the inner mouth of the straits. Next morning he was enclosed again, but "with hauling, sailing, pulling, and towing, got clear." He was embarrassed by the compass "having almost lost its sensible part," and was absorbed in conjecture whether "the cold benumbed it as it doth us," or whether it was acted on by minerals in the adjacent mountains. On the 17th he passed Digges's Island, and on the 21st came to Carey's Swan's Nest, but found there no swans; the shore exhibited only "strange moss, quagmires, and water plashes."*

From this point Fox's discoveries were understood to begin, and he says he had been instructed to proceed thence N.W. by N. till he reached the

* Northwest Fox, p. 183-200.

west coast, then diligently to search all round for a passage. On the 27th, after some deceptions, he saw land, but which was difficult to approach from the number of rocky islands. A boat's crew landed, and found a number of dead bodies deposited in sepulchres, and covered with long wooden boards well smoothed and fitted. Fox did not attempt to search the head of the Welcome; and, indeed, since the time of Button, the impression seems to have been general that it was closed all round. He steered southward, keeping near the coast, though the islands rendered this difficult and dangerous. His survey was in vain, and on the 7th August, having reached Nelson River, he put in to refit. Having renewed two masts and set up his pinnace, he stood out to sea; and here he met James, whose ship he oddly describes as "taking her liquor as kindly as ours, and her nose no sooner out of the pitcher than her nebe, like the duck's, was in't again." He invited his rival on board, and hospitably entertained him, though he declares he considered this the worse spent time during the voyage. James is described by him as a good mathematician, but a bad seaman, who is said to have exultingly declared he was on the way to the Emperor of Japan; a tone with which his own narrative scarcely accords. Fox proceeded in his researches, and having passed an immense range of coast without finding a single western opening, while the direction for a long way had been almost due east, he gave up all hopes of a passage in this quarter. He determined, as the last chance, to return to Nottingham Island, at the inner mouth of the straits, and sail thence due north, instead of the western course followed by Bylot, who had thus struck upon Southampton Island. Leaving the coast, therefore, he sailed directly northeast, across the broad expanse of the bay. Its vast extent was proved by the heavy swell, and he soon encountered a sea so high and grim as "though it had in fury

overthrown all lands." He was obliged to break up the pinnace, which was only a drag to his stern, the men in it being pitifully wet.* On the 7th September he passed Cape Pembroke, near Carey's Swan's Nest, and soon made his way in the channel sought for, and now bearing his name. He sailed along its eastern shore, and observing two conspicuous points, named one Charles's Promontory, the other Cape Maria, "in a most bounden and dutiful remembrance of my king and queen." Having passed two capes named after Lords Weston and Dorchester, he notices with emotion that he was within the Arctic circle, and soon after the latitude of 66° 47′ is announced as his "farthest." This important resolution is mentioned without any exposition of motives or pretext of an impassable barrier. The journal for some days back had recorded that the land lay hid in snow; that the ship's sides, and the very steep-tubs were frozen; and that "most of the crew were ready to fall down with the rest that were down already." In short, it appears that both he and his men lost courage at the idea of plunging farther into the regions of perpetual ice, and spending a winter on those inhospitable shores. It was not, he says, till they got out to the open ocean that any genial warmth was felt, and the strength and spirits of the sailors began to revive.† In England, however, complaints seem to have been made that his conduct had in no degree answered expectation, and that, having carried out the necessary supplies, he might at least have spent the winter in Hudson's Bay, and renewed the search next spring. He observes, in vindication of his proceedings, that less expense would be incurred, and the ship and people put in a more efficient state by wintering in England, and going out again next season.‡ But this

* Northwest Fox, p. 201–227 † Ibid., p. 228–243.
‡ Ibid., p. 250–251.

last project does not appear to have been seriously entertained; and certainly it was never acted upon, either by himself or in any other quarter.

James, meantime, was pursuing his rival voyage, which was entirely fitted out by the Bristol merchants; but the king made no hesitation in giving him a letter to the Emperor of Japan, in case he should reach the shores of that monarch. Having sailed on the 2d May, 1631, he was, on the 4th June, in the vicinity of Greenland, and islands of ice began to encompass him. He seems to have been fearfully appalled, and, as hinted by Fox, to have scarcely possessed either the skill or courage needful to brave those formidable obstacles. The vessel, he says, struck many fearful blows: they wrought night and day, and broke all their poles in keeping off the ice. On the 16th they were assailed by masses still more huge and extraordinary: the shallop was dashed to pieces, and the ship narrowly escaped the same fate; however, "she forced herself through, though so tossed and shattered as I think never ship was." On the 17th they imagined they heard the sound of breakers, but it proved only ice, against which the waves were dashing with a hollow and hideous noise. The fog was piercing, and froze on the sails; the compasses became useless. However, amid all these troubles, he came in view of Resolution Island, the entrance of the straits; which, it appears, were not passed without many casualties. Having struck on a rock, they thought all over, leaped on a piece of ice, and betook themselves to prayers; but, as the water happily rose, their vessel was carried clear over. Their alarm was not less when, as the season advanced, the icebergs began to break, with a most terrible, thundering noise, and there was one along with which they verily thought to have gone to pieces; but "God was more merciful."*

* Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii., p. 407–409.

They made their way, however, through the straits, and on the 15th July were between Digges's and Nottingham Islands. After passing that of Mansfield, the allowance of bread was reduced, and they pushed eagerly for the west coast, seeking to reach it in about 63° N. latitude. Soon, however, they were arrested by dense fogs and islands of ice. The men began to murmur that they could get neither back nor forward, and doubted if they would even find land to winter upon. These gloomy musings continued till the 5th August, when the sea became clear, a good wind sprung up, and they sailed rapidly across the bay. On the 11th land appeared nearly in the desired position; but, as James seems to have had no idea of looking northerly for the passage, he proceeded directly south. On the 13th there was again an alarm of striking upon rocks, but "in this dreadful accident it pleased God to send two or three swelling seas, which heaved us over." On the 16th he passed Nelson River; and on the 20th, in latitude 57°, named this country the Principality of New South Wales, a title which still partly continues. On the 29th he met Fox, and notices their intercourse, without any particulars. On the 4th and 5th September, a more dreadful storm than ever assailed them, when the ship "did labour most terribly in this distraction of winds and waves." The overwhelming sea, he says, made them feel like Jonah in the whale's belly; and their distress was "most miserable in this so unknown a place." The storm abated; but, on the 12th, through the negligence of the watch, who had fallen asleep, the ship struck violently, and appeared to have received her death-wound. They hastily conveyed some tools and bread into the boat, "to prolong for a few days a miserable life;" however, after striking a hundred blows, in five hours she was got off. Being then assailed by another storm, they found shelter on an island.*

* Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii., p. 410–414.

The question of wintering came now seriously under consideration. It was vain to think of farther attempts at a passage this season; but, ignorant how near he was to the bottom of the bay, he hoped to reach a more southern and milder climate; for here, though the latitude was only 52°, the rigging froze during the night, and it was needful each morning to shovel away half a foot thick of snow. The vessel, moreover, was so leaky, the crew so weak and unable for constant pumping, as made it scarcely possible to steer farther through an unknown sea. On the 13th, however, they made the attempt, but were soon in such jeopardy that "they began to prepare to make a good end of this miserable, tormented life." They nevertheless succeeded in running into a sheltered sound, and, after some farther attempts, finally determined to take up their quarters there. The arrangements seem to have been made with judgment; and James's narrative, being the first that detailed an Arctic wintering, excited great interest, and is said to have furnished to Mr. Boyle the chief materials for his "History of Cold."

They found themselves on an island, to which was given the name of Charlton. The hunters, sent round in search of provisions, found only one deer, which they had to drag twelve miles; but, seeing no trace of savages, they could sleep in greater security. The victuals, being examined, were found in good condition, proving the honesty of the steward, and a weekly survey was appointed. A small house, too, was erected for the sick. The ship, during a heavy gale, being nearly driven out to sea, they remembered the fate of Sir Hugh Willoughby, and determined, after taking out the provisions and stores, to sink her; an object which was effected more slowly than they wished, by boring holes with the carpenter's auger. She had previously appeared like a huge piece of ice in the form of a vessel. While engaged in this work, the men could hardly

recognise each other under the icicles which covered their hair, faces, and clothes. Their noses, cheeks, and hands were as white as paper; and it became necessary to cut their hair close to prevent more serious consequences. Their sack and vinegar required to be cut like wood with a hatchet; and they had for some time been confined to melted snow-water, a drink by no means salutary, when they were lucky enough to find a spring which never froze. Meantime, strenuous exertions were made to erect a comfortable habitation. They reared three structures, the chief of which was twenty feet square, formed of trees rudely cut and fastened together, and covered with sails on the inside. The hearth was in the middle, and the beds ranged in a double tier round it; their spare clothes furnishing canopies and curtains. Twenty feet from this was a smaller house for cooking, and for the main body of the crew to sit in. The third was the storehouse, and, being without fire, was completely buried in the drift. Thus, he says, they seemed to live amid a heap and wilderness of snow; however, by shovelling and beating, they contrived to form a track three feet deep, by which they could go in and out.*

On the 22d November they had lost the gunner, "an honest and strong-hearted man," who was much regretted. The others kept their health wonderfully till the end of February, when the dreadful forerunners of scurvy appeared; aching joints, loose teeth, and difficulty of eating; and two thirds were soon under the surgeon's care. These symptoms became constantly more severe and general, yet the men were under the painful necessity of going some distance for fuel. The lumberers were sometimes obliged to crawl a mile through the snow on all-fours till they came to a tree, then to set fire to the trunk before they could cut it down, and afterward

* Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii., p. 414-420.

drag it to the house. In going to the ship the cold was found still more intolerable. The surgeon, who was "a sweet-conditioned man," every morning cleared their teeth, picked the putrid flesh from the gums, bathed their benumbed limbs in water boiled with plants; after which they could endure the fatigue and exposure, though they returned as ill as ever. Thus, however, "they went through their miseries." Their house was hung with icicles; the clothes and beds were covered with hoarfrost; the cook's tubs during the night were frozen to the bottom; and, when one side was warm, the ice on the other was an inch thick. The smoke from the green wood was often intolerable, and made them look like chimney-sweepers.

In January the sea was completely frozen over. As one reason of the intense cold which was here experienced, he mentions the number of shallow bays in which the ice is early formed, then broken and floated out into the main, where the pieces collect and accumulate over each other, till it gets the entire predominance. On the 6th of April the snow fell deeper than at any other time of the year, and was also moist and in large flakes, instead of being, as formerly, like dry dust. On the 19th the master and two men preferred to sleep on board rather than "to hear the miserable groans and lamentations of the sick all night long." About the middle of this month, though the frost was scarcely at all abated, and only five could eat their ordinary food, it became necessary to begin clearing the ship by digging the ice out of her. They celebrated May Eve when it arrived, "choosing ladies' names, fixing them in their caps, endeavouring to revive themselves by any means." On the 18th the carpenter died, "making a very goodly end," and much regretted, "both for his innate goodness, and the present necessity for a man of his quality." Soon after word was brought that the body of the late gunner

was appearing above the ice; and, when dug out, it was found as entire as when first committed to the water, the flesh on the bones only slipping up and down like a glove.

On clearing out the ship, they had great satisfaction on finding her completely uninjured, the ice within and around having seemingly protected her from every shock. They found also several butts of wine, beer, and cider, "which God had preserved for them." The sun, becoming very powerful, rapidly dissolved the ice, which did not, however, form streams of water, but exhaled as it melted, leaving the remaining mass, as it were, honeycombed. Notwithstanding strict search, they could find neither herb nor leaf that was eatable till the 31st May, when some green vetches were discovered, and administered to the sick. The crop proving abundant, they were eaten in every shape, raw with bread, boiled with oil and vinegar, and the juice bruised into their liquor. Such was the effect on the invalids, that in a few days their teeth were fastened, the flesh on the gums became firm, and those formerly unable to move could walk abroad. Yet their state was checkered by some new troubles; for while the heat during the day was intolerable, at night it froze an inch thick; and the sultry air brought forth in myriads flies of various descriptions, which he supposes to have lain dormant through the winter, with bloodthirsty moschetoes, causing a torture which appeared to them often worse than the cold. An old flag was cut into bags to envelop their heads, yet nothing could prevent their faces from being all over pimples. As the trees, through heat, became dry like flax or hemp, a fire caught them while James and another were in the country; it ran along the ground like a train of gunpowder: and it was only by almost preternatural flight and leaps that they reached the shore.*

* Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii., p. 421–425.

Meantime the aspect of the waters was carefully watched. The frozen surface began to crack with a frightful noise, and the pieces being tossed about and thrown upon each other, navigable channels were gradually formed, though the ship, no longer moored among ice, was exposed to fresh dangers. By the 18th, all her holes being stopped, she was found perfectly fit for sea, and preparations were therefore made for departure. Besides the gunner and carpenter, they had lost another man: not a great number under such circumstances; and they were all now decently interred. A large tree was formed into a cross, to which were fastened pictures of the king and queen, doubly cased in lead, while beneath were placed the royal arms, and those of the city of Bristol. On the 1st July they took a last view of the island, got into their boat, and soon reached the ship; but, finding it impossible to steer northeast across the bay, they were obliged to follow the western shore till they came to latitude 61°, when they stood for Carey's Swan's Nest, which they reached on the 22d August. During these six weeks they had storms and ice continually beating on them, and were constantly, as it were, in the jaws of death. On arriving at Nottingham Island, James determined to make another attempt at discovery in the open sea to the northwest; and though the men showed themselves strongly indisposed, they at last consented. The frost, however, had become so intense, that ice was formed two feet thick, and did not melt under the strongest influence of the sun. There also appeared reason to apprehend that they might not be able to pass the straits, but be obliged to spend another winter, for which they were wholly unprovided. The captain therefore called a meeting of the master and men, and with a sorrowful heart, as he declares, but with their unanimous approbation, determined to return. On the 3d September he reached Resolution Island;

by the 8th he was clear of the straits, after which no more ice was seen, and he steered direct for England.*

Although these voyages were all abortive as to their primary object, they laid open the great extent of Hudson's Bay, and conveyed some idea of the valuable furred animals by which its shores are tenanted. Yet so exclusively were the English intent on the India passage, that it was reserved for a rival nation to discover the benefits which might be derived from establishing a colony. A Frenchman named Grosseliez, having penetrated thither from Canada, made a survey of the country, and laid before his court the plan of a settlement. Finding it received with unmerited coldness, he procured an introduction to Mr. Montague, our ambassador, and through him to Prince Rupert, whose active mind embraced the suggestion with ardour. In June, 1668, the adventurers sailed in a vessel commanded by Zechariah Gillam, and reached in September a river then called Nemisco, to which they gave the name of Rupert. They wintered there, and found the frost not so intense as was expected, being nearly over in April, while in June, when they left it on their return, the weather had become extremely hot. Upon the report made by this party, the prince and a number of other noblemen and gentlemen subscribed a capital of £10,500, and obtained a charter, securing to them the exclusive trade and administration of all the countries round Hudson's Bay. They immediately sent out Mr. Charles Bayly, who formed a settlement on Rupert's River. Others were established on Moose River in 1674, and, four years later, on the Albany. By 1685 they had added two more on the Nelson and the Severn, and in 1690 their affairs were in such a flourishing

* Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii., p. 426–430.

condition, that they determined to triple their original stock, thereby raising it to £31,500.*

The French court no sooner learned that the establishment so lately tendered to their acceptance had been occupied by a rival power, than they repented of their neglect; and Colbert, now at the helm of affairs, and eagerly devoted to the interests of commerce, was particularly anxious to redeem this error. A claim was advanced on the ground of prior occupation; and Grosseliez, already detached from the English service, was sent out in 1682 with another officer. He not only laid the foundation of a factory on Hayes River, but in the following spring surprised the British one on the Nelson, taking Gillam a prisoner, and carrying him to Canada; and yet, soon after, by means not very distinctly stated, the English again became masters of all these stations. In 1686, however, amid profound peace, the Chevalier de Troyes marched thither and suddenly took the Rupert, Hayes, and Albany factories. These movements do not seem to have attracted much attention in Europe; but when the war of 1688 broke out, hostile operations were carried on with greater ardour. During 1693, 4, 5, the different settlements were successively taken and retaken. In 1696 the English had recovered almost the whole; but, in the following year, a squadron from France defeated the Hudson's Bay ships, and took all the forts except Albany. The treaty of Ryswick leaving things *in statu quo*, this state of possession continued till the peace of Utretcht in 1713, by which the various posts were restored to Britain.†

The company seem now to have applied themselves with extraordinary activity to extend their trade. In 1720 they greatly extended their capital;

* Robson's Account of Six Years' Residence in Hudson's Bay (8vo, London, 1752), Appendix, p. 5–7, 11, 44.

† Robson, Appendix, p. 8–13.

the forts were repaired and enlarged; and stations were formed in the interior. Thus things went on smoothly till 1749, when a question was agitated in Parliament as to the propriety of continuing their monopoly. They were accused of neglecting the improvement of the country and the extension of commerce, and particularly of having taken no vigorous steps, as required by their charter, for the discovery of a northwest passage: but after a long investigation the legislature saw no ground to disturb them in the possession of their privileges.*

The charge, however, of neglecting the interests of geographical knowledge was still zealously pressed by some individuals, who asserted that they not only showed extreme indifference on the subject, but in fact anxiously checked discoveries which might have shaken their monopoly. This imputation appears to have been greatly exaggerated, if not altogether unfounded. Expeditions through Arctic seas and over frozen plains involve much expense and hardship, and, as long as the company were struggling hard for their very existence, could not reasonably be expected. At length, in 1721, on the urgent representation of John Knight, one of their governors, they engaged in an enterprise having this object in view; fitting out two vessels, commanded by Barlow and Vaughan, while Knight himself took the chief direction. Their plan was to proceed northward, and endeavour to find a passage up the Welcome; being provided with a portable house and an ample stock of provisions for the winter. No very great alarm was therefore felt at their not returning the first year; but when another elapsed, although a few cherished sanguine hopes that they had reached the Pacific, and were now on their way homeward round Cape Horn, anxiety became general. Captain Scroggs was despatched in

* Robson, Appendix, p. 13, 44–47.

the Whalebone to search after them; but, having arrived late, he returned without any discovery, or, it is alleged, very diligent investigation. All attempts were then given up as hopeless, and yet, after the lapse of forty years, the sad secret of their fate was disclosed. Two whale-fishing boats having gone into a harbour on Marble Island, near the entrance of the Welcome, perceived a large space of ground overspread with memorials of the dreadful catastrophe. Anchors, cable[illegible]icks, guns, and other articles, for which the nati[illegible] new no use, had been lying exposed during [illegible] period; and, on stricter examination, some [illegible]s of the two houses were traced, and at length [illegible] hulls of the vessels were seen beneath the water. Hearne afterward met some aged Esquimaux, who recollected, and could give him the particulars of this tragical event. They had seen the party arrive very late in the season, having apparently suffered many hardships, and the ships much damaged, yet exertions were immediately made to erect the house. The natives did not remain on the spot during that winter, but visited it again the following spring, when they found the original number of fifty much reduced by severe sickness. The survivers were actively employed, doubtless in attempting to equip their ships anew; yet at the end of summer they were found still there, reduced to only twenty by the pressure of severe want and illness; but as the Esquimaux remained in the vicinity during this winter, supplies of their coarse provision of train oil and blubber were gladly accepted. The natives removed in spring to another part of the coast, and afterward returning found only five, subjected now to the last extremity of famine. These, having purchased some seal's flesh and blubber, devoured it with an imprudent avidity, which proved fatal to three of them. The two others survived many days, during which they were wont to go to the top of a neigh-

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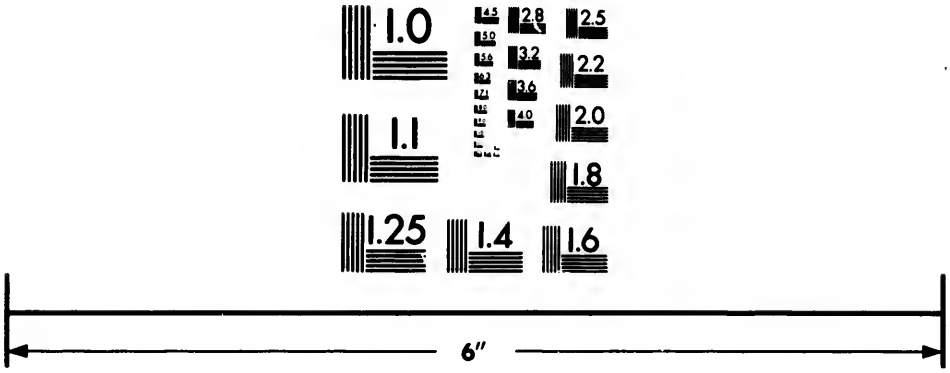

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bouring rock, whence they gazed long and wistfully towards the north and east in hope of succour, and on seeing none, often sat down together and wept bitterly. One of them at length died, and the other, while attempting to dig his grave, fell down and expired also.

This melancholy result threw a damp on the public mind, and a considerable time elapsed without farther effort. In 1737, however, the project was revived with the greatest enthusiasm by Mr. Dobbs, a gentleman of intelligence and property, and possessing much influence with government. At his urgent entreaty, the company fitted out two vessels; but no record has ever been published of their proceedings, which do not appear to have been pushed with very great activity, since they did not reach beyond lat. 62° north. The directors seem to have been disposed to let the affair rest; but Dobbs's dissatisfaction was extreme, and greatly heightened by correspondence with Captain Middleton, an officer long in their service. He loudly charged them as so intent on the preservation of their monopoly, that they studiously checked discovery along their coasts, regardless even of the rich mines and fisheries which it might have opened. He appealed, therefore, to the Lords of the Admiralty, who, after long solicitation, granted the Furnace bomb-ketch, which was placed under the command of Middleton. He sailed in 1741, wintered in Churchill River, and on 1st July next year began his expedition. Although no voyage, perhaps, ever excited more interest and discussion, no distinct or connected narrative of it has ever been furnished; he merely communicated to the Royal Society extensive tables of his observations on latitude, longitude, variation, and meteorology.* The

* Philosophical Transactions, vol. xxxviii., p. 127; vol. xxxix., p. 270; vol. xlii., p. 157.

other particulars we must glean from the discussions of Dobbs and of others who ranked as his opponents. It appears that he proceeded directly up the Welcome, till, reaching latitude 65°, he turned a bold headland, and found himself in a deep sound or bay, which he termed the Wager, erroneously applying to it the word river. He ascended it fifty or sixty miles, but without finding any large opening or tide from the westward; and two smaller sounds, Deer and Savage, were also examined with as little success. The search in this channel was then given up, and returning to the open Welcome, he again steered northward. A fair promontory, bending to the northwest, excited the most sanguine feelings, and was called Cape Hope; but in less than a day a gloomy reverse took place. Finding himself in a bay enclosed on every quarter, to which he gave the name of Repulse, he turned to the eastward, where he was soon arrested by what he terms the Frozen Strait, barred by ice from side to side. By a survey made from a high mountain, it appeared not less than sixteen or eighteen leagues in length, by six or seven in breadth, filled with shoals and islands of various size, joined together by large masses of ice. A strong tide ran through it, but this he conceived was only that which entered by Hudson's Straits, and found its way hither by a circuitous channel.

Upon these grounds Middleton pronounced that there could be no passage, or, at best, a very narrow one, blocked up almost the whole year with ice. Dobbs, however, was most reluctant to acquiesce in this conclusion, and his suspicions were kindled into a flame by communications from the surgeon and clerk of the ship, who undertook to show him "the discoverer's pranks." On their authority, joined to that of others, he arraigned the captain as having received a bribe of £5000 from the company, and of going to seek the passage with a fixed

resolution not to find it. These charges were unfounded; for Middleton's conclusions were in the main confirmed by Sir W. E. Parry, though he showed, perhaps, somewhat too peremptory an assurance and impatience of contradiction. However, Dobbs succeeded in persuading the public, and kindling in the Parliament and nation an enthusiasm hitherto unparalleled. A committee of leading persons undertook to raise £10,000 in shares of £100 each. The legislature, sharing the general zeal, voted to the subscribers a reward of £20,000 in case of their object being attained. The captains were to receive £500, the mates £200 each.

The necessary funds being thus provided, two ships were built, the Dobbs of 180, and the California of 140 tons, placed respectively under Captains Moor and Smith. Mr. Ellis went as the agent of the committee, to make draughts and observations, and to give advice as to the general course. To him we are indebted for the best account of the voyage, including important remarks on the country and climate. The Wager Inlet was pointed out in their instructions as the most hopeful quarter, being desired to push boldly through it, and after passing the narrow part and getting into the open sea, to steer southwest, when if they met an opposing flood-tide, they might be sure of having passed the most northerly cape of America. They were then to direct their course into a warm latitude, if possible as low as 40°, and there take up their winter quarters.*

On the 20th May, 1746, the vessels sailed from Gravesend, and on the 6th June were in Kirkwall Bay. On the 21st, four days after clearing the Orkneys, there arose a dreadful alarm from fire having broken out in the cabin of one of them near the powder magazine. This, it is observed, gave oc-

* Ellis's Voyage to Hudson's Bay (8vo, London, 1748), p. 106, 118.

casion to all the varieties of sea eloquence, crying, swearing, praying, scolding; yet, amid this clamour, the proper measures were taken, and the ship and lives were saved. On proceeding westward, they were first surprised by the great quantity of drift-wood, next by the lofty islands of ice; and the approach to these last was announced by severe cold, and by fogs so low that they sometimes left the masthead clear. On the 8th July they entered the straits by Resolution Island, and were soon among the Savage group, where they met a party of Esquimaux, of whom a description is given closely corresponding to that of Ross and Parry. A brisk traffic was immediately commenced, which is admitted to have been very profitable, the other party stripping themselves almost naked in order to find materials. The season was extremely unfavourable, and two of the company's ships had been lost upon the ice; hence it was the 19th August when they reached Marble Island, and the weather was then so rigorous that they determined to make no attempts that year, but to winter in Nelson River. On this coast they were struck with the prodigious height of the hills, the sides of which were rent and shattered into deep caverns. The streams flowing from the rocks were red and green, from the impregnation of copper and other minerals. Their voyage southward was incommoded by blustering snow, sleet, and fogs.*

On reaching the vicinity of York Fort on Nelson River, the expedition were much disappointed at being received by the governor in a manner extremely rude and unfriendly. He declared that, having received no instructions on the subject, either from the company or the government, he must decline giving them any aid; in fact, he obstructed their views in every possible way. Circumstances,

* Ellis, p. 120–147.

however, having placed them under the necessity of providing for themselves, with or without his concurrence, they began to prepare a mansion, which they named Montague House, twenty-eight feet long, eighteen broad, and containing two stories six or seven feet high. By the beginning of November the cold became intense; Hayes River was completely frozen over; and their bottled beer, though wrapped in tow and kept near a good fire, became solid. Nevertheless, fortified with a beaver robe reaching to the heels, two or three pairs of blanket socks, and shoes of moose or elk skin, they were able to bear its utmost severity. They now bestirred themselves to procure a supply of food for winter. The game were chiefly hares and rabbits, for which snares of wire were found very useful, not only taking the animal, but protecting it against beasts of prey; and whatever they caught was preserved by the cold perfectly sound till April. After Christmas the frost reached its utmost intensity. They made a fireplace six feet long, and threw on it at once a horseload of wood; yet, though those close to it perspired, the ceilings and walls were frozen. In the morning, the part of the bedclothes which touched the walls adhered to them, and the breath covered the blankets with hoarfrost. When a door was opened, the stream of cold vapour rushing into the room was converted into snow. Spirits under proof, becoming perfectly solid, broke the containing vessels; and this mass, when melted, was found mere water. The whole strength was concentrated in a small portion, which, however, on being properly diluted, was found quite palatable. Spirits of wine assumed the consistence of oil. A man grasping an iron ring had his hand made fast to it; a glass containing brandy was on several occasions frozen to the lips or tongue; and a finger having been imprudently thrust into a bottle to serve as a

cork, could not be extricated without a part being severed.*

Two casks of brandy were allowed to the sailors at Christmas, which was celebrated with their usual wild and thoughtless revelry. To this, though perhaps without sufficient reason, Ellis imputes the appearance speedily after of the scurvy, under its most malignant form; and by the middle of February it had carried off three of their number. The real nature of this dreadful disease, and the powerful effect of vegetable acids in its prevention and cure, were still almost unknown. Tar-water was the only remedy from which they observed any good effects; yet they learned that, by the use of spruce-beer, the residents in the fort preserved perfect health, and had not buried a man in seven years. The settlers continued throughout estranged and hostile towards the exploring party, and endeavoured to prevent communication between them and the Indians. Ellis, however, contrived to see a good deal of this people. They appeared to him honest, happy rovers, preferring their country to all others under the sun. The attachment between parents and children is peculiarly strong, yet does not save the former, when infirm and unable to follow the long wanderings of the tribe, from being formally put to death. The father is said to require of his offspring this last office: "When they have dug his grave, he goes into it, converses and smokes for some time, drinks perhaps a dram or two, and intimates that he is ready. Two of them then take a thong, which they put round his neck, and draw it on opposite sides till he dies by strangulation, when they cover the body with earth, and erect over it a kind of rude monument."†

The spring seems to have approached earlier than

* Ellis, p. 150-180. † Ibid., p. 181-200.

in James's more southerly station, for about the middle of February the weather became changeable, with occasional thaw. In March it was very inconstant, and much water was formed, insomuch that they began to dread one of those floods which sometimes suddenly break up the ice, roll along, and bear down everything that opposes their fury. Such a tempest might have loosened the ships from their moorings, and occasioned much damage; they escaped it, however, as the ice melted imperceptibly away. On the 16th May, the frozen surface of Hayes River burst, and floated gently down; on the 29th, by the aid of a high tide, they worked to the mouth of the creek; and on the 2d June, with great labour, made their way into the open sea. Steering northward towards the Welcome, they discovered, in lat. 64°, Chesterfield Inlet. From a breadth of three or four leagues at the entrance, it increased to six or seven, and continued to be considerable; but the water becoming fresher and shallower, proved it to be a mere inlet. They then returned to the open Welcome, and about the middle of July began their examination of the Wager, the entrance of which was about five miles broad; but the tide ran through it like a sluice, at the rate of nine miles an hour; and the water boiled, raged, and foamed with extraordinary violence. After passing Savage Sound, however, they found it broader, and proceeded more easily. On the evening of the 31st they heard a tremendous noise, but from a quarter too distant to be then reached. The surrounding scene was most striking, huge cliffs hanging over head, while waterfalls, dashing from rock to rock, formed icicles in rows like the pipes of a great organ; and huge fragments, detached from the mountain-tops by the expansive power of frost, lay scattered around. In the morning, the appalling sound was traced to one stupendous fall, sixty yards broad. Above was a rocky strait, only navigable

for the boat at high tide; the bottom could not be reached by a line of 140 fathoms; and, though the water on the surface was fresh, a bottle let down to a certain depth brought it up salt. On the 3d August, at nightfall, the strait became shallow; and in the morning it was seen to end in two small unnavigable rivers, one from a lake in the southwest. It was thus fully ascertained that the Wager afforded no hope of a western passage.*

On their return into the open sea various opinions were agitated. One party, whom Ellis, according to his own declaration, strongly supported, remarked that the tide from the north was greatly the strongest in the Welcome, and was much more likely to come from the Arctic Sea than by the circuitous route supposed by Middleton. They proposed, therefore, that the Dobbs should thoroughly examine Repulse Bay, while the California diligently surveyed the adjacent coasts. This proposal was rejected by the majority, who, as he suspects, had become tired of labour and hardship, and impatient to return home. They agreed, indeed, to make a search as they passed round Carey's Swan's Nest, a most unpromising quarter; yet, when they came there, a council being called, the definitive resolution was formed to bear away for England, where they arrived on the 14th October. We can find no record of the manner in which the disappointment of high-raised hopes was received, either by Mr. Dobbs or the public. It certainly appears that no attempt was made to achieve what the present expedition had failed in; the interest of the public was cooled; and the search after a northwest passage was for a considerable time suspended.

An interesting account of this climate and country was reported to the Royal Society in 1770 by Mr.

* Ellis, p. 203–209, 250–258.

William Wales, a man of science sent thither to make astronomical observations. Having sailed from England in the end of May, 1768, he came on 5th July abreast of Cape Farewell. Here he was astonished by the masses of driftwood, and then by the view of an island of ice as high as the main-topmast, its sides and summit adorned with spires, and the whole indented in the most singular manner. When surrounded by these and the ripplings which they caused, while a strong gale began to toss the vessel among them, it was impossible for him to avoid a painful sense of danger. On the 23d, having passed Resolution Island, he entered the straits. The northern shore is described as strikingly composed of very lofty naked cliffs, not now covered with snow, but with numerous torrents dashing furiously down their sides. Icebergs still abounded, both within and at the entrance; but he could not think with Middleton that they came from Greenland, or remained unmelted for years. They appeared to him produced on the wild coasts of the bay; and being chiefly frozen snow, a single summer would be sufficient to dissolve them. He makes the remark, since fully confirmed, that ice, after the sea-water has been washed off, is entirely fresh, the salt having been thrown out in the process of freezing. He met parties of Esquimaux, whose dress and habits he describes exactly as Lyon and Parry have done. "Some," he observes, "call them treacherous, cruel, fawning, and suspicious; if they really deserve that character, they are the most complete hypocrites that nature ever formed." They appeared to him open, generous, and unsuspecting; liable indeed to fits of passion, but soon reconciled. Judging of them by their implements, he thought them excelled by few people in a genius for the arts.*

* Philosophical Transactions, vol. ix., p. 102--111.

Wales landed and spent the winter at Churchill Fort, then the chief settlement. He could not discover an acre fit for cultivation in the whole country around, which consisted of bare rocks, loose gravel, and marshes, the latter producing a long grass which was cut for the cattle. Fir-trees alone grew to any size; the others were mere bushes, yielding, however, delicate berries. August he describes as the height of the *small-bird* season, when young geese, ducks, curlews, and plovers abounded. In September, the first of these passed to the southward in large flights, and many were caught. October brought partridges and rabbits, chiefly in the upper country, to which a party went out, lodged in tents of deer-skin, and brought in a large supply. By the 6th November the river was frozen over, and a glass of brandy in the observatory became solid. When, however, a small vial was sealed up, by the cork being covered with water, which instantly froze, this spirit continued liquid during the whole winter. The air was now silent and void, or only relieved by the occasional flight of a solitary crow. As in other instances, the bedding was frozen to the boards, and they could scarcely sleep an hour for the cracking of the beams through the expansive power of frost. From the same agency, reports were often heard among the rocks as of numerous heavy cannon fired together, and splinters were thrown to an amazing distance.* By his meteorological table, it appears that the greatest fall of the thermometer occurred in January, when it was 45° *minus*, or 77° below the freezing point; it was, however, seldom lower than 20° *minus*. There was a constant haze on the horizon, and, when the sun rose, two long streams of red light ascended with him. These were then inflected towards each other and met, forming a par-

* Philosophical Transactions, vol. lx., p. 118–125.

helion, which seemed to have its source in two other parhelia. In winter, when the solar orb never emerged from the mist, these three luminous arches went all round the horizon.

About the middle of March the thaw was sensibly felt; on the 23d April the ground began to appear; and on the 26th they had their first rain. Towards the latter end of this month the *spring-goose* season began; and in May the weather was really agreeable. Near the middle of June the river broke up, and yielded an abundance of fine salmon, with the delicate small fish named capelin. July afforded radishes, lettuce, and turnip-tops, the latter of which they used for greens. He met a good many Indians, and was, on the whole, much pleased with them. He admits that they are revengeful, though the most honest creatures he ever saw; kind and friendly to each other and to Europeans; ignorant, but clever at repartee. He sailed on the 2d September, and in passing through the straits observed few islands of ice, and none in the Atlantic; whence he derived a confirmation of his opinion as to the speedy melting of those singular masses.*

The company soon after became exposed, from a new quarter, to a very formidable rivalry. While Canada was under French dominion, the fur-trade, as already observed, had been carried on from thence with considerable spirit by a class of adventurers called the *coureurs du bois;* who, having pushed their excursions far into the interior, had come into partial collision with the company's servants. This, however, from the limited extent of transactions on both sides, was not very serious; and the conquest of Canada in 1759 put a period for some time even to this competition. But similar operations were soon commenced by a number of persons, princi-

* Philosophical Transactions, vol. lx., p. 125–133.

pally from the Highlands of Scotland, whose hardy and adventurous habits were well suited to such pursuits, and who, after acting some time in their individual capacity, threw their stocks together, and in 1783, 4 formed the Northwest Fur Company. This body became very prosperous; and, from their central establishment at Montreal, extended operations to the remotest quarters of America. Their capital, amounting in 1788 to £40,000, had, before 1799, increased threefold, and probably was afterward much farther enlarged.*

The best account of the way in which this trade was managed, and of the mode of life led by the company's agents, is that given by Daniel Williams Harmon, a citizen of the United States, who served them many years as a clerk, and afterward became a partner. On the 30th April, 1800, he set sail from La Chine with a squadron of thirty canoes, divided into three brigades, to each of which one or more pilots were attached. These barks were steered by Canadian voyageurs, the most skilful in the world for guiding a boat through the many perilous rapids. Like sailors in tropical seas, they had certain stations, where they claimed the right of ducking every new passenger, unless, to their great satisfaction, he chose to purchase exemption by giving a few bottles of spirits. Harmon, having embraced this alternative, witnessed a complete brightening of the doleful aspect worn at parting from their relatives. At these rapids it was rather alarming to see the numerous crosses erected for persons who had been drowned; at one station there were fourteen, at another thirty. It was the 13th June before they reached the Grand Portage on Lake Superior, 1800 miles

* Mackenzie's Voyages from Montreal, &c., with Preliminary Account of the Fur-trade (4to, London, 1801), Introduction, p. vii., xvii., xxii.

above Montreal; and here they found a fortified enclosure, containing a number of wooden tenements, surrounded by palisades. A general meeting was held at this season of the proprietors and clerks from the interior, bringing the produce of their annual trade, and receiving articles wherewith to renew it. The occasion was celebrated with much mirth and a grand ball, at which the *ladies* behaved with greater propriety than our author expected, though it is admitted that during the festivity a drunken squaw stabbed her husband, who died in a few minutes.

Mr. Harmon proceeded to Lake Winnipeg, and expected to have gone on to the Saskatchawan; but a new post was formed on Swan River, of which he was appointed to take charge. He had here an earnest of future hardships, by spending a day, the first time in his life, without bread. Having received a pious education, he was scandalized at seeing no observance whatever of Sunday; the people carrying on business, playing at cards, and following other sports exactly as on other days. On remonstrating, he received for answer that there could be no Sabbath in the northwest country. He observes, at the same time, that though emergencies might occur, from the natives coming in, to render some traffic inevitable, there was, in general, no obstacle to its being spent in a strictly religious manner. In fact, he found leisure to read the Bible and other religious books more carefully than he had ever done before.* We believe there has been much amendment in this respect; and, before the author left the country, several of his friends had concurred with him in adopting the most serious views of religion.

* Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America. By Daniel Williams Harmon (8vo, Andover, United States, 1820), p. 25–61.

Mr. Harmon draws a picture, seemingly with painful truth, of the excesses then committed by the natives, owing to the practice of making spirits a leading article of traffic. "To see a house full of drunken Indians, consisting of men, women, and children, is a most unpleasant sight; for in that condition they often wrangle, pull each other by the hair, and fight. At some times ten or twelve of both sexes may be seen fighting each other promiscuously, until at last they all fall on the floor, one upon another, some spilling rum out of a small kettle or dish which they hold in their hands, while others are throwing up what they have just drunk. To add to this uproar, a number of children, some on their mothers' shoulders, and others running about and taking hold of their clothes, are constantly bawling, the older ones through fear that their parents may be stabbed, or that some other misfortune may befall them in the fray." On the arrival of a large party there usually commenced a ball (or, as he says, rather *bawl*), consisting in mock fights, loud shrieks, and cries, continued in most cases till three fourths were unable to stand. It was commonly closed by a succession of fights, when serious outrages were committed, of which the perpetrators in their sober moments bitterly repented. On one of these occasions, an Indian strongly attached to Mr. Harmon stabbed him with a knife, which penetrated through his clothes. Next day he cried bitterly at having nearly killed "his father," whom he reproached for not having tied him on seeing he had lost his senses. The dread of such incidents, as well as the clamour, rendered it impossible, while these scenes lasted, for the company's servants to shut their eyes; and sometimes after passing one sleepless night, the arrival of another party exposed them to a similar inconvenience. We shall hereafter have occasion to observe, that, under the management of

the existing company, an entire stop has been put to these pernicious excesses.*

Mr. Harmon describes with much feeling the extremities to which he and his companions were often reduced, owing to the uncertainty of the means whereby food was conveyed to them. On the borders of lakes and rivers fish afforded a resource; yet ice and other causes rendered it precarious, and they were sometimes glad to collect again those which had been thrown away and were almost putrid. On the prairies, the buffalo presented an excellent, and the moose-deer a delicious food; and there one or two Indians were usually engaged to hunt for them; but these wayward purveyors were liable to superstitious impressions, which often paralyzed their exertions. One, on whom their main dependence rested, conceived the idea that the bad spirit had determined to kill him, and for that purpose watched continually at the door of his cabin, out of which nothing could induce him to stir. Another individual complained that, when he was rushing against a deer or buffalo, the malignant demon raised such a cry behind him that he durst not proceed. Mr. Harmon, thus threatened with starvation, thought some artifice excusable. He wrapped a small portion of drugs in a paper, and desired him, when he heard this dreadful sound, to throw it over his shoulder without looking back, when it would fall into the mouth of the bad spirit, and that then he himself should dart upon his prey. The hunter returned quite delighted with the charm, which had fully succeeded, and brought with him a fine fat moose. Still, on repeated occasions, our author found famine staring him in the face; and boiled beaver-skins were sometimes his only resource. At one time he was reduced to rose-buds; but that elegant diet, besides being very unsavoury,

* Harmon, p. 62, 71, 72, 92, 93, 100, 112, 119, 139.

was, in respect to nutriment, so little better than nothing as scarcely to support existence. Sometimes, amid the most extreme want, the arrival of a moose or a buffalo placed him in luxurious plenty. The natives, who had not the same resources, were not unfrequently, in the depth of severe winters, reduced to the most fatal extremities; and cannibalism, to which they do not seem to have been impelled by ferocity, was then too often resorted to. The author saw a woman who was said to have partaken, in the course of one winter, of the bodies of fourteen of her kindred.*

The Indian tribes who wandered over the wide prairies adjacent to our author's station were chiefly those who bear the names of Crees and Assineboines. From the great abundance of game they derived an easy subsistence, and are described as an extremely happy and contented race. They were, in general, disposed to be friendly with the company's servants, from whose trade they derived great advantages. To their loss, it is true, they were supplied with ardent spirits; but they also obtained guns, powder, axes, and other implements of iron, without which, having quite disused the bow and arrow, they could scarcely have subsisted. They had, through the same channel, acquired a breed of horses, which had multiplied to such a degree as to be in the possession of almost every individual, and to have become an article of trade. They never sold one, however, without regret, and on such occasions the owner was heard whispering apologies to the animal, that necessity had compelled this parting, but not to be cast down, as the first opportunity would be taken of stealing him back; a promise which, without strict watch on the part of the purchaser, was punctually fulfilled. When Mr. Harmon visited one of their camps, he was almost

* Harmon, p. 86, 94, 95, 96, 110, 177.

overpowered with hospitality, being obliged to go successively to six or seven entertainments. Yet there was always something perilous in this intimacy. Not only in their drunken fits was life repeatedly threatened and attempted, but as, in a case of supposed injury, the vengeance was directed alike against the perpetrator and his friends, the latter were often struck by an unpremeditated blow. Our author learned once that every arrangement had been made to kill him by an Indian who supposed himself wronged by one of his intimate acquaintances; and he was only saved by the honourable feelings of another who had received him as a guest. Some painful instances were observed of European children, carried off or left in infancy, who had been so completely trained in the customs of savage life that they could not by any means be recalled to civilized habits.*

Mr. Harmon, who seems to have commanded the confidence of his employers, was latterly transferred to some of their remoter stations. In 1808 he crossed the Portage la Loche, or the ridge which divides the two great river-systems; and, like subsequent travellers, he considered the view thence of the Clear-water Valley the most enchanting he had ever beheld. After visiting Fort Chipewyan, the centre of all the transactions in the Athabasca region, he proceeded up the Peace River to Fort Dunvegan, agreeably situated amid fine plains. Here he received visits from Messrs. M'Leod, Fraser, and Stuart, on their way to and from the establishments lately formed by the company in New Caledonia, on the western side of the Rocky Mountains; and he himself, in 1810, went to spend some time in that district. He was struck by the great height of those mountains, exceeding any he had ever seen, and also with the numerous streams

* Harmon, p. 67, 70, 71, 101, 111, 122, 140, 141, 337.

which, coming from their farther side through a single narrow pass, unite to form the Peace River, whereby their waters are conveyed to the Northern Ocean. Nor was it till he was quite on the opposite declivity that he found any flowing towards the Pacific. He was employed at several forts situated on large lakes in that wild country. The Indian people in the neighbourhood, named Carriers, combined with the general character of the North American savage some peculiar features. They were yet in a happy ignorance of ardent spirits; though curiosity, it is said, led a number of them, on a great festival day, to see the Canadians get drunk. This mortifying scene they contemplated with great attention; but when the state of complete inebriation arrived, they were frightened, and ran to hide themselves in corners. Seeing afterward those who had made the greatest noise fall perfectly still, they imagined that they had recovered their senses, and become ashamed of their extravagance. For some time they would not believe that the English had fathers or mothers, but supposed them to have come down from the sun or moon. They still viewed them as possessing supernatural powers, and when about to depart on a hunting excursion, would come and make large offers on condition of good weather being secured during their adventure. They imagined that Europeans, by merely looking in their books, could cure a sick person, though at a great distance, and often made earnest applications to this effect. Nothing astonished them more than the movements of a watch and their correspondence to those of the sun, which they could account for only by its being part of that great luminary, or, at least, in intimate communication with it. They had not the grave and serious character observed in those on the other side of the mountains, but, when they came to the forts, kept up a perpetual chattering; and, notwithstanding their desire to please the

whites, nothing was more difficult than to check their tongues any considerable time. Their rage for play seemed to exceed even the usual savage bounds, so that they would make a boast of having lost all they had, and being obliged to cut off part of their clothes, and even to strip themselves naked. The attachment between husband and wife was very strong, and a man has been known to commit suicide on the death of his partner. In this connexion strict fidelity was exacted, but to the unmarried females a culpable license was allowed. Their only domestic animals were large dogs, which were employed in carrying burdens, and were the objects of great regard, being often called their children, and after death lamented in a manner somewhat corresponding. Their chief diet is salmon, which swarm in the western rivers, and during the season afford them food in abundance.*

In 1819, Mr. Harmon, after having resided eight years on the western side of the Rocky Mountains, returned and spent some time at his native place. He afterward resumed his occupations in the fur-trade, but left his journal, which his friend Mr. Haskel of Burlington prepared for the press.

* Harmon, p. 169, 170, 175, 191, 195, 197, 289, 293, 295, 335.

CHAPTER VIII.

Hudson's Bay Territory: Recent Discovery and Present State.

Hearne and Mackenzie.—Parry, Franklin, and Richardson.—Captain Back sent in search of Captain Ross.—Aided by the Hudson's Bay Company.—Reaches Great Slave Lake.—Discovers the Thlew-ee-choh.—Winters on the Lake.—Voyage down the River.—Arrested by Ice.—His Return.—Successful Voyage by Messrs. Dease and Simpson.—The Northwest incorporated with the Hudson's Bay Company.—Privileges of that Body.—Its Constitution and Management.—Indian tribes within its Jurisdiction.—Valuable furred Animals, Beaver, Martin, Fox, Otter, &c.—Modes of catching them.—Principal Stations.—York Fort.—Moose.—Montreal.—Fort Vancouver.—Claims of the Americans.—Settlement on the Red River.—Import of Furs.

It behooves us to notice those more recent voyages of discovery which, though undertaken with a view to the northwest passage, have had for their chief result the exploration of the boundaries and remote geographical features of British America. The way had been prepared through inland expeditions by the two rival companies. In 1771, Samuel Hearne, employed by that of Hudson's Bay, descended the Coppermine River, and found it terminating in an unknown part of the Arctic Ocean. In 1789, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, one of the partners of the Northwest Fur Company, went down the larger stream which bears his name, and made observations which left little doubt of its opening into another portion of the same expanse. That enterprising gentleman also penetrated in 1793 across the Rocky Mountains, and reached the coast of the Pacific.

These observations were sufficient to remove the impression which at one time prevailed, that America presented an unbroken continent stretching towards the pole; and the proofs of an ocean bounding it at no very high latitude, gave again some probability to the existence of a passage to India by this route. The British government, therefore, after the close of the European war in 1815, engaged in a series of spirited attempts which had this object in view. Captain Parry successfully penetrated into the Polar Sea, and discovered a range of large islands, to the south of which were extensives coasts, of which he could not perceive the boundary. Captain Ross, in an adventurous voyage fitted out by himself and his friends, ascertained that these coasts belonged to a large peninsula named by him Boothia, and which terminates to the south in a narrow isthmus, connecting it apparently with the continent, though there has since appeared room to suspect that the whole may compose one large island. Captain Parry, in another voyage, explored the northern shores of Hudson's Bay, and discovered the strait of the Fury and Hecla, leading thence into the Arctic Ocean. Meantime, Captain Franklin and Dr. Richardson, in two land journeys checkered by interesting events, examined a large extent of the northern coast, including the whole of that between the Coppermine and Mackenzie Rivers, with a considerable space east of the former and west of the latter. Captain Beechey, from Behring's Straits, approached to within 150 miles of Franklin's most westerly point. These expeditions and discoveries were chiefly made along the remoter limits of British America, and have been fully narrated in former volumes of this series.*

* The Edinburgh Cabinet Library.—See Polar Seas and Regions, chapter vii., and Tytler's Northern Coasts of America, chapter iv. (Harpers' Family Library).

Out of these expeditions arose another, conducted by Captain Back, which issued in the discovery of an extensive inland tract, watered by a large river and numerous lakes. As this is more intimately connected with our present subject, and has not been touched upon in any of our former volumes a fuller detail of its results may be gratifying to the reader, and necessary to complete his knowledge of British America.

Captain Ross sailed in the summer of 1829, on the enterprise to which we have alluded, stimulated by the hope of redeeming the error he had once fallen into, and, with the aid of steam navigation, of completing the career of northwestern discovery. Four winters, however, elapsed without any intelligence respecting him; a circumstance which at once alarmed his friends and excited the deepest sympathy in the public mind. Government having determined to expend nothing more ... objects of discovery, declined at first to take any share in the matter; but, on further representation, and on perceiving that the feeling of the nation was strongly expressed, Lord Goderich announced a grant of £2000, provided the balance of the expense, estimated at £3000, should be contributed from other quarters. A committee was formed and a subscription opened, which at the first meeting amounted to £800, and increased so rapidly as to leave no doubt of raising the necessary funds. Captain Back, greatly distinguished as the companion of Franklin and Richardson, had volunteered to lead the expedition; while Mr. Richard King engaged to act as surgeon, as well as to make collections of natural history, and afford other assistance. The Hudson's Bay Company, whose governor and deputy-governor were members of the committee, undertook to furnish gratuitous supplies, and every kind of local aid.

The expedition, it was arranged, should consist of

two officers and eighteen men, of whom two had gained experience under Sir John Franklin; the rest were to be selected from the inferior agents of the company. The party were to proceed by New-York, Montreal, and the chain of large waters to Great Slave Lake. They were to establish winter-quarters at its eastern extremity, from the vicinity of which a considerable river was known to rise, and to flow in a northeastern direction, so as probably to reach the ocean near the quarter where Captain Ross and his party were imagined to remain in durance. It was supposed that before winter they might, in a light canoe, reach the sea, gain all possible information, and form their plans for next summer. They were then to push direct for the point in Regent Inlet where the wreck of the Fury had been left, which Captain Ross had proposed to visit, and avail himself of the abandoned stores. Should no trace of him be found, they were to search all the surrounding shores, erecting signals to attract the wanderers, and direct them where relief would be found. Should this their primary object fail altogether, it was hoped they might add to the stock of geographical knowledge, and perhaps, by penetrating from the mouth of the river to Cape Turnagain, explore a great part of the unknown coast.*

The expedition sailed from Liverpool on the 17th February, 1833, and after a somewhat boisterous passage, during which they observed several formidable icebergs, reached New-York on the 27th March. In that city the greatest anxiety was manifested to promote their object. The Hudson River Steamboat Association proffered the use of their fine vessel the Ohio to convey them to Albany. At the British consul's they met Messrs. Washington Ir-

* Captain Back's Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition (8vo, London, 1836), Preliminary Chapter.

ving, Audubon, Webster, and other eminent men, who expressed a deep interest in their success, and their departure was cheered by more than a thousand spectators. They soon reached Albany, but their journey thence was very tedious, in a large wagon, over a very indifferent road, and it was not till the 9th April that they arrived at Montreal. Here, though kindly received by all the authorities, they met with some troubles. Two of the men from England showed a disposition to shun the service, which Captain Back imputes to fears inspired by the very sympathy which they had excited; but Mr. King thinks they had been treated too familiarly, and forgot their place. An attempt was made, by sending them forward to a distant post, to retain their services; still it was thought advisable, with Lord Aylmer's permission, to accept the offer of four soldiers as volunteers. Several Canadian voyageurs were also engaged; but Keith, agent for the Hudson's Bay Company, counselled them to make the main selection from among the regular servants at Norway House, where much hardier men would be found. At the hotel where they lodged, a performance being given by the Bohemian Brothers, a number of evergreens brought in to adorn the apartment took fire, and the house was consumed so rapidly that many of the audience were obliged to escape by the windows; luckily, the baggage had been sent forward, but the only serviceable barometer was lost.

On the 25th April they left Montreal and sailed up the Ottawa. Some friendly aid was afforded by the steam vessels; but the numerous rapids caused detention, and tried the firmness of the young hands, two of whom deserted. Proceeding along a small stream, they entered the Nipissing Lake, and thence by the Rivière des Français descended into Lake Huron. Being detained by fogs and contrary winds, they did not reach the Sault St. Marie till the 11th

May. Here Mr. Bethune, the company's agent, informed them that the despatches sent to Mr. Simpson, the resident governor, owing to the obstruction of the floating ice, had preceded them by only eleven days; an unfortunate circumstance, whence a difficulty was apprehended in making up their complement of men. Here provisions for five weeks were laid in, and many civilities, as well as some supplies, were received from the American commandant on the opposite side of the river.

The party now sailed along the northern bank of Lake Superior, not without some risk from fogs and squalls. The rocky border, in many places above 1000 feet high, always afforded coves into which they could run; but they often sought to avoid a winding bay by steering directly from point to point, in the course of which they got some frights and duckings. On the 20th, under a salute of six guns, they entered Fort William, where Mr. M'Intosh, by Governor Simpson's direction, had prepared two excellent light canoes, which it was necessary to use instead of large ones, in order to move along the narrow and obstructed rivers. The baggage and stores being nicely divided into pieces, and distributed as equally as possible, they began to ascend the shallow stream Kamenistiquoia, on which they saw with astonishment that stupendous fall which has been considered second only to Niagara. Having passed a portage over the dividing ridge, the Savannah conveyed them into Rainy Lake, whence they reached and crossed the Lake of the Woods, and then came to Fort Alexander, at the southern extremity of Lake Winnipeg. Here Captain Back waited four days for Governor Simpson, who came on the 10th June, accompanied by his lady, whose affection had led her to share the hardships of a voyageur life and a northern winter. That gentleman, with the intelligence and benevolence which mark his character, had made the most active prep-

arations to promote the objects of the expedition. He himself was obliged by ill health to return to England, but every resource possessed by the company was placed at their command. Pemmican, owing to a migration of the buffaloes, was unfortunately scarce, though orders had been sent to collect it along the whole line of route. He concurred with Mr. Keith, that the best place for obtaining volunteer recruits was Norway House, by hastening to which they might intercept the different brigades of boats on their way to Hudson's Bay. Some difficulty was apprehended in inducing the men to engage; but Messrs. Cameron and Christie, chief factors, were to be intrusted with this task, for which they were considered extremely well qualified, and Mr. Charles, long employed on the banks of the Slave Lake, was to give all the benefit of his local knowledge. Mr. Simpson sent also a letter addressed to four individuals of standing in the service, inviting any one of them to join and act under Captain Back, with the assurance of immediate promotion, as well as of an additional £100 a year while employed.

Every desirable arrangement was thus made; yet the impossibility of accomplishing the main object during the passing season could not but be foreseen more fully than ever. Captain Back nevertheless was most anxious to trace the course of the Great Fish River, so that he might form precise plans for descending it next summer. He therefore pushed forward, and, reaching Norway House on the 17th June, found the officers of the company eager to render every service, though the men showed some backwardness, and were disposed at least to drive a hard bargain. Even when engaged, an insurmountable obstacle arose from two of their wives. One, endowed with Amazonian powers, applied her fists with such perseverance to the ears of her husband, that he soon submitted. Another, an interesting girl

of seventeen, assailed her partner with such tender sobs and embraces, that she equally gained her object. Two being thus wanting, Mr. King was sent forward with the heavy equipments to Cumberland House, where the leader, in a light canoe, expected to overtake him. The former had a very hard voyage, working his way through a succession of little lakes and branches of rivers, and passing nineteen portages, as well as innumerable rapids. He had received peremptory orders not to break upon the precious store of pemmican which was to be their dependance on the voyage, and to subsist the men solely by fishing; but this resource was so very deficient, that they suffered severe privation, and at one time had only the alternative of famine or of violating the solemn injunction. He had no spirits; and, though fully admitting the dangers of indulgence, he could not help thinking that an occasional dram would have cheered his people. He was delighted, however, with much of the scenery, particularly a reach of the river Missinnippi, bordered by undulating hills and dense forests. Both Back and he were, like Harmon, enchanted at the view from the summit of the ridge, where it suddenly descends on the western side by a precipice of more than 1000 feet. For a space of thirty-six miles, the Clear-water River was seen meandering through a plain covered with luxuriant woods, and diversified by two parallel ranges of hills. Having reached Fort Chipewyan on the Athabasca Lake, Mr. King, agreeably to his directions, descended the Great Slave River to Fort Resolution, which stands on the lake of that name. Here he found instructions and a guide to lead him to its eastern extremity, where a place had been fixed upon for the winter residence. He had to encounter a good deal of difficulty in tracing the winding course of this great sheet of water, but at length, from the top of a lofty rock, saw, amid the dark green foliage, the framework of a

building, which he concluded to be no other than that which he sought. Accordingly, he was there welcomed by Captain Back, who had already arrived.

This officer in about a week completed his party, though for that purpose he was obliged to accept the services of one of the natives.* On the 28th June he embarked with a motley group, composed of "an Englishman, a man from Stornoway, two Canadians, two metifs (or half-breeds), and three Iroquois Indians. Babel, it was said, could not have produced a worse confusion of inharmonious sounds than the conversation they kept up." Nothing particular occurred till, at the Pine Portage, he met Messrs. Stuart and M'Leod, two of the gentlemen to whom he bore the governor's invitation. It was the latter he most desired to join him, both as an intimate friend and as a person eminently qualified for the service; and, to his great satisfaction, Mr. M'Leod, though in bad health, most cheerfully complied.

At Fort Chipewyan, and still more at Fort Resolution, the most diligent inquiries were made of the Indians as to a river communication with the sea. The general statement was, that from the eastern point of the lake there were two streams holding a course nearly parallel, one called Thlew-ee-choh, the other Tēh-lon. The first was both difficult and dangerous, broken by rapids, and passing through a country destitute of trees, shelter, and game; while the other was of easy navigation, amid wooded tracts well stocked with animals. They were represented, too, as falling into the sea not far from each other. The Tēh-lon was therefore recommended as every way the more eligible; yet Captain Back receiving, on the whole, the impression that it must flow eastward into Chesterfield Inlet; so that, as

* Back, chap. ii. King, p. 4–12, 26, 72–127.

the more rugged Thlew-ee-choh could alone be depended upon for leading into the Arctic Sea, he determined to brave all its perils.*

The question, however, still remained, where the river was and by what route to reach it. The only distinct light was gained from an Indian named Maufelly, who had been there in his youth, but now retained only very faint and wavering recollections. To his guidance, nevertheless, they were obliged to trust. In sailing along the northern shore, they passed an extensive range of very bold and perpendicular cliffs; and on one of the loftiest of them was seated a majestic eagle, which, "unscared by our cries, reigned in solitary state the monarch of the rocky wilderness." At length they suddenly opened on a small bay, at the bottom of which a splendid fall, upward of sixty feet high, rushed in two white and misty volumes into a dark gulf beneath. The scene was of the most picturesque and romantic grandeur, and Maufelly declared that this stream, named the Hoar-frost River, would lead them to the great one sought for. The captain, therefore, disregarding the significant looks of his companions, determined to ascend it; and Mr. M'Leod now proceeded to the most easterly point of the lake, to rear a winter habitation for their reception.

The ascent was attended with all the expected difficulties; it being necessary to drag the canoe over a slippery rugged steep, through trees and underwood. After passing two falls, they got her afloat and enjoyed a short respite; but two more soon occurred. At length, after clambering over fallen trees, through rivulets and across swamps, they came to an open space, desolate and craggy, estimated to be 2000 feet above the water which they saw beneath. They had then a descent so

* Back, chap. ii.

precipitous as to be even dangerous. Rapids following in quick succession obliged them to be almost constantly lightening the canoe, and hauling it with a line; and their toil was rendered tormenting by the stings of innumerable sandflies and moschetoes. Temporary repose was at last found on the tranquil bosom of a small lake named Cook, connected with a stream barred by fifteen small rapids, all of which were cheerfully encountered, as the ladder to their grand object. It opened into a large lake named Walmsley; but, after an intricate navigation among numerous islands, they came to the end of it without finding any farther channel. Maufelly announced a similar and much larger expanse, but was greatly puzzled how to reach it. Scouts, however, being sent to different directions, discovered a chain of small detached lakes, which they became convinced would conduct to the one in question; and, starting with the first dawn, they carried the boat in one day over no fewer than fifteen portages. Next morning, after a continuance of similar labour, they found a small stream leading eastward, and after some perplexities mounted a hill, whence they had the satisfaction of looking on a clear body of water, bounded only by the horizon. It was the northeastern branch of a great lake, afterward named Artillery; and they soon found themselves in the channel of a river flowing in the wished-for direction. After only four rapids, it opened into another lake still more extensive, subsequently denominated Clinton-Colden. Coasting along its western shore, they were somewhat bewildered by bays and islands, of which last many were so large that they were not unfrequently mistaken for the main land. The appearance, however, of numerous sandhills, convinced Maufelly, from recollections which had survived the lapse of so many winters, that they could not now be far from the rise of the Thlew-ee-choh. The lake for some distance near

the shore began to be crusted with thin ice; while the moschetoes and flies, their tormentors, lay like a black cover on its surface. Yet the mountainous aspect of the coast tended rather to discourage their hopes, till from a conical hill they discovered another immense lake, which they named Aylmer, abounding in large islands and in bays from ten to fifteen miles deep. On the opposite side it had quite the appearance of an inland sea; for, with the exception of some dark spots pronounced to be islets, the horizon was composed entirely of sky and water, gilded by the brilliant rays of a setting sun. Maufelly confidently predicted that in the vicinity of its banks would be found the desired spot; and, though he still groped in uncertainty, there was no choice but to confide in him. At length he descried some sandhills which had left traces in his memory; and, after ascending one, hastened down, saying, that in an adjacent bay he had discovered a spot fixed in his earliest associations as the scene of his father's exploits; and that it contained the source of the Thlew-ee-choh. The canoe therefore being lodged in the bay, a party was sent forward to search for that stream. As their return was delayed, Captain Back himself mounted one of the eminences, and thought he perceived a ridge, at the head of which springs were rippling which might contribute to form the river. The messengers at last appeared, with the happy assurance that these with others gave rise to a small lake, out of which issued a current, which was doubtless the one sought for.* The canoe was soon dragged over the height and launched upon its bosom; and in descending its course for about twelve miles, it was found to spread into a large lake, and to receive two tributaries, when there remained no doubt that, swelled by continued accessions, it would spread into a noble river.

* Back, chapter iv.

Unfortunately, there appeared no certainty as to the point whither it would lead them. But the season was advanced; a succession of rapids was before them; and blue mountains in the distance gave warning that others still more formidable must be encountered. It was therefore necessary to be content with what had been achieved, and to regain their winter quarters. They retraced their course with little difficulty along the chain of the great lakes. At the end of that named Artillery was the river Ah-heldessy, which led to their destination; but its navigation was so difficult, and their bark so shattered, that they abandoned it and proceeded on foot. The path was extremely rugged, and at the highest part a scene appeared to which Captain Back had seen nothing in the Old World bearing any resemblance. It was not Alpine; the eye wandered over endless lines of round-backed rocks, with their sides rent into the most eccentric forms, like a stormy ocean suddenly petrified. The only vegetation consisted of a few tawny and pale-green lichens; and the stems of mountain-pines scathed by fire presented a mournful aspect. They endured much fatigue, as well as torture from flies and moschetoes, till they reached the end of the lake, and discovered the framework of the house which Mr. M'Leod had been employed in rearing.*

This mansion, completed by the 5th November, of wooden logs closely cemented with common clay and sand, was fifty feet long and thirty broad, divided into four apartments, with an open hall in the centre to which the Indians were admitted. Notwithstanding every preparation, the winter proved very distressing. The deer at this season had been accustomed to leave the high open tracts called the barren grounds, where they can scarcely be reached, and to seek the shelter of the woods, where they

* Back, chapter vi.

fall a prey to the natives; but, in consequence of a course of mild weather, they remained still in those inaccessible tracts. Attempts were made to supply the deficiency by fishing; but the spawning-time, according to Mr. King, had been allowed to pass, and though different bays and small lakes were tried, the produce was extremely scanty, while many of the nets were lost. They were, on this account, obliged to place themselves on a reduced allowance, and also to encroach on their stock of pemmican, though scarcely adequate to next summer's expedition. The Indians, deprived of their ordinary resources, clustered round the fort, and threw themselves entirely upon our countrymen. Though they could be allowed only what was barely sufficient to preserve them alive, the males showed extreme fortitude, never letting a murmur escape their lips; but their pallid visages, meager frames, and sunken eyes fully told what they endured. The moans of the children, and the hollow and sepulchral wail with which the mothers attempted to sooth them, were most distressing. A similar deficiency had been experienced for two successive seasons throughout these remote districts; and during the last, forty of the chief hunters had perished by hunger, and fears were entertained of many who had not been heard of. We suspect they have acquired too much the habit of depending on the English forts, where, in general, they are supplied in these exigences. So much have they come to consider this their right, that, when disappointed, they allow themselves to be hurried into the most violent deeds. Having been once harshly refused at a northern post, they surprised in the woods three of the company's servants, and shot two; then rushing to the house, they found the superintendent in bed, and instantly murdered him. They were, however, ultimately hunted down, even by their own tribe. The limited bounty of the present party was

received with gratitude and kindness, the only suspicion being excited by the operations at the observatory, which were by some suspected to be magical, and to have the effect of driving the animals away; nor were even the voyaguers exempt from this impression. The captain, however, having jestingly asserted his object to be directly contrary, and this being immediately followed by the capture of a bear, their doubts vanished. It is alleged that, though by exerting greater activity and going to a distance, they might have fared tolerably well, they preferred hanging on for their miserable allowance. They sought to eke it out by cutting off and roasting portions of their deer-skin robes, thus depriving themselves of a most necessary protection against the period of extreme cold, during which many of them perished, both around the fort and in remote quarters. Augustus, Captain Franklin's Esquimaux guide, having set out from York Fort to join them, died on the road.

In February the thermometer sunk to 60°, and sometimes even to 90° below the freezing-point, and the rigour of the weather became remarkable, especially in the latitude of 63°. With a large fire in a small apartment, the heat could not be raised above 12°. Ink and paint froze, and boxes of the best-seasoned wood split. The skin of the hands cracked and opened in gashes. When the face was washed near the fire, before it could be dried the hair was clotted with ice. All living beings disappeared, no sound but that of the passing wind broke the awful stillness.*

On the 25th of April, while the party sat conversing, a loud and sharp rap was heard at the door, and, without waiting permission, the person burst in, saying, "He is returned, sir!" "Who, Augustus?" "Captain Ross, sir; Captain Ross is return-

* Back, chap. vii. King, p. 171, *et seq.*

ed!" On demanding the authority, it was in his hand; a packet had already been delivered, containing a number of letters, with newspapers reporting this event, which had caused such a deep and joyful interest in Britain. Instructions were also received from Sir Charles Ogle, directing Captain Back to turn his whole attention to discovery, especially on that part of the coast between the farthest point reached by Captain Ross and Franklin's Cape Turnagain. To this object, therefore, all their enthusiasm was now turned. The day was passed in a state of feverish excitement; and, though the strictest temperance usually ruled the establishment, this happy occasion was celebrated by a generous bowl.

It was now considered that, for their more limited object, one boat, with a crew of ten men, all experienced voyageurs, good hunters, and inured to the most trying situations, might be sufficient. Such a bark was now building on Artillery Lake, and thither the pemmican and baggage were dragged in successive loads. On the 13th May a solitary goose appeared, the harbinger of summer, followed before night by five more, and in the next three days by many other birds. Towards the end of the month the heat became oppressive, the thermometer standing in the sun at 106°, being 176° higher than on the 17th January; and the snow was fast melting. Mr. M'Leod proceeded forward, with a select party, to bring down animals and form them into *caches* or hoards, concealed from the view of hungry wolves and Indians, yet indicated by certain signs to the advancing party. Finding it impossible to keep the house open on this desolate spot, they secured as well as possible the papers, drawings, and stores; then blocked up the doors and windows to prevent intrusion.*

* Back, chapter viii.

On the 7th June Captain Back set out, with four persons, each loaded with nine[illegible] pounds of pemmican; and, after three days of laborious tracking over rocks and swamps, they reached the lake. As that expanse was still covered with ice, the boat was placed upon wooden runners to be drawn over it by two men and six fine dogs; but the surface, instead of being smooth, presented a bed of sharp angular spikes, the walking over which was most painful and difficult; and the runners, were soon so peeled or otherwise injured as to render their destruction inevitable, unless protected by some durable material. There was nothing within reach but an iron saw, which was cut into slips and attached to them. Disappointed by Maufelly and another Indian, who had promised to act as guides, they groped their way by a somewhat imperfect recollection; however, they succeeded, without any material deviation, in reaching Clinton-Colden Lake. The *caches* were tolerably abundant; in one day they found eleven animals, though several were musk-oxen, the flesh of which had a flavour almost intolerable. The men, indeed, at one time expressed a resolution rather to starve than eat it; but this was altogether scouted by their leader, who, to take away all pretext, adopted it as part of his own allowance. These supplies enabled them to keep the pemmican untouched. They had also some extremely bad weather, particularly on Midsummer-day, when they saw in the northern sky, accumulated in one black mass, all the horrors of a hyperborean winter. Hail, snow, and rain in ceaseless succession assailed them, and were followed by a wind so violent as to overturn the tent. Frequent showers and increasing heat so softened the ice, that both the boats and themselves were dragged along with great difficulty, not without danger, or, at least, fear of sinking. However, on the 27th June, they reached Sandhill Bay, delighted with the certainty that they were

within a few miles of the stream that would convey them to the Polar Sea.

The joy thus inspired was considerably damped next day, when the boat, which it was necessary to convey from the lake into the river, was found composed of such soft materials that it could not be dragged over a rocky portage. The crew were therefore ordered to carry it; a severe task, which tried their strength to the utmost, and was the more distressing from the fear that it might be often repeated. At length, through many obstacles from ice in the lakes and rapids in the stream, they reached their former station, and met Mr. M'Leod with his party. He astonished them by his skill in the rifle, which is said to have equalled that of a Kentuckian, and by which he had provided largely for their wants. It was now settled that he should return, prepare winter-quarters, fix on a good fishing station, and meet the returning expedition at the end of September.*

The bark now began its voyage down the Thlewee-choh, with a load fitted much rather for a smooth sea than for the rugged and broken channel which it had to encounter. Twenty-seven bags of pemmican, with macaroni, flour, and minor articles, weighing about 3360 lbs., exclusive of rigging and stores, and a company amounting to ten. The burden was indeed gradually reduced by consumption, and still more by *caches*† deposited at different points with a view to their return; but the progress downward, nevertheless, was not unattended with difficulty. On Lake Garry, a great expanse at which they arrived, they were startled by the view of extensive fields of ice, stretching to the utmost

* Back, chapters ix., x.

† From the French word *cacher*, to conceal, and applied by the Canadian hunters to the deposites of provisions which they are in the habit of making at different places for their more convenient use.—*Am. Ed.*

limit of vision. Hence their farther advance seemed at first to be completely arrested; but by following narrow lanes of water, and by cutting through the ice or lifting the boat over it, they slowly worked their way. The most serious obstacles were found in the rapids that interrupted almost every channel. Of these they had been forewarned by the Indians, who described them as in fact utterly impassable, and added that all of their countrymen who made the attempt had perished. Indeed, Captain Back conceives that nothing short of an almost superhuman bodily strength, joined to skill and long experience, could have enabled his two steersmen, M'Kay and Sinclair, to vanquish the obstacles. The question was also started, how the boat, once down, could ever be got up; but their leader did not allow this consideration at present to disturb them. In the first great rapid it was seen to sweep over the eddy with the ease and buoyancy of a seafowl; but this descent was soon followed by one both longer and much more appalling, in which the water had the force and velocity of a torrent. The boat having been lightened, Captains Back and King saw it flying with the speed of an arrow, and soon hidden from view by foam and rocks. Their agitation was heightened by what sounded like a wild shriek; but, on running forward, it proved to be the triumphant whoop of the crew at being safely landed. Some time after they encountered a succession of cascades, nearly two miles in length, and making an entire fall of about sixty feet; and it was only by alternately elevating and lowering the boat that the gulf below was at length gained. Elsewhere they had to pass a range of sunken rocks, over which the surges foamed and boiled with impetuous fury. They were next involved in a singular combination of fall, rapid, and eddy, where the bark was acted upon by such conflicting forces that prudence

ceased to be of any avail. It is supposed to have been only by a mistake of the directions given even by the skilful steersman, that she was saved from destruction. But Captain Back's greatest alarm was at a place where it was found necessary to dash through a range of breakers. He and Captain King had taken a station where they could see the boat issuing from between the rocks; but, after a long time had elapsed, and they were sinking into utter despair, they learned that the crew had found a narrow channel, over which the bark was lifted, and the perilous passage thereby avoided.

All this while the main question continued to be, whether the river would lead to the Arctic Ocean, or to Chesterfield Inlet in Hudson's Bay. For about a hundred miles it continued to hold a favourable course towards the northeast, then opened into a long lake named Beechey, only about seventy miles from Back's River in Coronation Bay, the point of all others they were desirous to reach. The lake, however, to their great disappointment, took a turn southeastward, a direction which the river followed for a considerable space with little variation. But again they were cheered by its resuming a northeast course, which lasted nearly as long as the former one. Next followed a chain of great lakes—Pelly, Garry, and Macdougall—throughout which, and for some space beyond, the course varied very little from due east, and they arrived within ninety-four miles of Chesterfield Inlet. To counteract this unfavourable impression, they were relieved by the view of distant streams stretching northward; and, after some time, were confirmed in the hope that the river had decidedly taken this direction. Following it some distance, they at length came to a spacious lake, which they named Franklin, and, soon after regaining the channel, they were gratified by observing on the top of a

hill a number of figures running about with great rapidity. These proved to be Esquimaux, a welcome sight; for where they were the sea could not be far distant. But the utmost caution was necessary; for they might be, and, as it proved, really were, entire strangers to Europeans, and had seen coming in this direction only the Indians, their mortal enemies. They began by raising wild yells, brandishing their arms, and making expressive signals, with the view of forbidding the English to land. Captain Back, however, going on shore alone without any visible weapon, deliberately walked up, and, making a friendly movement with his hands, called out *Timā*—Peace! They instantly flung down their arms, returned his salutation, and uttered many unintelligible words, which, however, were construed to be friendly; a feeling which was soon established by the presentation of buttons, fish-hooks, and other trifles, in preference to the dangerous gift of knives and hatchets. They appeared, on the whole, superior to the tribes formerly seen, cleaner in their persons, and the females of so agreeable a cast of countenance, that the men called them "bonnie looking creatures." The intercourse continued to be good-humoured and easy; they were delighted at having their portraits drawn and their names written down; and they assisted to drag the boat over a portage which had baffled the efforts of the crew. They had heard nothing of Captain Ross, but assured their visiters that the very next day they would reach the sea, and find a coast running for a considerable way towards the north, then suddenly turning south and stretching far in that direction.

This prediction was soon fulfilled; for next afternoon, July 29, they descried a bold and broad headland, the aspect of which was decidedly maritime, and from its importance they gave to it the name of Victoria. Soon after, the shores widened in such

a manner as showed that they were at the mouth of the Thlew-ee-choh, after a course of 530 geographical miles through an iron-ribbed country, without a single tree on its banks, forming five lakes, and broken by eighty-three rapids. After passing the headland and observing a picturesque waterfall, they saw the shores receding, yet still forming a bay, the eastern part of which showed open water as far as the eye could reach. The western, along which they specially desired to sail with a view to reach Point Turnagain, was heavily encumbered with ice; but they hoped soon to find a place whence they could pull across to it. Their prospects were now considered highly favourable, as, supposing only a moderate rate of going, the object of their voyage might be accomplished in ten days. After passing, however, a rocky cape 800 feet high, named Point Beaufort, the drift ice collected in great masses; and, on ascending the height, a solid body was discovered connecting both shores. This forced on them the gloomy conviction that, if their destination were reached at all, it could only be by slow and laborious efforts. On the following day, indeed (31st July), the action of a southerly breeze cleared the coast they were on, producing fourteen miles of open water; but a movement in that direction would have carried them quite out of their desired course, and the bay becoming broader would only have been more difficult to cross. They therefore halted till the ice should make a more favourable opening; and, in fact, next morning a narrow lane appeared, by which they worked their way to the western shore. A bay was reached, supposed in the mainland, but found afterward to be in an island separated by a narrow channel, and named Montreal. The ice, however, closely packed, barred all advance along this shore, and rendered it necessary to drag the boat on land, where they were detained for several days. This

coast, too, was low and swampy, which, with frequent rains, so moistened the fern and moss collected for fuel that a fire could not be kindled. They were thus debarred from even the comfort of a warm cup of tea, pemmican and cold water becoming their only repast. On the 5th August, while moving southwestward in search of a passage, they reached the mainland, and passed a large opening named Elliot Bay, without seeing a single particle of ice ahead; but this must have been an optical illusion, since, on pushing towards the north to take advantage of it, they became entangled in drift ice, which was evidently the advanced guard of the main body. Their progress being thus arrested, a party made an excursion fifteen miles along the coast to a point where they found a number of Esquimaux encampments, and whence they saw a distant appearance of mountains and open water.

On the 7th, a heavy rain and strong southeast wind dispersed the ice with a celerity which quite astonished those not accustomed to Arctic navigation; the bay, throughout its whole breadth, appearing clear, and the boat advancing at the rate of five miles an hour. The western shore continued low, and became more and more desolate; but the opposite one showed a bold and mountainous range, which, however, at the end of sixteen miles, terminated at Cape Hay, to the north of which no land was discovered; and, according to information obtained from the Esquimaux, there appeared reason to believe that the coast there rounded away to the southeast. At length their enemy, the drift ice, collecting again, obliged them to run ashore at a naked, sandy point, which they named Ogle. On ascending a hillock, they saw the land stretching southwest, and forming a deep bay, bordered by high ground much cumbered with ice; yet the surface of the sea was checkered by some streaks of open water. In the afternoon of the 10th, a fall of

rain made a little farther opening, and in a zigzag course, partly by portage, partly by lifting, they advanced somewhat more than a mile; but at this point a strong northwest wind drove the ice ashore in large perpendicular pieces, which not only dashed against the beach, but overspread part of the coast. As usual during such detention, a land expedition was sent forward. After a march of fifteen miles, they reached a green hill named Mount Barrow, and descried a bay fifteen miles wide, the northwestern extremity of which they named Point Richardson. On the 13th, favourable prospects were repeatedly afforded; but at length the ice came rushing in with such force as to place the boat in danger, for which reason it was drawn across a narrow isthmus to the other side of Point Ogle.

Captain Back began now seriously to reflect on his situation, as the season, in this inclement region, might already be considered very far advanced. New ice was beginning to form on the shores and bays, while that of the preceding winter was only partially dissolved. The period, indeed, had elapsed, in which he had hoped to reach Cape Turnagain; to make the attempt now seemed very hazardous; and still less could he reasonably expect to bring back his crew in safety, and achieve the arduous ascent of the Thlew-ee-choh. The spirits, and even the health of the men, were visibly sinking under so many fruitless exertions. Some idea was entertained of a party attempting to reach Cape Turnagain by land; but this was considered utterly impracticable, from the swampy nature of the soil, in which, at every step, they sunk mid-leg deep. They could, consequently, have travelled only a few miles a day, and any one attacked by sickness must have been left to perish. The country, too, was destitute of fuel, and almost of water. The determination to return immediately was therefore announced to the men, who received it with a sat-

isfaction which marked the depression of spirits and despondency to which they had been yielding.*

On entering the river they soon came to the spot where they had met the Esquimaux, who at first were looked for in vain; and when at length they were descried, nothing could induce them to approach. The amicable feelings excited during the former interview had seemingly given way to their jealousy of strangers. Another large party was met, who, on seeing the English, fled howling behind the rocks. An attempt was made to attract some of them by friendly gestures, and it was thought with success; but a man was soon seen following and making a loud noise, throwing himself into wild contortions, and imitating the growls of a bear; and it became evident that this was the conjurer of the tribe, who was seeking by such charms to induce the immediate departure of the strangers. The ascent of the river was tedious and laborious, though not quite so difficult as they had anticipated. On the 16th September they reached its highest portage, and next day had the satisfaction, according to appointment, of meeting their friend Mr. M'Leod, who had been long and anxiously watching their return. Their passage through the smaller waters was easily effected; but the ascent to Slave Lake by the river Ah-hel-dessy proved extremely laborious. They were at length obliged to abandon the boat, and they in vain endeavoured to secure its stores by a *cache* from the wolverines. Loading each man with seventy-five pounds, they began their march, and fortunately found the ice on the small lakes quite strong enough to bear them. Two very picturesque falls, which they named Anderson and Parry, were passed on the way to Fort Reliance.

On their arrival on the 27th of September, an active fishery was commenced, and such a stock of

* Back, chapters x xi.

food provided as secured them against the distressing scarcity endured in the former winter. The Indians departed southward, leaving them in their cold and solitary mansion; and in their room came eighteen white wolves, "bony, and gaunt, and grim," who prowled constantly round the establishment, using every stratagem to gain a livelihood out of it. They aimed particularly at the dogs, and succeeded in seizing one, but were beaten off before they could devour it. They hesitated not to make food even of the bodies of such of their own comrades as were shot; but, having lost five, and finding little or nothing to be got, they removed to another station.

Captain Back had formed a plan for penetrating from Lake Beechey to the river of his own name in Bathurst Inlet, conveying thither the materials of a canoe, in which he might proceed to Ross's Pillar, and then to Point Richardson. But, on inquiry among the Indians, he could not gain the smallest information. In this state of uncertainty, he considered the issue of the undertaking as very doubtful; while it would require one, or perhaps two more seasons, a fresh set of men, and also a large additional expense, which he did not feel himself authorized to incur. With deep regret he renounced this plan, and prepared, as soon as the weather should permit, to turn his face homeward; and, beginning to move on the 21st March, he reached Fort Chipewyan on the 10th April. Some casual detentions occurred, but no serious obstacle, directions having been left by Mr. Simpson that he should be provided with every accommodation. On the 6th August he arrived in the vicinity of Montreal; since quitting which he had travelled 7500 miles, including 1200 of discovery. He proceeded direct to New-York, where he embarked on the 17th August, and on the 8th September landed at Liverpool.*

* Back, chapter xii.

Whatever truth there may have been (and it seems doubtful if there was any) in the former charges against the Hudson's Bay Company of coldness towards the cause of discovery, a very different spirit assuredly animates the respectable individuals by whom its affairs are now administered. To the expeditions conducted through their territory by Franklin, Richardson, and Back, their most zealous aid has been afforded; and the last of these gentlemen expresses in the strongest terms these obligations to Governor Simpson, Mr. M'Leod, and others of the company's officers. Not content with these auxiliary measures, they have themselves come forward with a great effort to complete what those travellers had left imperfect. In the beginning of July, 1836, Governor Simpson commissioned Mr. Dease, chief factor, and Mr. Simpson, a near relation of his own, with a party of twelve men, to set out for the northern coast. They were instructed to spend the ensuing winter at Fort Chipewyan, on Great Slave Lake; and in the beginning of summer four of them were to proceed to the northeast end of Great Bear Lake, and there to prepare accommodation and provisions for their next winter-quarters. The remainder were to employ the favourable season in descending to the mouth of the Mackenzie, and thence along the coast till they should reach the point at which Captain Beechey had been arrested. Even if obliged to leave their boat behind, they were provided with axes and cordage to make rafts, as well as with parchment and oil-skins for the construction of small canoes, and afterward they were to repair to the winter-quarters established on Great Bear Lake. Next summer (1838) they were to haul the boat across to Coppermine River, then to make for Point Turnagain, and thence to seek their way to Point Richardson, Captain Back's farthest station. They were supplied with

instruments of observation, and instructed to collect minerals and other objects of natural history.

The first part of this plan has been happily accomplished; for on the 9th July, 1837, the party reached the most distant mouth of the Mackenzie River, in longitude 136° 36′ 45″ west. On the 20th they were in Foggy Island Bay, the farthest point reached by Franklin, and descried a range of mountains, which the obscurity of the weather prevented him from seeing. Their voyage of discovery now began. They passed a bay fifty miles broad, and discovered a new branch of the Rocky Mountains, which they named Pelly, from the governor of the company. Their course then led along a low shore, composed in many places of frozen mud, on which were seen the mouths of several large rivers. At length the water became so shallow and encumbered with ice, that they could not advance above four miles a day. Near a cape, therefore, which, from the resident governor, they named George Simpson, it was found necessary to end the boat-navigation; and Mr. Thomas Simpson, with a party of five men, undertook the rest of the journey on foot. They proceeded, making use of their portable canoe for the crossing of rivers, and on coming to the mouth of a broad inlet, obtained the loan of an Esquimaux oomiak. On the morning of the 4th August they came in sight of Point Barrow, which they reached in the course of the same day. The ocean, extending to the southward, presented so inviting a prospect, that, had such been their object, they would not have hesitated, in their skin canoe, to have made for Cook's Inlet. On the 6th they set out on their return, and on the 17th again reached the mouth of the Mackenzie.

Although the rivalry of the Northwest Company had the effect of inspiriting and extending the trade, it was carried by them in many respects beyond the legitimate limits, not scrupling at open violence and

bloodshed, in which both Europeans and natives were alike sufferers. The distance from all tribunals, as well as from the restraints and regulations of civilized society, left room for no law but that of the strongest. Never, perhaps, was a more furious contest waged between two mercantile bodies, destructive alike to the interests of both, and most demoralizing to the savage aborigines. At length the Northwest Company, in consequence of their overstrained exertions, became involved beyond their capital; and, being obliged to yield to their rivals, they obtained in 1821 an honourable capitulation. On transferring all their property and means of influence, the principal partners were admitted to shares in the Hudson's Bay Company, who took the inferior officers into their service. Thus these two concerns were united, with much advantage to the peace of the fur countries, and perhaps to the permanent interests of the trade. A great blank was indeed felt in the city where the partners had resided, and where, according to Washington Irving, they had held huge feasts and revels, such as are described to have taken place in Highland castles. "The hospitable magnates of Montreal, the lords of the lakes and forests, have passed away;" and that city, as to the fur-trade, has sunk into a subordinate station.*

The Hudson's Bay Company is now the only surviver of the numerous exclusive bodies to which almost every branch of British trade was at one time subjected. We profess ourselves decidedly favourable to the free system, and jealous of those specialties by which many who admit the general principle contrive to except a vast number of particular instances. Yet, in the present case, there are some peculiar circumstances, which would, there is reason to believe, make an open trade very perilous.

* Astoria, vol. i., p. 23.

For example, it is carried on throughout vast regions, far from all control of war, and tenanted by savage races, who are easily prompted to deeds of violence. The struggle with the Northwest Company we have seen, filled large tracts with outrage, amounting often to bloodshed. The article, too, by far the most prized by those tribes, and which, amid an eager rivally, cannot be prevented from coming into market, is spirits, the immoderate use of which is productive of the most dreadful consequences. The company, by their present position, obtained the opportunity, of which they have most laudably availed themselves, to withdraw it altogether as an object of trade; merely giving an occasional glass as a treat when the natives visit the factories. They have even prohibited it from passing, under any pretext, to the northward of Cumberland House on the Saskatchawan, so that all the settlements beyond form complete temperance societies.

Another very important specialty consists in the nature of the commodities drawn from this range of territory; namely, they are such as human industry cannot produce, or multiply according to the demand. The wild animals, which afford its staple of furs and skins, exist only in a limited number, and, being destined to give way in proportion as colonization advances, will soon be thinned or utterly exterminated. Bands of individual hunters, with no permanent interest in the country, capture all they can reach, young and old indiscriminately, without any regard to keeping up the breed. Thus the beaver, the most valuable of the furred animals, has been nearly destroyed in Upper and Lower Canada, and much diminished in the districts beyond the Rocky Mountains, which are traversed by trapping-parties from the States. The sea-otter, on the western coast, which yielded at one time rich cargoes for the China market, has been so injured by the continued chase of the British,

Russians, and Americans, that it has ceased to be an article of any commercial importance. From the same causes we understand that sea-elephants and other valuable animals, once found in crowds on the shores of New South Shetland, are hardly any longer an object of pursuit. In Britain, we believe, various species of game would soon be destroyed were it not for the preserve-laws; restrictions which would with difficulty be enforced on the banks of the Mackenzie and the Assineboin. During the competition of the Northwest adventurers, a great part even of the wooded countries suffered severely; but, since the Hudson's Bay Company obtained the entire control, they have carefully nursed the various animals, removing their stations from the districts where they had become scarce, and prohibiting all wasteful and destructive modes of capture. Particular care is taken to preserve the female while pregnant or rearing her young. Instead, therefore, of being in a state of diminution, as generally supposed, the produce is increasing, or, rather, recruiting in all their domains.

We may finally observe, that in this vast, open territory, the means of excluding rivalship are so imperfect, that, without good management and liberal dealing, it would be impossible to maintain their privilege. In fact, Mr. Irving admits, that by the legitimate application of large capital, good organization, regular transmission of supplies, with faithful servants, they have carried all before them even in the western territory, where they are exposed to a full competition from the United States. Several associations from thence have made very active efforts to supplant or rival them, but without success.*

The company possess the entire jurisdiction of

* Adventures of Captain Bonneville, by Washington Irving (3 vols. 8vo, London, 1837), vol. ii., p. 17–19; vol. iii., p. 267–272.

these territories, unless in criminal cases, in which the courts of Canada exercise a concurrent jurisdiction; but the great distance, and the imperfect means of communication, render it generally impossible to convey the offender and evidence to its tribunals. The supreme direction is vested in a board consisting of a governor, deputy-governor, and seven directors, who hold their sittings in London. A resident governor, appointed by them, has the general superintendence of all the settlements, and is assisted by local councils, composed of the principal officers in each district, who meet him at central points during his annual tours of inspection. The acting officers consist of chief factors, each of whom has charge of several posts, of principal and secondary traders, and clerks. The higher offices are filled up according to merit from the inferior ones, so that it is perfectly open for a clerk to rise to the office of chief factor. Four fifths at least of the company's servants are Scotsmen, and chiefly from the northern districts. They are reckoned the hardiest, most active, and enterprising, and the least liable to bad habits. In general, too, they are well educated, many of them having attended the University of Aberdeen. The journeys performed by these officers, and the adventures they have met with, would exhibit scenes and incidents as striking as most of those fictitious ones which so much interest the public. Mr. Simpson, the present resident governor, has performed, during his stay in that country, upward of 100,000 miles of canoe navigation. The chief officers, including the governor himself, often endure hardships which, to those accustomed to the comforts of civilized life, must appear almost incredible. They frequently spend months without seeing the inside of a house, going to sleep at night in the most sheltered spot they can find, wrapped in their cloaks, and a blanket which has served during the day as a saddle. Unless fortunate in the chase,

they have no means of obtaining food, and are sometimes obliged to kill their dogs and horses to relieve hunger. Yet these hardy Scotsmen will find a livelihood in districts so desolate, that even the natives sometimes perish for want. Parties of them have spent whole winters on the banks of rivers or lakes, where their only sustenance was the fish drawn from the waters, without bread, vegetables, or any other article; the roasting or boiling of the dish forming their only variety. Yet, amid all these hardships, such is their zeal in the occupation that a complaint scarcely ever escapes their lips.

The Indians throughout the wooded countries east of the Rocky Mountains are almost entirely employed in hunting the rich-furred animals, for the purpose of selling them to the company. A considerable number of their young men are constantly occupied in conveying the provisions and stores by water to the different forts, and bringing back the furs there collected. At the beginning of winter, the season when the skins are in the best condition, they receive a supply of provisions, guns, and other necessary articles; and in spring bring to the several stations the produce of their chase. The British seldom hunt, unless for sport or to supply the table. The natives, in a great measure, are supported by the company; and when at the forts for traffic or other purposes, they live at free quarters, sometimes during three months at a time. The aliment procured by themselves is chiefly fish, found abundantly in the numerous lakes and rivers. Deer, though pursued with activity, form a precarious resource, rendered more so by that improvidence which makes the hunter never think of laying up any store of food. A party have been known, after spearing a vast number of these animals in their spring and autumn excursions, merely to cut out the tongues, and allow the carcasses to float down the nearest river; though they

knew that, two or three months after, they would be exposed to the utmost extremities of famine. Every company's post serves as an hospital, to which they resort during sickness, and are supplied with food and medicine. When winter arrives the diseased and infirm are frequently left there, while the rest are employed in hunting. The directors have made great efforts to introduce vaccination, though it has been hitherto opposed by strong prejudices; but fresh instructions have been sent out on this subject, in consequence of the violence with which the smallpox is raging on the border territory. This people, since the use of spirits and incentives to quarrelling have been withheld, are become peaceable, have made some progress in civilization, and their numbers are increasing. The company have made the most laudable efforts to instruct and civilize them, employing at great expense teachers and missionaries; and, notwithstanding the obstacles opposed by their wandering life and rude habits, some success has been attained. The whole number in the territory east of the Rocky Mountains is estimated at 150,000.

There are other Indian tribes of a different class inhabiting the prairie country, which, as already observed, extends over the whole southern border, from the Red River to the Rocky Mountains. They are numerous, completely independent, and carry on war with all the fierceness of the early Canadian hordes. When the agents of the company are obliged to cross this tract, they are always well armed, and choose to travel mostly during the night, that they may the better avoid the perilous encounter of the natives. The latter subsist chiefly by the chase of the buffaloes, which roam in vast herds over those wide plains. They have acquired, too, a considerable stock of horses, which they augment by every possible means, particularly by stealing. They are voluptuous as well as

fierce, polygamy being generally practised by the chiefs. Among the principal of these tribes are the Assineboins, Piegans, Blackfeet, Blood, Sarsee, and Plain Cree Indians. They have lately suffered dreadfully from smallpox, introduced from the American side; and fears are entertained that the disease may spread into the bush or forest lands.

The natives west of the Rocky Mountains are numerous, fierce, and frequently wage furious war with each other. They have also had serious conflicts with the company's officers; but the best understanding is now established, and the extension of their settlements is understood to be ardently desired by them, probably with a view to traffic. The company have thus been enabled to reduce greatly their means of defence. When Fort Langley, on Fraser's River, was first built, it was necessary to keep eighty men there; now the number does not exceed twelve.

The beaver is the main staple of the fur trade, not owing to the value of the skin, which, in proportion to its size, is inferior to that of the martin and sea-otter, but from its abundance, and the large and sure demand for it in the hat manufacture. It appears to be indigenous in all the northern parts of this continent, though in the settled countries, and even those open to private hunters, it is, as we have noticed, nearly exterminated. There are two modes of taking it, one by traps, which is the easiest, and generally followed by single adventurers. The other is what is termed trenching or the ice-chisel. On a beaver-house being discovered, all the canals leading to it are stopped up; then, with the instrument above named, it is broken into, and the old animals speared. The young are left untouched, and thus the breed remains uninjured; while, in trapping, both old and young equally fall victims. The company, therefore, have prohibited the latter operation in all their settlements, and

allow only the other and less injurious mode of capture. The skins are divided into *parchment*, or those of the old animals; and *cub*, or those of the young ones. The latter are the finest, but from their smaller size are not of equal value with the others. They have, of course, become much rarer, since their capture was prohibited.

The martin ranks next in importance, and has the finest fur of any land-animal in the new continent. This beautiful quadruped can be taken only by traps, laid baited across its customary tracks, which the natives are skilful in discovering. Its abundance depends mainly on that of rabbits and mice, which are its principal food; and as a dry season is favourable, and a wet one injurious to the rabbit, so is it also to the martin. Its skin is used for muffs, tippets, and other ornamental articles, and is usually sold in England as sable, very few of the real sable being imported. The mink and the fisher are animals of the weasel species, somewhat allied to the martin; but the latter is much larger, though its fur is greatly inferior in value. The fox also, in this country, affords a few beautiful specimens, especially those of the black or silver kind, which are the most valuable of any, but found in very small numbers, while the red and speckled are not much prized. Mr. Simpson confirms Mr. Wilson's opinion, that these are all casual varieties of one species, the different colours being often produced in the same litter. The musquash or muskrat is found throughout the continent, but especially in the vicinity of Hudson's Bay; and though the skin does not bear a high price, the vast numbers taken renders it an article of some importance. It is a species of diminutive beaver, building similar houses, and captured in the same manner, chiefly by spearing. The fur is used in the manufacture of inferior hats.

The bear and the wolf, those fiercer quadrupeds,

form also profitable objects of hunting, and are killed chiefly by means of the fowling-piece. For the wolf, spring-guns are much used, having a cord attached to them, to which the bait is fastened; and when he seizes it, the string pulls the trigger, and the ball is discharged. These animals, however, being extremely sagacious, have been known to cut the cord and carry off the bait without sustaining injury. Bear skins are much used in the northern countries of Europe, both for warmth and ornament, particularly on the outside of carriages. The hide of the wolf is considered peculiarly fitted for knapsacks and similar purposes, for which it is much employed in Germany.

The sea-otter affords one of the most valuable of American skins; but, being confined to the shores of the Pacific, it is consequently taken only in the territory westward of the Rocky Mountains. It is commonly killed by the gun, at other times it is caught on the rocks, but more usually it runs far out to sea, and must be pursued till it is exhausted. The number, as already observed, is now so much reduced as to render the chase an object of very little consequence. The last ship from the Columbia did not bring home quite 150 of them. The land-otter abounds on the border of all the interior lakes; but its skin is comparatively of little value. It is used for collars, linings, and other appendages of dress.

The prairie country contains only one species of game, the buffalo, herds of which roam over it in vast numbers, feeding on its luxuriant herbage. It is hunted in a bold style, on horseback, with the gun. The assailant rides up till his horse's neck is on a line with the neck of his prey, when, pointing the muzzle of his piece, he discharges the contents into its side, near the heart. He then gallops off, furiously pursued, reloads, and returns to the attack, till the animal is despatched. A well-trained horse,

before being exhausted, will enable him to kill twelve or fifteen of them, which he then proceeds to cut up, and to convey the flesh and hides to the encampment. Buffalo robes, as they are called, are objects of American commerce, but are seldom exported from Hudson's Bay, as they would not pay the expense of carriage.

The company have four principal stations, on all of which a portion of their vast territory depends. These are York Fort, Moose Fort, Montreal, and Fort Vancouver on the Columbia; and from each of these the materials of trade are despatched, chiefly by canoes, to the different houses and forts in the interior, while all the furs collected are sent back in return.

York Fort, the most important, commands all the vast region extending west and north of Hudson's Bay, bounded by the Arctic Ocean, the Rocky Mountains, and a line drawn from the Bay through Rainy Lake, the territory east of which is attached to Moose Fort. The inferior stations dependant upon it are very numerous. On the coast of Hudson's Bay are Forts Churchill and Severn; and almost all the numerous lakes to the northwest have their fort or house, such as Trout, Beaver, Cat, Severn, Swampy, Split, Nelson, Deer, La Rouge, La Crosse. There are also Rock House on Hill River, and Oxford on Holy Lake; while on the great expanse of the Winnipeg stand Norway and Berens River Houses, with Fort Alexander. On the Saskatchawan are Cumberland, Carlton, Manchester, Edmonton, and Acton or Rocky Mountain Houses. On the Athabasca Lake are seen Forts Chipewyan, Wedderburne, and Fond du Lac. On the Mackenzie, in its course down to the Arctic Ocean, appear Fort Simpson, Norman, and Good Hope. The Indians attached to the latter approach, but do not actually reach, the shores of the Northern Sea, which are occupied by the Esquimaux, a people against

whom they entertain a deadly enmity. The company have never, in consequence, been able to open a communication with that remote coast. On the upper part of the same river they have Forts Vermilion and Dunvegan, and another Rocky Mountain House.

Moose Fort, at the most southern extremity of Hudson's Bay, presides over all the country between that vast gulf and the Canadian lakes; and on the large branch of the former, called James's Bay, are Albany Fort, East Main Fort, and Rupert's House. On the river Albany are Martin's Fall and Osnaburgh Houses, while on the Moose or New-Brunswick is New-Brunswick, and, southeast from the latter, Frederic House. On the small lakes named Mistassinny, Big, Wagwanapy, Abbitibe, and Temiscaming, are establishments of the same names. At the northeast angle of Lake Superior, Michipicoton, an important station, draws supplies and provisions from the states of Michigan and Ohio, and forwards them to the forts in its vicinity. It is subordinate, however, to Moose, transmitting thither the furs collected in the neighbourhood. The company have commenced on this great lake a fishery for the supply of Canada. On its western shore is Fort William, and there is also a post at the Falls of St. Mary.

Ungava Bay, at the exterior entrance of Hudson's Strait, contains a small station for collecting the produce of the adjacent coast of Labrador, chiefly consisting of oil from the seal and porpoise. There are also establishments for the taking and curing of salmon, which is sent to Quebec.

Montreal is the centre of the transactions carried on in the Canadas; but, from the dense population of these provinces, the company are exposed to great rivalry, and the game has been much thinned. Their most valuable places of trade are those called the King's Posts, in the unoccupied tracts on the

Lower St. Lawrence. The produce of the lower shores of the same river, and of a great part of Labrador, is collected at Quebec.

Lastly, the company have important stations to the west of the Rocky Mountains, though the territory on the Columbia, as already stated, is a subject of dispute between Britain and the United States. Mr. John Jacob Astor, a citizen of the latter country, built near the mouth of that river a large fort, which was named Astoria, and became the seat of an active and prosperous trade; but in October, 1813, it was delivered into the hands of Mr. M'Tavish, a partner of the Northwest Company. According to Mr. Irving, that gentleman, taking advantage of the war between the two nations, brought against it a force which the Americans were unable to resist, and the fort was surrendered by M'Dougal, the person in charge, on payment of 40,000 dollars for the furs collected there, which are said to have been of much greater value.* We are assured, however, that this was a transaction of simple sale, and that the price was such as Mr. Astor had every reason to be satisfied with.† Governor Simpson, when on a visit to the shores of the Pacific, finding the situation inconvenient and the soil barren, removed the establishment sixty miles up the river. Here he built a fort, which he named Vancouver,

* Astoria, vol. iii., p. 231.

† Hunt, the principal agent of Mr. Astor, was at this time absent, and M'Dougal had been left in charge of the fort until his return. No authority whatever had been given to him to sell or convey the property under his care in the manner he did. M'Dougal was a North Briton, and it is not improbable that his national prepossessions had some influence over him in this transaction. It is said also that he was not a little disaffected, having been at variance with his principal almost from the very commencement of the enterprise. These considerations are of some importance, as the continued possession of this post by the Northwestern Company after the war was on the ground of this sale. As a conquered post, it must have been given up by the terms of the treaty.—*Am. Ed.*

after that celebrated navigator, who made so excellent a survey of this coast; and in its vicinity he formed an agricultural settlement, peopled by a number of the company's retired servants. About a thousand head of cattle are fed, and from 30,000 to 40,000 bushels of grain are annually raised; hence Fort Vancouver is now the grand depôt and the centre of their operations in the western district. Captain Wyeth, of the United States, formed a station in the neighbourhood, on the island of Wappatoo; but, having suffered severe losses, was obliged to sell it to the company, who, Mr. Irving observes, maintain an unrivalled sway over the whole country watered by the Columbia and its tributaries. From their emporium at the fort, detachments are sent in every direction to supply the inferior posts, to trade with the natives, and to trap upon the various streams. These individuals thread the rivers, traverse the plains, and penetrate to the heart of the mountains, extend their enterprises northward to the Russian possessions, and southward to the confines of California.* On the Columbia they have Forts Nez-percés, Okanagan (at the junction of the river of that name), and Colville. On Fraser's River (which falls into the Gulf of Georgia) and its branches are Forts Langley, Thompson, Alexander, Chilcotin, St. James, and Fraser. The principal maritime posts are on Millbank Sound, Puget's Sound, the Gulf of Georgia, and Babine River.

There exists a serious controversy as to the boundaries of this region, which is the more important, as the American government has recently shown a disposition to press its claims, and has even voted a sum of money to erect a fort on the Columbia. The spot is not fixed, but is to be within its tide waters, or less than 100 miles from its mouth. We shall lay before our readers a brief view of the leading facts connected with this disputed point.

* Adventures of Bonneville, vol. ii., p. 268–271.

In 1579, Sir Francis Drake sailed along the coast, and named it New Albion, under which appellation it has always been recognised and claimed by Britain. The Spanish voyages we need not inquire into, as no demand is at present founded upon them.* Captain Cook, in 1778, being employed to make a general survey of the shore, in search of a northwest passage, came upon it first in lat. 44° 33′, where his view to the north was bounded by Cape Foulweather. Being then obliged to stand out to sea, he again struck the land in lat. 47° 5′, whence he proceeded to the northward. The Columbia lies between these two points, and consequently escaped his observation.†

In July, 1788, Mr. Meares sailed along the same coast, and, after passing Cape Shoalwater, obtained the sight of a large bay, which appeared highly promising. On attempting to enter, however, the water soon shoaled to seven fathoms, and from the masthead breakers appeared to extend the whole way across. He gave to it, therefore, the name of Deception Bay, and to its northern bounding cape that of Disappointment But in the month of September he met near Nootka an American ship, named the Washington, equipped under the patronage of Congress, when Captain Gray, the commander, stated that he had entered a harbour to the

* This is a great mistake. By the treaty of Florida with Spain, not only is that peninsula ceded to the United States, but the former power relinquishes also all her claims to the territory situated between the forty-second and forty-ninth degrees of latitude, on the Northwest coast of America, embracing the whole of the country here in question. Now it is well known that Spain, up to the period of this cession, by virtue of priority of discovery, of which there is no doubt, and the propinquity of her possessions in California and farther north, claimed the whole of this coast; and thus the United States now possesses all the rights heretofore possessed by Spain to this extensive and important territory.—*Am. Ed.*

† Cook's Third Voyage (4to, London, 1782), vol. ii., p. 260-262.

southward, but with great danger of being wrecked on the bar, which would admit only small vessels, and that one of his men was killed and an officer wounded, by an attack of the natives. Meares did not recognise this as his Deception Bay, which, however, it has been since proved to be.*

In 1792, Vancouver was employed to make a minute survey of this coast, which he executed in the most careful and skilful manner. At Nootka he also met Captain Gray, who had returned, and who furnished him with a chart of his navigation into the Columbia. The English armament afterward sailed southward, and Lieutenant Broughton having succeeded in bringing one of the vessels within the entrance, was instructed to explore the river as high as possible. He found Gray's map very defective, and discovered that the point which he had reached, instead of being thirty-six miles above Cape Disappointment, as represented, was in fact only fifteen. The entrance to this extent appeared decidedly to be nothing more than a bay, into which the Columbia fell; while the mouth of the river itself, much farther up, was ascertained to be only half a mile wide. Mr. Broughton ascended it eighty-four miles, carefully surveyed its banks, and took possession of the country in the name of his Britannic majesty.† Captain Vancouver also considered himself entitled to take similar possession of the whole coast.‡§

* Meares's Voyages (4to, London), p. 167, 219.

† Vancouver's Voyage (3 vols. 4to, London, 1798), vol. i., p. 213; vol. ii., p. 53, 56, 57, 65, 75.

‡ Ibid., vol. i., p. 289.

§ The reader will perceive that there is nothing in all this to invalidate the fact, that Captain Gray first discovered the Columbia, which he explored with so much minuteness as to form a chart of its navigation some distance up. The declaration of Lieutenant Broughton that Gray's chart embraced merely the bay into which the river falls, and an extent only of fifteen miles instead of thirty-six, as set down by Captain Gray, is not a little singular, when we consider the admitted competence and skill of

British traders, it appears, were also the first who crossed the Rocky Mountains. In 1803, Messrs. M'Gillivray and Thompson set out with this intention; and, though the former was arrested by illness, the latter accomplished his journey, and gave his own name to one river, and that of his companion to another. It is manifest, too, from the journals of Mr. Harmon, that regular expeditions continued to be made into this region. In 1808, he mentions the arrival of Mr. Simon Fraser and a party, who had reached the Pacific, and examined some part of its shores. In the following year Harmon himself crossed the mountains, and found regular posts established on M'Leod's, Stuart's, and Fraser's Lakes. In 1811, Mr. David Thompson, who originally opened this intercourse, descended the Columbia to its mouth,* where he found the Americans building the fort of Astoria. This was, therefore, the first fixed establishment formed, at least on the lower part of the river; but we are assured they never exported any furs from it, preferring to sell all they collected to the Northwest Company, who became masters of the station in the manner before related.† The Americans built a fort also on Thompson's River, but

the latter gentleman as a navigator, and the time and care which he had devoted to his explorations. Be this as it may, the honour of prior discovery certainly belongs to the American commander; and, but for the information given by him, there is no reason to suppose that Vancouver would have ever found the Columbia.—*Am. Ed.*

* This was the first British traveller who had descended this river. All those previously mentioned had reached the Pacific by a more northern route, and north of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. But Messrs. Lewis and Clarke had six years previous to this crossed the Rocky Mountains, and passed down the whole course of the Columbia to its source; and this, too, under the authority, and by the direction of the American government, which considered the title of the United States to this country as beyond all question, after the relinquishment under the Florida treaty of her rights by Spain.—*Am. Ed.*

† Harmon's Voyages and Travels, p. 173, 194, 195, 220.

abandoned it. Perhaps it may be maintained, that the expedition of Lewis and Clarke, in 1805, gave them some claim to the southern branch of the stream named after the former traveller, with the fertile country on the banks. But even this rests on doubtful grounds, and they appear, from the statements just made, to have no right whatever to the region northward of that river. The free navigation of the Columbia is the more important to British interests, as none of the more northern streams can be passed even by boats to any distance upward.* Hopes were for some time entertained

* It will not be amiss to state, in a summary way, the principal grounds on which the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, included between the 42d and 49th degrees of latitude, extending to the Pacific Ocean, and now known as the Oregon Territory, is claimed by the United States: First, they consider that the 49th parallel of latitude is their true northwestern boundary. From the Lake of the Woods *to* the Rocky Mountains, this line has been settled by the treaty of 1783; so that thus far there is no dispute. It would seem, therefore, as between England and the United States, supposing neither power to possess superior claims to the country beyond the Rocky Mountains, that the same parallel of latitude should constitute the boundary-line west of those mountains. Now, when this line of boundary was agreed upon in 1783, England laid no claim whatever to the country south of it and west of the Rocky Mountains. Again, in 1803, the United States purchased of France the whole of Louisiana. The western limits of this province were entirely undefined; but its northwestern boundary had been determined by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, to be the 49th parallel of latitude; so that, by acquiring this territory, the United States came into possession of all the rights of France under that treaty, to the country lying south of this line. Up to the year 1805, the Oregon Territory had been claimed by Spain. There is, indeed, no doubt that its coasts were first discovered by Spanish navigators; and this, with the actual occupation of the country immediately south by Spanish settlements, would seem to give a strong colour of right to such a claim. But, by the treaty of Florida in 1805, Spain relinquished all her rights to this territory in favour of the United States.

Nearly the whole of the Oregon Territory is watered by the Columbia and its branches. The mouth of this river was first discovered and entered by an American navigator, Captain Gray.

from the one called the Fraser; but when Governor Simpson descended it in 1828, he found the passage most perilous, and made so many hairbreadth escapes, that it was not judged prudent to attempt returning by the same way. The territory immediately to the north of the Columbia is named New Georgia. Farther, in the same direction, are New Hanover, New Cornwall, and New Norfolk, names given by Cook, Vancouver, and other British explorers, the interior of which belongs indisputably to England, but the Russians possess the coast, in virtue of the discoveries of Behring, and as secured to them by the treaty of 1825. This cession, however, has not prevented the company from establishing a number of fishing-stations along the shore.

Besides these trading stations, the same body have an important agricultural settlement on the Red River, which rises within the territory of the United States, and, flowing northward, joins the Assineboin, after which the united stream falls into Lake Winnipeg. Here, in 1813, the late Earl of Selkirk established a colony, which suffered severely from the hostility of the Indians and of the northwest adventurers. Some years ago, the company adopted the plan of assigning lots of land to meritorious servants retired from active duty; and many, not only Indians, but Europeans who had married native women, gladly accepted this boon. Hence the colony, within a short period, rose from a population of 500 to not less than 5000. The grants consist of about 100 acres each, with six chains frontage on the water, and reaching a mile inland, while the whole extends about forty miles along the river. A

In 1805, its entire course was explored by Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, who had been sent by the American government for this purpose; and these travellers were the first of all civilized men to visit its waters. Finally, citizens of the United States were the first to occupy this country by actual settlement.—*Am. Ed.*

sure market for their surplus produce is secured by the demand for provisions to the several settlements. The colonists, including the Indians, profess Christianity, and follow the habits of civilized life. Thirteen schools and seven places of worship, Protestant and Catholic, are maintained by the directors. A strict watch must be kept against the Indians of the prairie, who, however, cannot make head in open contest against the superior arms and discipline of the settlers. This establishment is under the jurisdiction of a separate governor and council, subordinate, however, to the governor resident at York Fort; and it is divided into four districts, with two magistrates over each.

The company's vessels, carrying out the supplies and stores to Hudson's Bay, sail from London on the 1st June, so as to arrive about the end of August, when the navigation becomes everywhere open. They then deposite their cargoes, which remain in store till the commencement of the ensuing season; when, in return, they receive furs and other articles which have been brought from the interior, and commence their voyage to England, if possible, before the end of September. The ships employed in the trade of the western territory, that, namely, which stretches along the shores of the Pacific Ocean, leave the river Thames in the month of November, and, sailing round Cape Horn, arrive at Fort Vancouver in the following May. In the return voyage a similar order is observed. Consulting the convenience of the trade and the periodical nature of the prevailing winds, the shippers leave Nootka Sound and the mouth of the Columbia towards the close of the year, and reach London about the beginning of summer. It is thus manifest that two vessels must be employed in accomplishing the exchange of an annual cargo. As to the principal commodities obtained in these distant regions, it may be observed that they are, in general, the same

as those on which the Hudson's Bay Company set the greatest value in other parts of their territory. The skin of the sea-otter has always brought a high price, being esteemed the most precious species of peltry to be found on the western borders of America. The best market for it in former times was China; but, until the East India trade was thrown open, no inducement was presented to British ships to carry a cargo thither, not being allowed to load in any port of that empire. Hence the Northwest Company for several years chartered a ship from Boston, through which they carried on the traffic; but of late, owing to the causes already assigned, the savage mode of capture and the devastation committed by private interlopers, the quantity has become so small as no longer to repay the expenses of such a voyage.

The following is an account of the furs exposed for sale by the Hudson's Bay Company in December of the four years 1834, 5, 6, 7:

Columbia, about	20,000	9,000	1,500	310	300																		
	89,927	156,168	15,934	2147	22,861	838,549	7563	..		6115	31,887	27,750	7031	2166	754	6600	585

The Company also imported beaver-coat to the amount, in the last year, of 304 lbs.; castorum, 2788 lbs.; isinglass, 2684 lbs.; sea-horse teeth, 461 lbs.; bed-feathers, 16,641 lbs.; goose and swan quills, 1,250,000; oil, 20 tuns.

(a) Ships not arrived this year.

Skins of

	Beaver.	Martin.	Otter.	Fox, Silver & Cross.	Other Foxes.	Musquash.	Bear.	Ermine.	Fisher.	Lynx.	Mink.	Wolf.	Wolverine.	Badger.	Swan.	Raccoon.
December, 1834.																
York Fort .	30,658	21,759	8,778	803	6,977	369,[illegible]	4846	386	3386	7,839	10,001	7880	1442	910	7898	493
Moose Fort .	35,734	36,710	9,659	261	1,594	255,[illegible]	1537	105	1294	5,882	9,875	4	28	9	20	4
Canada . .	6,896	1,021	366	2	. .	39,457	68	. .	16	34	224		1	. .	. .	16
Columbia, about	25,000	5,000	3,500	. .	300	30,000	1000	. .	600	500	5,000	600	100	150	. .	200
	98,288	64,490	22,303	1066	8,871	649,092	7451	491	5296	14,255	25,100	8484	1571	1069	7918	713
1835.																
York Fort .	32,890	24,871	5,948	569	6,319	888,947	2654	. .	1247	4,054	7,343	2802	1093	495	4692	92
Moose Fort .	17,709	24,780	5,581	235	2,[illegible]47	161,[illegible]	533	. .	705	2,407	7,226	20	45	3	1.	3
Canada . .	7,309	4,854	1,458	19	18	31,[illegible]20	190	. .	77	79	740	. .	25	. .	. .	27
Columbia, about	21,000	6,500	2,500	87	220	30,000	750	. .	450	450	2,500	900	100	200	. .	400
	78,908	61,005	15,487	910	8,704	1,111,646	4127	. .	2479	6,990	17,809	3722	1263	698	4703	522
1836.																
York Fort(*a*) .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. . . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Moose Fort .	17,951	36,131	4,727	164	1,521	117,649	498	. .	723	3,329	9,06[illegible]	2	15	1	12	1
Canada . .	7,112	8,118	1,205	157	153	23,347	217	. .	104	33	6[illegible]	5	28	. .	. .	38
Columbia, about	21,000	8,500	2,500	150	250	20,000	1000	. .	500	400	2,500	300	100	200	. .	60
	46,063	52,749	8,432	471	1,924	160,996	1715	. .	1327	3,762	12,228	307	143	201	12	99
1837.																
York Fort .	38,786	85,658	8,744	1746	21,790	695,624	5656	. .	4558	24,639	15,614	6520	2039	547	6591	182
Moose Fort .	17,191	46,856	4,390	155	632	97,925	779	. .	821	5,666	8,713	7	6	7	9	1
Canada . .	6,950	14,654	1,300	36	139	27,000	328	. .	236	82	1,423	4	21	. .	. .	102
Columbia, about	20,000	9,000	1,500	210	300	18,000	800	. .	500	1,500	2,000	500	100	200	. .	300
	82,927	156,168	15,934	2147	22,861	838,549	7563	. .	6115	31,887	27,750	7031	2166	754	6600	585

The Company also imported beaver-coat to the amount, in the last year, of 304 lbs.; castorum, 2788 lbs.; isinglass, 2684 lbs.; sea-horse teeth, 461 lbs.; bed-feathers, 16,641 lbs.; goose and swan quills, 1,259,000; oil, 26 tuns.

(*a*) Ships not arrived this year.

The value of furs, which are mostly articles of luxury, varies in an extraordinary manner with the changes of fashion. Mr. M'Culloch, on good authority, states that the price fluctuates, in the course of a single year, from 100 to 300 per cent.; and we are assured that this range is often exceeded.

CHAPTER IX.

General Summary.

General Retrospect.—Extent of British America.—Proportion cultivated.—Produce.—Exports of Timber.—Fishery.—Agricultural Products.—Imports.—Shipping.—Number of Emigrants for the last Seventeen Years.—Interior Communications.—Those proposed by Mr. Buller.—Others suggested.—Welland and St. Lawrence Canals.—Population.—Different Classes.—Church Establishment.—Political Constitution.—Proposed Union of the Colonies.—Other Suggestions.

Although the different parts of British America have been successively treated of, there still appears room for a general retrospect, exhibiting that portion of the British empire under a combined view.

It appears desirable, in the first place, to form an estimate of the entire surface; but, as we shall not include mere rocks, and wastes never likely to be turned to any useful account, we necessarily leave out Newfoundland and the Hudson's Bay Territory, although considerable portions of the latter, at some future period, may become valuable. The Bermudas, on the other hand, are too small and detached to be taken into the survey.

We begin with Lower Canada, which, as formerly observed, is estimated by M. Bouchette at 205,863 square miles; but as part of it reaches beyond the

fiftieth parallel, which may be taken as the limit of American cultivation, while much of the remainder is unproductive, 90,000 of these may be deducted. The whole, however, of Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, New-Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, may fairly be included, since, though there are certain waste tracts in them, they possess, upon the whole, rather more than average fertility. We shall then have,

	Square Miles.
Lower Canada	115,000
Upper Canada	141,000
Nova Scotia	15,600
New-Brunswick	25,900
Prince Edward Island . .	2,100
	299,600

The area of Great Britain and Ireland is only 121,853 square miles, not much above a third of that now stated, so that the transatlantic portion of the empire, at present considered only as an appendage, may one day be much the more important of the two.

If from the vast surface of these provinces we turn our attention to the proportion actually cultivated, a striking proof will be afforded of their infant state. The following may be given as the most recent account:

	Acres.
Lower Canada in 1831, 2,065,000, say now	2,200,000
Upper Canada in 1835	1,308,000
Nova Scotia	400,000
New-Brunswick	250,000*
Prince Edward Island	100,000
	4,258,000,

making only 6650 square miles, or little more than 1-50th of the whole. It is obvious, therefore, what vast scope is still afforded for industry and an increasing population.

* Lord Durham's Report, Appendix B, p. 129, 147, 169.

The staple of the colonies, as they advance in improvement, must be agricultural produce, to be disposed of in exchange for manufactured goods and foreign luxuries. As yet this export is not of very large amount, being lessened by the successive arrival of emigrants, who must for some time be consumers; but there can be no doubt that it will ultimately take the lead of every other. The colonists seem hardly treated in having a duty of 5*s*. imposed on their wheat, in addition to the heavy freight across the Atlantic; there being no reason why they should in this respect be less favourably dealt with than Ireland. The supply would only increase gradually with the augmenting population of the United Kingdom; nor would it be attended with that uncertainty which is a serious objection to any dependance upon foreign import, while, in return, a sure market would be opened for the manufactures of England.

Timber is a product at present of first-rate importance, though it must gradually decrease with the progress of cultivation. The stock, however, is so immense, that ages must elapse before it can be exhausted. Independently of the favour this trade enjoys in Britain, a demand is rising in the Atlantic states, which, being gradually denuded of their own forests, are expected to afford a permanent and increasing market.

Throughout these colonies manufactures must for ages remain confined to a few bulky articles.

Wood and lumber, in various forms, comprise as yet the most important branch of exports. The mode of procuring and preparing them, with the encouragement afforded to the sale in Britain, have been already described. Canada still yields the largest and most valuable supply; New-Brunswick, which ranks next, is little inferior; and Nova Scotia, with its adjacent islands, though much lower, is still considerable. The following table exhibits the

value of each description exported during the four years from 1832 to 1835 inclusive:

	1832.	1833.	1834.	1835.
Oak timber . .	*l.*49,341	*l.*51,111	*l.*50,641	*l.*40,357
Pine . . .	413,582	344,015	494,298	592,510
Elm . . .	20,756	12,157	2,973	16,439
Ash, birch, &c. .	18,183	56,236	56,476	38,467
Masts, yards, &c. .	23,177	14,470	20,544	18,743
Oars . . .	3,804	3,190	4,055	2,427
Deals, planks, boards, &c. . . .	314,931	337,303	398,237	359,229
Shingles . . .	8,162	9,316	10,154	8,217
Lathwood . .	8,712	7,320	7,247	11,495
Staves and headings	99,119	110,594	187,490	154,575
Other sorts . .	3,542	4,673	5,524	6,928
Total .	*l.*963,309	*l.*950,385	*l.*1,237,639	*l.*1,249,387

Of these different kinds the timber, understood to be in log, goes almost exclusively to Great Britain and Ireland. Of that which is sawed into deals, boards, and planks, the West Indies take nearly half, as well as a large proportion of the masts, oars, staves, headings, and all the shingles. The amount sent to foreign countries is inconsiderable.

The fishery, which forms the next article, decidedly rivals the timber trade, especially when we include the capture of seals, which, in mercantile language, is considered a branch of it.

	1832.	1833.	1834	1835.
Cod, dry . . .	*l.*447,654	*l.*591,844	*l.*545,654	*l.*566,054
Cod, wet . . .	29,393	34,056	43,569	47,139
Herrings . . .	6,074	3,751	2,593	3,565
Mackerel . . .	2,929	1,598	3,602	2,825
Salmon . . .	9,977	9,235	12,748	14,965
Other fish . . .	8,381	5,277	6,133	7,318
Total fish . .	*l.*504,408	*l.*645,761	*l.*614,299	*l.*641,866
Train oil . . .	248,064	242,412	205,260	265,976
Seal skins . . .	40,352	27,911	30,414	44,321
Produce of fishery	*l.*792,824	*l.*916,084	*l.*849,973	*l.*952,163

The articles next in importance consist in the produce of land, such as grain, live stock, and salted provisions. These, for reasons already noticed, are not yet of first-rate consequence, nor have they even within the last few years been increasing; though it is obvious that, if the colonies continue prosperous, they must become the most valuable of all.

	1832.	1833.	1834.	1835.
Wheat . . .	*l.*177,434	*l.*174,745	*l.*99,411	*l.*12,100
Other grain . .	1,942	1,212	1,488	2,903
Wheat flour . .	57,436	93,304	43,223	74,877
Other flour or meal .	1,046	1,581	1,254	468
Beef, pork, bacon, &c.	31,543	47,958	19,915	17,959
Baead and biscuit .	. . .	1,970	964	878
Butter and cheese .	4,221	2,166	4,265	4,497
Horses . . .	610	933	33	7,099
Cattle, sheep, hogs .	2,043	653	461	725
Total . . .	*l.*276,275	*l.*325,522	*l.*171,014	*l.*121,506

The wheat is exported almost exclusively to Britain; the flour, other grain, and salted provisions, to the West Indies. A large stock of horses, too, was in 1835 sent from Nova Scotia to the United States. Small quantities of beef and pork are sometimes procured from the latter country and re-exported.

There are several other articles of considerable value; such as ashes, shipped from Canada to Great Britain; coal and gypsum, from Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and New-Brunswick, to the United States; and salt from the last-mentioned colony, sent to the same quarter. The amount has been given as follows:

	1832.	1833.	1834.	1835.
Ashes	*l.*201,717	*l.*174,468	*l.*108,307	*l.*181,506
Coals	27,870	32,350	21,660	23,930
Gypsum . . .	16,269	34,224	23,250	16,980
Salt	13,312	7,617	4,850	7,173
Total . . .	*l.*259,168	*l.*248,659	*l.*158,067	*l.*229,589

We may now form a general summary of the exports for the period just specified.

	1832.	1833.	1834.	1835.
Timber . .	*l.*963,309	*l.*950,385	*l.*1,237,639	*l.*1,249,387
Fishery . .	792,824	916,084	849,973	952,163
Produce of land	276,275	325,522	171,014	121,506
Ashes, coals .	259,168	248,659	158,067	229,589
Miscellaneous	159,313	172,887	194,325	154,049
Total . .	*l.*2,450,889	*l.*2,613,537	*l.*2,611,018	*l.*2,706,694

The countries to which the principal exports took place were these:

	1832.	1833.	1834.	1835.
Great Britain .	*l.*1,428,598	*l.*1,376,333	*l.*1,429,768	*l.*1,479,177
Ireland . .	210,546	287,593	291,673	240,818
Portugal . .	107,786	87,086	185,025	193,394
Spain, with Gibraltar . .	52,470	124,944	70,628	94,893
Italy . .	55,457	85,287	77,348	30,531
British West Indies . .	397,449	434,536	386,361	446,500
United States .	129,278	131,883	95,787	149,212
Brazil . .	46,124	50,766	26,017	37,206
Other States of S. America .	. . . .	. . . .	7,301	10,176
Various . .	23,186	35,109	41,110	24,787

The imports are exceedingly various, including almost every article beyond the common necessaries of life. The leading branches are manufactured goods of all descriptions, almost exclusively furnished by Britain; tropical produce, chiefly from the West Indies; wine and other products of the more southern climates, usually introduced through the medium of England or Gibraltar. Lastly, though grain and provisions are generally an export staple, yet Newfoundland and New-Brunswick, subsisting almost entirely by fishery and the timber trade, are obliged to import large quantities. The supplies drawn from the other colonies do not appear in the

returns, which comprehend only what is obtained from Britain and Ireland, from Hamburgh, and the United States.

The following exhibits a summary of the imports:

	1832.	1833.	1834.	1835.
Manufactur'd goods	l.1,870,924	l.1,831,659	l.1,413,577	l.1,831,001
Tropical produce	676,875	700,180	627,860	602,887
Wine, &c. . .	162,408	198,427	128,585	139,050
Grain, provisions, &c. . . .	442,713	542,178	442,994	385,806
Coals, salt, &c. .	87,560	83,988	99,820	83,990
Miscellaneous .	217,240	223,473	187,580	276,990
Total .	l.3,457,720	l.3,579,905	l.2,900,416	l.3,319,724

Countries from which imported:

	1832.	1833.	1834.	1835.
Britain . .	l.2,209,653	l.2,267,235	l.1,777,238	l.2,330,243
Ireland . .	63,359	53,084	43,815	44,764
Guernsey and Jersey . . .	21,114	21,933	18,453	18,162
Germany with Prussia . . .	45,174	118,415	110,691	99,122
Portugal . .	13,267	19,788	12,579	14,122
Spain, with Gibraltar . . .	40,261	36,557	24,943	16,938
Italy . . .	6,409	6,579	917	56
Africa . .	10,695	7,619	7,316	2,655
China . .	145,575	239,282	138,530	54,237
British West Indies	437,807	355,310	386,324	403,664
Foreign do .	8,691	7,753	11,950	8,776
United States .	386,081	413,658	299,237	271,065
Brazil . .	3,908	8,000	8,048	15
South Sea Fisheries	19,828	6,234	36,755	17,880
Various* . .	45,898	18,458	22,920	38,025

The following is a statement of the shipping employed during the same years, in the trade between Great Britain and those colonies:

* Compiled from Colonial Tables, 1832, p. 139–154; 1833, p. 131–147; 1834, p. 123–139; 1835, p. 99–115.

Years.	Inward.		Outward.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1832	1869	503,325	1867	487,526
1833	1895	512,627	1766	421,165
1834	1900	523,055	1877	502,515
1835	1911	540,325	2139	616,716

The whole amount employed by the colonists in their intercourse with all parts of the world was much larger: being in 1835 not less than 10,009 ships, 1,199,628 tons inward; and 9301 ships, 1,151,181 tons outward.*

A recent parliamentary paper shows the amount of shipping built in British America from 1814 to 1837.

Years.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Years.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
1814	83	9,353	1826	462	77,575
1815	150	16,520	1827	418	61,009
1816	291	25,448	1828	377	45,247
1817	202	16,910	1829	332	32,156
1818	192	13,243	1830	269	26,566
1819	215	16,588	1831	285	29,184
1820	153	11,383	1832	289	34,791
1821	174	11,884	1833	337	45,037
1822	137	12,212	1834	333	51,168
1823	188	19,135	1835	350	54,787
1824	252	39,469	1836	337	58,987
1825	422	69,616	1837	370	60,672

The following is a statement of the number of emigrants from 1821, when the great tide began to flow into Canada. The list, down to 1828 inclusive, professes to include the whole number who went to British America, of whom, however, the Canadian provinces attracted by far the greatest proportion. We suspect, too, that this part of the table is by no means so complete as the rest.

* Compiled from Colonial Tables, 1834, p. 121, 122; 1835, p. 4–10, 13, 15

1821 . . .	12,470	1831 . . .	50,254
1822 . . .	11,282	1832 . . .	51,746
1823 . . .	8,133	1833 . . .	21,752
1824 . . .	7,311	1834 . . .	30,935
1825 . . .	8,741	1835 . . .	12,527
1826 . . .	12,818	1836 . . .	27,722
1827 . . .	12,648	1837 . . .	21,901
1828 . . .	12,084		
1829 . . .	15,945	Total number,	346,269
1830 . . .	28,000		

The following is a comparative statement of the quarters whence these emigrants came during the the last eight years:

	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	1834.	1835.	1836.	1837.
England and Wales.....	6,799	10,343	17,481	5,198	6,799	3,047	12,188	5,580
Ireland.....	18,300	34,133	28,204	12,013	19,206	7,108	12,590	14,538
Scotland.....	2,450	5,354	5,500	4,196	4,591	2,127	2,224	1,509
Hamburgh and Gibraltar.....	..	..	15	..	..	..	..	..
Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, West Indies, &c....	451	424	546	345	339	225	235	274
Havre de Grace	..	..	..	..	..	..	485	..
Total.....	28,000	50,254	51,746	21,752	30,935	12,507	27,722	21,901

There is perhaps no object at present of so great importance for the advancement of industry in the colonies as the formation of roads and other means of internal communication. Nearly the whole water frontage, to a considerable depth inland, has now been occupied; and the inhabitants of the interior tracts, from their remote situation, are incapable of procuring in exchange for their produce the luxuries or even the comforts of life. This evil, however, through the efforts of modern ingenuity, may be almost completely remedied by the construction of canals and railways; and the strong recommendations of Lord Durham and Mr. Buller give reason to hope that such works will ere long be commenced on an extensive scale. Yet it is impossible not to look with some degree of apprehension to these undertakings, when we recollect the Grand and

Royal Canals in Ireland, the Caledonian in Scotland, and the Rideau in Canada, on which enormous sums have been expended with little or no practical benefit. Even the Welland and the Ship Canal of the St. Lawrence, though spirited attempts in an infant colony, were premature, and accordingly remain yet incomplete. The La Chine Canal and the La Prairie Railroad are perhaps the only similar works in that country which have been of much real use. The danger arises merely from jobbing, though this cannot be too carefully guarded against, but also from the influence of popular excitement. Works of an imposing aspect, of great extent, connecting distant parts, and overcoming vast obstacles, are those which rouse enthusiasm, and there is then but little leisure to discuss the humble but all-important question, what traffic is likely to pass along the line. We feel the more alarmed, too, as some such impulses appear to have suggested certain of Mr. Buller's recommendations, and which, for that reason, we shall take leave to sift somewhat carefully.

The most extensive is the proposed railroad from Halifax to Quebec, which has, we presume, been substituted for that lately projected from St. Andrews, in New-Brunswick.* The distance may be about 700 miles, and the expense must considerably exceed one million sterling, while there is great reason to doubt whether any benefit would be reaped at all commensurate to this expenditure. There cannot be much commerce between two countries, of which the productions are nearly identical, the one having scarcely a surplus article of which the other has not also more than enough. It appears to be supposed, indeed, that Halifax would thereby become an outport to Quebec, and that shipmasters, to avoid the tedious and some-

* Lord Durham's Report, Appendix B, p. 35.

what dangerous circuit by the St. Lawrence, would prefer landing their goods on the Atlantic coast, to be forwarded by railway to the latter city.* We cannot help suspecting, however, that the merchants would incur some delay, and even a small risk, to have their goods brought close to the warehouse, and unshipped under their own eyes, rather than have them landed at the distance of 700 miles, conveyed over that long space in carriages, at all seasons of the year, and then put on board again to cross the St. Lawrence. In an agricultural view, nine tenths of the line are of no value; and though some scattered settlements might spring up in consequence, this would be in direct opposition to Mr. Buller's plan of condensing the population, and filling up the thinly-peopled districts, already occupied by colonists. It would also be very unjust to lay heavy taxes on the proprietors of those lands, not that emigrants might be brought thither, but rather that they may be carried away to new and remote regions.

Another scheme which has been favourably received, is that proposed by Mr. Shirreff o. Fitzroy, of a navigable communication between Lake Huron and the Ottawa, combined with the improvement of the upper part of that river.† These, no doubt, are important objects, and may be realized at a future period; but any attempt to accomplish them at present seems wild in the extreme. There is not, it is probable, on the whole line of the proposed navigation, a single human dwelling, except a few Indian wigwams; nor is there, perhaps, a cultivated field within a hundred miles of either end of it. Supposing a few settlers to be drawn into this vast wilderness, the alluring them thither would, on the grounds above stated, be contrary both to policy and justice. In regard again to commerce

* Report, p. 114.

† Report, Appendix B, p. 35, 116.

with the infant states of the northwest, it would be easy to show that any expectations under this head must be altogether premature.

A railroad between Lake Ontario and Huron is also mentioned. Such a work will unquestionably be of essential importance, and that, too, at an earlier period than either of the others. But at present the shores of the last-mentioned expanse are little better than a desert.

It may now be expected that we should endeavour to suggest what might be considered as the lines really useful for opening up districts still languishing for want of communication. We shrink not from this task. We undertake it, however, with great diffidence, as, without regular surveys made for the express purpose, the adaptation of a country for such objects can never be fully ascertained.

One important question not very easily decided is that which relates to the comparative advantage of railways and canals. So far as we can form a judgment, the former may be said to supply the more rapid and commodious conveyance, and also to be, in general, the more easily constructed work. But a canal seems to afford a much cheaper mode of carrying a great bulk of heavy goods; and for this reason it is still used in preference, even since the rival communication has been formed between the same points.* Where two great waters are to be united, a canal has also this advantage, that the cargoes can be conveyed in a single vessel from the shores of one to those of the other without the expense or risk of being landed or reshipped. But, at all events, of whatever nature the channels of intercourse may be, they ought to be numerous, simple, and practical, rather than splendid and costly. We should likewise prefer to see employed

* M'Culloch's Dictionary of Commerce, art. Railroad.

upon them American engineers, accustomed to combine cheapness with utility, rather than Europeans ambitious of producing a magnificent work with a proud disregard of expense.

With regard to Lower Canada, the most important line, we presume, would be an oblique one from Quebec to Montreal, on the southern side of the St. Lawrence, as nearly as possible half way between the river and the frontier. At St. John it would connect itself with the La Prairie Railway, and by means of Lake Champlain secure a communication with the United States. It appears to us that this would open the country much more completely than one from north to south, as proposed by Major Head,* while its benefit could be amply diffused by lateral communications. The hilly nature of many of the tracts would no doubt oppose obstacles and require modifications; and in these circumstances a railway might be the more easily formed, and perhaps prove more convenient. The staple, being live stock, is less bulky than grain, and more difficult to convey by water. A speedy mode of travelling between the two capitals would also be exceedingly beneficial.

The eastern districts of Upper Canada enjoy considerable advantages, having the St. Lawrence on the one side and the Ottawa on the other. Yet a railroad from Montreal, running midway between the two till it should strike the Rideau, would be of obvious benefit to the inland townships, and afford, at the same time, a direct and rapid conveyance to Kingston.

In the three central districts it would be an object of the greatest importance to form lines stretching from the border of Lake Ontario northward into the interior. The Midland is well cultivated along the shore, but the inland part is less known, partly,

* Lord Durham's Report, Appendix B, p. 72.

it may be, from the want of a good communication. Some one ought unquestionably to be formed, though our knowledge of the country is too limited to enable us to determine what should be its precise nature or line.

The Newcastle District is of more importance, having many fine townships, chiefly in the interior. About twelve miles from Port Hope is Rice Lake, and beyond a long chain of smaller and closely contiguous ones. It would seem that the best communication here would be accomplished by short canals connecting these waters with each other and with Ontario; for while one vessel would serve to convey produce from the remotest of them, railways could not fail to lead to much inconvenience in landing and reloading. The river Trent issues from Rice Lake, but its course is very winding, and terminates in the intricate shores of the Bay of Quinté, so that we doubt both whether it would repay the expense, and also if it would be expedient at present to incur that of a double line for the same tract of country.

In the Home District it would be most desirable to connect Toronto with Lake Simcoe; and, for the reasons just stated, there seems to be a great advantage in accomplishing this by a canal which at no distant period might be carried on to the Georgian Bay on Lake Huron, where it would [illegible] vast extent of land for location.

In regard to the London and Western Districts, there is an obvious call for a communication westward from the extremity of Lake Ontario. A railroad in this direction, as well as to Lake Simcoe, was planned, and, indeed, voted by the Assembly, but never begun, we believe, for want of funds. Without expressing any decided opinion, we take leave to suggest the question whether a canal, connecting itself with the navigation of the Thames, and, by a short cut from that river, with Great Bear

Creek, would not be more advantageous. It might be ultimately carried to the main body of Lake Huron; and, as the staple of all those districts is grain, a heavy and bulky article, great advantages would arise from this continuous navigation.

These works would, we think, place every part of the Canadas within a moderate distance of water and railway conveyance. The cost would not probably much exceed a million sterling, while the entire length would not be greater than that of the single railway proposed between Halifax and Quebec. They would require, however, to be followed up by good common roads; and as the formation and management of these would be peculiarly liable to all the evils incident to public undertakings, there would be a great advantage in securing, as the basis of the fund for defraying the expense, a local contribution among the owners of land. With respect to the roads lately made throughout the Highlands of Scotland. the course taken by the government was to double every sum raised for the purpose among the proprietors, and under this system most extensive benefits have been conferred on that tract of country. It is true that where a wild district is to be newly opened, there must be roads before there can be settlers to aid in making them; but, according to Mr. Buller's opinion, in which we incline to coincide, the preparatory step would be most successfully taken by companies or capitalists, whose eyes would be enlightened by personal interest. Hence it is perhaps desirable that such persons should take the lead, and be merely seconded by government.

With respect to the other colonies there appears not room for so many observations. Nova Scotia, owing to its peninsular form and small breadth, stands much less in need of such works, while its rugged surface would render the task extremely difficult. The completion of the Shubenacadie Ca-

nal is a matter of obvious importance, to which we may add the cut from St. Peter's Bay in the Bras d'Or, Cape Breton. That of Bay Verte is desirable, but rather, it should seem, for mercantile than for agricultural purposes. The wants and capabilities of New-Brunswick on this head are not much known. Generally speaking, its sea and river frontage is not filled up to a great depth, and there is yet little call for throwing open the interior. Short communications leading inland from the lower course of the great rivers seem at present most required, nor does there appear any objection to second in some degree the efforts of the Land Company established in that province.

It may be proper, before concluding, to notice those immense works undertaken by the government of Upper Canada, and still unfinished. We have already expressed our regret that the large sums expended on them should not rather have been laid out on less ambitious but more practical objects. However, as they are in great part executed, it is unfortunate that they should be allowed to remain wholly useless by being incomplete. Lord Durham has indeed recommended, in the strongest terms, that they should be finished by means of a loan raised by the British government on the security of the future tolls. He even anticipates that the whole of the immense traffic which now passes along the Erie Canal, will then take this new channel and enrich Canada immensely. This conclusion we suspect to have been formed under the influence of representations made by some of those sanguine patriots who, as already observed, are so apt to mislead on such occasions. They maintain that Montreal, being somewhat nearer to Lake Erie than New-York, will then be generally preferred by the Americans; forgetting that a vessel after arriving there is still far from the ocean. At the same time we do not mean to express any

doubt that the whole works would ultimately pay Independently of the growing produce of Upper Canada, as soon as Cleveland, Detroit, and other towns on Lake Erie shall rise in importance, their merchants will more and more prefer the employment of the largest vessels which can pass through these canals, and thus make the entire voyage direct to the Atlantic States, and even to Europe, without any need of transhipment. It were much to be regretted, therefore, if those works were not to be kept up in their present state, which yet cannot be done without some annual expense. If, then, it shall appear probable that, when completed, they will yield a return in any degree equivalent to their cost, and the low interest at which a loan guarantied by the British government might be raised, the aid of the imperial treasury might be afforded with great advantage.

To present a general view of the population of the North American colonies, we shall here give, in regard to each, the date and amount of the latest census, and, in another column, the probable number at present, allowing for defects and subsequent accessions.

	Latest Census.		Probable present amount.
	Date.	Number.	
Lower Canada	1831	511,917	660,000
Upper Canada	1835	336,461	420,000
Nova Scotia	1827	123,848	170,000
Cape Breton		18,700	28,000
New-Brunswick	1834	119,457	130,000
Prince Edward Island	1833	32,292	40,000
Newfoundland	1836	70,957	75,000
Total		1,213,632	1,523,000

Of this number about a third are of French origin, being in Canada called *habitans*, in Nova Scotia

and New-Brunswick *Acadians*. The basis of the British population was formed by military settlers, but never rose to any great amount till the influx of loyalist refugees from the old colonies after their separation. The citizens of the United States have more recently entered and squatted in considerable numbers along most of the frontier districts. The greatest accession, however, has been derived from immigration, which, since the beginning of this century, and particularly during the last twenty years, has poured in a continued stream, filling with people extensive regions that were formerly desert. A population of a somewhat rude and peculiar character was created at an early period by the fishery in Newfoundland, and another more recently by the timber-trade in Canada and New-Brunswick. In each of the provinces there still remains a handful of native Indians. The habits and character of these different classes have been treated at some length under the respective heads.

One of the questions at present most agitated in the colonies is the important one which respects the provision for religious instruction. It is discussed with considerable warmth in the Canadas, where, as already observed, a large allotment of land, which circumstances are now rendering of great value, has been set apart for that purpose. In 1836, fifty-seven rectories, with parishes corresponding, were established in Upper Canada, whereby it was alleged that the English Church had been erected into a dominant establishment. The points in dispute are, first, whether the ministry should be supported, as in the United States, on the voluntary system by the contributions of the hearers, or whether provision should be made by the state; and then, in the latter case, on what religious persuasion the endowment should be conferred. As to the first question, this evidently is not a place to enter upon the discussion of it; and, if the voluntary

principle were adopted, all inquiry as to the rule of distribution would of course be superseded. But if the numerous party who think that religious instruction should be provided by the state shall prevail, the second question will become more difficult and pressing.

In both sections of Great Britain, notwithstanding very extensive dissent, one form of religious profession is so preponderant as to be more than equal to all the others put together. But in the colonies, with the exception of the Catholics in Lower Canada, there is no such ruling sect. The Church of England forms only a small minority, and will likely continue so, as the emigrating class will, it is probable, always include a great portion of Dissenters. The exclusive endowment of this church, therefore, though advocated with zeal by some powerful individuals, could not take place without the deepest discontent in the great body of the community. The members of the Church of Scotland are considerably more numerous, and many of them highly respectable; on which account there does not seem any reason, especially after the example of India, why provision should be denied to them. These remarks were, in July, 1838, urged forcibly, though perhaps too warmly, in a memorial to Sir George Arthur, by Mr. Gale, moderator of the Presbyterian Synod.* But there are, moreover, the two sects of Methodists and Baptists, who, with the Scotch Seceders, are perhaps more numerous than both the established churches put together. These cannot well be classed as Dissenters in Canada, because many of them originally came from the United States, bringing their creeds along with them; and if on any occasion they cultivated spiritual ground that had been left unoccupied by others, this only increases their claims to regard. It will not be de-

* Correspondence on the subject of Rectories (27th March, 1839), p. 62, &c.

nied by any that they are capable of forming virtuous men and loyal citizens; and those who regard a public provision for religion as a great good must own that to deprive it of the greater part of a community is inflicting a severe hardship. In short, if an endowment is to be given to the clergy, we do not see how the rights or peace of the colony can be secured without including the several classes now mentioned.

There still remain the Roman Catholics, also a numerous body, respecting whom there may be greater difficulty. The largest portion are in Lower Canada, where their priests are satisfied with their condition; and it is worthy of remark, that religious dissension had no part in the recent disturbances. But the members of this church abound also in the other colonies, being augmented by the large immigration from Ireland; and to exclude them from all share in the distribution would be to plant a deep root of discontent in the colonies.

By papers just laid before Parliament, it appears that government are anxious to settle this question in a manner that may prove satisfactory to the different parties. Lord Glenelg, in his despatch of the 26th December, 1837, suggests the adoption of a principle which is said to have been introduced with happy effects in the Australian colonies. It is, "that the contributions of the state towards the support of the different Christian communions should be regulated by the extent of the voluntary efforts which the members of each should make for the promotion of the same general end." This seems, on the whole, in the circumstances of a young and growing country, the best compromise that can be proposed; but it does not appear, by the latest accounts, that any adjustment of this difficult point has yet been effected.*

* Correspondence on the subject of Rectories (27th March, 1839), p. 44.

The general character of the political constitution of the British colonies is in all nearly uniform. A governor, nominated and removed at will by the sovereign, represents the supreme executive power. He is assisted by a council, also appointed, or at least sanctioned, by the crown, and who, in practice at least, being permanent, have usually administered all provincial affairs. But this part of the system has been largely broken in upon, in order to satisfy the other branches of the government; the principal of which is a popular assembly, elected by almost universal suffrage, and without any of those aristocratic influences which operate so strongly in England. They possess functions nearly similar to those of the House of Commons, except that the same necessity has not been felt of bringing the executive department into harmony with the representative; on the contrary, the two powers have in many instances continued long in direct opposition. The political structure is completed by a legislative council, whose members are nominated by the crown, on the recommendation of the governor, and hold their seats for life. This branch, since the commencement of political agitation, has, still more than the executive, undergone violent collisions with the popular assembly. It still possesses, however, a negative on all bills sent up from that body, and the same power is vested in the governor; besides which, the British cabinet can, at any time in the course of two years, disallow even an act which has passed through the whole circle of colonial legislature. Nor is this last prerogative, as in the case of the monarch, nominal and obsolete, but, on the contrary, is in a course of habitual exercise. No new taxes can be imposed without the consent of the several assemblies; and those actually levied are exceedingly light, since the heaviest article of expenditure, be-

ing that for naval and military defence, is provided for by the mother country.

With this constitution the colonies appeared for a long time to be exceedingly well satisfied. Content with security of property and freedom from arbitrary taxation, the popular branch scarcely aimed at anything farther, or made any efforts to control the executive. But since the members have grown in wealth and numbers, political agitation has become familiar to them, and they have made several attempts to enlarge their power. They have on some occasions sought to extend their privileges by rash and violent means, and have been obstinately opposed by the other branches of the government. Under the head of Canada, where these evils have been particularly conspicuous, we have already endeavoured, as far as possible, to trace their origin and to suggest a remedy.

This, however, seems the proper place to discuss the proposition which Lord Durham has, with much ability, supported for a general legislative union of the colonies. He urges that many common objects might thereby be better provided for; while the animosities arising from race and local faction would be in a great measure removed. More enlarged views would be inspired into the colonist, who now feels "the deadening influence of the narrow and subordinate community to which he belongs." In his own and in the surrounding colonies, "he finds petty objects occupying petty, stationary, and divided societies. "The influence," it is observed, "of the thoughts, feelings, and habits that prevail in a great nation like the United States, subjects the small adjacent communities that are nominally independent of them." Such a union, too, would afford scope for "the legitimate aspirations of active and prominent persons, would elevate and gratify their hopes," and afford the means of "pacifying the turbulent ambitions, and of employing, in

worthy and noble occupations, the talents which now are only exerted to foment disorder."*

It is difficult to estimate the effects of an arrangement for which there exists no closely corresponding precedent. The different states, though not very remote, stand a good deal detached; and, so far as we can learn, the smaller ones are decidedly adverse to the union. They are aware that their deputies would be thereby exposed to increased expense, and they could hardly be expected to intrust their local concerns to a large convention, in which they would form only a small minority. The change, therefore, there is reason to fear, would lead to dissension, and that, too, at a time when it is particularly desirable that agitation should subside. But, supposing it effected, would it not loosen, if not ultimately sever, the ties with the mother country? Lord Durham urges that it would have the contrary effect, but upon grounds that seem rather vague and speculative. When, for instance, he states, as one of his main arguments, that it would secure the colonies against any undue interference on the part of the mother country, does he not admit that it would confer on them a greater independence; and might not this be employed equally in resisting due interposition? Supposing them seized with the common mania of excluding foreign manufactures, and forcing their own into premature use, would not the means of carrying out this erroneous view be greatly augmented; and might not the new nationality thus created be apt to kindle the ambition of appearing as a distinct country on the theatre of the world?

We are thus led to inquire, whether there is no other plan by which Lord Durham's objects might be accomplished in a greater degree, without the objections to which his project is liable.

* Report, p. 112-114.

We concur with Lord Durham in the opinion that the colonies must be left in a great degree to the management of their own internal concerns. But the want of all influence on the general affairs of the empire might still seem to leave them in an inferior position. "The colonist of Great Britain," says his lordship, "is linked, it is true, to a mighty empire; and the glories of its history, the visible signs of its present power, and the civilization of its people, are calculated to raise and gratify his national pride. But he feels also that his link to that empire is one of remote dependance; he catches but passing and inadequate glimpses of its power and prosperity; he knows that in its government *he and his countrymen have no voice;* while his neighbour on the other side of the frontier assumes importance, from the notion that his vote exercises some influence on the councils, and that he himself has some share in the onward progress of a mighty nation." We cannot help thinking, however, that his lordship's plan of raising up a more extended American nationality, though it might be some barrier against a disposition to coalesce with the States, would have a very imperfect and even doubtful effect in strengthening the ties with Britain. It would appear that the best expedient is the one long ago proposed by the sagacious mind of Adam Smith, and which has never yet, perhaps, been duly considered; namely, the allowing them to send representatives to the imperial parliament. They would thereby be converted from subject appendages to integral portions of the vast British empire. Their aspiring statesmen would have a field opened to their ambition far superior to that of a convention of united colonies; and they would see this greatness inseparably connected with the maintenance of the union. They would come in contact here with public men, not, indeed, free from violent partisanship, yet imbued, on the whole, with more dig-

nified, temperate, and statesman-like views than usually animate the members of a provincial legislature. They might also, upon their return, diffuse an improved political feeling among their countrymen.

There would no doubt be difficulties in the measure, and the union could not at first, perhaps, be made complete. The colonists, at present, would scarcely consent to intrust their local concerns, or yield the power of taxing them, to an assembly so remote, and in which their members would form so small a minority. For these purposes local parliaments might still seem to be necessary. But the arrangement, could it be effected, would prove an unalloyed privilege, and the objects both of feeling and interest, which have sometimes rendered such schemes unpopular, would be gradually obviated. At the commencement there would not be any occasion on their part to demand a very large number of representatives, which indeed would be in many respects inconvenient. Fifteen or sixteen might be deemed quite enough, and would not, in fact, when compared with the population, be much inferior to the proportion sent by Ireland. Nor would such an increase make any material addition to the members who already crowd the House of Commons. Owing to the paucity of independent fortunes in the colonies, it would probably be necessary to pay the deputies; and should there be any difficulty in finding a sufficient number of natives to undertake the office, there would be no want of British statesmen ready to become candidates for the honour of supplying their place.

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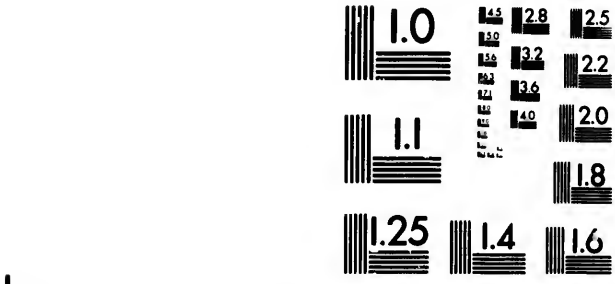

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